Young professionals and the pursuit of happiness at work

Ilona I. Suojanen

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

2017

Työsuojelurahasto

Arbetarskyddsfonden

The Finnish Work Environment Fund

Declaration

This is to certify that the work contained within has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Ilona Suojanen
October 2017

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the robins. I doubt they know why.

Acknowledgments

As many studies, including this one, have shown, other people have a great influence on our happiness. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge all those *others* who have supported, guided and helped me during these four years.

I am forever thankful for the great supervisors I had; I couldn't have asked for more. Wendy Loretto, Neil Thin and Kristina Potočnik, thank you for your wisdom, support and guidance right from the beginning. I would not have been able to reach this point and this level of quality without your supervision. I have enjoyed very much working with you and appreciated the time, effort and humanity you put into this within your own busy schedules.

Unlimited gratefulness goes to the funding bodies. Thank you Alfred Kordelin foundation for the scholarships for 2,5 years, which manifested your trust in my abilities and the worthiness of my research topic. I am also grateful for Finnish Cultural foundation, The Finnish Work Environment Fund and Erkki Paasikivi foundation for their scholarships and the University of Edinburgh Business School for funding the many conferences I attended in the UK and across Europe.

This study would not exist without participants. Thank you all for sharing your happiness moments and narratives with me. I hope you enjoy what I made out of them.

Thank you Sami Keskiaho for helping me to believe in myself from early on in the application process and throughout the PhD years. I also appreciate the visualisation of the happiness responsibility and the happiness enablers models you created. Thank you Tatiana Rodionova for your clever, insightful thoughts on my research, all the support you've given and the many long lunches and tea breaks in the BS. Jakov Jandrić, it has been such a pleasure to have you by my side in the office and beyond, you have not only made me laugh but have also been an immediate source of help in technicalities and with theories. Thank you David Wood for guiding me out of the office and up the many munros in the beautiful Highlands. Nichole Fernandez, thank you for the happiness at work collage (p. vii) you created. My dear friends near and far, thank you all. You make me happier.

I am thankful for my Mum and Dad for investing so much in expanding my strengths and possibilities to navigate this fascinating world. You always told me I was able to achieve whatever I wanted to and this is one of the proofs you were right. Thank you Mum for the proofreading, too. I am also grateful for my sisters Outi and Saara for the invitation and accommodation in New Zealand, where I went for light and warmth during the darkest times of the (PhD) winters, and reflective discussions with my brother Pekka about happiness at work.

Thank you all. Thank you so much. You have truly contributed to my happiness.

ALFRED KORDELININ SÄÄTIÖ

SUOMEN KULTTUURIRAHASTO
Finnish Cultural Foundation

Työsuojelurahasto
Arbetarskyddsfonden
The Finnish Work Environment Fund

HAPPINESS
at
work

Work is - in musical terms - a chordal pad.
It is the platform on which happiness takes place.
That is the best you can hope for.

– Richard, 27, finance

Abstract

Happiness has recently gained interest as an influential variable in managing the employment relationship, as studies have suggested benefits for productivity and performance. Knowledge on workplace happiness is, however, still relatively limited and more understanding is needed on employee perceptions and benefits of and expectations for happiness, as well as happiness responsibility. Qualitative approaches can provide new information on such a highly subjective and complex phenomenon as happiness, which has mainly been addressed with quantitative methods.

24 young professionals from various fields, based in Edinburgh, took part in this study. They were requested to take photos when experiencing work-related happiness during a two-week period. Afterwards they were asked to talk through their photos. Narratives were supported by semi-structured interviews. Data was analysed using thematic inductive coding, leaning on the framework from Fisher (2010), psychological contract (Rousseau, 1989) and interactionist perspective (Ahuvia et al., 2015).

Collected data revealed insights into workplace happiness expectations, enablers, responsibility and happiness concepts. Participants emphasised the importance of workplace happiness and expectations to be happy at work. Happiness was seen to improve performance and social behaviour, but there was also a pressure to be happy at work. The five main happiness enablers were: having sense of control, work going well, doing something that matters, physical environment and working with friends. Participants highlighted their responsibility for their own happiness at work, however, shared responsibility was also proposed. The results suggest that young professionals want to be happy at work. If they are not, they are likely to leave. The happiness requirement is mainly based on expectations on authenticity, work-life integration and being a good employee. The findings suggest that listening to the employees and enhancing conversations is the key in creating happier workplaces. This study also shows how happiness is better elucidated through empirical narratives than through intellectual abstractions and definitions.

