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What are Engagement, Happiness and Well-Being?

2.1 Engagement

In recent years, both national and organisational leaders have realised the importance of enhancing performance outcomes (such as GDP or productivity), citizenship and satisfaction by improving the engagement of the population of the nation or workforce of an organisation.

The concept of engagement has developed over a long period from work such as Douglas McGregor's (1960) theory in which he postulated that many people enjoy meaningful and stimulating work and if engaged will work harder than the bare minimum. Certainly, in developed societies, the idea that the best performance from people is obtained through coercion is largely dead, as many jobs and roles are less procedural and where performance depends on active committed enthusiasm.

Engagement increases discretionary effort and is certainly the antithesis of the industrial relations view of a shifting balance and conflict of interest between management and workers.

The continued interest in engagement since the 1990s reflects the changing perception of management/worker relations. This has been augmented by the gradual disappearance of the traditional hierarchical management structures towards 'modern organisations' (Schaufeli 2013), which require much more flexible, responsible and self-managed workers and where discretionary effort is a major component of productivity. The modern informality of relationships between management and workers has accelerated these trends and increased the importance of engagement.

These changes require greater personal investment and motivation by the individual, rather than simply following instructions.

Ulrich (1997) suggested that these changes result from organisations needing to produce more with fewer human resources, but they may also reflect the wider social change towards individual freedom and expression which may itself result in greater productivity. So, both the new informality and the social change towards individual freedom result in a far greater potential for more engaged workers and citizens to exert more discretionary effort, resulting in greater productivity.

There are at least 50 different definitions of engagement as noted by MacLeod and Clarke (even back in 2011!). Some of the more widely accepted definitions follow:

- Engagement is about creating opportunities for employees to connect with their colleagues, managers and organisations. It is also about creating an environment where employees are motivated to want to connect with their work and really care about doing a good job. It is a concept that places flexibility, change and continuous improvement at the heart of what it means to be an employee and an employer in the twenty-first-century workplace (Gatenby et al. 2009).
- A positive attitude held by the employee towards the organisation and its values. An engaged employee is aware of the business context and works with colleagues to improve performance within the job for the benefit of the organisation. The organisation must work to develop and nurture engagement, which requires a two-way relationship between employee and employer (Robinson et al. 2004).
- Employee engagement, also called commitment or motivation, refers to a psychological state where employees feel a vested interest in the company success and perform to a high standard that may exceed the stated requirements of the role (see <http://www.mercer.com>).

Of course, people can be ‘engaged’ within any kind of organisation, from a football club to a nation, and can be directed at any role identity within the person’s life, from their work–life to charitable activities to their role as a citizen. In an occupational context, engagement can be directed at:

- The organisation.
- The work.
- The profession.
- The social environment.

Engagement is not viewed as a valuable and desirable state purely for the individual's benefit. In management terms, it is viewed as something to be 'harnessed', and as a potential cause of valuable outcomes, ranging from increased productivity to reduced absenteeism and attrition. Engagement becomes a node in a process which can be measured, not just of the level of engagement itself, but also of its outcomes. Therefore, engagement differs from well-being, where well-being itself has tended to be seen as a beneficial outcome in its own right and where the antecedents and outcomes of well-being are often contemplated within the construct itself.

Academically, the interest in engagement has paralleled developments in positive psychology, originally described by Seligman (see Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000). They suggested that individuals would lead better and more fulfilling lives by adopting optimistic views of the world and by modifying their world, including their working lives, to be more positive. Global interest in engagement has risen dramatically since the 1990s and continues to be a much discussed and researched topic.

The whole idea of engagement has been developed from two very different but highly relevant perspectives: the first is organisations wishing to harness more discretionary effort from their staff; and secondly, psychologists wishing to help people become more positive. This divergence is useful in providing perspectives but as with research into well-being, engagement research has been plagued by inconsistent construct definitions and operationalisations (Christian et al. 2011).

Truss et al. (2014: 1) identified that there was an 'increasing divergence between an academic focus on engagement as a psychological state and practitioner focus on engagement as a workforce strategy'.

For example, Heger (2007) found that there was a body of literature from business academics which focuses on engagement as a workforce strategy in contrast to practitioners for whom engagement was an aspect of individual psychology (Bridger 2015).

Towers Watson (2014: 3) defines engagement as '*employee's willingness to expand discretionary effort on their job*'... with the main causal factors being leadership, clear goals and objectives, workload and work/life balance, organisational image and empowerment.

Meanwhile, 'engagement for success' is a well-known and widely applauded UK initiative to encourage and facilitate engagement in the workplace. Its definition of employee engagement is 'a workplace approach designed to ensure that employees are committed to their organisation's goals and values, motivated to contribute to organisational success and are able at the same time to enhance their own sense of well-being'.

It is interesting that this definition encompasses employee's well-being in the same way that many definitions of subjective well-being (SWB) incorporate engagement.

The Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD) defines engagement as: 'being positively present during the performance of work by willingly contributing intellectual effort, experiencing positive emotions and meaningful connections to others'. Once again, the definition of engagement includes SWB in the form of experiencing positive emotions and meaningfulness.

Shuck (2011) identified four types of definition of engagement:

- Needs satisfying—the person is engaged in expressing themselves and their needs.
- Burnout antithesis—where engagement is seen as a positive opposite to burnout.
- Satisfaction engagement—one of the most widely used engagement instruments, within organisations is the Gallup Q¹², which has been the subject of considerable analysis and testing. It is based on this definition of engagement, combining satisfaction with enthusiasm and involvement.
- Multidimensional—consisting of cognitive, emotional and behavioural components associated with role performance, as well as distinguishing between different objects of engagement. For example, job engagement or organisational engagement (Saks 2006).

Guest (2014) and others have criticised academic and practitioner interest in engagement as a fashionable fad or a concept developed in order to sell consultancy (Keenoy 2013).

Although there is little doubt that various models and theories of management and administration do tend to arrive in waves and many disappear over time, but as far as engagement is concerned, there is little doubt that 'one of the attractions of engagement is that it is clearly a good thing' (Guest 2014).

It is recognised that there are some potential issues with engagement:

- It could be perceived that only 'engaged' people are valuable and possibly that only engageable people should be recruited.
- Engagement is a panacea and is all that management needs to focus on.
- People have a duty to be engaged and that discretionary effort is the expected (and ever-increasing) norm.
- If managers are assessed and targeted on the amount of 'engagement' they can instil in their subordinates, there is a danger of that particular aspect of

management becoming a KPI or focus, leading to apparent compliance with no substance.

Guest also criticised engagement as lacking practices or a method. In other words: What do you do about it? What does a manager do in order to engage people? He also pointed out that there could be a dark side to engagement. The increased discretionary effort could be to such a high level as to possibly create burnout. That is, assuming that burnout is linked to engagement or *extreme* engagement.

If a certain level of engagement is achieved among staff, this quickly becomes the norm. In order to 'stretch' the staff, the expected levels of engagement will be increased with new exceptional levels being demanded. That could quite easily produce a medium- to long-term self-amplifying problem.

The focus of this book is to define well-being and engagement in terms of process, comprising causal factors, the construct and its outcome, with the addition of some strategies on how to engender well-being, commitment and engagement.

Schaufeli (2013) proposed a basic model in which job resources and personal resources impact on the experience of any engagement, which in turn results in organisational consequences.

Christian et al. (2011) define work engagement operationally, in order to carry out a study of antecedents and consequences, as 'a relatively enduring state of mind', referring to the simultaneous investment of personal energies in the experience of performance of work'. In a process framework, they described consequences of engagement (including performance); antecedents of engagement (e.g. autonomy); and proximal factors (e.g. job satisfaction). This approach helps to clarify the various concepts involved and their interrelationships and is developed within our PACE model.

Is engagement the same as job satisfaction, organisational commitment, job involvement or organisational citizenship?

This is not simply a question of semantics, but in order to be useful, engagement has to be distinct from the other similar concepts, and it needs to be measurable.

Some have suggested that engagement is simply a redefinition of job satisfaction, organisational commitment or job involvement. For instance, Newman et al. (2010) demonstrated correlations between these factors and engagement, but the correlations only suggest an overlap of around 15–29%, which may well suggest some kind of causal relationship, rather than identical nature.

'Job satisfaction', for example, is generally defined as a passive state of satisfaction, in contrast to engagement being active enthusiasm for performance. That is the crucial difference between the two: one is passive and the other active. That is why engagement is the factor which will have the greatest impact on productivity.

Schaufeli et al. (2008) indicate various components of engagement (such as energised and enthused), satisfaction (such as content and relaxed), workaholism (such as irritated and tense) and burnout (such as dejected and lethargic). The components shown reflect this book's key distinctions between active and passive constructs and include the similarly negatively related passive factor of 'boredom'.

Schaufeli suggests that engagement could be described as a mild form of workaholism, but workaholics tend to be less productive than engaged people because of all the negative connotations associated with workaholism.

Unlike workaholism, engagement has been found to correlate with various positive personality factors such as emotional stability and more energised forms of extraversion and consciousness (Inceoglu and Warr 2012). Studies have also found links between extraversion and high engagement, as well as high neuroticism and low engagement (Langelaan et al. 2006). Another study (Kim et al. 2009) has shown a link between conscientiousness and high engagement.

It has been suggested that engagement differs from 'organisational commitment' (Christian et al. 2011) because engagement directs an individual at his or her own performance, whereas organisational commitment refers to the organisation itself rather than the individual's part in it. It is also useful to point out that organisational commitment does not necessarily imply active enthusiasm.

'Job involvement' is another phrase which is worth looking at more closely. Job involvement is about a sense of identity or self-esteem in relation to a job, whereas engagement is about enthusiastic performance. For instance, an individual may take a great sense of pride and enjoy an elevation of self-esteem and promotion to an important or important-sounding job, but that does not necessarily follow that this will create engagement and, through that, enthusiastic performance.

Meta-analyses have found that leadership, personal dispositions and job factors are all related to engagement. The model developed by Christian et al. (2011) also suggests causal factors (such as conscientiousness and transformational leadership) and outcomes (performance) of work engagement and demonstrates the potential of the causal process and the value from the

Table 2.1 Similarities in components of engagement as defined by May et al. (2004) and Schaufeli et al. (2002)

May et al. (2004)	Schaufeli and Bakker (2004)
Physical engagement: ‘I exert a lot of energy performing my job’	Vigour: ‘At my job, I feel I am bursting with energy’
Emotional engagement: ‘I really put my heart into this job’	Dedication: ‘I am enthusiastic about my job’
Cognitive engagement: ‘Performing my job is so absorbing that I forget about everything else’	Absorption: ‘When I am working, I forget anything else around me’

practitioner perspective of truly understanding the causal significance of various factors.

It is also interesting to consider the *object* of an individual’s engagement, that is to say at *what* the engagement is directed. The table below illustrates two examples where the defined object is ‘my job’. You can also see that the principle of engagement when applied to other activities and other contacts is also expressed in that table: for instance, for ‘job’, substitute: a cause, my country, my sport, my hobby, etc. (Table 2.1).

For a nation, therefore, engagement with ‘my country’ would be a much more active strategic objective than the more passive, ‘well-being’.

There is a basic difference in the nature of well-being and the nature of engagement. Well-being is inwardly focused, and, although it can be a function of external factors as well as internal ones; it is all about the individual, whereas engagement always has an external object, such as ‘job’ and ‘country’.

This takes us to the concept of citizenship, which is generally defined differently depending on the context. Organisational citizenship is usually defined as a more active construct (Arthaud-Day et al. 2012) than citizenship at a national level, which is mostly about identity and belonging (Ichilov 2013). Many make the distinction between just ‘citizenship’ as passive and ‘engaged citizenship’ as the more active construct (Flinders 2014). The UN describes the active participation of citizens as ‘civic engagement’ (Hoffman et al. 2008).

Another distinction is that of organisational citizenship behaviour (OCB). This is seen as opposite to workplace deviant behaviour (Lee and Allen 2002) and is defined as ‘employee behaviours that, although not critical to the task or job, facilitate organisational functioning’. Activities such as helping co-workers or attending functions that promote the organisation and generally expressing approval about the organisation and its goals are all examples of OCB.

OCB and engagement have an obvious relationship, but the two constructs are different in that engagement includes discretionary effort towards

productivity and organisational effectiveness, but within the general remit of the individual's role. The five dimensions belonging to OCB are altruism, courtesy, sportsmanship, civic virtue and general compliance (Ariani 2013).

Engaged employees will likely increase the frequency of their organisational citizenship behaviours and also reflect individual behaviour that is discretionary and which is not subject to either that individual's job description or even recognised by the organisation's formal reward system.

Our extension of engagement at organisational level, being developed through this book, is a process of active committed enthusiasm (PACE), which will similarly result in OCB.

OCB is therefore to be viewed as an outcome of engagement, within the PACE framework.

At both organisational and country levels, what might be termed active disengagement or disaffection should be a concern. At opposite ends of the scale, we have citizens who won't vote (Echebarria Echabe 2014), and at the other end, activities such as striking or even revolt are the ultimate expression of active disaffection (Warkotsch 2015).

However, if a government is ruling legitimately and for the benefit of its citizens (and the same applies to an organisation), then any disaffection should not only cause some concern but should also be viewed positively as an opportunity for feedback, resulting in improved management and leadership decision-making as well as an opportunity to communicate with staff or citizens.

2.1.1 Models of Engagement

2.1.1.1 Personal Engagement/Needs Satisfying

This model of engagement was developed by Kahn in (1990) and has been further developed by May et al. (2004). It suggests that engagement comprises the following elements (which, however, we would describe as *inputs* to engagement): meaningfulness, psychological safety and availability.

Meaningfulness. *'The effort required to be engaged for a purpose which is worthwhile to me'*. May et al. concluded that meaningfulness has the strongest impact on engagement, which in turn is impacted by the fit between the person's aspirations, motivations and their role.

Psychological Safety. This refers to an individual being able to express feelings without fear of negative outcomes. May et al. found that in order for

psychological safety to be present, supportive leadership is essential and has the greatest impact.

Availability. In other words, having the resources required to be engaged. May et al. found this factor to have the least impact on engagement.

2.1.1.2 Job Demands-Resources Model

The Job Demands-Resource model (JD-R) proposes that engagement and burnout are opposite, and engagement occurs as a result of:

- Sufficient job resources which allow achievement of goals.
- Balanced demands through mechanisms such as job control and support from colleagues.
- Personal resources which provide resilience such as optimism, self-efficacy and emotional stability.

In this model, if both the job and personal resources are exceeded by job demands, then burnout can occur. Schaufeli (2013) also highlighted the possibility of high levels of engagement, resulting in high perceptions of personal resources (Reverse Causality).

Studies have also shown the existence of a feedback loop, whereby greater engagement leads to greater job and personal resources and vice versa (Weigl et al. 2010). This study also confirms that personal resources are developed through engagement and experience.

2.1.1.3 Self-determination Theory

Deci and Ryan (2012) suggest that all human beings have a fundamental psychological need to be competent, autonomous and related to others and that satisfaction of these needs results in engagement. Failure to satisfy the psychological needs will tend to reduce engagement through lack of motivation. Proximal and distal factors also impact engagement well-being and whether goals become intrinsic or extrinsic. This model confirms the inter-relationship between SWB and engagement, and their common antecedents.

2.1.1.4 Affective Shift Model

In this model, engagement is viewed as a short-term phenomenon which is influenced by how happy or unhappy one is (Bledow et al. 2011). This

suggests that engagement will change during the day, depending on the mood and that negative and positive effects will have the corresponding impact on engagement. Although it is difficult to imagine an individual who is both unhappy and engaged, this type of situation can be interpreted as one which will create either burnout or workaholism.

2.1.1.5 Social Exchange Model

The social exchange model takes a transactional view, whereby employees reciprocate and give their time and engagement in return for a decent salary, but more importantly, recognition. This model might well apply at national level where, provided that the organisation or government supplies the resources then employees and citizens will be engaged. The converse is also true. Alfes et al. (2013) confirmed this when they found that engaged employees who felt supported and had a good relationship with the management had less intention to quit and demonstrated more citizenship behaviour. Income or material reward appears to have limited impact on daily behaviour, whereas recognition and leaders support and quality seem to have a positive effect.

