

Transitions

UK WELL-BEING REPORT

National Research Report for
the EU Framework 5 study
'Gender, Parenthood and the
Changing European Workplace'

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Well-being. Transitions UK. July 2005

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1. Literature and debate on well-being.

In the UK there is a considerable research literature and much debate about well-being from a variety of perspectives. Two themes stand out which address this. One focuses upon satisfaction and stress, with a long history of research on the workplace in particular. Underpinning this latter strand are philanthropic and political concerns concerning paid work as exploitation and alienation. The second theme arises in western societies in the context of an increasing ideological emphasis upon the ‘care of the self’ and the practices and techniques whereby we manage ourselves and produce wellbeing - our ‘being’ in positive ways. This emphasis is particularly evident in the texts of professionals. According to Miller and Rose (1988) dominant professional values are ‘self realisation, self-direction, self-presentation and self-management’ (p224). In psychological and social work contexts such notions are seen as intrinsically good whereas the health profession emphasises more the political and economic good.

The nature and sources of well-being are contested. Although most research explores well-being at the individual level there is also some discussion about well-being in social context and about family and organisational well-being. Concepts of satisfaction, happiness, and enjoyment are now explored in a variety of social contexts, with the concept of positive well-being receiving increasing attention.

1.i *Positive well-being and “work-life balance”*

Most research on positive well-being in Britain has addressed this at an individual level, although often with some reference to collective levels. The focus on positive well-being is reflected, for example, by frequent media articles including a regular column on happiness in one national newspaper. Discussions of well being at the individual level have been linked recently with the high profile work-life balance debate (Boniwell, 2002; Taylor, 2002; Lewis, 2003) and related government policy initiatives, in both research and popular discourse (National Debates Report). There is also some discussion of gender, class, occupation and other aspects of diversity (Taylor, 2002) and the unequal distribution of resources and significant variations arising in individual health, well-being and quality of life (Wilkinson, 1996, 2000).

1.ii *Well-being in social context*

Sointu (2005) argues that media productions of well-being have shifted from the more social in the 1980s to a more individual picture- from the “body politic” to the “body

personal”. Nevertheless some approaches to well-being move beyond the individual focus. For example Perri 6 (2002) emphasises a set of practices, rather than a state of happiness/satisfaction. He argues that well-being is about what people recognise, within particular institutions, as a shared life — a life well lived and worth living together. He also recognises that recommendations for enhancing well-being in one social group may impinge on the well-being of another social group. Sointu (2005) considers that well-being is a quality in demand in today’s society, and that conceptualisations and experiences of well-being are produced in and through wider social perceptions and practices. She argues that dominant discourses of well-being relate to changes in subjectivity: they manifest a move from subjects as citizens to subjects as consumers and suggests that in a consumer society, well-being emerges as a normative obligation chosen and sought after by individual agents. This relates to evidence showing that above a certain level, economic growth (GDP) does not increase overall societal well-being, as people evaluate their income in relation to changing standards (Layard (2003, 2005)

1.iii *Family well-being*

There is also some research and debate on aspects of family well being, (although this term is not widely used and the concept is contested), with a focus on spouses, children and fathers. To some extent this focuses on economic well being, indicated by a government pledge to reduce child poverty. There is also some discussion about work rich and work poor family disparities (Bunting, 2005; Brannen and Moss, 1998.) and also the crisis of care or care deficits. However there is little research on positive well-being (as opposed to lack of ill health) in the transition to parenthood

1.iv *Organisational well being*

The UK is the only one of the eight countries in the Transitions study in which there has been some previous research exploring organisational well-being or healthy organisations. This has focused disproportionately on financial well-being, but there is an emerging interest in the link between organisational and individual (employee) well-being suggesting that organizational change could be directed towards a dual agenda of workplace effectiveness and employee well-being (Rapoport et al, 2002). This notion also links with European debates about socially sustainable work (Webster, 2004). Social sustainability is an emerging goal in some policy debates in Britain. The business case for change to enhance “work-life balance” promoted by the government (DTI) also feeds into this debate to some extent by the focus on the well-being of human resources and also (hard working) families – although the discourse of work-life balance perpetuates a focus on individual rather than collective outcomes.