Theoretical contributions include four pathways into happiness responsibility, clarifying and reasoning the importance of the five main happiness enablers and providing suggestions to existing happiness models. On the practical side, this study contributes to the gaps of knowledge from the employees' point of view based on lived-experiences. It deepens understanding of employee happiness, providing vital information for the HR/management personnel, policy makers and academics about the values and expectations of young professionals. Furthermore, it supplies new insights into elucidating employee happiness, by explaining the advantages and challenges of using narrative methods and visual data.

Keywords: happiness at work, young professionals, happiness responsibility, happiness expectations

Table of Contents

Declaration i

Dedication iii

Acknowledgments v

Abstract xi

Chapter 1. Introduction 1
- **1.1 Importance of happiness at work** 3
- **1.2 Importance of the positive approach to life in organisations** 5
- **1.3 Distorted focus on happiness in HRM and workplace studies** 9
- **1.4 Young professionals – Generation Y** 12
- **1.5 Personal motivation behind the study** 14
- **1.6 The key contributions of this study** 15
- **1.7 Structure of thesis** 16

Chapter 2. Happiness, at work, among young professionals 17
- **2.1 Terms and definitions of happiness** 17
  - 2.1.1 Happiness has many names 18
  - 2.1.2 Happiness has more than one definition 20
  - 2.1.3 Approach to happiness definitions in this study 21
- **2.2 Happiness in the workplace** 24
  - 2.2.1 Theories to study workplace happiness 24
  - 2.2.2 Happiness contributors in organisations 39
- **2.3 Who is responsible for happiness at work?** 56
  - 2.3.1 The individual's responsibility for happiness 57
  - 2.3.2 Organisational happiness responsibilities 61
  - 2.3.3 Shared happiness responsibility 68
- **2.4 Young professionals and happiness** 70
  - 2.4.1 Changing values and expectations 72
  - 2.4.2 Demands for flexibility 73
  - 2.4.3 Importance of social connections 75
  - 2.4.4 Leadership requirements 76
  - 2.4.5 Entitled generation? 78
- **2.5 Gaps in knowledge and research questions** 80
  - 2.5.1 Gaps in knowledge 80
  - 2.5.2 Aim of the study and the research questions 80

Chapter 3. Approach to happiness in this study 83
- **3.1 The researcher's philosophical position** 83
  - 3.1.1 Ontological and epistemological approach 83
  - 3.1.2 Qualitative approach to studying happiness at work 87
- **3.2 Methodology** 88
  - 3.2.1 Overview of methodology 88
  - 3.2.2 Narrative research 89
  - 3.2.3 Creating synergy: narratives supported by mindful photography 90
- **3.3 Empirical study design** 93
  - 3.3.1 Overview of methods 93
  - 3.3.2 The research context 94
  - 3.3.3 Sample selection 97
  - 3.3.4 Outcomes of the pilot study 98

3.4 Data generation **100**
3.4.1 Ethics 100
3.4.2 Research phases 101
3.5 Data handling and analysis **104**
3.5.1 Coding and analysing processes 105
3.5.2 Result chapters answering the research questions 107
3.6 Challenges and benefits of mindful photography **109**
3.6.1 Challenges of mindful photography 109
3.6.2 Benefits of mindful photography 117

Chapter 4. Concepts and importance of happiness **123**
4.1 Happiness is... ..... **123**
4.1.1 ... a moment 124
4.1.2 ... a mood 126
4.1.3 ... a life 127
4.2 Why is happiness important? **129**
4.2.1 Happiness as a dinner 130
4.2.2 Happiness as a dessert 133
4.3 The benefits and limitations of a happy employee **134**
4.3.1 Happiness influencing performance and social behaviour 135
4.3.2 The limitations of happiness 138
4.3.3 Professional happiness 139
4.4 Chapter discussion **141**

Chapter 5. What enables happiness at work? **149**
5.1 Work going well **150**
5.2 Working with friends **157**
5.3 Physical environment **160**
5.4 Doing something that matters **163**
5.5 Having sense of control **166**
5.6 Chapter discussion **174**

Chapter 6. Happiness responsibility **185**
6.1 My responsibility **188**
6.2 Mainly my responsibility **190**
6.3 Shared responsibility **193**
6.4 Chapter discussion **195**
6.4.1 Psychological contract and happiness responsibility 197
6.4.2 Why do young professionals think they are responsible? 199
6.4.3 The dark side of "my responsibility" 201

Chapter 7. What could employers do for employee happiness? **205**
7.1 Listening to the employees **205**
7.2 Significance of true flexibility **207**
7.3 Requirement for training **208**
7.4 The role of rewards **210**
7.5 Importance of good leadership **212**
7.6 Pleasant working environment **215**
7.7 Chapter discussion **217**
7.7.1 Listening and trust 217
7.7.2 Other requirements 219

