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ENJOYMENT AND WELLBEING

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CWiPP considers how people's well-being can be defined, measured and improved in ways that help policy-makers to make the best use of scarce resources; and investigates the determinants of well-being insofar as these are relevant to policy formulation. The Working Paper Series offers a medium to place relevant research material in the public domain for discussion. Each paper is internally reviewed by two members of the editorial group. The contents remain the sole responsibility of the author(s).

Abstract

The paper introduces modern perspectives on well-being, work and leisure, as a context for presenting research on the importance of enjoyment for well-being, with comments on the implications for public policy. In-depth interviews show that high enjoyment, 'optimal experience' or 'flow' can occur when challenge is met with equal skill. Research using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM), shows the importance of enjoyment for well-being; and an empirical model is presented linking individual and situational factors. The importance of enjoyment, visual interest and the aesthetics of everyday life for well-being are also highlighted.

Introduction: Well-being, work and leisure.

Well-being has been viewed variously as happiness, satisfaction, enjoyment, contentment, engagement, fulfilment, resilience, and flourishing. Well-being is also viewed as a process, something we do together, and as sense making, rather than just a state of being. It is acknowledged that in life as a whole there will be periods of ill-being, and that these may add richness to life. It has also been recognised that well-being and the environment are intimately interconnected. Certainly, well-being is seen to be complex and multifaceted, and may take different forms (Haworth and Hart (eds) 2007/ 2012)

Well-being and happiness are now topics for research and policy in many countries; and a movement for happiness has been established (www.actionforhappiness.org). Currently in the UK, at the behest of the UK Government, the Office of National Statistics (ONS) (www.ons.gov.uk) is developing new measures of national well-being. A National What Works Wellbeing organisation has also been formed (www.whatworkswellbeing.org). The Equality Trust has been established in the UK to promote a healthier, happier, more sustainable society through reducing economic inequality (www.equalitytrust.org.uk). The New Economics Foundation (Nef) (www.neweconomics.org) considers that sustainable well-being should be at the forefront of government policy. The Centre for Well-being at Nef has produced the Happy Planet Index, which tracks national well-being against resource use, showing that it is possible for a nation to have well-being with a low ecological footprint.

The World Happiness Report 2015 (Helliwell, Layard, and Sachs (eds) 2015) notes in the Summary that increasingly happiness is considered a proper measure of social progress and goal of public policy. A rapidly increasing number of national and local governments are using happiness data and research in their search for policies that could enable people to live better lives. Governments are measuring subjective well-being, and using well-being research as a guide to the design of public spaces and the delivery of public services. The Summary notes that:

‘There is a common social theme that emerges consistently from the World Happiness Report 2015. At both the individual and national levels, all measures of well-being, including emotions and life evaluations, are strongly influenced by the quality of the surrounding social norms and institutions. These include family and friendships at the individual level, the presence of trust and empathy at the neighbourhood and community levels, and power and quality of the overarching social norms that determine the quality of life within and among nations and generations. When these social factors are well-rooted and readily available, communities and nations are more resilient, and even natural disasters can add strength to the community as it comes together in response’ (p6).

Research into lived experience, work, leisure, and enjoyment is central to our understanding of happiness and well-being (Haworth 1997; Haworth and Veal 2004; and Haworth and Hart 2007/12). Happiness is an experience of individuals. As such it can be strongly influenced by individual characteristics, such as locus of control and resilience, which can be enhanced by appropriate lived experience (Rotter 1982, 1990; Haworth, Jarman, and Lee, 1997; Fredrickson, 2001, 2006). In turn the lived experience of individuals is influenced by social institutions. Jahoda (1984) and Warr (1987) show that employment automatically provides categories of experience important for well-being, not readily available in unemployment. Yet stress in employment is viewed as a major problem. Many individuals experience long hours of work, increasing work loads, changing work practices, and job insecurity. Taylor (2002) in a report on

The Future of Work programme, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council in the UK, advocated that a determined effort is required to assess the purpose of paid work in all our lives, and the need to negotiate a genuine trade-off between the needs of job efficiency and leisure. The UK Cabinet Office produced a report on Life Satisfaction (Donovan, Halpern, and Sargeant, 2002). This found strong links between work satisfaction and overall life satisfaction, and also between active leisure activities and overall satisfaction, concluding that there is a case for government intervention to boost life satisfaction, by encouraging a more leisured work-life balance.