2. Context Mapping.

An overall index of labour market well-being (Context Mapping report p140) for OECD countries drawn from Osberg and Sharpe (2003) shows Norway to rank first followed by Sweden, The Netherlands, France and UK. The Context Mapping report notes that better labour market well-being relates to (low) level of social inequalities, (high) GDP per capita and (generous) family friendly policies (p133)

Insofar as fertility rate may also be related to well-being- as an indicator of the possibilities for reconciling paid work and family- it is worth noting that the fertility rate in the UK is relatively stable and higher than the other countries, except Norway

(Context Mapping p8), despite having minimal childcare support and limited parental leave rights.

Concern and debates about work-life balance in Britain are related to the longest working hours, at the time of the context mapping exercise (for men, and for the increasing numbers of mothers of young children who now work full time).

3. Well-being questionnaire. A short questionnaire on work, family and wellbeing developed by the Transitions team from previous published research, was completed by individuals participating in the focus groups and interviews. This small-scale quantitative data contributes to the contextual setting. A comparison of scores for life satisfaction, happiness, life enjoyment, and feelings about the future by employees in the private sector and public sector organisations (Sadar and Kersnik 2004) showed the UK to be around the middle of the ranking of countries for all these questions. The Nordic countries tended to be the highest, with the lowest being Bulgaria. Although likely to be related to wider social and economic factors, preliminary indication is that these differences may bear some relation to differences in the experiences of work and non-work in these countries.

In the UK, as in all countries in the study, parents report that the most significant sources of well-being are in family life. Parents employed in public and in private sectors report in the questionnaires that they experience family life more positively than working life. Being a mother or a father was reported to contribute most to the positive experiences of well-being.

4. Well-being at Peak: Finance sector case study

4.i Terminology

Despite the considerable research on well-being in the UK and the debates on this subject, none of the focus groups were able to respond easily when asked what they understood by well-being. They seemed to be more preoccupied with the day to day practices of managing work and parenthood than with debates about well being

4.ii Organisational well-being?

The management discourses of pursuing positive business performances through developing trust, flexibility and empowerment to meet the needs of employees reflect the literature on organisational well being or a healthy workplace in terms of a dual agenda. This raised expectations of support among many of the parents, but in practice the parents' experiences were mixed, and very dependent on the attitudes and practices of their line managers. Managers who adopt the "new style" flexibility may indeed contribute to organisational well-being in terms of the perception of the organisation as a good place for parents to work, but the transition to a more supportive organisation is far from complete. The system appears to break down in instances where managers are not enthusiastic about flexible working, when there are tight deadlines to meet, or when employees feel they cannot reasonably make requests, which are essential to their family well-being. The impact of any increased flexibility on individual well-being is also undermined by the intensification of work. Moreover the "new culture" and expectations about well-being remain highly gendered. Many managers and colleagues expect women to be taking time off for childcare reasons, but not men.

4.iii Factors associated with well-being for parents at Peak

Parents' views expressed in the focus groups and to some extent the individual interviews (although these often yielded different perspectives- see below) indicated a number of different factors, which either block or enhance positive well-being for parents at Peak. Factors that can undermine well-being include management discretion and frustration with inconsistent application of flexible working policy, and poor communication. Well-being for Peak parents varies across departments, highlighting the discretionary application of informal, trust-based policies. On the other hand supportive colleagues and managers, responsive to needs of parents (particularly when family emergencies arise) and social aspects of work, can mitigate against dissatisfaction with the organisation and unsupportive managers (e.g. Charlotte). Moreover, the very pleasant physical environment can contribute to positive well being as can opportunities for interesting and challenging work (although the interviews showed that this can change when demotion follows a move to part-time work).

4.iv Further factors highlighted by the interviews

The biographical interviews highlighted other aspects of organisational well-being. Despite the managerial discourses of flexibility two of the mothers interviewed left the company because of lack of support. Arguably healthy organisations should be able to retain their staff following the transition to parenthood. The interviews also highlighted the importance of employee-driven flexibility for a "happy" workforce, for example autonomy to be able to leave 5 minutes earlier in order to catch a train that runs every half-hour), less emphasis on presenteeism and more on tasks in many cases, although this can be contentious in the context of work-intensification.