Chapter 8. Conclusions **221**
8.1 Answers to research questions **221**

8.2 Contributions and impact of the study **226**
8.2.1 Theoretical contributions 226
8.2.2 Methodological contributions 234
8.2.3 Practical contributions 237
8.3 Limitations of the study **239**
8.4 Recommendations for future research **242**
8.5 Concluding remarks **247**

References **251**

Appendices **279**
Appendix 1 Information sheet **279**
Appendix 2 Consent form **281**
Appendix 3 Interview questions **282**
Appendix 4 Data coding **283**

List of tables

Table 1 Happiness-related constructs in the workplace (Fisher, 2010) 25
Table 2 Theories to study happiness at work 35
Table 3 Principal job characteristics affecting happiness (Warr 2013, 734) 40
Table 4 List of participants 98
Table 5 Challenges and benefits of mindful photography 120
Table 6 Happiness is… 142
Table 7 Happiness as a dinner and as a dessert 144
Table 8 Professional happiness: performance and social behaviour 145
Table 9 Happiness enablers 149
Table 10 Elaborating on the happiness enablers at work 229
Table 11 Advantages and disadvantages of mindful photography 236

List of figures

Figure 1 The wellbeing lens (Thin, 2016) 8
Figure 2 PERMA model (Seligman, 2011) 41
Figure 3 Illustration on wellbeing (What Works Centre, 2017) 64
Figure 4 Ripple effect (What works Centre, 2017) 64
Figure 5 Interactionist model of how wellbeing happens (Thin, 2016, 8) 69
Figure 6 Happiness is … 124
Figure 7 Connections between all five enablers 182
Figure 8 New model for the pathways to happiness responsibility 227
Figure 9 Managerial actions and happiness enablers 238
Figure 10 Everyone who enters this world has a chance to heal it 249

Chapter 1. Introduction

Happiness has become an important economic pursuit. Governments of many countries have started paying attention to the happiness of their citizens (Potts, 2011). In 2011, the UN member states signed a resolution 65/309. Happiness: towards a holistic approach to development, recognising that "the GDP does not adequately reflect the happiness and wellbeing of people" and accepting the invitation to:

> pursue the elaboration of additional measures that better capture the importance of the pursuit of happiness and well-being in development with the view to guiding their public policies (UN, 2011).

In 2012, the UN also declared the International Happiness Day to be celebrated on the 20th of March to recognise the

> need for a more inclusive, equitable and balanced approach to economic growth that promotes sustainable development, poverty eradication, happiness and the wellbeing of all peoples. (UN, 2012).

In the UK the Office for National Statistics (ONS) has been developing measures of national well-being. Their focus is on areas such as health, disability, age, employment situation, education and measures of subjective well-being. Their aim is to reach beyond the GDP and to measure "the things that matter". (ONS, 2017.) However, ONS does not look into happiness in the wellbeing measurements.

Happiness has also recently gained interest as an influential variable in managing the employment relationship and companies have started to invest in enhancing happiness (Fisher, 2010). Institutes, such as Great Place to Work, provide research and consulting to help firms to identify, create and sustain great workplaces, and Google's long term study gDNA attempts to understand how happiness impacts work, by studying employees' happiness and work-life balance (Bock, 2014). A new title of the *chief happiness officer,* CHO has been

created and adopted in some companies, such as Zappos, Google and Kiabi (Knowles, 2015).

All these actions and movements refer to an increasing interest in the happiness of employees and citizens. They also refer to a change in values and perspectives. The reasons why companies, governments and individuals are interested in happiness vary. First of all, not for that long have we had empirical scientific evidence about happiness through variety of disciplines which have helped to "lift the shadow of obscurity" regarding happiness (Verme, 2009). One reason is that since people want to be happy and rank happiness very high in value preference studies (Veenhoven, 2010) and we live in a democratic society, people's need and desire to be happy should be acknowledged. Another reason is that many studies suggest happy people are better employees (e.g. Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005a; Edgar, Geare, Halhjem, Reese, & Thoresen, 2015) and better citizens (Gavin & Mason, 2004). Therefore, the importance of happiness is clearly becoming an economic and political question (Bok, 2010). According to Haybron (2013b) there are four reasons why happiness matters to people: 1) "It is pleasant". 2) It has a great influence on how we respond to different aspects and events in our lives. 3) It is the "broad evaluation" of a person's life, "the verdict on individual's psyche on how he is living". 4) As on some level, things that make us happy define who we are, it "constitutes a kind of self-fulfilment". (Haybron, 2013a, 313.)