2.1.1.6 Organisational Versus Job Engagement

Purcell (2014) drew the distinction between jobs/work engagement and organisational engagement. The latter recognises the social membership aspects which reflect the relationship between the organisation and the employee and at national level between the government and the citizen. In contrast, the job/work engagement focuses on the task. For instance, an employee could be highly engaged with the organisation, but not with a specific task, or alternatively, highly engaged with the specific task, but not with the organisation.

2.1.1.7 Commitment and Behaviour

Continuant commitment (CC) is where an employee is committed to such an extent that he feels no motivation to leave an organisation in the foreseeable future. Normative Commitment (NC) is transactional and is based on a cost–benefit analysis. Affective Commitment (AC) is an emotional commitment similar to the emotional aspects of engagement. This three-component model was devised by Meyer et al. (2012) and demonstrates the impact of commitment as a causal factor in well-being and engagement, as well as being one of its outcomes.

2.1.2 Antecedents and Causes of Engagement

There have been various attempts to categorise the causes of engagement. For example, Crawford et al. (2014) found that antecedents for engagement included job design, leadership, organisational support and HR practices. Stankiewicz and Moczulska (2012) stated that causes of engagement could be grouped as work, interpersonal and organisational factors, to which we would certainly add personal characteristics of optimism, resilience, extraversion, conscientiousness and neuroticism. See Fig. 2.1.

From the perspective of the individual, Kahn’s (1990) proposition was that engagement is founded on meaningfulness, safety and availability, and we have used this model to group likely antecedents as follows:

2.1.2.1 Meaningfulness Antecedents

Job Challenge

The general term ‘job challenge’ includes broad scope, high workload, mastering personal growth and high responsibility enabling a potential for accomplishment. Engagement is positively associated with these factors. A meta-analysis found that job responsibility and workload have significant and positive relationships with engagement. Crawford et al. (2010) and Christian et al. (2011) found significant relationships between job complexities, problem-solving and engagement.

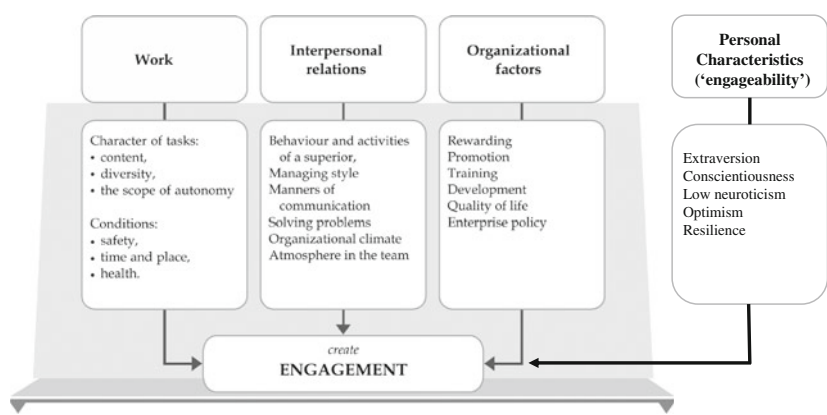


Fig. 2.1 Antecedents of engagement. Adapted from Stankiewicz and Moczulska (2012: 75) with personal characteristics added

Autonomy

Freedom, independence and discretion, plus a certain amount of responsibility when scheduling and planning work, lead to a sense of both ownership and control. This again was shown to have a positive relationship with engagement (Crawford et al. 2010; Christian et al. 2011).

Variety

Once again Crawford et al. (2010) and Christian et al. (2011) demonstrated that employees who are allowed to use many different skills and talents in their work will feel a positive impact on engagement.

Feedback

Whether through appraisal or continuous feedback, individuals who receive direct and clear information about their performance, thus enabling them to evaluate their progress, make them feel valued and acknowledged with a positive effect on engagement (Christian et al. 2011).

Fit

An individual's self-perception is all important within the work environment. An individual feels pride in his or her role when there are appropriate levels of status and influence. This leads to a positive impact on engagement (Crawford et al. 2010).

Opportunities for Development

The level of fulfilment felt by an employee with the corresponding effect on engagement is heavily influenced by their personal and professional development through training, as well as various pathways which give the opportunity for growth.

Reward and Recognition

Non-financial rewards, such as praise, recognition and so on, have a much more profound effect on engagement than simple financial reward (Bakker

and Demerouti 2007). It is often argued that material rewards have a completely different motivational function to socio-psychological reward, such as recognition, and should be treated differently in research. For instance, Herzberg et al. (1959) describe pay as a 'hygiene factor' which was not a great motivator, but one of the most powerful demotivators if it was missing or at an inappropriately low level. A low income would decrease engagement, whereas a reasonable income would only increase engagement up to a 'normal' level. On the other hand, a psychological factor such as recognition would be a definite 'satisfier' which would increase engagement.

2.1.2.2 Psychological Safety Antecedents

To an individual, his or her work 'situation' is of paramount importance in that the preference is always for secure trustworthy situations with predictable behavioural consequences. Work situations feel more risky to the individual if they are unclear and threatening. This 'psychological safety' allows an individual to invest in a task or role without fear of adverse consequences for self-image, status, career progression, social networks, etc.

Social Support

Social support is the degree to which a government or an organisation is perceived not only to care about the individual, but also to value that individual. These perceptions are created and developed by many types of interaction, including concepts such as brand value. This perception of social support increases psychological safety whilst at the same time creating a feeling of obligation to the organisation. Both Saks (2006) and Crawford et al. (2010) found significant relationships between social support and degree of engagement.

Transformational Leadership

Transformational leadership is all about creating change in individuals as well as social system, organisations, etc. A transformational leader seeks to maximise the potential of each of his team members after the same time providing high levels of support and psychological safety. Aryee et al. (2012) found strong positive relationships between transformational leadership and engagement among telecommunications engineers in China. Chapter 5 of this

book talks about leadership in some detail, but in general it is believed that leaders should be recruited and developed to ‘*offer clarity and appreciation of employees, effort and contribution, who treat their people as individuals and to ensure that workers are organised efficiently and effectively so that employees feel they are valued and equipped and supported to do their job*’ MacLeod and Clarke (2009).

Leader–Member Exchange (LMX)

LMX refers to the relationships generated by the exchange of effort, resources and support between leaders and followers. Various studies suggest a positive relationship between LMX and engagement (Christian et al. 2011).

Workplace Climate

Workplace climate is all about the individual’s perceptions of the organisational ‘environment’ in which he or she carries out their activities. Crawford et al. (2010) found positive relationships between workplace climate and engagement.

Organisational Justice, Equity

Fairness of outcome has an impact on engagement, as experienced by an individual or a group. Zhu et al. (2015) found a relationship between emotional intelligence and engagement with organisational justice as a strong mediating factor. Both Saks (2006) and Strom et al. (2014) found the perceptions about distributions and fair processes linked positively to engagement plus a relationship between organisational justice and engagement.

Job Security

It is generally accepted that the absence of job security will impact negatively on engagement. However, this does not necessarily mean that the presence of job security will cause a positive effect on engagement. One could hypothesise that complacency might be the result.

An individual’s perception that they will be able to stay in their jobs for the foreseeable future would obviously be a factor in psychological safety. Various

studies have established negative correlations between job security and engagement.

Barrick et al. (2015) defined a positive relationship between job security and engagement, but only when job security was measured as part of a range of 'best practice' human resource management procedures, which together reinforced employees' perceptions of the organisation cared about them.

2.1.2.3 Psychological Availability Antecedents

Psychological availability is the individual's sense of being ready to engage, capable and prepared to invest in the physical, cognitive and emotional resources.

Role Overload

Very often, individuals are set targets designed to 'stretch' them. The challenge can certainly increase productivity and even have a positive effect on engagement. However, there does come a certain point when a feeling of role overload can occur, triggering negative factors such as anxiety and anger. This will result in the individual becoming demotivated unless engaged. Many studies confirm a negative correlation between work overload and engagement. See meta-analysis by Crawford et al. (2010).

Work-Role Conflict

Crawford et al. (2010) found that where expectations of behaviour are inconsistent between superiors colleagues or clients, engagement will suffer because it is not possible to meet conflicting demands.

Family–Work Conflict

This is a very common issue and is quite simply the conflict in priorities and time between work and family. Several studies found a negative relationship between family–work conflict and engagement (e.g. Simbula 2010). However, other studies (e.g. Halbesleben et al. 2010) found a positive relationship between engagement and family, where high engagement causes family tensions rather than family tensions causing low engagement.

Resourcing Inadequacies

Crawford et al. (2010) found negative relationships between resource inadequacies and engagement.

Time Urgency

Time urgency and role overload are related factors, although a certain amount of time pressure may well enhance engagement and be very motivating. But this has to be within limits; otherwise, it begins to have a negative effect on engagement. The concept of 'too much' is a function of the individual and his perception, but obviously, the effect will be less for an individual who is effective at time management and self-organisation or who is generally optimistic.

Off-work Recovery

Off-work recovery refers to an employee's ability to 'switch off' by not working. In 2015, Sonnentag and Fritz found that the ability to disengage was related to engagement. They also found that high cognitive demands as well as emotional demands led to problems in being able to 'switch off'. This supports the suggestion that there can be such a phenomenon as 'too much engagement', leading to burnout or workaholism (Schaufeli et al. 2008).

Dispositions

Dispositions are tendencies to experience preferential affective states, for instance, dispositional optimism. Attitudes are formed by a combination of disposition and life experiences (Eschleman et al. 2015). Until the 1950s, attitudes towards jobs and decisions to leave were thought to be largely situational, but in 1952, Weitz proposed a dispositional component.

General optimism represents positive expectations of the future (regardless of the means by which they are met). In 2004, Carver and Scheier found that optimistic people exert more effort than pessimistic people and have better social relationships and higher levels of well-being.

There is a whole array of dispositions which include conscientiousness and positive activity. Conscientious individuals are hard-working, focused on

positive affect which creates enthusiasm and alertness. These types of disposition would typically enhance engagement.

Personal resources are perceived aspects of self, relating to resilience and ability to control and impact the environment, including self-efficacy, self-esteem and optimism. In 2009, Xanthopoulou et al. found positive relationships between the three factors and engagement.

The Relational Context

One of the important factors to be taken into consideration when considering engagement is that of relationships. Whether these are knowledge sharing, belonging to a team in order to achieve tasks that could not be achieved by an individual or even creating a supportive and encouraging social atmosphere, these are all positive factors which encourage positive engagement (Kahn and Heapy 2014). This focus also introduces the notion that a group could demonstrate high or low engagement with its associated implications.

Social Meaningfulness

Meaningfulness derives in part from feeling part of an enterprise. This can be amplified by transformational leaders (see Chap. 5) who create engagement through social interaction with both the individual and the team. Then, this is further enhanced by contact with the recipients or beneficiaries of the work.

In 2001, Wrzesniewski and Dutton suggested that individuals can further enhance the work by increasing what is known as the relational context. For instance, hospital cleaners form relationships with patients that enrich their jobs and give them more meaning than would be gained from the job itself. In general terms, therefore, individuals can experience meaningfulness through confirmation of social identity and belonging, and the perception of social support.

Freedom to Express

Individuals should be allowed to freely express themselves without fear of sanction or any negative reaction from their leaders. Therefore, a supportive team environment increases their sense of psychological safety.

Energising Social Environment

Energising interactions are things such as competition, joking and supportive decision-making, which combine both the needs of the individual and that of the team. This enhances psychological safety. Highly pressurised teams such as firefighters or soldiers very often develop a culture of banter and joking so as to create and energise their social environment in order to counter the high pressure of their work.

Emotional Relief

Being able to share thoughts and emotions with one's peers in a supportive environment can have a very strong effect on both the individual and team.

2.1.3 Positive Psychology and Engagement

An individual's personal characteristics and propensities, as well as emotions, play a large part in mitigating or amplifying impacts of all other causal factors for engagement with some characteristics making some individuals more 'engageable' than others and vice versa.

When considering our PACE model, this becomes of paramount importance because this suggests that personal characteristics are a fundamental 'filter' through which all causal stimuli will flow. As this book is about intervention by government and organisational leaders, we feel that it is important to highlight how these propensities can be modified rather than merely noted and observed.

We agree that engagement is a psychological state, and it is recent research into 'positive psychology' which has helped to clarify our thinking rather than the traditional approach to psychology, which has tended to focus on the treatment or mitigation of disorders.

Organisational and business psychology has for many years concentrated mainly on solving what can only be termed as negatively oriented problems: for instance, poor performance, absenteeism, stress and burnout, with many still viewing well-being as no more than the absence of stress, rather than a positive state in its own right. We therefore are treating positive psychological concepts as being on their own scale or continuum rather than at the opposite end of the scale of negative psychological concepts.

The separation of positive improvement from disorder is of paramount importance and is demonstrated by Flink et al. (2015), where, for example,

pain is treated by focusing on mood improvement rather than focusing on the pain itself.

In simple terms, therefore, we approach positive constructs such as engagement as entities to be studied in their own right, rather than treating them as outcomes as a result of removing negativity.

This especially applies to engagement which is a unique positive concept and cannot be manipulated by simply intervening to reduce burnout, stress or discontent. In recent years, engagement has become increasingly important as the psychological contact between employers and employees has become less transactional. Technology may suggest that individuals will be available to work 24/7, but of course this is going to require very different levels of engagement, willingness to deploy discretionary effort and changing our understanding of work–life balance (Rothbard and Patil 2012).

Born and Drori (2015) imply that modern work practices are going to require high levels of individual engagement rather than merely ‘being there’ or ‘attending’.

With many individuals now, for instance, working from home and certainly not ‘being there’, what we have understood for many years that the traditional workplace is gradually being eroded and the signs are that, in the not too distant future, it will disappear (Chin 2014). That requires a complete rethink, with engagement becoming a crucial factor in this new environment.

Positive psychology is reflected in much management literature, for example:

- Job design: Job dimensions such as significance and autonomy could result in positive outcomes such as meaningfulness (Hackman and Oldham 1976).
- Job satisfaction: Job satisfaction is determined by ‘motivators’ (for example, recognition), whereas dissatisfaction is caused by hygiene factors, such as working conditions (Herzberg et al. 1959).
- Positive reinforcement: Reward, such as positive feedback, results in positive behaviour (Watson and Skinner 2001).
- Motivation: Maslow’s (1955) hierarchic model shows self-actualisation as the pinnacle of human motivation and ‘deficiency motivation’ being clearly distinguished from ‘growth motivation’.
- Positive affect: The high energy, full concentration and pleasurable engagement of positive aspect are not simply the opposite of the sadness and lethargy of negative aspect (Watson et al. 1988).

It is also worth highlighting that well-being is considered a passive state, whereas engagement is an active state.

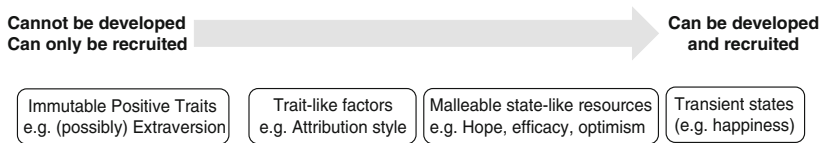


Fig. 2.2 Malleability continuum of positive traits and states

It is crucial for organisations to aim to intervene through positive psychology and understand the stability and malleability in the relevant traits, as in the malleability continuum of positive traits and states shown below. Traits that are immutable or impossible to change can only be recruited for (i.e. by getting new people), whereas traits that are malleable can be developed and trained (Fig. 2.2).

The outcomes of positive emotions enable the vigour, dedication and absorption required for engagement, whereas the outcomes of negative emotions, such as exhaustion, indifference or cynicism, are not amenable for engagement. But their removal will not automatically create engagement. Fredrickson (2013) found that positivity thresholds need to be exceeded before the individual flourishes in a work setting with an approximate ratio of at least three positive encounters for every negative.

‘Being in the zone’ is now a well-known modern phrase which was identified formally by Csikszentmihalyi (2014). He described it as a state of ‘flow’, in which the individual enters a state of low self-consciousness and energises their focus on high concentration and enjoyment on an intrinsically motivating task. It is characterised by complete absorption in the task. This concept is similar to engagement, although the ‘flow’ generally relates to a specific activity, which is more temporary or transient rather than the more general ‘engagement’ with the complete role or organisation.