Iso-Ahola and Mannel (2004) recognise that many people are stressed because of financial difficulties and the dominance of work, and that leisure is used for recuperation from work. The result is a passive leisure life style and a reactive approach to personal health. The authors argue that trying new things, and mastering challenges, is discouraged and undermined by the social system and environment. They consider, on the basis of considerable research, that active leisure is important for health and well-being. Participation in both physical and non-physical leisure activities has been shown to reduce depression and anxiety, produce positive moods and enhance self-esteem and self-concept, facilitate social interaction, increase general psychological well-being and life satisfaction, and improve cognitive functioning. Veenhoven (2009) includes the importance of leisure for enjoyment of life, which he considers lengthens life. However, leisure is not a panacea. If leisure is used to avoid addressing difficult situations this may increase stress.

Currently, there is renewed concern with ‘The Future of Work’ (The Observer 29 11 15). It has long been considered that advances in technology will destroy some jobs and create others. The balance is debateable. There is, however, a major shift in how people work, with the internet and social media networks playing an increasing role, and with many people working at several different jobs in a day. This may increase a form of social capital, but it is also recognised that it can lead to a reduced ability to take collective action to press for working rights and fair wages. Zero hours contracts, often with limited rights and low wages, are becoming more prevalent. Equally, the skills required for the new types of occupation may not be possessed by significant numbers of people, and with increasing longevity, more people will need to work longer. The new work careers may provide challenges, which if met, may provide optimal life styles for some people, but for others they may provide significant stress and poor well-being. Developments in these areas need close monitoring by researchers and policy makers.

With some prescience, Nef’s document ‘21 Hours. Why a shorter working week can help us all flourish in the 21st Century’ (Coote, Franklin, and Simms. 2010) says that a ‘normal’ working week of 21 hours could help to address a range of urgent, interlinked problems: overwork, unemployment, over-consumption, high carbon emissions, low well-being, entrenched inequalities, and the lack of time to live sustainably, to care for each other, and simply to enjoy life. Experiments with shorter working hours suggest that they can be popular where conditions are stable and pay is favourable, and that a new standard of 21 hours could be consistent with the dynamics of a decarbonised economy. Nef recognises that moving from the present to this future scenario will not be simple. The proposed shift towards 21 hours must be seen in terms of a broad, incremental transition to social, economic and environmental sustainability. Problems likely to arise in the course of transition include the risk of increasing poverty by reducing the earning power of those on low rates of pay; too few new jobs because people already in work take on more overtime; resistance from employers because of rising costs and skills shortages; resistance from employees and trade unions because of the impact on earnings in all income brackets; and more general political resistance that might arise, for example, from moves to enforce shorter hours. Options for dealing with the impact on earnings of a much shorter working week include redistribution of income and wealth through more progressive taxation; an

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increased minimum wage; a radical restructuring of state benefits; carbon trading designed to redistribute income to poor households; more and better public services; and encouraging more uncommodified activity and consumption.

Rojek (2004) addresses the polarisation between the over-worked section of the community identified in Juliet Schor's (1991) *The Overworked American* and the increasingly marginalised and insecure mass identified by Ulrich Beck (2000) in the 'Brazilianization thesis'. In examining the question of solutions to the 'post-work' world, including the idea of a guaranteed income and the possibility of harnessing unpaid *civil labour* to undertake work of community benefit, he notes the likely problems of adopting such a measure given the currently entrenched values of Western society.

Nef argues, however, that there are many examples of apparently intractable social norms changing very quickly. The weight of public opinion can shift quite suddenly from antipathy to approval as a result of new evidence, strong campaigning, and changing circumstances, including a sense of crisis. There are some signs of favourable conditions beginning to emerge for shifting expectations about a 'normal' working week. Further changes that may help include the development of a more egalitarian culture, raising awareness about the value of unpaid labour, strong government support for uncommodified activities, and a national debate about how we use, value, and distribute work and time. We are at the beginning of a national debate. The next step is to make a thorough examination of the benefits, challenges, barriers and opportunities associated with moving towards a 21-hour week in the first quarter of the twenty-first century. This should be part of the *Great Transition* to a sustainable future.

Enjoyment

While important research has been done into enjoyment, its role in well-being is currently relatively neglected, even though it could play a crucial part, alongside the need to decrease economic inequality, and increase opportunities in education, work, and leisure (Haworth 2014).