5. Well-being at Edwardia: Social services case study

5.i Terminology

Wellbeing was explored in the social services case study in three ways: the language used by parents to describe their experiences; the values they expressed concerning how they thought workplace relations should be conducted; and the relationships that operated in the workplace between colleagues and between social services employees and their managers. The analysis of language drew our attention to positive and negative feelings held simultaneously, a finding that also emerged from the interview analysis. The values that employees said they brought to their work, in focussing upon the desired or normative, suggested a sense of disappointment and dissatisfaction where these were infringed. The focus upon identification and the practices that engendered positive identification at work was useful in stressing the importance of social relations in the workplace, while the research method itself – the focus group-constituted a context and a process in which identifications were forged.

5.ii Organisational well-being?

Parents' feelings as expressed in the focus groups were varied and were suggestive of ambivalence. For example, work was often stressful and hard but also satisfying and challenging. Parenthood was enjoyable and fulfilling while being a working parent brought anxiety and concern about meeting responsibilities for children. Parents expected to derive affective rewards from work in the context of working with service users. They also expected commitment and trust to be central values in a workplace

devoted to the care of people and emphasised social services' responsibility to care for their employees. The ethic of care was often seen to be undermined however by other values and practices namely the ethic of business and efficiency. These were often construed as being in opposition to an ethic of care towards both clients and the social services workforce, thereby undermining employees' wellbeing. For example, staff felt that resource constraints prevented them from delivering care, or that inflexible working practices prevented staff from looking after their own children's needs adequately.

Since parents' main positive identifications at work were with colleagues, at the level of the small service unit or work team, they tended to create a view of the work unit or team in opposition to social services as a whole and to senior management, the latter being seen to control and so embody the overall ethos of the organisation. Parents forged positive identifications through their shared status as parents and through their identification with the clients they served. Practices that engendered well-being at work included: socialising with colleagues in work teams and individual friendships; talking about children at work; and on occasion bringing children into the workplace. These identifications were also forged as well as revealed in the focus groups through: joking relations, laughter, and emotional and verbal support which was exchanged spontaneously between focus group participants. The effects of such social interaction was often cathartic and served to defuse the grievances and associated anger, sorrow and cynicism that often characterised their feelings about the social services as an employer.

5.iii Factors associated with well-being for parents

Factors identified in parents' accounts of the workplace that contributed or worked against feelings of well-being: relations in the work team (positive); parental responsibilities (positive and negative); organisational change programmes (mainly negative); skills shortages and high staff turnover in social services (mainly negative); the resources with which employees in social services have to work with (mainly negative); the conditions of the physical work environment (poor office environments and lack of computers) (mainly negative); pay compared with private sector jobs (mainly negative); the status of the work in the public's eyes (among social workers and care workers largely negative); travel to work in the context of expensive housing in the locality of the social services in question (negative); flexibility in managing caring responsibilities (positive and negative), depending upon the latitude and discretion of managers (statutory services allowed for little flexibility) and the position of the employee in the organisational hierarchy.

6. The transition to parenthood. Biographical interviews in the UK financial organisation.

As in the case studies participants did not use the term well-being in the interviews (though the term is increasingly common in the UK media, and in academic literature as discussed above). The interviewees did talk about the importance of "balance" or work life balance in their life choices. (e.g. Carol, talked about part time work being a good balance)

Overall, the interviews demonstrate the complexity of well-being and the impact on the experience of the transition to parenthood and subsequent well being of external factors, notably, job security, financial issues (rapidly rising house prices and childcare costs), highly gendered national policies on parental leaves, as well as experiences within the workplace and the family.

The individual interview method permitted more investigation of the emotional aspects of parenting – the guilt, the pleasures, the anxiety, which tended to come out more strongly in the individual interviews. This did vary among the participants however. Some of those interviewed had been very forthcoming about their personal and emotional life in the focus group context. Issues which people talked about far more freely in the individual interviews included the emotional pull of leaving a baby in childcare, the importance of breastfeeding and how that affected the return to work, concerns about loss of leisure or social life, financial worries and the impact of these on decisions, and anxieties (or the lack of anxieties) over possible redundancy.

6.1 Factors that affect well-being in the transition to parenthood, emerging from the interviews

The interview study highlights factors that affect well-being (including those that temper negative experiences in the workplace) and demonstrates how gender and socio-economic status, particularly access to resources are relevant to the well-being of employed parents. In particular, the ability (or not) to work flexible disproportionately affects the well-being of Peak mothers. Support outside of the workplace is also crucial to well-being. Partner support in particular plays a fundamental role. The well-being of employed fathers, for instance, is enhanced by partner support. Intergenerational support for childcare alleviates the time and financial stress of Peak parents. Access to high quality childcare is crucial to attitudes to, and experience of, employed parenthood. However this concerned Peak mothers rather than fathers.