The JD-R model requires a balance between the task at hand and the personal resources available. Youssef-Morgan and Bockorny (2013) note that neither flow nor engagement can take place where the job is too easy and that repeated short-term experiences of ‘flow’ could promote longer-term engagement.

Within the positive psychology model, Peterson and Seligman (2004) describe six core virtues: Wisdom and Knowledge, Courage and authenticity, Humanity, Justice, Temperance and Transcendence, with 24 related strengths.

2.1.3.1 Organisational Virtuousness

Organisational virtuousness is considered to have beneficial impacts for both the individual and the organisation (Youssef-Morgan and Bockorny 2013). On occasions when there are potential moral conflicts between the individual

and organisational goals, the level of organisational virtuousness will reduce any conflicts. Virtuousness is also considered to be a great driver of energy and dedication when the individual considers the moral value of the work that he or she is engaged in rather than pure financial gain.

2.1.3.2 Positive Deviance

This refers to the behaviour of individuals with high self-determination and autonomy but with a desire to help others (Lavine 2012). Positive deviance is viewed as an uncommon but socially desirable behaviour that differs from norms and expectations. There are certain industries (for instance, investment banking), which prefer to hire this type of individual, the so-called corporate entrepreneur. This type of individual is very highly engaged and helpful to his or her peers and very often creates changes in corporate thinking as well as corporate culture.

2.1.3.3 Appreciative Enquiry

Cooperrider et al. (2013) propose appreciative enquiry as an organisational change methodology, which adopts a positive, strength-based approach. The methodology consists of a collaborative process where the company looks at its strengths, where it would like to be and then plans to accomplish the change followed by implementing the plan under the headings: Discovery, Dream, Design and Destiny. Its effect on engagement is through involvement and trust between the individuals participating in the process, plus the intrinsically motivational nature of being involved in creating change.

2.1.3.4 Positive Psychological Resources That Could Be Linked to Engagement

Hope

Hope can be defined as a determination to reach a goal with an optimistic perception of the pathway to achieve it. Sweetman and Luthans (2010) suggested that hope may be a necessary condition for engagement. Ouwenel et al. (2012) found that positive emotions from a previous day created greater engagement through feelings of positivity.

Self-efficacy

This is defined as an individual's self-perception of their ability to execute a particular task. Ma et al. (2014) found a clear relationship between self-efficacy, engagement and organisational commitment. Kok et al. (2014) found that efficacy is developed over time through task mastery, learning, social persuasion and encouragement as well as physiological and psychological arousal plus attribution style.

Resilience

Resilience is an individual's ability to deal with stress, pressure or some kind of 'threat'. It is the ability to rebound from adversity, conflict or any other negative event. Resilient individuals will remain engaged, even in the most difficult situations and that trait also appears to be linked to attribution style.

Optimism

There is a body of research which suggests that slightly unrealistic optimism, up to a certain level, is more functional in terms of engagement than realistic pessimism or depressive realism. Optimism is a positive outlook and a positive exclamatory style as suggested by attribution style theory.

Bortolotti and Antrobus (2015) questioned the simplistic view that depressive realism versus unrealistic optimism represents a choice between truth and well-being, where unrealistic optimism is better for well-being. People with depression have more realistic judgements about their own abilities, illnesses, etc., but realistic judgements of capability may be a bar when attempting new challenges or facing challenges that have previously failed. On the other hand, unrealistic optimism can be functional in attempting challenging tasks, exuding confidence and minimising the impact of negative events. However, in some contexts, unrealistic optimism is counter-productive. For instance, an unrealistically optimistic attitude about one's health can be dangerous. Although of course the counter argument is that an unrealistically positive or optimistic attitude can contribute to better health outcomes, risk-taking is also another area where optimists can deliver worse results than expected. Therefore, optimism is a positive trait as long as it does not prevent learning or caution.

Unrealistic optimism has a positive effect on well-being and engagement, but excessive optimism can lead to risky behaviour, poor planning and disillusionment.

Psychological Capital (PsyCap)

PsyCap is viewed as a higher-order construct combining elements of self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience (Luthans et al. 2007). It enables 'positive appraisal of circumstances and probability of success, based on motivated, effort and perseverance'. Studies have confirmed a significant positive relationship between PsyCap and job satisfaction, organisational commitment, organisations, citizenship, behaviours and job performance, as well as negative relationship with turnover intent, cynicism, job stress and deviance (Dawkins et al. 2013).

Newman et al. (2014) found potential positive relationships between PsyCap and engagement. PsyCap can be developed by:

- Promoting positive emotions in the workplace.
- Increasing flow experiences by aligning roles and employees and ensuring they have adequate resources.
- Maximising hope through appropriate goals, involving employees in setting goals and helping people succeed.
- Maximising efficacy by providing resources and the opportunity to experience mastery, precarious learning and positive feedback.
- Resilience can be developed by eliminating unnecessary risks, providing resources to help success in teaching employees how to deal with risks and setbacks.
- Optimism can be maximised by teaching cognitive strategies for evaluating negative and positive events (e.g. attribution style) and encouraging leniency for the past, appreciation of the present and opportunity-seeking for the future.
- Also, the organisation can itself communicate and be seen as more positive.

Compassion and Passion

Compassion and passion have both been suggested as antecedents for engagement (Shuck and Rocco 2014).

2.1.4 Measuring Engagement

2.1.4.1 Measuring Engagement

Engagement is a dynamic, changeable stage, and therefore, in the context of the individual, it would need to be somehow measured continuously in ‘real time’. Because of the abyss of difficulties of this type of approach, the focus of practitioners tends to be at organisational rather than individual level, probably due to their most likely role as HR or organisational leaders where any impact that they have on engagement or well-being can only be achieved at high level by organisational interventions.

For both engagement and well-being, most measures either consider causal factors or assumed components. The Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES) (Schaufeli et al. 2006) assesses the three constituents of ‘vigour’, ‘dedication’ and ‘absorption, whereas the Gallup Q¹² (Wagner and Harter 2006) assesses assumed causal factors such as recognition and having a friend at work. This can lead to a tautology where these factors comprise the measure of engagement and, by comparing them with this measure, are then confirmed as the key factors!

Company-based engagement surveys are often simply opinion surveys described as engagement surveys in the same way that some well-being measures at the country level are actually straightforward surveys of government performance in different areas.

Surveys, such as Q¹² are indirect measures of engagement where the aggregated construct of engagement appears highly similar to basic job satisfaction. Schaufeli (2013) makes a very important point in that these measures of engagement actually measure antecedents and therefore due to the complexity of process, might not always reflect engagement itself.

Youssef-Morgan and Bockorny (2013) proposed that ‘positive managers, employees and organisations are necessary for engagement’. However, the recommendation that employers should therefore ‘select for positivity’ risks making a whole section of the population unemployable and assumes that positivity is more or less a fixed trait which cannot be modified. As previously discussed, it is possible for individuals to be to unrealistically optimistic, and Youssef-Morgan and Bockorny go on to suggest the usefulness of certain roles which, they suggest, do require a certain degree of negativity.

2.1.4.2 Burnout-Antithesis Measures

Originally, engagement was constructed as the opposite of burnout. Therefore, the measure was simply a reverse burnout scale. Since then, it has been identified that engagement is a distinct construct, leading to scales, such as the UWES and the Shirom-Melamed Vigour Measure (SMVM). The UWES attempts to assess individual vigour, dedication and absorption, whereas the SMVM assesses vigour, comprising physical energy, emotional energy and ‘cognitive liveliness’.

The SMVM majors on asking questions based on frequency. For instance, questions are designed to ask ‘how often’, rather than all other approaches which tend to ask ‘how much?’. This differing approach was highlighted by Fletcher and Robinson (2013).

2.1.4.3 Measures Derived from the ‘Needs-Satisfying’ Approach

Kahn (1990) considered three dimensions of engagement: meaningfulness, psychological safety and psychological availability. Scales based on this conceptualisation include several well-known measures.

The psychological engagement measure (May et al. 2004) asks to what degree respondents agree with various terms in the context of emotional engagement, cognitive engagement and physical engagement. Clearly, this instrument focuses on the job rather than engagement in relation to any wider concepts such as the organisation and a measure of agreement of various descriptions described to the subject. Studies using this scale have found that meaningfulness exhibits the strongest relationship with engagement, with psychological safety having the lowest relationship.

2.1.4.4 Satisfaction-Engagement Measures

Probably the most widely used survey by organisations globally is the Gallup Q¹² (Harter et al. 2009). Measures reflecting the satisfaction-engagement approach tend to address the individual’s emotional engagement with the organisation. A major issue with this method as a measure of engagement is that the questions asked are actually about factors which are assumed to cause engagement, rather than assessing engagement itself. For example, ‘Do I know what is expected of me at work?’ and ‘Does my superior or someone at work seem to care about me as a person?’ Although several studies confirm

causality between the 12 items asked and organisational outcomes such as customer loyalty/engagement productivity, profitability, turnover, safety incidents, shrinkage, absenteeism, patient safety incidents and quality (Harter et al. 2009), these are actually demonstrating relationships between, for example, 'knowing what is expected of me' and customer loyalty, with no clear or necessary role for engagement itself.

Another measure, designed by the Institute of Employment Studies (Robinson et al. 2004), tests pride in the organisation, altruistic willingness and alignment. This instrument is based on the definition of engagement as:

'A positive attitude held by the employee towards the organisation and its values. An engaged employee is aware of business context and works with colleagues to improve performance within the job for the benefit of the organisation. The organisation must work to develop and nurture engagement, which requires a two-way relationship between employer and employee' (Robinson et al. 2004).

2.1.4.5 Multidimensional Measures

In 2006, Saks distinguished between engagement in relation to the job and engagement in relation to the organisation and developed a specific scale for each, suggesting that job and organisational engagement are different but related constructs.

Several engagement instruments, particularly those applied by organisations to improve engagement, suffer from ambiguous content in that they include potential antecedents for engagement, such as 'my job challenges me', and possible outcomes of engagement, such as 'I help my colleagues when they have a problem' and confounding variables such as 'I often work more than my contracted hours' (Fletcher and Robinson 2013).

This type of 'mixture' of questions makes retest reliability difficult to establish because whereas some factors will remain reasonably constant such as 'I try to help others', other questions such as 'I feel positive about my work' may vary considerably over time.

In 2013, Fletcher and Robinson suggested that many engagement instruments which contain mostly positively worded questions can encourage what is known as 'acquiescence bias'.

Many of these reports focus on positive responses and may give a result, such as '80% of our employees are engaged', but it is the remaining 20% which should be important to management because the goal is to improve engagement and not merely to confirm the ratio of employees which is engaged.

2.1.5 Outcomes of Engagement

Schaufeli suggests that engagement should be considered as a psychological state in conjunction with its behavioural expression. This suggests that a key area of research and practice should be on the causal link between the state of engagement and the required productive or high-performance behaviour.

Stairs and Galpin (2010) found that high levels of engagement lead to:

- Low absenteeism.
- Higher employee retention.
- Increased employee effort.
- Increased productivity.
- Improved quality and reduced error rates.
- Increase sales.
- Higher profitability, earnings per share and shareholder returns.
- Enhanced customer satisfaction and loyalty.
- Faster business growth and higher likelihood of business success.

In general, creating organisational engagement scores by averaging large numbers of individual scores may be convenient, but not reflect useful reality. Similarly, snapshot organisational/national surveys sometimes taken once can only reflect transient current levels of engagement rather than being representative of a longer time period or a general level of engagement.

At the team level, engagement has been shown to correlate positively with task and team performance, collective positive effect (which in turn improves SWB) and efficacy beliefs (Costa et al. 2014).

Rothman (2014) summarises the various outputs of employee engagement as productivity, job satisfaction, motivation, commitment, low turnover intentions, customer satisfaction, return on assets, profits and shareholder value, personal initiative and learning, discretionary effort and concerns of quality.

2.1.6 Improving Engagement: Organisational Approaches

2.1.6.1 Human Resource Management (HRM) and Engagement

Sparrow and Balain (2010) identified three distinct notions of how engagement impacts performance, which human resources practitioners tend to adopt when considering interventions to improve engagement:

- Process improvement: Employees who are in a 'reciprocal exchange relationship' with the organisation will payback organisation investments by working for the benefit of the organisation, its customers and other stakeholders, and if they are committed and satisfied with their desire to stay, they will exert discretionary effort.
- Predictive of performance models: These assume that positive attitude energises positive feelings which strengthen identification with the organisation, heightening motivation and leading to greater commitment and effort.
- Strategic narrative: This focuses on communications and messaging to align the organisation and the employee's motivations creating a sense of greater alignment. Performance is enhanced by the individuals identifying with organisational goals.

Sparrow (2014) suggests that engagement is predicted to affect performance in three ways:

- Proximal: task performance, commitment, satisfaction, intention to quit.
- Intermediate: customer service, innovation, lean management.
- Distal: quality or financial performance.

Links to intermediate outcomes are under-researched. Issues include:

- Engagement may be caused by performance, for example, in a high-performing workgroup, so causality is likely to be bidirectional (Winkler et al. 2012).
- Engagement may not have a smooth linear relationship with performance.
- Engagement impacts performance, but may be mitigated by, for example, skill, knowledge or the right equipment.
- Sometimes engagement may only work at team level, but if one member is not engaged, it could adversely impact the team's performance.
- Survey responses, in particular, those which purport to measure engagement for individual outcomes such as satisfaction, will actually be influenced by all sorts of personal and situational factors.

MacLeod and Clarke (2009) in their report, 'Engage for Success', propose that the most effective strategies for engagement include:

- Visible and empowering leadership developing and disseminating a strong strategic narrative which answers the question 'engage with what...?' (Sparrow 2014).

- Engaging managers who focus, support and empower the people in support of the clear narrative.
- Facilitating ‘employee voice’ for challenging and reinforcing the narrative.
- Organisational integrity based on the narrative and the associated values.

Research into change management is moving from a focus on overcoming employees resistance to change, to how to elicit positive interpretations and engagement with change (Scott-Jackson 2002).

2.1.6.2 Human Resource Development (HRD) and Engagement

Shuck and Wollard (2010) defined engagement as the cognitive, emotional and behavioural energy an employee directs towards positive organisational outcomes. If we replace ‘employee’ with ‘member’, then a different definition could apply to any group, including a country. HRD has been proposed as an engagement-enhancing strategy in specific instances of, for example, reducing incivility (Reio and Sanders-Reio 2011), training to address adversity, conflict management and transformational leadership (Shuck and Heard 2012).

HRD interventions that could be used to increase engagement include organisation development (OD), which encompasses strategic change and wide-scale process improvement.

A key factor in maximising engagement is the behaviour of the leader, so a key HR intervention in relation to engagement must be leadership development.

2.2 Well-Being and Happiness

There have been many definitions of well-being and happiness, and the different nuances within those definitions have largely depended on the disciplinary background of the researcher, as well as the assumptions he or she may have made.

To the layman, well-being is an easily understood term about an individual feeling good about their life and their various environments: physical, psychological, political, environmental, etc. The myriad of factors which can affect well-being are what makes it so difficult to pin down a single generally

accepted definition. Research therefore tends to be not into well-being per se, but into the factors which may affect it, both positively and negatively.

A great stumbling block to creating an overall definition of 'well-being' is the fact that the various definitions of the phrase are differently defined by various disciplines. For instance, a Treasury minister will define well-being very differently to the psychologist who in turn will define it very differently to the manager of a small factory who in turn will find himself defining it differently at home when he is considering his immediate family rather than his employees.

In our context, 'well-being' is a sustained, positive, perceived state of satisfaction with life rather than short-term happiness, or the absence of 'ill-being'.

On the other hand, 'engagement' is all about 'doing' or 'wishing to contribute, take part or participate'.

As far as well-being is concerned, there is yet another subtle distinction to be made and that is the difference between objective well-being and subjective well-being. Objective well-being actually (and confusingly) refers to the causes of well-being specifically those that are factual and non-perceptual and can be measured directly. An objective well-being cause could be level of housing, for example. Subjective well-being again refers to the cause, which in this case is an individual's response to situations based on their subjective perception of that situation. Of course, not all individuals respond in the same way to any particular external stimulus (Varelius 2004).

It can be argued that well-being/happiness, without engagement, is a worthwhile outcome in itself although Bryson et al. (2014) found associations between well-being and workplace performance and quality, but no association between short-term positive and negative work-related happiness (an emotion sometimes referred to formally as 'positive affect') on performance. Of course, it is quite easy to envisage that a perfectly contented person might not be the most engaged with their role or work.