Stephoe et al (2014), published research in the Canadian Medical Association Journal based on data from the English Longitudinal Study of Aging. The study showed that older people who enjoy life are also at lower risk for developing problems with activities of daily living, and for showing declines in physical function. There may be direct links with biological processes in the body that influence physical function. The authors conclude that 'Our results provide further evidence that enjoyment of life is relevant to the future disability and mobility of older people. Efforts to enhance wellbeing at older ages may have benefits to society and health care systems' (early view E1555).

For retired people, keeping active, including active leisure pursuits, is seen as an important way of enhancing well-being for the financially secure. Older people are a growing segment of the leisure market. Haworth and Roberts (2007) note that it is possible that the baby boomer cohorts (the products of the relatively high birth rates from the 1940s to the 1960s) will import a higher propensity to consume into later life than their predecessors. They are the first cohort historically to have grown up in post-scarcity conditions, and who throughout their lives have regarded it as normal to buy fashion clothing, purchase recorded music, take holidays abroad etc. It is possible that they will be less willing than their predecessors to cut back, more willing to take on new debt, and to spend the equity in their dwellings. However, approximately a half of the retired in the UK will depend primarily on state benefits: they will not be among the Woopies (well off

older people). Up until now public leisure provisions have been particularly valuable to the less well-off, not because they have been more likely to benefit than the better-off (the reverse has applied) but because most of these services (broadcasting, parks, playing fields, the countryside, the coast, galleries, museums and other amenities) have been free or accessible at modest cost; in effect access has been a right of citizenship. In the future it is likely to become more difficult for the public sector to be run in this way, particularly when governments are concerned with cutting the public financial deficit. Current government economic policy reinforces this, with further threatened cuts to local government libraries, leisure centres, and accessible parks, amongst other services (The Guardian 02 11 15 p38).

A report from the IPPR ‘The Long View: Public Services in 2030’ by Rick Muir June 04, 2012, downloadable at www.ippr.org, notes that the demographic trend we can predict with the greatest confidence is that the British population will age over the next two decades.

The Marmot Report (2010) gives extensive evidence in the UK for the importance of tackling health inequalities, and that the fair distribution of health, well-being and sustainability are important social goals (www.ucl.ac.uk/gheg/marmotreview). Dorling (2010) shows dramatic differences in health and social inequality across the UK.

Enjoyment has been distinguished from pleasure. Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) note that:

‘Pleasure is the good feeling that comes from satisfying homeostatic needs such as hunger, sex, and bodily comfort. Enjoyment on the other hand, refers to the good feelings people experience when they break through the limits of homeostasis – when they do something that stretches them beyond what they were – in an athletic event, an artistic performance, a good deed, a stimulating conversation. Enjoyment, rather than pleasure, is what leads to personal growth and long term happiness’ (p.12).

In a pioneering study, Csikszentmihalyi (1975) set out to understand enjoyment in its own terms and to describe what makes an activity enjoyable. He found that when artists, athletes and creative professionals were asked to describe the best times experienced in their favourite activities they all mentioned a dynamic balance between opportunity and ability as crucial. Optimal experience, or ‘flow’ as some of the respondents’ described it, could be differentiated from states of boredom, in which there is less to do than what one is capable of, and from anxiety, which occurs when things to do are more than one can cope with.

Csikszentmihalyi and Csikszentmihalyi (1988) report several in-depth accounts of flow and its importance for well-being. They summarise the main dimensions of enjoyable flow as;

- Intense involvement
- Clarity of goals and feedback
- deep concentration
- transcendence of self
- lack of self consciousness
- loss of a sense of time
- intrinsically rewarding experience

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- balance between skill and challenge

Csikszentmihalyi (1991:36) notes that in the flow state, action follows upon action according to an internal logic that seems to need no conscious intervention by the actor. He expresses it as a unified flowing from one moment to the next in which he is in control of his actions, and in which there is little distinction between self and environment, between stimulus and response, between past, present and future. It is considered that flow can be obtained in almost any activity, with the goals of activities serving as mere tokens that justify the activity by giving it direction and determining rules of action. Csikszentmihalyi emphasises that activities need not be active in the physical sense, and that among the most frequently mentioned enjoyable activities are reading and being with other people. He also recognises that the flow experience is not good in an absolute sense, and that whether the consequences of any particular instance of flow is good in the larger sense needs to be discussed in terms of more inclusive social criteria. Successful burglary, for example, can be a flow experience.