The interviews also highlight the impact of the long-hours culture and the intensification of work on well-being. In particular, supervisors and managers are expected to put in longer hours and as parents (or rather mothers) are unable to do this, they tend to move to part-time work, which, at Peak usually leads to demotion. The deeply embedded assumptions that supervision or managements requires constant availability is internalised and some of the higher status mothers report feelings of guilt when they are no longer able to work longer hours. Some fathers on the other hand use the long hours culture and intensification of work to absolve them from parenting and household tasks (e.g. Nigel and Geoff, partner of Diane), thereby impacting on the well-being of their spouse and family well-being as a whole. In this respect one person's well-being can detract from another's (Perri 6, 2002): colleague and/or spouses may have to work harder to enable others to do less at work or at home.

6.ii Sense of entitlement and gender

Sense of entitlement to combine work and family and to also partake in leisure is highly gendered and related to well-being. Fathers feel more entitled than mothers to time for leisure. Mothers are more likely than fathers to talk about feeling guilty - about both their children and their work, even though paid work provides some mothers with a sense of identity outside of work (e.g. Rhona). For others this is less

obvious, Charlotte feels more valued – both as an employee and individual – in her new job than she did at Peak. Thus the linking of well-being and “work-life balance” in the literature is supported in this study, although it is important to note the gendered processes involved.

6.iii *Work-family boundary strategies*

Strategies for managing the boundaries between paid work and family also appear to impact on well being, although the actual strategy of segregation or integration may be less important than fit between desired and actual strategies (e.g. Anna).

6.iv *Economic decisions and consumerism*

To some extent the parents’ sense of well-being reflects their expectations of work and of their ability to attain their aspirations- based on consumerism rather than citizenship (Sointu, (2005). However the wages for the lower status employers at Peak are quite low, house prices are high, so for the lower status Peak parents (or higher status with low-status partner), finance is a very real issue affecting their well-being either in terms of long commutes from areas with lower house prices or in terms of childcare. Willingness of couples to lose part of household salary during transition to parenthood demonstrates that sources of well-being are varied.

It is nevertheless worth noting that the finance sector participants are very different in their expectations and ambitions than the social services participants. They are relatively materialistic, generally working for instrumental reasons, and with materialistic aspirations –they generally want a “nice” family house (often a new, small house on a new estate), two relatively new cars for the household, and several interviewees were considering private education for their children (despite some of these interviewees being on modest incomes, making this an unrealistic expectation). Working to pay to send children to private school could be interpreted in the context of scares regarding the quality of comprehensive schooling, related also to premiums put on housing in areas of perceived good schools. Solutions adopted to address these perceived problems are individualised (Sointu’s “subjects as consumers”), rather than collective action to improve schooling.

7. The transition to parenthood. Biographical interviews in the UK Social Services

7.i *Types of analysis*

Parents’ expressions of feelings were analysed in the context of past and present experiences and in the light of future expectations. *Within* cases, different types of feelings arose in different life domains for differing ambitions in relation to these domains. *Across* cases, similarities and differences emerge in terms of different expectations in relation to particular life domains, and in relation to what is perceived as the right ‘balance’ between paid work and parenthood.

7.ii *Feelings in different social domains: positive, negative and ambivalent*

The interview analysis of social services categorised parents’ current feelings of wellbeing in relation to a number of social domains: parenthood, household labour, relationships with partners, community networks and relationships with wider kin, leisure activities and friends, and time for self – however defined. Initial interview

questions about parents' current concerns also proved a useful way of soliciting feelings - both positive and negative. The expression of both positive and negative feelings in relation to the same issue (suggesting ambivalence) formed part of the analysis. Strength of feelings and types of feelings, as they arose in the different domains, were concepts developed in the analysis.

The strongest feelings – both positive and negative – were expressed in the domains of parenthood, work and partnership. Different domains generated different types of feelings. Being a parent was said to make parents feel guilty, upset, irritated, and stressed. However parenthood also made people feel proud and loving and delighted.