In other words, well-being need not necessarily affect either engagement or performance.

As noted above, well-being is most often defined in terms of its supposed causes (objective or subjective), which doesn't particularly help us to understand well-being. Similarly, Allin and Hand (2014) point out that the specification of how well-being is measured is also used as a definition of what is meant by well-being; in other words, the definition of well-being and its measurement procedure are often described as one and the same.

Michaelson et al. (2012) suggest that well-being is an aggregate of purpose, autonomy, control, satisfaction with life and happiness. Veenhoven (2014)

also describes four ‘qualities of life’ which taken together produce one overall definition of well-being.

Life chances comprise livability of the environment, which is quite straightforward and is a factor outside the subject’s control, and life-ability of the individual, which is very much to do with the subject’s adaptive potential to deal with external factors such as challenges and opportunities. This factor tends to be a focus for therapists, psychologists and educators.

The results or outcomes of well-being are described as the usefulness of life—another external quality equivalent to meaningfulness in other definitions of well-being—and satisfaction with life, which is a primary measure included in most well-being studies. Veenhoven (2014) suggests that:

- Pleasures are temporary, which means that they are very much short-term sources of positive impact.
- Part satisfaction refers to a specific part of one’s life, for example, working life or personal life.
- Peak experience is all about intense happiness about every aspect of life, similar to Maslow’s (1955) ‘self-actualisation’ or Seligman’s (2012) ‘flourishing’.
- Life satisfaction which Veenhoven saw as ‘an overall appreciation of one’s life as a whole’.

Taylor (2015), on the other hand, defined well-being within the following much broader perspectives:

- Hedonistic or mental state.
- Desire satisfaction, with well-being being measured in terms of the degree of satisfaction of perceived or actual preferences.
- Objective well-being. This assumes well-being roughly in line with Herzberg’s (1959) ‘hygiene factors’.
- Capabilities, which are the individual’s own abilities and coping mechanisms enabling the subject to lead a satisfactory life. We will return to the individual’s capabilities or propensities later in the book as a primary factor in ACE.

Taylor goes on to suggest that because of the plethora of definitions, policymakers have to choose a particular definition, against which to measure or use something, such as the capability-based UN human development index, or even adopt a mix. He also suggests that there are areas which appear to moderate societies’ well-being and he set out an array of markers which are common across a range of theories, making them useful for policymakers.

Assume X is a marker of well-being, so according to mainstream series of well-being, it is either:

- A generally accepted part of well-being or
- Something that could be regarded as reliably productive of well-being at the individual level or
- Something that can be regarded as a reliable indicator of well-being at the individual level.

Taylor's markers include factors such as happiness, health, life satisfaction, success, relationships, leisure, adequate income and job satisfaction.

Income and employment may well be regarded as hygiene factors (Hertzberg 1959), which in themselves are not often regarded as motivators, but the lack of them certainly can represent a demotivational force.

Taylor's markers certainly provide a useful set of potential inputs for a process model of well-being.

2.2.1 Objective Well-Being

Objective well-being describes the factors that are assumed to cause well-being rather than well-being itself. In addition, they have nothing at all to do with an individual's perception or his feelings.

Objective factors can be directly measured, and it is often assumed that such external factors can then be possibly adjusted in order to improve well-being.

For instance, the Happy Planet Index (Abdallah 2012) includes 'ecological footprint' as a key component of the well-being formula. As this is assumed to be a causal factor, the argument follows that an adjustment of one's ecological footprint will directly affect well-being. However, there are some flaws in this supposition.

- Many statistical studies demonstrate an association between (an enormous number of) objective factors and various definitions of well-being. However, there have been few studies demonstrating the causal link between the various factors and well-being. That is primarily because it is very difficult to carry out studies to prove causal links.
- Factors which cause well-being vary widely and are assumed according to the model of well-being. That can give rise to cause and effect problems because, for instance, it can be assumed that exercise causes well-being. But then again well-being may cause a positive attitude to health, which can then lead to taking exercise.

- The contribution of individual factors to a feeling of well-being is even more difficult to prove or demonstrate as the causal linkages themselves remain unproven. For instance, which contributes more to well-being? A long life or a good education? You can see that in order for an accurate model of well-being to be created, it would be very useful to arrive at various weightings between causal factors but also bearing in mind that they will vary according to the individual.
- One individual may be motivated by money, the other may be motivated by having a strong family life, whereas yet another may find that the most important factor in his or her life is having a large and close group of friends. These motivations will also, of course, change over time, even daily!

2.2.2 Subjective Well-Being

It is generally accepted that the impact of objective factors such as wealth do not have a measurable or predictable impact on well-being or happiness either across societies or individuals once a certain level has been achieved. That must mean that there are other ‘internal’ factors which have an impact on well-being. In 1984, Diener introduced the concept of subjective well-being (SWB). This represents an individual’s *perception* of their own well-being. Diener postulated that this subjective well-being is a tripartite structure comprising of:

- Life satisfaction.
- Frequent positive experiences.
- Infrequent negative experiences.

This, once again, defines well-being in terms of its causes rather than defining well-being itself. Life satisfaction is a perceptual evaluation of one’s overall life and may include comparative evaluations with others’ experiences.

Subjective well-being can be related to factors such as socio-economic advantages, higher income, better education, as well as positive psychological, interpersonal and physical functioning, but these causes are all filtered through the individual’s perception. SWB has been measured at national and pan-national levels, usually through surveys suggesting links to high standards of living, better health (mental and physical) and greater peace.

Once again, we look at the causal effect argument because, for instance, peace could cause SWB or SWB could cause peace or some other unknown

variable could cause both. There have been other studies which have demonstrated that SWB can be altered in the short to medium term by changes in circumstances Luhmann (2012).

It could also be argued that SWB can be a function of an individual's disposition (either genetic or conditioned) and can therefore be regarded as stable and trait-like. That would mean that if an individual or a group were subject to negative input, those with a predisposition to optimism or feeling of well-being would eventually return to that state because they were genetically programmed to be naturally positive, whereas others may be either permanently affected for varying lengths of time (Lucas and Donnellan 2012).

In 2014, Busseri argued against this three-factor model of SWB. He suggested that it was not clear how the three components related to each other or even if they are causally related. He introduced the following alternative models:

- Model 1: tripartite: Life satisfaction, positive and negative effects of the components of the tripartite model of SWB. Any of the components could separately impact SWB.
- Model 2: hierarchic: In this model, the three factors come together to form the overall higher-order factor of SWB. That means that both their commonalities and variations are all important in the definition. For instance, the factors maintain their relative relationships with population: across gender, age and ethnicity (Linley et al. 2009).
- Model 3: causal system: This model closely mirrors the main theme of this book. We assume that well-being and engagement are related to factors within a complex set of sub-factors and that so far practice in the field of well-being has suffered by confusing components and causes. It is often assumed that positive and negative factors influence life satisfaction, but not vice versa. In the causal model, SWB seems to be referring to life satisfaction alone with positive and negative affect being causal factors. Schimmack (2008) found differences between East and West Germany based on unemployment and regional differences, whereas Busseri (2014) found that SWB was a function of age, higher income, being in a relationship, investment of thought and effort into work and finances, which all contributed to greater life satisfaction. He also found that life satisfaction remained stable, even when positive and negative effect varied.
- Model 4: composite: This model assumes that a calculation of the levels of the three factors leads to an overall figure for SWB. This is often confused with the higher-order approach within model 2. This approach exposes the

crucial but often ignored question of weightings, although in much of the research a large number of variables are most often given equal weights.

Busseri's causal model number 3 above aligns more or less with the principles adopted in this book. That is to say, it assumes that life satisfaction, positive and negative affect are all separate parts of a causal model.

Subjective well-being is a function of the individual and is what is perceived and assessed by that individual. Therefore, it is impossible for any external observer to measure an individual's subjectivity. All that the observer can do is ask an individual to assess his or her own perceptions and most surveys will include questions such as '*All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?*' (from the World Values Survey: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.all/WBS.asp>).

Inevitably, that brings us to another question, and that is how does an individual objectively assess what can best be described as 'a feeling'.

Evaluative: An evaluative approach can include objective factors that impact on an individual's life. For instance, an individual may consider his or her well-being or how satisfied they are with wealth or health. They can also evaluate their life relative to others. Emotional factors can be evaluated as well as an inclination towards negativity or positivity as a result of genetic make-up or life-experiences.

Hedonic criteria: These are the sort of positive criteria which are transient in nature and have a very short-term effect on well-being. This phenomenon by its very nature can vary widely over very short periods and yet impact quite substantially on an individual's state of mind. As the effect of this type of factor can be quite profound, we may need to isolate any sustained causes of negative or positive affect, which are independent of objective factors. This has been the subject of much research in the field of positive psychology.

Eudemonic criteria: These relate to Maslow's 1943 model and the self-actualisation peak of the motivational hierarchy. That is to say that sustained well-being is increased, not just short-term happiness, but also more eudemonic factors such as positive relations with others, autonomy, purpose in life as well as personal growth (Ryff 1989: 1071); this involves change, development, 'stretch', etc.

Hicks (2013) makes the point that whilst effective factors are transient, eudemonic criteria may be more sustained. Nevertheless, these are often seen as less amenable to measurement or improvement.

Comparative evaluation (an individual's separate self-assessment and perception of SWB) is often a function of the individual pairing himself or herself with other people or groups which they consider as benchmarks.

Therefore, factors such as a perceived inequality of income will have a greater impact on subjective well-being than income per se.

The PACE framework positions the components of objective and subjective well-being more correctly as potential causal factors. The model shows that objective and subjective causal factors when combined with close group situations and individual socio-psychological factors can combine to result in well-being and engagement.

Interventions by leaders, whether national or organisational, tend to focus on the objective macrocauses of well-being and engagement. Although one could argue that this is the correct approach because it is easier for an organisation of any size to be able to focus on objective factors, we maintain that organisational and national leaders should indeed consider and intervene to modify socio-psychological factors which may well have more impact on well-being and happiness.

Both researchers and practitioners have become increasingly concerned when trying to identify the major factors associated with well-being and trying to identify causal directions. For instance, a manager's seniority might produce workplace well-being for that individual, but once again we have a chicken and egg situation. The question as to whether being promoted causes the well-being or whether high levels of well-being in the individual increases chances of promotion.

This search for a cause is doubtless a difficult one and suggests that well-being is best seen as a component of the process with causes and outcomes, many of which have a duality in the sense that many factors can be both causes and outcomes.

2.2.3 Well-Being as the Absence of Disorder

Originally, well-being was regarded as essentially the absence of mild or severe mental disorder or stress. Cooper (2014) introduced a major series entitled 'Well-being: the Complete Reference Guide' which stated '*we know that one in 4–6 people in most countries in the world suffer from a common mental disorder... The cost of low productivity due to lack of mental well-being represents a significant proportion of gross domestic product*'.

Such a theory might suggest that at organisational level, the focus might be on reducing occupational stress, whereas at country level the focus might be on avoiding or curing mental disorders such as depression.

In this model, nearly every element of life is a potential contributor to or causes the depletion of mental capital. Therefore, one of the components of

well-being is mental resilience. The UK government's major 2-year review on well-being states:

'The relentless demands for increased competitiveness will combine with changing family commitments, such as the two-earner family and the increasing need to care for older adults. These demands will have major implications for work-life balance and the well-being of workers and have knock-on effects for their families and communities' Foresight Mental Capital and Well-being Project (2008: 12).

This perspective can obviously affect policymakers by encouraging a misunderstanding of the relationship between well-being and ill-being. In the same way that the absence of disease does not necessarily suggest health, a lack of ill-being does not necessarily suggest well-being (Huppert 2014).

This particular viewpoint results in causal antecedents, covering every life circumstance that could possibly cause stress or damage well-being, including learning difficulties, maternal diet, maternal mental ill-health, alcoholism, poverty, stress or work and negative stereotypes of older people. As a result, recommendations include parental coaching, targeting of vulnerable groups and use of drugs for cognitive enhancement (Foresight Mental Capital and Well-being Project 2008).

These interventions attempt to achieve no more than a 'small change in the average level of well-being across the population that would produce a large decrease in the percentage with mental disorder, and also in the percentage who have subclinical disorder' (Foresight Mental Capital and Well-being Project 2008).

Theoretically, outcomes would include, for businesses, more productive employees and greater competitiveness.

However, this perspective produces interventions which have the primary outcome of the reduction in symptoms of depression, anxiety and conduct disorders, whereas the intended effect is an improvement in pro-social behaviour, interpersonal relations or subjective well-being (Huppert 2014).

2.2.4 Positive Psychology Perspective

It has been recognised for some time that wellness is not simply an absence of illness and this has led to research to define the distinct components of psychological or subjective well-being and happiness. Huppert and So (2013), for example, derived a comparative list of components of SWB as defined by some major studies.

Seligman (2012), for example, defines psychological well-being—he calls it ‘flourishing’—as consisting of positive emotion, engagement, relationships, meaning and accomplishment. Note that ‘engagement’, the other main focus of this book, is seen as a component of SWB. The four main conceptualisations of ‘flourishing’ are shown in Table 2.2.

This positive view of well-being is sometimes labelled ‘flourishing’ and is often contrasted with ‘languishing’ as defined by Keyes (2002) with the midpoint of ‘moderately mentally healthy’.

Many authors see well-being as no more than the absence of disorder, whereas some define positive well-being as not even being on the same continuum as mental disorder. Keyes (2002), for example, distinguished this SWB continuum from mental disorder so that, for example, conceivably, someone could be flourishing whilst suffering from schizophrenia. However, in 2002, despite describing SWB as not simply the absence of ill-being, Keyes derived his SWB components by identifying positive versions of symptoms described in the internationally agreed diagnostic manual (DSM) for mental ill conditions (American Psychiatric Association 2003) and developed the Mental Health Continuum-Short Form scale which uses the question ‘how often in the past month did you feel ...’ against items such as ‘interested in life’.

The Keyes (2002) model is based on the definition of well-being as comprising emotional (hedonic), psychological (eudemonic) and social (eudemonic) components.

In his research, Keyes used the scope of episodic frequency. That is to say, he would ask questions phrased in the manner of *‘how often in the last month, did you?’* Needless to say, such an approach might include recall inaccuracies, and of course, if the perception of SWB is not being taken into consideration, then this may not matter. This type of questioning research also does not consider the intensity of experiences. For instance, extreme happiness

Table 2.2 Four conceptualisations of flourishing

Jahoda (1958)	Ryff (1989)	Antonovsky (1985)	Ryan and Deci (2001)	Seligman (2012)
Autonomy	Autonomy	Comprehensibility	Autonomy	Positive emotion
Environmental mastery	Environmental mastery	Manageability	Competence	Engagement
Self-actualisation	Personal growth	Meaningfulness	Relatedness	Relationships
Self-attitude	Self-acceptance			Meaning
Integration	Purpose in life			Accomplishment
Perception of reality	Positive relationships			

may be easier to remember than slight sadness. Keyes scoring is based on adding the various scales without any weighting. This means that it is assumed that all factors scored have the same weighting and therefore the same contribution to well-being. The other aspect which is to be taken into consideration is that of culture.

Hone et al. (2014) report wide international variations, with, for instance, Koreans reporting a rate of flourishing of 8% and, at the other end of the scale, US college students reporting a rate of 49%. It is altogether possible that Koreans may believe that perceiving high scores would be immodest and would allow that innate attitude to affect their responses.

Keyes also found correlations between flourishing or well-being and superior physical and psychological functioning.

In 2013, Huppert and So defined a continuum from ill-being through to well-being, with mental disorder at the opposite end to well-being. But, as we saw, Keyes (2002) states mental disorder is distinct and not part of the continuum with 'languishing' as the polar negative flourishing. Huppert and So, on the other hand, treated mental disorder as a negative pole with *languishing* as a slightly more positive dimension.

So far, the Huppert and So scale does not seem to have been very widely applied, but they did identify the opposite symptoms to those described in the DSM (American Psychiatric Association 2003) and the international classification of diseases (World Health Organisation 1990), resulting in the following 'features of flourishing', which are assessed by the European social survey (DSS round three: European social survey 2014; Table 2.3).