Flow has been extensively investigated using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM), (Hektner, Schmidt and Csikszentmihalyi, 2007). Typically, participants, using a diary, answer questions several times a day for several days in response to a signal from a bleeper. Participants describe the main activity being undertaken, rate the challenge and skill involved, and answer several questions using rating scales on subjective well-being. In a study of young people Csikszentmihalyi and Le Fevre (1989) found, contrary to expectations, that the vast majority of flow experiences, measured as perceived balanced skill-challenge experiences above the person's average level, came when people were at work rather than in free time. A study by Haworth and Hill (1992) of young adult white-collar workers showed similar results. Haworth and Evans (1995), incorporating a measure of enjoyment, found that highly enjoyable flow experiences were most frequently associated with the job, followed by listening to music.

Studies by Clarke and Haworth (1994) and by Haworth and Evans (1995) showed that activities described as highly challenging with skill rated as equal to the challenge, (flow) were highly enjoyable about only half of the times. Further, these studies showed that high enjoyment could be experienced when individuals engaged in activities which were described as only of a low challenge, such as watching TV. It is important to note, however, that high enjoyment was more often associated with high challenge met with equal skill (flow). Also, when high challenge met with equal skill is found to be enjoyable this seems to be beneficial for subjective wellbeing, as measured by standard questionnaires.

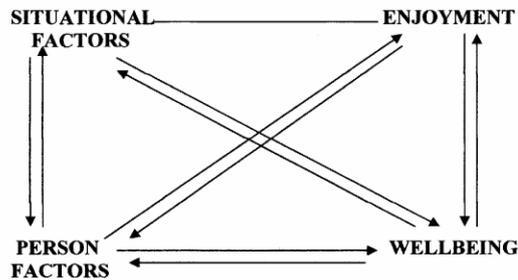
In a study using the ESM conducted within an academic setting by Siddiquee, Sixsmith, Lawthom and Haworth (2014) participants were signalled on a mobile phone eight times a day on a random basis between the hours of 8am and 10pm, for seven consecutive days. They were asked to complete a series of eight questions in a diary at each signal. The questions were: Q1 - What was the main thing you were doing? Q2 - How much were you **enjoying** the activity (response set: 1=low enjoyment, 2=moderate enjoyment, 3=high enjoyment)? Q3 - How **interesting** did you find the activity (response set: 1=low interest, 2=moderate interest, 3=high interest)? Q4 - How **challenging** did you find the activity (response set: 1=low challenge, 2=moderate, 3=high challenge)? Q5 - Were your **skills**: 1) less than required for the challenge, 2) equal to the challenge, 3) more than required for the challenge? Q6 - How **visually interesting** did you find the scene (response set: 1=low visual interest, 2 moderate visual interest, 3=high visual interest)? Q7 - How **happy** were you feeling at the time (response set: 1=low level of happiness, 2=moderate level of happiness, 3=high level of happiness)? Q8 - Any other brief comments?

The results show that level of enjoyment is significantly correlated with level of happiness, level of interest and visual interest. The study indicates that enjoyment can come from low, moderate and high challenge activities. Analysis of skill-challenge balance and enjoyment at both work and leisure showed that a greater level of enjoyment was obtained if skills were higher than moderate challenge. The study also highlights that high enjoyment (score 3 on a 3 point scale) in relation to both work and leisure is greater when moderate challenge and high challenge are met with equal skill, traditionally termed 'flow'. It must be reiterated that, as in other studies (e.g. Clarke and Haworth 1994), high enjoyment also came from both moderate and low challenge activities and could be associated with high interest and happiness. In many cases, a cluster of positive subjective experiences came from social activities in leisure. Delle Fave and Massimini (2003) note that creative activities in leisure, work and social interaction can give rise to 'flow' or 'optimal' experiences, and that these experiences foster individual development and an increase in skills in the lifelong cultivation of specific interests and activities.

Stebbins (2004) argues that an optimal leisure life style includes both serious and casual leisure. His extensive studies of serious leisure activities, such as astronomy, archaeology, music, singing, sports, and career volunteering, show that it is defined by six distinguishing qualities. These are: the occasional need to persevere at it; the development of the activity as in a career; the requirement for effort based on specialised knowledge, training or skill; the provision of durable benefits or rewards; the identification of the person with the activity; the production of an ethos and social world. It also offers a distinctive set of rewards, satisfying as a counterweight to the costs involved. Stebbins (2014) notes that the majority of serious leisure activities can generate "flow", and that "Serious and project-based leisure are far more likely to lead to long term happiness, especially when with the casual form, all three are integrated in an optimal leisure lifestyle" (p37).