The interviews revealed more positive feelings about *work* than arose in the focus groups even though most were interviewed in the workplace. At work parents reported feelings of satisfaction, challenge, involvement and support, and enjoyment. On the negative side, they reported stress, uncertainty, and feeling unsupported or in a few cases unfairly treated (by managers). It is likely that such findings are to do with the interview methodology: interviewees were invited to recount their feelings in the context of describing a particular day in their working lives.

Strong positive and strong negative feelings were also expressed about *partners*, especially by mothers about the support they received as working parents. Several interviewees had split up from their partners while relations with new partners in respect of childcare were not necessarily supportive. (This was not however an issue for the father who had split up from the child's mother.)

Parents often exhibited *ambivalence*, expressing both positive and negative feelings in relation to the same aspect. For example, while one mother maintained that she did 'not mind' doing all the household work, she also said that she felt 'frustrated' by her partner's lack of support. Parents who experienced strong guilt feelings in relation to parenthood - typically because they felt they were not spending enough time with their children because of their work – also reported enjoyment, commonly in relation to times that they did spend with their children. This is the now a classic case of working parents' 'time bind' (Hochschild 1998), an experience that has come to replace the boredom and depression typically associated with poor mothers not in employment (Brown and Harris 1978).

Negative feelings and experiences in one domain may therefore be compensated by positive feelings and experiences in another. For lone parents in particular, work could compensate for loneliness and isolation in bringing up a child alone by providing friendship and sociability in the workplace.

7.iii Feelings in the context of expectations

Feelings arise in the context of a person's expectations for a particular domain. Parenthood, spending time on one's own, for oneself, or with friends was associated with an expectation of enjoyment without a specific purpose. Parenthood, for example, was commonly perceived by stressed working mothers as spending time with children; if they felt they had insufficient time they typically felt guilty. In contrast in other social domains, people anticipated a sense of ambition towards the achievement of a specific goal. Feelings in the work domain were often about the 'challenge' of doing the job well and the sense of purpose and meaning it gave to

people's lives. However feelings were also to do with the 'stress' and 'pressure' of the work – pressure that could be both positive and negative.

Feelings are shaped by individuals' expectations and ambitions and the conditions for their realisation. Thus public sector workers in social services appeared to expect flexibility from their managers and thus were angered and disappointed when they did not receive it. However they did not necessarily mention positive feeling when they did receive support - since it was an expectation. Moreover parents' sense of well-being is shaped by normative expectations, in particular the extent to which they felt they had achieved the right 'work life balance' - between paid work and parenthood. As was seen in two cases of parents described in detail in the report, relative well-being may be explained in terms of being able to realise their expectations in terms of 'fitting together' parenthood and employment.

7.iv Contextual factors affecting well-being

Feelings and expectations are shaped by parents' life histories, including their cultural background. Feelings and expectations are also gendered. For example, fathers, while valuing fatherhood, expressed fewer negative feelings about parenthood and had lower expectations than mothers in relation to spending time with their children and thus in terms of work-family negotiation. The social and material resources available to parents for realising positive expectations about paid work and parenthood may be seen as crucial for feelings of well-being in present time, as revealed in other parts of the interview analysis.

8. Some overall reflections

8.i The methodologies compared

The different methodologies in the Transitions study brought out different aspects of well-being, and highlighted the different "results" on this topic. Individual well-being appeared more positive in the individual interviews than for the same participants in the focus groups.

This partially reflects the relaxed nature of the home interviews. While some people were interviewed in their own space, with children and pets around, many were interviewed in the workplace especially social services employees, a factor that may also suggest the relaxed nature of social services as a work environment. It also partly reflects the different discourses on parenting and well-being in the work and home contexts. It might also be partly due to the fact that the home interviews were a year later, and some participants had changed their circumstances significantly in that year – some had moved to jobs which suited their parenting needs better, some were on maternity leave, and some had grown accustomed to changes (those at Peak) which had made them unhappy a year before.

As discussed in the social services case study (Brannen and Pattman in press), existing connections between participants in the focus groups affected the discourse about the workplace as was particularly evident in a group of highly pressed social workers in which a whole series of complaints about managers flowed in quick succession. This perhaps suggests that the focus group method may generate an

overly negative picture of the workplace. However the fact of working in the same team or centre, being a working parent and being invited to talk about work-family engendered positive discourses in the focus groups.