Diener et al. (2010) created the flourishing scale (FS) and attempts to add some eudemonic aspects to the previous emotional/hedonic focus scale, such as satisfactory life and positive and negative effect. Diener develops the scale through review of literature, suggesting dimensions of well-being which are important for positive functioning and comprising confidence, self-acceptance, meaning, relatedness, optimism, giving and engagement. All items are phrased as positives (which can lead to bias) from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

In spite of the bias issue, several studies have confirmed the scale's validity, reliability and structure (Hone 2014).

In 2012, Seligman developed the PERMA scale to assess positive emotions, engagement, positive relationships meaning and accomplishments. The scale was developed from hundreds of potential items in studies of over 11,000 individuals. This was then refined to produce the 16-item PERMA-Profiler (Table 2.4).

Table 2.3 Features of flourishing and indicator items from the ESS. Adapted from Huppert and So (2013)

Component of flourishing	ESS indicator item
Competence	Most days I feel a sense of accomplishment from what I do
Emotional stability	(In the past week) I felt calm and peaceful
Engagement	I love learning new things
Meaning	I generally feel that what I do in my life is valuable and worthwhile
Optimism	I am always optimistic about my future
Positive emotion	Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are
Positive relationships	There are people in my life who really care about me
Resilience	When things go wrong in my life it generally takes me a long time to get back to normal (reverse score)
Self-esteem	In general, I feel very positive about myself
Vitality (In the past week)	I had a lot of energy

Table 2.4 Components of flourishing and indicator items from the PERMA-Profiler. Derived from Seligman (2012)

Component of flourishing	PERMA-P indicator item
Positive emotion	In general, how often do you feel joyful? In general, how often do you feel positive?
Engagement	In general, to what extent do you feel contented? How often do you become absorbed in what you are doing? In general, to what extent do you feel excited and interested in things? How often do you lose track of time whilst doing something you enjoy?
Positive relationships	To what extent do you receive help and support from others when you need it? To what extent have you been feeling loved?
Meaning	How satisfied are you with your personal relationships? In general, to what extent do you lead a purposeful and meaningful life? In general, to what extent do you feel that what you do in your life is valuable and worthwhile? To what extent do you generally feel that you have a sense of direction in your life?
Accomplishment	How much of the time do you feel you are making progress towards accomplishing your goals? How often do you achieve the important goals you have set for yourself? How often are you able to handle your responsibilities?
General well-being	Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?

Hone (2014) suggests that the various models which have been developed are all slightly different purposes, but agree that open 'flourishing' refers to high levels of SWB and that SWB itself cannot be adequately measured by a single-item assessment.

All four studies agree that flourishing includes both hedonic and eudemonic attributes.

There is some overlap with engagement appearing in all four studies and all four models with positive relationships and meaning also appearing in all four. All four models are short and easy to administer and produce data useful for individuals, policymakers and health professionals.

Only Keyes (2002) includes life satisfaction as an item, but both Huppert and So, as well as Hone, recommend the inclusion of a life satisfaction question alongside the measures of flourishing as shown in Seligman's PERMA-Profiler.

All four models also agree that well-being is not simply the absence of ill-being (depression), and Keyes suggests that mental disorder is a separate concept and not on the same continuum.

Researchers have attempted to show the differences in these constructs and point out that it is possible for individuals to present aspects of well-being and be suffering from a mental disorder at the same time. Nevertheless, it appears to be generally accepted that the languishing–flourishing continues as a separate construct from mental disorder. In 2002, Keyes proposed two continuums: one for mental disorder and one for mental health, on the perfectly reasonable assumption that the two are not mutually exclusive.

Considering causal factors, high national wage, higher education, being in a relationship and paid employment, affect psychological well-being. Education, income and employment status all relate to social well-being, being married and aged between 45 and 54 and with more than 16 years of education seem to relate to flourishing (Schotanus-Dijkstra 2015).

The strongest predictive value on the languishing–flourishing scale is personality or personality traits, especially low neuroticism, high extraversion and high conscientiousness. Lyubomirsky et al. (2005) suggested that each individual has a genetically fixed stable happiness level which is unlikely to change and that genetics contribute up to 50% to this long-term happiness.

This 'hedonic treadmill' theory suggests that there is a happiness baseline, to which individuals may return after positive or negative events which affect their well-being (Mancini 2015).

2.2.5 Comparability and Equity in Subjective Well-Being

It has been shown that well-being is a function of comparability as well as fairness.

Comparability is a straightforward comparison by the subject of his or her circumstances relative to a close group such as family, neighbours, workmates. Therefore, people living in comparatively impoverished circumstances can still experience well-being because they are no better off or worse off than their peers. This phenomenon is more powerful at a 'local level' than at national level. However, this can change very quickly when modern media and communications allow such people to see that people outside the immediate sphere are materially better off than they are. Country comparison studies show a weak relationship between wealth and SWB in poor countries. This is primarily a result of human adaption theory to factors such as poverty, discrimination, unhealthy conditions.

Equity is all about 'fairness'. The perceptions and well-being can be very strongly influenced by an individual believing that they are not receiving fair treatment from an employer, a government or friends.

So, in general terms, well-being, flourishing and all other perceived states are not merely a function of objective assessments of, for example, income and health, but also an individual's perception of his 'place' relative to others (Fig. 2.3).

Imagine an individual earning a high income, but living amongst many poor people. Both his/her self-perception and feeling of well-being may well be high. However, if you transplant that individual into an environment where his/her high income compared to his friends and neighbours is lower than theirs, there may well be a negative shift in both self-perception and well-being.

Allin and Hand (2014) describe subjective well-being as simply one component pillar of overall well-being. However, they did recognise a paradox within the model, best explained as follows: 'since subjective well-being is

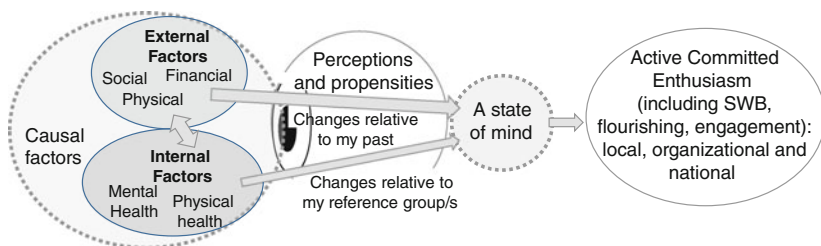


Fig. 2.3 Relativities in the PACE node of subjective well-being

regarded as a component of quality-of-life, at first glance it might look as if they've rather circular definition results'. This logical dilemma was not resolved by Allin and Hand, who suggest that well-being in itself is fundamentally subjective. It is a 'feeling' and that causal factors (factors which contribute to well-being or 'drive' well-being, for instance, health or wealth) are not 'well-being' in themselves.

That means that objective factors are important *components* of a causal process which contribute to an individual's building of a sense of well-being.

However, even subjective well-being is very often described in terms of psychological factors which are of course causes, rather than the construct itself. Statistically speaking, subjective well-being is the dependent or outcome variable and objective factors are independent or predictor variables.

Recent OECD work on subjective well-being supports this view and recommends assessment of 'a variety of objective well-being outcomes and how they combine to produce an overall perception of well-being'. The OECD recognises that objective causal factors are 'outcomes'. However, it also recognises that these outcomes combine to pass through a mitigating filter of personal factors and assessments, to produce the final subjective well-being.

2.2.6 Antecedents and Causes of Well-Being

One can argue that every single aspect of an individual's life and personal characteristics is going to have an effect on well-being—either directly or indirectly—especially if the definition of well-being also includes short-term affect. If, for instance, in a single day, an individual listens to a favourite piece of music which affects him or her emotionally and then receives a phone call from his or her daughter saying that the daughter has passed examinations, followed by a new story about possible flooding within their area closely followed by a phone call from a workmate indicating that the company is in trouble, these will all have an effect on well-being. The difficulty is twofold: firstly, deciding on which of those factors has the biggest effect (positive or negative) on well-being and secondly, which 'events' are going to have the longest or shortest effect on well-being.

There have been many studies and theories, and the following section discusses the most significant factors based on sound research. We have limited ourselves to the type of research which uses statistical association analyses to discover the degree of significance between a specific instrument assessing well-being and some devised measure of the variable in question. There are some flaws with this methodology, but the results have value. Some

studies have used global data sources such as the World Values Survey and others use relatively small samples based on specific characteristics such as occupation in a dual-nationality.

At the beginning of this book, we have indicated that we are interested in helping organisational leaders to maximise organisational goals using the PACE, so our analysis has been made with this very pragmatic goal in mind. The factors below are organised into loose groups of convenience, although many will overlap:

- Policy-related factors (such as national/organisational income and governance).
- Work-related factors such as commuting.
- Environmental factors such as pollution.
- Social factors such as having friends.
- Individual factors such as gender and personality.

We also discuss *homoeostasis* (or hedonic adaptation as it's known in the happiness literature), which is the phenomenon of individuals having a well-being 'baseline' to which we all return no matter whether well-being has been affected negatively or positively.

Eger and Maridal (2015) carried out an analysis of causal factors, distinguishing between happiness (short-term affective state) and life satisfaction (a longer-term cognitive experience). The World Values Survey suggests that they are related but different concepts. Eger and Maridal described them as evaluative well-being (EWB) and affective well-being (AWB), and these are reflected in Dubai's ABCDE model (see Chap. 7), where A (Affective) equates to AWB and C (Cognitive) equates to EWB (Fig. 2.4).

Eger and Maridal describe the following factors causing EWB and AWB:

- Living standards: EWB is impacted considerably by living standards, but only up to medium income levels, whilst the effect on AWP is only short-lived. Living standards or wealth can also increase EWB indirectly, if, for example, it allows someone to help others and thereby gain more meaning in their own lives.

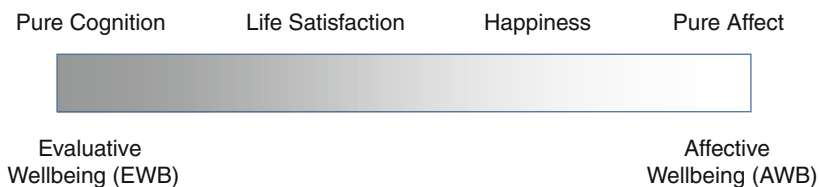


Fig. 2.4 Well-being—life satisfaction and happiness on the EWB–AWB

- Health and environment: objective indicators of health, identified in the literature, include life expectancy, undernourishment, suicide rates, positive experiences, mental and physical suffering and air, water and sanitation quality. It is interesting to note that EWB itself is also a *predictor* of future good health.
- Freedom: political, economic, civil and religious. This could be measured at microlevel or as perceived by any individual.
- Community and relationships, including social life and family.
- Peace and security: as indicated by levels of violence, corruption and crime.
- Opportunity: including access to education, employment and so on without discrimination.

The world database of happiness (<http://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl>) was developed by Veenhoven and colleagues (2014) in order to provide an overview of the huge and growing research and findings on the subject of happiness, whether measured in terms of SWB, flourishing and engagement. Currently, it contains about 9000 articles and books, which are organised and accessible through searching and indexes. Veenhoven uses this database to review the major themes and research findings, including a review of the measures in causal factors of SWB referred to in the following sections:

2.2.6.1 Policy-Related Factors

In each of the sections below, it is important to consider the likely causal direction. For instance, Bender (2005) suggests that the impact of income, health, social contacts and education increases along with increasing subjective well-being. That means that SWB is a cause of these phenomena rather than an outcome.

Inflation

At a national level, inflation would not appear to be associated with well-being (SWB). However, at the individual level, the effect of volatile, unpredictable, higher or lower inflation does have an effect on an individual and therefore SWB. Of course, one test to remember is that inflation is a function of the state of an economy, so therefore, inflation per se is not necessarily the main associated factor.

Income Levels

The Easterlin (1974) paradox suggests that rises in national income do not necessarily result in rises in SWB and in fact can sometimes result in what is termed ‘unhappy growth’, especially if it is perceived that national income is not distributed fairly and results in greater inequality and low aspirations. It has also been shown that increases in income only create an increase in life satisfaction, to a certain level (Andrada 2015; Eger 2015). Hence the phenomenon of rich and poor countries being able to have identical life satisfaction levels.

SWB does increase with income per capita, but the gains are smaller in higher income countries. Jorm and Ryan (2014) suggested income impacts life evaluation/satisfaction *more* than it influences measures of affect.

At an individual level, it could be that SWB as a perception is based on relative rather than absolute incomes. Or that the important impact of income increases to satisfy basic needs or that income is a hygiene factor (Hertzberg 1959) or that rich people adapt to high incomes, or that higher income is offset by hard work or other disadvantages (Di Tella and MacCulloch 2008).

This could suggest that if societal well-being is in the aim of government, then growth in national income would only be a valid policy goal up to a certain level and that is because eventually a rise in national income in developed economies will only be of value if it gives rise to more meaningful goals such as improving relationships or the quality of working life (Diener and Oishi 2000). The government’s policy for growth in national income, leading to more meaningful work for the population, or if the policy focused on changing the population’s reference groups for income comparison focused on SWB evaluation, would be another approach. As an example, this is one of the effects of the Bhutan happiness initiative (Biswas-Diener et al. 2015).

We have already discussed the fact that there is a strong relationship between gross domestic product, as well as individual wealth, and well-being, but only up to a certain level, with similar results for measures such as positive aspects/happiness.

The general consensus is that the relationship between income and well-being is logarithmic. That is to say that an equivalent income increase for two individuals with widely varying salaries will have a different effect; \$1000 increase for somebody earning \$1000 will have far more impact on their well-being than the same \$1000 increase for someone earning \$1 million.

Higher incomes equate to higher well-being until a certain level is reached after which the effect will tend to zero. Other factors such as social capital tend to increase in 'value' to an individual who may experience an income reduction.

If we look at the most affluent countries in the world, the USA and Germany, well-being levels appear to have risen very little over the past 30 years, having achieved a certain reasonably high level.

There is some danger in considering causal variables in isolation, and it has been shown that the effect of income changes is reduced if other factors such as quality of government, social capital, health and other factors are included (Abdallah 2012).

The interdependence of the various factors that we consider is illustrated by the fact that national income will impact on other variables, such as health, and other variables, such as quality of government will impact GDP. Hence the reference to complex causal interrelationships.

At the individual level, the relationship between income and SWB seems greater in middle age groups rather than the younger or older (Cummins 2003). This could be as a result of the aspirational and dynamic nature of the incomes of middle age groups relative to the comparatively static incomes of both the young and the old. This could be as a result of the perception in the middle group that effort, attention and competence all influence income.

Another important finding is that well-being does not appear to be highly related to relative income, for instance, compared to that of one's neighbours. Income is more strongly related to life satisfaction and Cantril's (1965) ladder (which compares how I feel with my expectations) than to happiness measures (Kahneman et al. 2004). This may be to do with what we refer to as relativities and certainly Cantril's ladder implies relative rather than absolute progress.

In 2014, Veenhoven and Vergunst analysed the world database of happiness over time periods from 10 to 40 years in 67 nations. They found a positive correlation between GDP and happiness, where happiness had increased more within countries which had achieved the greater economic success. As a result, they dismissed the Easterlin paradox, which suggests that economic growth does not create greater happiness.

Interestingly, though, Easterlin (2012) showed in a study of China from 1992 to 2010 that as China's GDP increased, the life satisfaction of the lowest socio-economic groups decreased and the life satisfaction of the top third of the population increased. This was more indicative of the growing income inequality in China with the lowest socio-economic groups being very aware of the fact that the new wealth was not cascading equally to their level.

Beja (2014) indicates that Easterlin's finding also suggests that short-term increases in wealth or income may increase happiness, but in the long term, it returns to a normal previous baseline. It is suggested that this could be as a result of psychological factors in human happiness (hedonic adaptation) and that any increase in happiness is a finite phenomenon. That is to say happiness cannot continue rising ad infinitum, and of course, if a population is scoring a measure at virtually maximum then it is numerically impossible to increase the score.

Healthcare, infrastructure, employment, pensions, common government excellence and income inequality are the 'visible' factors which individuals would expect to reflect any national rise in GDP. However, if these factors do not affect individuals in reasonably equal proportions that rise in GDP will not necessarily increase the well-being of the individual.