Csikszentmihalyi and Csikszentmihalyi (2006), in an edited book on what makes life worth living, highlight the importance of personally meaningful goals, individual strengths and virtues, and intrinsic motivation and autonomy, in what makes people happy and life meaningful. Positive emotions and the development of personal resilience are also important in optimal functioning. Fredrickson (2001, 2006) advocates from her research that people should cultivate positive emotions in themselves and in those around them not just as end states in themselves, but as a means to achieving psychological growth and improved psychological and physical well-being over time. She considers from her 'Broaden-and-Build' theory of positive emotions that they broaden attention and thinking; aid psychological resilience, helping to build personal resources, enhancing psychological and physical well-being. The understanding of enjoyment could also enhance the investigation of human flourishing. Seligman (2011) argues that while happiness is a part of well-being, happiness alone does not give life meaning. Central to enhanced well-being is the ability to flourish. He proposes that Positive Emotion (of which happiness and life satisfaction are aspects) is one of the five pillars of Positive Psychology, along with Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment----or **PERMA**, the permanent building blocks for a life of profound fulfilment.

An empirical model of well-being



Person factors include:-

Dispositions, e.g. locus of control
Coping Styles
Life Themes
Etc.

The questionnaires can be found in
Haworth, J.T. (1997) Work, Leisure and Well-being.
London: Routledge.

Figure 1

The Office for National Statistics (ONS) (www.ons.gov.uk) in its 'Approach to measuring wellbeing' is developing new measures of national well-being. The aim is that these new measures will cover the quality of life of people in the UK, environmental and sustainability issues, as well as the economic performance of the country. It is also 'Aiming to build a deeper understanding of how internal psychological factors and personal attributes can mediate external determinants and contributions of individual wellbeing' (Beaumont 2011). Research by Haworth, Jarman, and Lee (1997), using the ESM, indicated the important role of enjoyment in well-being, linking personal factors (locus of control, which has affinities with resilience) and situational factors (Principal Environmental Influences): (see also Haworth 1997 and Haworth 2004). This is shown in Figure 1.

The study by Haworth, Jarman, and Lee (1997), involved using a mobile phone being beeped 8 times a day on a random basis for seven days. At each beep questions are answered on the activity being undertaken and the extent to which it was enjoyed etc. A standard questionnaire measured Locus of Control (Rotter 1966), which is the degree to which an individual feels that behavioural outcomes are due to personal effort (internal locus of control) rather than to chance (external locus of control). A questionnaire we developed at Manchester measured 'Situational factors, or 'Principal Environmental Influences' (PEI's) identified by Warr (1987) as important for wellbeing. These were: opportunity for control, environmental clarity, opportunity for skill use, externally generated goals, variety, opportunity for interpersonal contact, valued social position, availability of money, and physical security. They include the categories of psychological experience identified by Jahoda (1982) provided by the social institution of employment. The Principal Environmental Influences are considered to interact with characteristics of the person to facilitate or constrain psychological well-being or mental health.

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The results from the ESM study by Haworth, Jarman, and Lee (1997) showed that several of the PEIs were associated with measures of psychological well-being; and that locus of control was associated with measures of well-being, with internal locus of control individuals having better scores. Internal locus of control individuals also had better scores on several PEIs; and also greater levels of enjoyment, interest and control, and wished to be doing activities more, than external locus of control individuals, measured over the week of the study. The study suggested that enjoyment and feelings of control might enhance locus of control, which in turn may lead to enhanced well-being either directly or through greater access to PEIs. Clearly, there is an interaction between opportunities provided by social institutions and the experiences and characteristics of the person, in relation to well-being.