There were also differences in the responses given to the interview questions and the well being questionnaire. The Roller Coaster nature of well-being for new parents came out in the interviews, demonstrating the transitory nature of feelings especially in the context of becoming a parent. Home life can engender both positive and negative feelings. One mother, for example, (Charlotte in Peak) described her home life in general as very happy, but also talked about the stress and tiredness she experienced. And while she talked a great deal about her unhappiness at returning to paid work and leaving her children, she also described the positive, enjoyable aspects of both her past and new jobs. This contrasts with her questionnaire responses, which suggest 'middling feelings', while her focus group comments and her interview responses give a more variable picture of well-being and satisfaction with her current life.

8.ii. *The centrality of the child to parents' well-being this point in the life course*

The greater sense of well-being for some respondents in the home interviews also reflects the fact that for new parents, and perhaps especially for new mothers, the new baby is the central aspect of their life at that time, and paid work tends to be less important at this transitional point in the life course stage than before or after. Job pressures are not always to the fore, especially once the parents are back at home.

8.iii *The importance of other contextual factors*

The experience of becoming a parent especially in the London social services case study was shaped in the context of being unable to afford to take much parental leave because of low family income and living in a very expensive capital city. Such experiences might be mitigated by the provision of flexibility in the workplace, as in the case of a new father (a social work middle manager) who was given the freedom to work a compressed working week by his manager. Most salient in shaping the experience of parenthood was the quality of parents' relationships with partners. Other contextual factors relate to their biographies: several parents split up from their partners around the time of their children's births and several had experienced migration from societies with different cultural expectations and with consequences for family support.

8.iv *Sense of entitlement and well-being*

Some parents expressed in the interviews a high degree of well-being; sometimes this seemed at variance with their circumstances, and particularly in relation to their working hours and structure, and their partner's involvement in parenting (see for example, Diane in Peak). This relates again to sense of entitlement which is derived from social comparison. The parents compare themselves to their peers, and to their parents, and to their colleagues and feel positive. For example the mothers in Peak compare their male partners with their own fathers, and with husbands or partners of other women. They feel their partners are involved fathers, though an outside (feminist) perspective may question that assessment. The perception of partner support however appears to be real in its consequences for positive well-being.

9. Some initial thoughts on policy implications

- As the well-being of some actors may be at the expense of others, policies should address a multiple agenda which recognises that the well-being of all parties is interdependent – healthy organisations, healthy families and socially sustainable work-family practices
- Mothers are disproportionately affected by parenthood compared with fathers, so they are in more need of policies to reconcile paid work and family life and hence enhance the well-being of women. But of course policies that make it easier for women to reconcile their dual roles can allow gender roles to persist unless they are accompanied by policies which encourage fathers to engage in more gender equitable practices. (Lone fathers and separated fathers in social services felt that family friendly policies only worked for mothers and were not intended to benefit fathers.) Initiatives to encourage greater father involvement and higher expectations of this from mothers are still needed.
- More robust rights to flexible working are needed including further manager training. More efforts need to be made in social services as how such practices can be extended to those delivering front line statutory services.
- More communication is needed about the rights of parents, including fathers, pointing out the importance of parenting for future well-being of society (not just parents) and parenting as a collective good (reproduction of labour force)
- Redundancy regulations: in a context of job insecurity, redundancy payments linked to final salary only can limit the choices of new parent (e.g. Anna in Peak).
- National social policy impacts heavily on the well-being of parents in transition (e.g. Anna in Peak would have very much liked to have had 6 months at home with her baby rather than 4. She missed out on new leave policies).
- Building on Sointu's concept of well-being as a resource to aid busy lives, balancing the stresses of living in contemporary society could point to the importance of a pleasant workplace environment - positive at Peak and negative in social services- and collegiate work teams. However this can be undermined by intensification of work, unsupportive managers etc
- However well-being should permeate all aspects of our lives, rather than being an add-on to compensate for negative aspects of work. Job redesign that takes account of parents' needs as well as business imperatives are likely to produce more sustainable benefits in terms of individual and organisational well-being.
- To return to Layard's point about well-being not increasing beyond a certain level of economic development, organisations may consider what is an optimum level of profit or efficiency in relation the goal of positive well-being at all levels

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