Beja (2014) found no substantive evidence of the long-term relationship between income growth and happiness, and there is therefore no guarantee that national income growth translates as individual happiness.

Therefore, the important question is not 'what is the national income?' but 'what is *done* with that income?'

That suggests that income growth in well-governed equitable societies will have a positive effect on SWB and badly governed, inequitable societies will experience a diametrically opposite impact. Having said that, a well-governed equitable society with a very low GDP will not have the means to realise those benefits. The opposite is also true. There are governments perhaps described as dictatorships or kingdoms which *do* provide social and material benefits to its population and in spite of that, still experience low levels of well-being.

Hence, the Easterlin paradox and the 'unhappy growth' paradox which suggest that if an increase in national income does not result in an increase in national happiness, then the pursuit of income might be the wrong goal for government.

Income Inequality

Let us look at two contradictory situations, although it is now generally accepted that income inequality does have a significant impact on SWB (Jorm and Ryan 2014).

If we look at former communist bloc countries after the collapse of the USSR, which had a relatively low level of the inequality, in general, the SWB was low. On the other hand, countries in Latin America, where there is high inequality, mostly enjoy high SWB.

Just those two situations suggest that other factors are often more significant than inequality. For instance, in Latin American countries ‘freedom in how the day spent’ is significant. Meanwhile, in Russia and its former satellites, there may exist distinct factors such as a supposed innate Slav melancholy through to the overall low-income level, especially in terms of household wealth (Zavitsa and Hout 2005).

However, Veenhoven (2014) found either no relationship between greater income inequality and greater SWB or in some cases a positive shift in SWB when there was income inequality.

It would appear, therefore, that income inequality, possibly perceived as a comparison with past and present situations, may be a key factor in SWB but other factors might mitigate its effect.

Veenhoven explains this by a balancing out of positive and negative effects. In 2004, Alesina found a negative relationship between inequality and SWB. That is to say, higher inequality equals lower SWB; this was among poor and politically left-leaning people in Europe. However, Oishi et al. (2011) found that the effects of income inequality were often mitigated by perceptions of fairness and trust.

As stated before, income inequality is a powerful factor if it is perceived as a result of a comparison in a local context: family, friends, workmates, etc. However, knowing that a celebrity is earning millions of pounds per annum does not appear to have a negative effect on SWB. This could be because at the national level, being aware of a large income differentiation between oneself and a stranger is more of an abstract than seeing one’s next-door neighbour enjoying what is obviously a higher income.

Therefore, a reasonable strategy for government may be to target income inequality within various key groups rather than attempting to reduce income inequality overall.

Debt

The effect of debt on SWB very much depends on both context and the type of debt. For instance, an individual’s largest debt is usually a mortgage which can be several multiples of annual income, and yet, this type of debt does not appear to have a negative impact on SWB, whereas credit card debt, or what appears to be unmanageable debt, can have a strong negative effect on SWB (Tsai 2014). Therefore, it is not the size of the debt, which affects SWB, but its nature. It is also worth mentioning that something like unmanageable or out-of-control debt is also a symptom of other personal and financial issues

which will affect SWB. It is fair to say that any kind of debt will not necessarily be a problem which affects SWB unless paying it back becomes an issue. It is a self-evident truth that a delinquent debt will affect SWB.

Social Welfare and Taxation Regimes

On a national level, one study has shown that there is no relationship between national expenditure on social security and SWB (Di Tella 2013). However, on a microscale, there is little doubt that, for instance, unemployment benefits had a positive impact on tests on the SWB of the unemployed and welfare generosity also has a positive effect on SWB. This has been demonstrated by several studies. Once again, it is important to draw the distinction between life satisfaction, as opposed to happiness (Haller and Hadler 2006).

It can be said that higher public spending and benefits entitlement seem to be associated with higher SWB. For instance, Flavin (2011) and Kotakorpi and Laamanen (2010) completed studies which clearly showed associations between state spending, state intervention in markets on SWB and more, especially for middle-income individuals. Other studies have found no relationship, but suggest that a range of factors associated with modern living do have a positive impact on SWB; this has been described as ‘modernity’ by Veenhoven (2014).

Unemployment

Unemployment has always been associated with negative SWB as far as an individual is concerned, but it is very difficult to measure the effect at national level, because it is practically impossible for any statistical analysis to be sensitive to factors such as the black economy and various uses of time by the unemployed, which also have an impact on SWB.

Di Tella et al. (2013) suggest that unemployed people have a life satisfaction score of between 5 and 15% lower than employed people, although these effects vary across age, gender, nationality. For instance, the effect of unemployment in a modern first-world society can be far more devastating to the individual than in, say, a third world country for several reasons. For instance, it continues to be difficult to exactly define ‘employed’ in subsistence economies. As a matter of interest, the link between unemployment and SWB was at its highest in the UK. This, it is believed, is possible to do with comparability and in effect difficulties in ‘keeping up with the Joneses’.

Returning briefly to the cause and effect argument, of course, it is possible that people with a negative SWB are more likely to be unemployed (Milner 2014).

As a comparatively transient phenomenon, SWB will return to its baseline after an individual becomes unemployed and suffers negative SWB although the effects of unemployment appear to linger and are greater than one would predict merely through loss of income.

For instance, Fryer and Payne (1984) suggest a whole range of negative well-being effects, ranging from feelings of inferiority and hopelessness to apathy and distrust. These are not always temporary effects and have been shown to linger. It is not merely the difference between becoming unemployed and long-term unemployment, but is a result of the impact of unemployment on attribution style and general optimism.

At the government level, the broad-brush policy is always to minimise unemployment, but it would be useful if both governments and organisations concentrated more on the consequences of unemployment, especially related to the individual, for instance, that loss of self-esteem and meaningfulness could be 'cushioned' by certain types of organisation sponsored activity. These can vary from outplacement programmes to targeted training and development. In fact, any activity that an organisation can provide to soften the blow of collateral damage caused by unemployment will have a positive effect on SWB, not just on the unemployed but also those remaining in work.

Unemployment Rate

In 2011, Helliwell and Huang suggested that the SWB of *employed* people is lower in areas of low employment, whereas interestingly, the SWB of unemployed people is at its highest in areas of high unemployment. Once again, it is the phenomenon of comparability which is affecting well-being. At the individual level, an unemployed person with an unemployed partner might have a higher SWB than an unemployed person with employed partner (Clark 2003).

Political System/Governance

Studies have shown that good governance has a positive association with SWB.

Abdallah (2012) found that there are several factors which demonstrate good governance, including things such as 'having a voice', accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, control of corruption. These all have a strong association with SWB.

These features (and others) are generally cited as the qualities of a democracy. However, SWB is certainly not a pure function of democracy as can be demonstrated in Russia, where individuals appeared to feel more positive, i.e. with higher SWB in the old communist days, before democratic structures were introduced to Russia.

Therefore, it would appear that labelling a system of government will not necessarily have a measurable impact on SWB, and in fact, several studies which have tried to demonstrate a relationship between democracy and SWB have had inconclusive results.

A change in political system will have an impact on SWB, although some suggest that a lowering of national SWB may cause political change, rather than vice versa (Inglehart and Klingemann 2000).

In addition, an increase in SWB has been shown to be associated with increases in free choice (Inglehart et al. 2008). Poland is an excellent example where there had been a very obvious change in SWB since Poland gained its independence from the USSR and it enjoyed what can only be described as the new national 'confidence'. That can be possibly attributed to not only the change, but also the new-found freedoms of expression which had then been accepted as the norm.

Veenhoven (2014) in his major review of previous research has identified the correlation as not so much with democracy and SWB but with institutional and government effectiveness such as rule of law and low levels of corruption which contribute to SWB. To put it generally, it is a predictable and secure environment which will have a positive impact on well-being.

Another phenomenon which has been identified (Frey and Stutzer 2005) in contributing to well-being is that of what they termed 'procedural utility'. That is a preference for clear and transparent rules and processes, even if they are not always to the individual's benefit.

2.2.6.2 Work-Related Factors

There is a distinction to be made between work-related well-being and the concept of engagement. Work-related well-being is usually defined with reference to the physical and mental health of employees.

In the context of this book, we are primarily focused on mental well-being. This has an affinity to SWB as defined in the national context, and with reference to the PACE framework, we consider that physical health, for instance, is a causal factor for SWB. In the organisational context, outcomes of physical well-being are factors such as increased productivity, less

absenteeism, less attrition and more alertness. Therefore, work-related well-being stems from concern about employees' health (both physical and mental) and has generally taken a welfare perspective, with only some attention to performance or business outcomes.

In 2015, Karlsson considered the relationship between business outcomes and work-related well-being. He looked at it in terms of customer service and value creation through employee/customer interactions.

Once again, considering the cause–effect conundrum, Anderson et al. (2013) identified the reverse causality, where customer behaviour impacts on employee well-being with the result that the customer service process impacts on the well-being of both stakeholders.

This reinforces the theory that well-being in any setting can be viewed as a component in a process with outcomes as well as causes. The outcomes can be very valuable objectives for organisations of all sizes, from governments to small companies, leading to goal-driven well-being, which is an active state with similarities to engagement.

In 2015, Karlsson suggested that outcomes of this eudemonic well-being include better health, productivity, effectiveness, decision-making, respect, harmony and social networks plus outcomes of hedonic well-being (gratification), leading to productivity, engagement, better customer relations, etc.

Karlsson identified a range of antecedents to work-related well-being in customer-facing employees, which included workgroup factors such as team spirit and processes such as effective IT.

Fredrickson (2013) suggested that positive emotions do not arise in negative circumstances. Therefore, feeling positive enables a broadening and building of psychological resources which have implications for engagement. Negative or positive circumstances have been described as 'workplace climate', and this in turn has been shown to influence levels of engagement (Schaufeli 2013) and work-related well-being (O'Neil and Arendt 2008).

Work-related well-being has also been defined as comprising of three domains: levels of exhaustion, depersonalisation and personal accomplishment (Shuck and Reio 2014). All are impacted by psychological climate and engagement. All three of the above domains would be reduced in a positive climate.

One could surmise that these three domains are causes of psychological well-being, but Shuck and Reio also show that well-being can be a direct outcome of engagement.

Derived from the Schwartz Outcome Scale, Blais et al. (1999) defined psychological well-being as follows, on a 0–10 scale, ranging from 'never' to 'all the time':

- Given my current physical condition I am satisfied with what I can do.
- I have confidence in my ability to sustain important relationships.
- I feel hopeful about my future.
- I am often interested and excited about things in my life.
- I'm able to have fun.
- I am generally satisfied with my psychological help.
- I'm able to forgive myself for my failures.
- My life is progressing according to my expectations.
- I'm able to handle conflicts with others.

Shuck and Reio suggested that improvements in workplace climate, which is invariably created by leaders, will result in a positive impact on engagement, as well as psychological work-related well-being. They said: 'employers can significantly affect employee well-being by focusing on psychological workplace climate and engagement as antecedents'.

Veenhoven (2014) discovered two major correlations for work-based SWB:

Autonomy seems to be a strong work-related predictor of life satisfaction. He notes that this also fits well with the correlation of freedom in a national setting with life satisfaction. Perhaps freedom and autonomy are important in all domains.

Veenhoven also found that some of the data suggested that the size of organisation predicts life satisfaction, but that may be because of the fact that a large organisation is in a better position to provide facilities and support to its employees rather than a smaller organisation.

Jeffrey (2014) from the National Economic Forum (NEF) describes work-related well-being as individuals feeling happy, confident and satisfied in their roles. He goes on to suggest that people who achieve good standards of well-being are likely to be more creative, loyal and productive and also provide better customer satisfaction. He considered well-being and engagement as part of an overall rounded approach designed to help employees to:

- Strengthen their personal resources.
- Flourish and take pride in their roles.
- Function to the best of their abilities (as individuals and with colleagues).
- Have a positive experience of their work.

We have added some major causes to those identified by Jeffrey, as below (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5 Main causal factors for work-based well-being

Causal factor	Possible employer actions
Health (including sleep and vitality)	Provide health facilities, sponsor activities, allow exercise breaks, healthy canteen, avoid overwork and long hours
Work–life balance (well-being peaks at 55 h per week then drops rapidly)	Identify and facilitate employees' working preferences (hours, place and so on.)
Equitable pay (income affects well-being but mostly through comparison to others)	Set high minimums for pay levels (absolute pay affects well-being more for the lower paid). Institute fair, visible pay levels
Job security	Avoid redundancies, or at least manage fairly and supportively
Feedback on one's performance (but not too much)	Encourage two-way feedback, for example, on manager's style and an open atmosphere, rather than formal
Achievable, if challenging, jobs	Clarity, challenge, commitment, feedback and task complexity with self-determined goals
Leadership behaviour (listening, support, respect, care)	Select, develop and encourage transformational rather than transactional leadership
Working conditions	Need to be physically safe, comfortable and attractive
Perceived social value of the organisation's work and the job (meaningfulness)	Define and communicate the social contribution of the organisation and the jobs within it. Institute social programmes, especially in the local area
Match job to skills—do what you do best every day.	Recruit, develop and allocate people to roles that utilise and develop their strengths
Autonomy—control my work and the organisation of my day	Create management ethos of trust and delegation. Provide good support and allow mistakes if possible
Relations with colleagues	Create opportunities for social connection
Relations with manager	Ensure managers are personable and approachable
Experience positive feelings	Emphasise the positive, display optimism, recognise contributions
Occupation level	People at higher levels have higher SWB (which could be a reverse causality) but impacted by more meaningful work self-esteem and status. Create opportunities for everyone for meaningful work, status and self-esteem

(continued)

Table 2.5 (continued)

Causal factor	Possible employer actions
Self-employment (in rich countries)	This seems to be related to autonomy (see above).
Commuting	Reduce unnecessary travel through remote working

2.2.6.3 Environmental Factors

Not all environmental factors are going to be within the specific consideration of PACE. Many objective or material factors, including the general environmental factors, have a diminishing impact on SWB when their quality increases above a certain level. Therefore, all that government or employees need to provide is a good global standard. Having said that, many environmental factors can be impacted or affected by government as well as organisations.

In addition, environmental factors, in common with many other objective factors, are what is known as ‘contextual’. This means that the ‘requirement’ in a poor country will be different to that in a richer country and would also change over time. For instance, the UN identifies this phenomenon by describing how a gap in expectations of public service can actually damage civic engagement (Hoffman et al. 2008). However, in this example, James (2009) discovered that the citizens’ expectation levels about the quality of household waste removal were more strongly associated with satisfaction than the actual quality and level of performance.

Therefore, if an individual’s expectations are low, they will be satisfied if those low expectations are met even though quality and performance are low. The converse is also true.

Physical Environment

Living in an area which is perceived as deprived reduces SWB (Abraham 2010), whereas SWB is enhanced where there is a positive perception of, for instance, the local landscape. That is where rural environments have a stronger positive effect than urban environments. Easterlin et al. (2011) showed that there were occasions, however, when the advantages of an urban context outweighed any rural landscape effect.

There are other anomalies. For instance, cul-de-sacs appear to be positively related to SWB, compared to through roads (Halpern 2008). These factors

can be influenced by organisations, for instance, by the choices of location and governments can also create positive open environments through the choices of housing locations and other types of infrastructure.

Housing

The quality of housing is associated with SWB with low-grade housing increasing stress and lowering life satisfaction. Living in overcrowded conditions or in high-rise flats (Bond et al. 2012) has a negative effect on SWB as does living alone (Evans et al. 2003). On the other hand, homeownership has a positive effect on SWB (Tennant 2007).

Pollution

Pollution (whether atmospheric or acoustic) has a negative effect on SWB. Atmospheric pollution is based on perception, whereas noise pollution has a direct effect. However, an attempt to reduce pollution can also have a negative effect on SWB if, for instance, they restrict various freedoms of certain groups. For instance, the well-being of a cigarette smoker will be negatively affected if he or she is in a restaurant and told that they cannot smoke. Again, recent studies confirmed the role of perception and expectation where, for example, a smoker's SWB would not be impacted by not smoking on a long flight. Living by a noisy main road will have a negative impact on SWB, but without that noisy road and its traffic, the individual may have to live away from a convenient link to a town or airport (Croxford 2014).

Crime

General levels of crime do not appear to impact on SWB, but the perception of not living in a safe area can have a negative effect. Being a victim of crime certainly does have a negative effect on an individual's SWB, and very often, this is a powerful long-lasting effect (Lorenc et al. 2012).