These interactions may be enhanced by both reflective and non-reflective activities (Haworth 2004 p 179). Rotter (1982) indicated the possible importance of ‘enhancement behaviours’ which he viewed as specific cognitive activities that are used by those with an internal locus of control to enhance and maintain good feelings. Cognitive theories of ‘Mindfulness’, often described as paying attention, on purpose, non judgementally, are now important in Wellbeing (www.mindful.org and World Happiness Report 2015 Chp5). However, Uleman and Bargh (1989) also indicate the importance of subconscious processes in wellbeing. Merleau-Ponty (1962) in his **Embodiment theory of consciousness** indicates the importance of both reflexive (reflective) and non-reflexive (non-reflective) thought in being. He argues that the body has its world or understands its world without having to use its symbolic objectifying function, “...to perceive is to render oneself present to something through the body” and “consciousness is in the first place not a matter of ‘I think that’, but of ‘I can’ ” (p.137). This is similar to current theories of ‘situated cognition’ emphasising the intertwining of the situation and cognition (Wilson 2002). This new view of consciousness (e.g. Varela, Thompson and Rosch 1991) supports the potential importance for well-being of non-reflective situated experience in work and leisure (Haworth 1997 Chp7 Embodiment and quality of life), including experiences such as enjoyable social interaction, walking a path we may enjoy in a park. It broadens the important perspective and research into Positive Psychology and well-being, which focuses primarily on individual influences on well-being, arising in part through its origins in American psychology strongly influenced by the individualistic American culture (Haworth 2014 p5 www.cappeu.com). Yet recent advances in research in social neuroscience show the essentially social nature of human mind and brain (www.socialmirrors.org and the Social Brain project of the Royal Society for the Arts). Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky (2007) argue from extensive studies that well-being is achieved by the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of personal, interpersonal and collective needs.

The Aesthetics of Everyday Life

Visual Interest. The study by (Siddiquee, Sixsmith, Lawthom and Haworth, 2014) referred to earlier, shows a significant association between enjoyment, happiness, interest and **visual interest**. High visual interest scores came from paid work, life work and leisure, with the greatest number coming from leisure and included social activities, playing with children, walking, reading, computer games, and watching TV.

Melchionne (2014) ‘The Definition of Everyday Aesthetics’ published in Contemporary Aesthetics, argues that the point of everyday aesthetic activity is well-being. He discusses everyday aesthetics as those aspects of our lives marked by widely shared, daily routines or patterns to which we tend to impart an aesthetic character. These can include, amongst other things, social interaction, and going out into the world to work or on errands, possibly selecting

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a path we may enjoy, which may have an aesthetic character. The aesthetic satisfactions of everyday life may be modest, and can be low in challenge, but their pervasiveness makes them important. Well-being is greatly dependent on everyday aesthetic life.

Survey of Enjoyment

The ONS in its 'Approach to Measuring Well-being' has added four questions to its annual Integrated Household Survey. These are: Overall, how satisfied are you with your life nowadays?; Overall, how happy did you feel yesterday?; Overall, how anxious did you feel yesterday?; Overall, to what extent do you feel the things you do in your life are worthwhile? The questions are answered on a scale from 0-10. Smaller surveys addressing other aspects of well-being are being conducted each month. Initially, results will be regarded as experimental to see if the questions work, and that they meet public policy and other needs, including international developments.

The monthly Opinion Survey conducted in August 2011 by the ONS included a measure of enjoyment, and other aspects of experience, as well as the four overall measures of wellbeing. The question on enjoyment asked: 'Overall how much enjoyment did you experience yesterday?' answered on a 10 point scale from 0 no enjoyment at all to 10 as much enjoyment as possible. The mean rating was 6.4, compared to a mean rating of 7.4 to the question 'Overall how happy did you feel yesterday'. Enjoyment correlated 0.58 with happiness. For enjoyment, nearly 20% had a rating of under 5, while 35% or more had a rating of between 8 and 10. Obviously there are significant differences in enjoyment amongst sections of the population. It would be valuable to analyse in more detail how enjoyment is distributed amongst the population by variables such as age, gender, employment/unemployment, income, and geographical place.

In Conclusion

This working paper has presented research and theory indicating the importance of enjoyment for well-being, happiness and health. It has also indicated the importance of considering enjoyment in relation to public policy for well-being. Enjoyment can come from a range of activities in both work and leisure and from different levels of challenge. Enjoyable flow, or Optimal Experiences, may be similar to Peak Experiences, in that they tend to be infrequent. Enjoyable everyday aesthetic experiences may be more mundane, but more frequent. Enjoyment is facilitated by characteristics of both the person and the social and physical environment. It can be greatly influenced by social institutions, local and central government, international institutions, and the economic and social policies pursued. National and local surveys of enjoyment in daily life would be beneficial in the study of happiness and well-being.

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