Transport

Commuting (especially on crowded trains) has been shown to have a negative effect on SWB, whereas a journey by car can have a positive effect because of its association with self-esteem and the mastery aspects of well-being (Tyler

2014). Public transport can have both negative and positive impact on SWB. For instance, travelling on public transport, especially buses, implies a certain social standing, and although it may enable some social communication, generating positive SWB as well as giving access to amenities, on balance, its effect could be considered neutral.

Climate

In 2008, Van Praag and Ferrer-i-Carbonell suggested that extremes of weather, especially temperature, can have a profoundly negative effect on SWB. On the other hand, the perceived benefits and the feel-good factor of living in a hot climate can have a very positive effect on SWB.

2.2.6.4 Social Factors

Relationships and Social Capital

Relationships and social capital can have very positive impact on SWB. Both governments and organisations can affect this aspect of SWB through what are termed ‘nudge’ policies. Here citizens are encouraged towards certain behaviours through gentle coercion, such as the provision of community facilities such as clubs and events.

In order for a society or organisation to function effectively, there needs to be a network of relationships. This is referred to as social capital. This is most often measured by membership of voluntary bodies. This is a rather flawed definition because, for instance, there may be a network of relationships which have absolutely nothing to do with formal membership of voluntary bodies. The effect of voluntary bodies on SWB may be as a result of simply belonging, or taking part in meaningful activity, rather than the social capital effect itself.

Sarracino and Bartolini (2015) have shown that in spite of that, there is often a correlation between SWB and social capital as measured. They completed a study of China’s growth between 1990 and 2007 and considered answers in the World Values Survey on trust of others, citizenship as well as the more traditional membership of associations. They found a high correlation between a reduction in social capital and lowering of SWB, despite a rapid increase in GDP.

The fact that individualism appears to have a positive effect on SWB, but that in this case a form of collectivism also had a positive effect on SWB,

appears paradoxical. However, there may be other factors which affect SWB, such as the social aspect of collectivism being outweighed by, say, a decrease in the amount of freedom or possibly income variables having an effect.

It has been shown that social capital appears greater in individualistic societies where individuals who become more autonomous and seemingly liberated from social bonds actually become even more dependent on society in general (Allik and Realo 2004).

The relationship between individualistic societies and a degree of engagement was confirmed by Shantz et al. (2013). Individualistic components of autonomy and neutral dependence may facilitate social capital.

Beilmann and Realo (2012) describe this collectivism in terms of family (kinship), peers (companionship) and nation/society (patriotism) in which individuals could vary between these types.

Individualism is a mix of autonomy, self-responsibility and perception of uniqueness.

Correlations between collectivism, individualism and SWB also obscure reality as the positive association of individualism may well be due to the correlation of individualism with wealth, development and other factors found only in developed nations.

Let's have a look at the associations between particular facets of social capital and SWB:

Social Activity

Although there is a strong relationship between SWB and supportive social networks, this does not appear to be a function of the size of the network. Siedlecki (2014) has shown that older people, for instance, tend to prune or limit their networks and focus their time on close personal or emotional contacts. On a macrolevel or country level, nations with high social activity have a higher SWB. Those positive associations are a function of trust and deeper social connections.

Sarracino and Bartolini (2015) suggest that, for instance, in both China and the USA, there has been a general increase in wealth and well-being. But despite these positive factors, there has been a general decline in social activity. It is suggested that the lack of increase and well-being exists because the two factors have basically neutralised each other.

In fact, Huppert (2014) found that social activity mitigated the impact of stress on SWB.

Altruism

The question here is, does SWB cause altruism or does altruism have a positive effect on SWB? Nevertheless, there does appear to be a relationship between the frequency and scale of altruistic behaviour and SWB subject of course to the ever-present cause–effect conundrum. This relationship has also been proposed by proponents of positive psychology with ‘helping others’ being advised as a source of personal happiness.

Organisational Membership

Membership of an organisation, together with the associated feeling of ‘belonging’, has a positive association with SWB, except joining an organisation such as a trade union, which is viewed as a defensive response to a threat, where security is the perceived objective, rather than an augmentation of social presence or belonging. This principle also applies to membership of a religious group as well as attendance at religious services (Helliwell and Huang 2014). Positive Psychology also points to spirituality as a potential source of self-happiness.

Trust

Both trust in institutions and trust in other people are both positively associated with SWB (Helliwell and Huang 2014).

Personal Relationships

In general, a stable relationship, such as marriage, has a positive effect on SWB and in all likelihood mitigates against any negative impact on SWB. Being single, however, is associated with lower SWB.

Family Relationships

Family conflict is negatively associated with SWB (Carr et al. 2014). Separation or the break-up of relationships also has a negative effect on SWB, but it is mitigated by other factors such as having a meaningful occupation.

Work–Family Conflict

Work–family conflict (Winefield et al. 2014) often described as negative work–life balance is associated with lower SWB.

Social Status

Veenoven (2014) reports that several studies found a correlation between an advantage social status and satisfaction with life.

2.2.6.5 Health Factors

Both governments and organisations have realised their responsibilities for the health of their citizens and people in their employ, irrespective of the impact of health in the PACE framework, but once again we have a situation where circular causality can create a virtuous circle, that is to say where better health promotes higher SWB, which in turn leads to better health. As Helliwell showed in 2009, self-rated health is positively associated with SWB. Although disability has always been associated with a negative impact on SWB, recent events, including the 2012 Paralympics, have changed the self-image of many disabled people, resulting in a great change in SWB. This certainly confirms the roles of perceptions in SWB (Wood 2013). There is also one proven theory, which suggests that individuals do adapt to long-term conditions and there is also evidence that SWB may be a very positive factor which has a positive impact on general health.

Longevity

When health is measured in terms of life expectancy, it is correlated with life satisfaction, but not with affect. This leads to a question as to whether or not people experience fewer extremes of emotion as they age. In 2014, Veenhoven suggested an index of ‘happy life expectancy’ which combines life satisfaction and longevity measures at the country level. Looking at the individual, however, this does not suggest that individuals are living long and happy lives. A proportion of the population are happy and a proportion of them live a long life—but they might not be the same group.

Physical Activity

There is a positive association between physical activity and SWB, and as Malcolm et al. suggest in 2013, physical activity can reduce anxiety, lower the incidence of depression, improve mood and create greater psychological resilience.

Psychological Health

Mental disorders almost always result in lower SWB (Diener and Seligman 2004) although many have argued that the absence of disorder does not imply the presence of SWB or happiness. In 2002, Keyes suggested that mental disorder and SWB are related but independent constructs.

Smoking

Several studies have shown a correlation between smoking and lower SWB, but once again the causal direction is probably two-way (Lawrence et al. 2013). This particular view is countered by the fact that provision of smoking places promotes well-being, mainly through providing a social outlet for the smoker (Lawrence et al. 2013). This becomes less relevant as smoking becomes less prevalent in society of course.

Sleep

Kahneman et al. (2004) have shown an association between poor sleep or lack of sleep and lowered SWB. However, the causal direction is not yet clear.

Education

There is evidence that there is a positive association between a good education and SWB, both within countries and between countries (Stutzer and Frey 2012; Mellander 2012, respectively). Veenhoven (2014) indicates the correlation between education and life satisfaction is lower in rich nations.

Caring for Others

Caring for others has both a positive and negative effect on SWB. Ratcliffe et al. (2013) found that when carers were caring for spouses and caring for children, the effect on SWB was more positive than negative. It might also be that caring by choice has a positive effect compared to being forced by circumstances.

2.2.6.6 Individual Factors

There are certain individual factors which are impossible for governments and organisations to control. For instance, factors such as age are not modifiable. However, it is possible for governments as well as organisations to create an atmosphere in which positive outlooks can be developed in citizens and staff.

Age

The lowest pay-related SWB appears to be associated with middle age, that is to say, between the ages approximately 35 and 50 (Van Praag and Ferrer-i-Carbonell 2008). Other studies have suggested higher SWB in older people.

Gender

In 2015, Andrada found that women appeared to be less satisfied with their lives than men, although the impact of gender on SWB is still unclear. Studies tend to find different variations in different countries. This suggests that culture plays a part in the variations. The same may be found with ethnicity and perhaps sexual orientation.

Ethnicity

It is most likely that it is not ethnicity per se, which has an impact on SWB, but other people's or perhaps a state's response to ethnicity, which has the impact. So, for example, current reactions against migrants in the USA and Europe might well impact the SWB of certain ethnic groups, but this is because of hostility not due to ethnicity itself.

Materialism

Many studies reveal a negative association between materialist values and SWB and also between extrinsic (versus intrinsic) motivations and SWB (Dittmar 2014).

Personality

Many studies have shown strong positive links between extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness and 'openness to experience' with SWB. However, neuroticism has a negative association with SWB (Rietveld 2013).

If SWB is perceptual, it is a legitimate goal for governments as well as organisations to help their citizens/staff to improve their positivism and therefore their SWB and engagement, in exactly the same way that it is practical and legitimate to help improve physical health and well-being.

In 1989, Headey and Wearing proposed a 'dynamic equilibrium' model, where other events and changes in circumstances can influence an individual's SWB. Eventually, the individual will adapt and return to biologically determined 'set point' or level of the adaption.

More recent research, however, has shown that this 'set point', is not entirely determined biologically but with as much as 50% being as a result of other factors, either objective or non-genetic predispositions.

Even genetically predisposed tendencies such as extraversion and neuroticism can be modified (Diener et al. 1999). Optimism and a belief that one has control over one's life and self-esteem are all correlated significantly with SWB and are all modifiable.

Genetic Heritability

Heritability is a very important causal factor in SWB, but it is not modifiable by any means, either by governments or by organisations. So, for individuals, positivism explains a large part of their SWB, and if that particular personality is explained primarily by genetic factors, then there would be little room for governments or organisations to intervene. This section deals with research in this particular field.

Keyes et al. (2010) suggest that of all the effects impacting on life satisfaction, heritability contributes between 36 to 56%, with little evidence of strong mitigating effects of family environment. He completed a study of over 300 US twins in order to investigate measures of the three types of subjective

well-being: hedonic (emotional well-being), eudemonic (psychological well-being) and social well-being.

For *emotional* well-being, the measure included questions such as ‘*How often in the last 30 days have you felt calm and peaceful/cheerful/extremely happy/in good spirit/satisfied/full of life?*’ Subjects were asked to rate their life overall on a scale of 0–10. Then, the scales were added together.

For *psychological* well-being, the scales were once again simply added and the questions were in several specific categories:

- Self-acceptance: ‘I like most part of my personality’.
- Positive relations: ‘Maintaining close relationships has been difficult for me’.
- Personal growth: ‘For me, life has been a continual process of learning, changing and growth’.
- Purpose: ‘When I look at the story of my life, I am pleased with how things have turned out so far’.
- Mastery: ‘I’m good at managing the responsibilities of daily life’.
- Autonomy: ‘I have confidence in my own opinions, even if they are different to the way other people think’.

Social well-being was assessed on the basis of the subject’s perception and interaction with both his or her macro- and microenvironment:

- Social acceptance: ‘I believe that people are kind’.
- Social growth: ‘Society is becoming a better place for everyone’.
- Social contribution: ‘I have something valuable to give to the world’.
- Social coherence: ‘I try to think about and understand what could happen next in our country’.
- Social integration: ‘I feel close to other people in my community’.

Keyes et al. (2010) found that the impact of a heritable propensity towards mental well-being was of the order of 72% and over 50% heritable for each of emotional, psychological and social components with no evidence of environmental or familial influence overall, but substantial environmental influence on emotional and social well-being.

He stresses the interaction between heritability and environment, suggesting that the traits associated with social and emotional well-being (compassion altruism, extraversion, etc.) and the environmental qualities such as openness and trust which help with well-being could be investigated to help those with a low innate propensity for well-being.

In addition to the genetic aspect of SWB, a recent review of the evidence to date found that our emotions, cognition, behaviour and mental health are

influenced by a large number of entities that reside in our bodies whilst pursuing their own interests, which need not coincide with ours. Such ‘selfish’ entities include microbes, viruses, foreign human cells and imprinted genes regulated by virus-like elements (Kramer and Bressan 2015). Their conclusions were that:

1. Gut and brain microbes can cause. ‘Reckless behaviour (associated with workplace and traffic accidents -possibly because it renders one less careful and slows down reaction time), depression, suicides, changes in personality, and various mental and neurological diseases, including bipolar and obsessive-compulsive disorders’ (Kramer and Bressan 2015).
2. Ancient viral DNA is implicated in some mental disorders.
3. Virus-like elements interfere with material and paternally inherited genes to cause opposite physical and behavioural effects.

These ‘selfish entities’ impact behaviour as shown below:

The major issue is that many genes appear to have small additive effects, rather than a few genes having large effects (Pluess 2015). This makes it difficult to devise psychological interventions based on an understanding of the interactions between heritable and environmental factors and/or how to mitigate heritable effects.

Pluess (2015) suggests that a greater understanding of the biological mechanisms involved will allow ‘the development of psychological as well as pharmaceutical treatments aimed at promoting well-being, personalised suggestions aimed at maximising well-being based on an individual’s genotype as well as taking an individual’s genetic sensitivity to specific environmental influences or particular forms of psychological intervention into account’.

2.2.7 Homoeostasis

An interesting phenomenon is that across the world, most people rate themselves fairly similarly on life satisfaction. In developed countries, on a scale of 0–200, the mean score is about 75 and even countries with the lowest life satisfaction levels still rate themselves above 50 (Cummins 2003).

Homoeostasis is our ability to remain or achieve a relatively stable equilibrium, and that is why we often see SWB returning to a baseline, even after extreme positive or negative events. So, the question is whether or not self-rated life satisfaction is subject to a homeostatic process.

In 1971, Brickman and Campbell proposed that individuals adapt quickly to changes in their lives and return to their baseline levels of happiness on a 'hedonic treadmill', whereas Headey and Wearing (1989) suggest that happiness levels tend to return to a predetermined norm opposed to a theory of dynamic equilibrium where SWB is impacted by events that quickly return to a biologically determined norm.

These phenomena probably exist for two distinct reasons: the first is because humans have an underlying propensity to oscillate around a mean of happiness and secondly, because the scales used to assess happiness and life satisfaction are bounded Likert scales and the construct is related to expectations.

For instance, if I was experiencing a certain level of happiness today, my expectations of my level of happiness tomorrow would be based on today's level. Allin and Hind (2014) suggest that well-being and happiness follow such a homeostatic process.

2.2.8 Measuring Well-Being

2.2.8.1 Measures of Objective Well-Being

Objective measures of, for example, quality of housing, national income, do not directly measure well-being. They measure causal factors which have been demonstrated to have an association with some measure of SWB or sometimes assumed to have a relationship.

Nevertheless, these kinds of measures do have potential values. Firstly, a factor may reflect the delivery of some sort of government, organisational service, and it is good to understand how well it is delivered, whether or not it affects well-being. Secondly, if there is a causal link which can be demonstrated, compared to other factors, then this type of indirect measure may well indicate something about the resulting levels of well-being and more importantly, suggest further action.

2.2.8.2 Measures of Subjective Well-Being

The Cantril Ladder (1965) of Life Scale is a device which is still used to measure well-being and part of its value lies in its simplicity. The individual places him or herself on an imaginary ladder of 10 steps where the top represents the best possible life imaginable for the individual and the bottom represents the worst possible life. This model is useful because it appears to

measure an individual's perception directly because that individual's opinion is not based on evidence, analysis or models.

However, as the objective is invariably to improve SWB, a single-item scale such as this does have limitations because it is so difficult to use it to drive actions, but these scales do certainly provide comparisons with other demographics.

The World Values Survey (<http://www.worldvaluesurvey.com>) includes the question '*All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?*' This type of question tends only to provide a 'snapshot' of a feeling of well-being, is subject to current mood and therefore does not indicate any sort of stable SWB. Anusic (2012) found that life satisfaction measures are influenced by mood or event changes every single week, with changes in effect being even more variable, whereas personality traits remain relatively stable.

The study suggested that personality measures appear to be trait-like over two months, whereas a retest in another one week would be appropriate for measures of life satisfaction and affect.

Huppert (2014) suggests that although life satisfaction scores appear relatively stable and trait-like, they reflect self-image or aspiration rather than real feelings. For instance, 'few people like to think that they are the sort of person who is generally dissatisfied'.

Anusic (2012) challenges this stable trait argument, but Huppert notes three further issues with comprehensibility, complexity and congruence.

Comprehensibility: Many people surveyed did not clearly understand what was meant by 'satisfied' and raised questions about comparativeness. In other words, they were not thinking 'in vacuo' but wanted to know who they were supposed to be comparing themselves with in order to gauge the level of their own 'satisfaction'. For instance, if they are comparing themselves to individuals who were deprived socially and materially, they might think that they should be registering a reasonable level of satisfaction, whereas if they were being asked to compare themselves to their peers, the level of satisfaction may not appear to be that great.

Complexity: In order to evaluate one's own life satisfaction, one should really take into account and evaluate all aspects of one's life, including the comparative weightings of each factor which one considers.

Huppert (2014) also highlights examples of the highly beneficial government intervention, which ultimately results in no change in satisfaction because expectations change in line with intervention. An example is, if ambulance response times improve, people's expectations will increase. That simply means that an individual's own perception of life satisfaction can

remain static, even when conditions improve, because their expectation has changed or increased.

Congruence: In 2013, Huppert and So discovered that correlations between items such as ‘having a sense of meaning in one’s life’ and ‘good relationships’ with life satisfaction. They also found some overlap between life satisfaction and ‘flourishing’, suggesting that they were related but not identical constructs.

Diener et al. (2013) found that single-item life satisfaction scales reflected:

- Differences between nations were different objective conditions.
- Differences between groups in different circumstances.
- Correlations with other non-self-report measures.
- Genetic and psychological associations, changes in the significant life events and
- Predictions of future actions, such as suicide.

They also acknowledged that life satisfaction scales content was by mood as well as question order, but also suggest that these influences can be controlled.

Life satisfaction scores can be used to assess specific policy decisions, for instance, investing in transport or local office provision where, for example, life satisfaction has been affected by people having to commute long distances (Diener et al. 2013).

The approach to well-being measurement varies depending on the situation. A single-item life satisfaction measure may be appropriate if the purpose of the measurement is to compare countries at a coarse level or correlate many different variables. However, if the objective is to help individuals to improve their own SWB, then a different measure would be more appropriate.

As Huppert (2014) highlights, there are many potential instruments developed by different researchers and all predicated on different and underlying conceptualisations of SWB or ‘flourishing’. In other words, the measurement methods are all dependent on not only the understanding of SWB or ‘flourishing’ but also the use to which the measurement is to be put. Huppert suggests that a solution to this is to develop an objective method to define the key components and cites Huppert and So (2013) as such an attempt.

Huppert also suggests that an expert consensus should be reached and suggests the new economic foundation as being a possible facilitator. However, previous experience tells us that the history of academic theorists and researchers achieving a consensus is not always encouraging and both

individuals and organisations are already free of a specific political or social agenda or theoretical perspective.

For instance, the NEF publishes the Happy Planet Index (Abdallah 2012). This combines life satisfaction with life expectancy, plus a calculation of ecological footprint to produce 'Happy Life Years' as a key measure of well-being at the national level. Of course, this model makes certain assumptions about what causes well-being and, for instance, could result in countries with the most inequality receiving the highest Happy Planet scores, whilst those with low inequality and, for instance, high military expenditure could find themselves with the lowest scores (Tausch 2011).

The above is an excellent example of scores being based on the factors which a particular organisation considers of interest but not meeting the needs and assumptions of others. Another example is that of Bhutan which does not measure happiness, but the assumed *causes* of happiness which are described as the four pillars: Sustainable Development, Cultural Values, the Natural Environment and Good Governance.

Seligman's (2012) PERMA scale takes a more general approach in providing a 'dashboard' of individual measures for specific components of SWB, arguing that there is no value in providing a composite scale as it would not provide actionable information or have any explanatory value and would depend on arbitrary weighting of the various factors.

Another recommendation (Huppert 2014) is to carry out factor analysis and other statistical tests such as item response theory (IRT) on very large population samples to establish a robust factorial structure and demonstrable reliability for the smallest sensible number of differentiating items. This type of approach assumes a consistency of factor influence across populations, whereas in actual fact, the strength and composition of key factors vary between individuals and change over time.

Huppert and So (2013) compared 10 components of open 'flourishing' across 22 European nations. France scored lower on life satisfaction indexes despite its relative prosperity. However, at a component level, it scored very high on engagement but very low on self-esteem, optimism and positive relationships. Spain, on the other hand, scored high on self-esteem, but low on confidence and vitality. The UK, with similar life satisfaction scores to Spain, scored high on positive relationships with low on engagement.

In these cases, the composite or 'dashboard' results are far more informative than the single-item life satisfaction score. Therefore, merely adding the scores to create a composite would make no real sense, as there is no way of knowing whether, for instance, a certain score for emotional stability has any relationship to a similar score for competence.

2.2.8.3 Issues with Measurement

There are certain red flags associated with measurement of responses. Here are some examples:

- On a Likert scale, an individual score of 4 is not necessarily equivalent to twice a score of 2.
- One individual's score of 4 may not be equivalent (mathematically) to another individual's score of 4. On a Likert scale, respondents will score the same level of intensity differently to each other.
- Although a set of Likert scales uses the same numbers, the actual units they are measuring are ill-defined and different to each other, for example, the level of agreement that 'my company looks after people' versus the level of agreement that 'life is good these days'. The different scales with their different units of interest should only be manipulated or formulated with great care, in the same way that it would not generally be appropriate to add a figure in miles to a figure in tonnes and express the answer in height.

2.2.8.4 Common Measures of Subjective Well-Being

These are some of the most common single-item SWB questions:

Single-Item Measures

Life Satisfaction

'All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?' (Go from 1 dissatisfied to 10 satisfied).

Overall Happiness

'Taking all things together, would you say you are?' (1 very happy through to 10 for not at all happy).

Happiness in the Past

'How much of the time during the past week were you happy?' (On a scale of 1–4).

Cantril's Ladder

'Please imagine a ladder, with steps numbered from nought at the bottom to 10 at the top. The top of the ladder represents the best possible life and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. On which step

of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time?’ This is an interesting question as it implies some kind of progression to ultimate happiness.

Multi-item Measures

Satisfaction with Life Scale

Developed by Diener (1984), comprising five questions, rated from 1 strongly disagree to 7 highly agree:

- In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
- The conditions of my life are excellent.
- I am satisfied with my life.
- So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
- If I could live my life is over, I would change almost nothing.

Domain-Specific Well-Being

In these instruments, overall life satisfaction is deconstructed into satisfaction various specific domains. For example, from US General Survey:

Overall happiness: ‘Taken altogether, how would you say things are these days-would you say that you are happy, pretty happy or not too happy?’

Financial: ‘We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. So far as you and your family are concerned, would you say that you are pretty well satisfied with your present financial situation, more or less satisfied, or not satisfied at all?’

Employment: Asked of person is currently working, temporarily not at work, or keeping house: ‘On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do-would you say you are very satisfied, moderately satisfied, a little dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?’

Family life: ‘Tell me the number that shows how much satisfaction you get from that your family life (ranging from one a very great deal through to 7 none)’.

Health: ‘Tell me the number that shows how much satisfaction you get from your health and physical condition (ranging from one a very great deal, through to 7 none)’.

Day reconstruction method (DRM)

The DRM asks respondents to keep a diary about yesterday, describing episodes of about one hour duration (Kahneman 2004). The DRM starts with general questions, including overall and domain-specific life satisfaction questions:

- Taking all these things together, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?
- Overall, how satisfied are you with your life at home?
- Overall, how satisfied are you with your present job?
- When you are at home, what percentage of the time are you: in a bad mood, a little low or irritable, in a mildly pleasant mood, in a very good mood?
- When you are at work what percentage of the time are you: in a bad mood, a little low or irritable, in a mildly pleasant mood, in a very good mood?

Then, the diary episodes are reviewed by the respondent to describe how they felt during each episode on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 6 (very much) under the following items:

- Impatient for it to end
- Happy
- Frustrated/annoyed
- Depressed/blue
- Competent/capable
- Hassled/pushed around
- Warm/friendly
- Angry/hostile
- Worried/anxious
- Enjoying myself
- Criticised/put down
- Tired

Scale of positive and negative experience (SPANE)

SPANE is a similar event recall method. Developed to measure the balance between experience positive and negative affect (Diener et al. 2010). SPANE is a 12-item Likert scale, with six items assessing positive experiences and six items assessing negative experiences over the previous four weeks, including three general and three specific items per subscale.

‘Please think about what you have been doing and experiencing during the past four weeks then report how much you experience each of the following feelings’:

- Positive
- Negative
- Good
- Bad
- Pleasant

- Unpleasant
- Happy
- Sad
- Afraid
- Joyful
- Angry
- Contented

Pemberton happiness index (PHR)

A 21-item scale evaluating remembered and experienced well-being in various life domains, including hedonic, eudemonic social and general well-being, as well as positive and negative affect (Hervás and Vázquez 2013; Table 2.6).

Table 2.6 Pemberton happiness index items. After Hervás and Vázquez (2013: 9)

Domains and subdomains	Item content
Remembered well-being	
General well-being	I am very satisfied with my life I have the energy to accomplish my daily tasks
Eudemonic well-being	
Life meaning	I think my life is useful and worthwhile
Self-acceptance	I am satisfied with myself
Personal growth	My life is full of learning experiences and challenges that make me grow
Relatedness	I feel very connected to the people around me
Perceived control	I feel able to solve the majority of my daily problems
Autonomy	I think that I can be myself on the important things
Hedonic well-being	
Positive affect	I enjoy a lot of little things every day
Negative affect	I have a lot of bad moments in my daily life
Social well-being	I think that I live in a society that lets me fully realise my potential
Experienced well-being	
Positive experiences	Something I did made me proud I did something fun with someone I did something I really enjoy doing I learned something interesting I gave myself a treat
Negative experiences	At times, I felt overwhelmed I was bored for a lot of the time I was worried about personal matters Things happened that made me really angry I felt disrespected by someone

Warwick-Edinburgh mental well-being scale (WEMWBS) asks:

‘over the past two weeks’

- I’ve been feeling optimistic about the future (1 none of the time five, all of the time).
- I’ve been feeling useful.
- I’ve been feeling relaxed.
- I’ve been dealing with problems well.
- I’ve been thinking clearly.
- I’ve been feeling close to other people.
- I’ve been able to make up my own mind about things.

The General Health Questionnaire (GHQ)

This was developed to help detect psychiatric disorders in community and clinical settings. For well-being, the scores are inverted so that it is treated as a measure of well-being, assuming it is the opposite end of the continuum from mental disorder, and specifically, depression. The scoring is along a scale from ‘better/healthier than normal’, ‘same as usual’, ‘worse/more than usual’ to ‘much worse/more than usual’ on the following dimensions:

- Feeling Unhappy.
- Thinking of Self As Worthless.
- Losing Confidence.
- Feeling Unhappy and Depressed.
- Could Not Overcome Difficulties.
- Capable of Making Decisions.
- Face up Problems.
- Able to Concentrate.
- Enjoy Normal Activities.
- Play Useful Part in Things.
- Under Strain.
- Lost Much Sleep.

Centre for Epidemiological Studies-Depression (CES-D) Scale

This measures levels of depression, including positive and negative questions on affective scale in the following symptom groups:

Sadness (dysphoria): question numbers 2, 4, 6

Loss of Interest (anhedonia): question numbers 8, 10

Appetite: question numbers 1, 18

Sleep: question numbers 5, 11, 19

Thinking/Concentration: question number 3, 20

Guilt (worthlessness): question numbers 9, 17

Tired (fatigue): question numbers seven, 16

Movement (agitation): question numbers 12, 13

Suicidalideation: question numbers 14, 15.

Pan-National Comparative Surveys of Well-Being

The World Values Survey (WVS)

The WVS is taken every five years across 40 countries among a large number of items covering everything from religious affinity to family circumstances. It asks '*All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?*' (Scale from 1, dissatisfied to 10 satisfied) and '*Taking all things together, would you say that you are?*' (1 very happy through to 4, not at all happy).

It is widely referenced and analysed because of its coverage and a large number of comparable items.

OECD: Better Life Initiative

The mission of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is to promote policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people around the world and is a forum for governments to share common problems and initiatives.

The OECD better life initiative is a new interactive web-based tool which allows individuals to set their own 'weight' on 11 dimensions of OECD well-being indicators and '*to see how countries average achievements compare, based on one's personal priorities in life and to show one's index and choices of weights with other people in their networks*'.

The OECD bases its method on a capabilities view (Sen 1993; Scott-Jackson et al. 2011). People's capabilities are combined with the degree to which they can choose which capabilities matter. This approach recognises the importance of the weightings applied to variables in calculating any aggregated measure of SWB and also recognises the SWB effects of allowing people to be engaged.

By 2013, 44,000 indices had been shared and these showed that overall, life satisfaction, health and education were the most important dimensions of life. The 11 dimensions included in the OECD Better Life Index are:

- Income and Wealth.
- Jobs and Earnings.

- Housing.
- Health Status.
- Work–Life Balance.
- Education and Skills.
- Social Connections.
- Civic Engagement and Governance.
- Environmental Quality.
- Personal Security.
- Subjective Well-Being.

The OECD also enables countries to modify the dimensions to suit their own needs, where, for example, Italy introduces the 12th dimension of ‘culture’.

The ability of individuals to enter their own data provides an ever-increasing databank, but needs to be used with caution as, for example, ‘jobs’ is the most important dimension in a mine in Saudi Arabia, but with only 12 and 78 responses, respectively.

Overall, this is an extremely powerful methodology using modern data collection, big data techniques and providing an ever more useful body of data, as well as a good model for local, national and organisational well-being measures.

European Values Survey (EVS)

The EVS is taken every 9 years and covers over 20 European countries. Similar to the WVS, among a large number of items covering everything from religious affinity to family circumstances, it asks: ‘*all things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?*’ (Scale from one dissatisfied to 10 satisfied) and ‘*taking all things together, would you say that you are?*’ (1 = very happy through to 4 = not at all happy).

The Euro Barometer

A survey of 300,000 people in 12 European countries was based on home interviews and including the question: ‘On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, not at all satisfied with the life you lead?’

The Gallup World Poll

A worldwide survey, including Cantril’s ladder: ‘Please imagine a ladder, with steps numbered from zero at the bottom to 10 at the top. The top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time?’

The International Social Survey Programme (ISSP)

The ISSPP is an annual set of national surveys covering 41 countries and focuses on social science research questions. That includes: *'if you were to consider your life in general, these days, how happy or unhappy, would you say you are, on the whole?'* (on the scale: 4 = very happy, 3 = fairly happy, 2 = not very happy and 1 = not at all happy).

The US General Social Survey (GSS)

The GSS survey is for about 30,000 US residents and is carried out annually. It includes the question *'taken altogether, how would you say things are these days? Would you say you are?'* (very happy = 3, pretty happy = 2, not too happy = 1).

The European Social Survey (ESS)

The ESS covers 20 countries by interview. It includes the question: *'All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?'* (0 = extremely dissatisfied and 10 means extremely satisfied). It also includes: *'taking all things together, how happy?'*

The German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP)

GSOEP is based on 24,000 members of 11,000 households by interview. Variables include household composition, employment, occupations, earnings and health and satisfaction indicators. It includes a wide-ranging question *'how satisfied are you with the following areas of your life?'* (including health, sleep, job, etc.). Also *'how often have you felt... (Angry, worried, happy, sad) in the past four weeks?'*

The British Household Panel Survey (BHPSS) now called 'understanding society'

This follows the same sample over time and is therefore suitable for longitudinal causal analysis, interviewing all members of households. It includes: *'how satisfied are you with your life overall?'* and *'would you say that you are more satisfied with life, less satisfied, or feel about the same that you did a year ago?'*

There are many more measures in use at national, pan-national and global levels, in addition to well-being questions included in many organisational annual surveys (which often also include engagement assessment and will be discussed further). There is a huge amount of data available for analysis and mostly freely available from the providers. Having analysed all the available instruments, we have developed the ACEq questionnaire which focuses on Active Committed Enthusiasm, rather than basic well-being. For details see www.PACEtools.org.

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