This thesis will look into happiness in the workplace, providing justifications for the interest and actions for happiness at work. It supplies new information on the main aspects enabling happiness and elaborates on why and how happiness happens in the workplace. This study contributes to the conceptualisation of happiness and advances knowledge on happiness responsibility. In addition, it emphasises the need for qualitative research methods in happiness studies and calls for alternative approaches in organisational research. As there are 80 million young adults born between 1976 and 2001, and by 2020 Generation Y is calculated to form 46 per cent of the global workforce (PWC, 2011; Maximizing

Millennials -report, 2012), this study will look at happiness at work from the point view of young professionals.

1.1 Importance of happiness at work

As stated before, one reason why happiness at work matters is because happy people are seen as better employees (e.g. Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a). Studies have found significant relationships between happiness and job performance (Baptiste, 2008; Edgar et al., 2015). In the extensive study of Lyubomirsky et al. (2005a) a mixture of cross-sectional, longitudinal and experimental studies, in total of 225 papers and overall 275 000 participants were examined. They found a correlation between happiness and desirable work-outcomes, such as superior performance and productivity at work. (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a, 831.)

Other studies have found more advantages of happiness at work such as: an increase in commitment, motivation and energy; capability to recover from pitfalls; increase in solidarity and tolerance; decrease in sick leave rates; and improved understanding of work. Happiness has also a strong positive effect on high quality work and results. (Varila & Viholainen, 2000; Warr, 2007; Gavin & Mason, 2004; Veenhoven, 2010; Achor, 2012.) Happy people score higher on the measures of creativity, which is claimed to be vital for successful performance (Anderson, Potočnik & Zhou, 2014) and happiness also increases the skills to solve conflicts effectively (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a, 830). Furthermore, happy people are more likely to enjoy their activities, even the boring tasks they have to take on (Bao & Lyubomirsky, 2013, 125). Compared to unhappy workers, the happy ones are approach-oriented, interested in their work and persistent in the face of difficulties (Bakker & Oerlemans, 2011), and are more willing to improve the workplace (Searle & Parker, 2013, 720). In addition, happiness affects how long employees remain in the organisation, as happy people are more likely to choose organisations where they can do meaningful and fulfilling work (Searle & Parker, 2013, 725).

Happiness at work is a topic that is often investigated from a management perspective in terms of how an organisation benefits from happy employees. There is still very little discussion on why happiness at work matters to people: why do they want to be happy at work and how do they benefit from happiness? This thesis takes a different perspective as it seeks to understand the purpose of happiness from the employee point view and aspects that make them happy. Performance, productivity and turnover are not the only reasons to invest on employee happiness. Employee happiness should matter, as it matters to the people who want to be happy. This is especially strong with Generation Y (Deal & Levenson, 2016), not only in personal life but also at work:

> Forget about the previous age of delayed gratification when it was only after working hours that you could express yourself, and allow yourself something extra. Now we can – and should – be happy, 24/7. --- It is not just the demand to be happy. It is the demand to enjoy every turn in your life and to make every instance a potential moment for enjoyment. (Cederström & Spicer, 2015, 86-87).

Successful businesses will most likely pay more interest in happiness in the coming years, as it is suggested that we are now approaching "the conceptual age, in which the qualities of inventiveness, empathy, joyfulness and meaning will increasingly determine who flourishes and who flounders" (Pink, 2006, 3). Workplace happiness can also be seen as an important facet of the wellbeing debate aiming at longer working lives and sustainable working environments, which do not only cover ecological aspects but also the social aspects of sustainability (Thin, 2002).

Companies have started investing time, money and effort in creating better workplaces, perhaps to attract and retain the best employees, for greater business performance, to polish company's image in the eyes of consumers and investors, or to lower absence figures, but perhaps also because that is a sensible and sustainable thing to do. In the CIPD Absence management report (2016), nearly half of the companies that reported increased focus on wellbeing in their companies, said it was because they believed it as the right thing to do. The idea that companies exist only to make money, ought to be updated, as they

do exist also to provide jobs for people and should therefore see the wider consequences of their actions. As Porter and Kramer (2011) stated in Harvard Business Review:

> Not all profit is equal—an idea that has been lost in the narrow, short-term focus of financial markets and in much management thinking. Profits involving a social purpose represent a higher form of capitalism—one that will enable society to advance more rapidly while allowing companies to grow even more. The result is a positive cycle of company and community prosperity, which leads to profits that endure. (Porter & Kramer, 2011.)

Companies should look after the happiness of their employees, not just because they want to be a good employer, but also because it is their responsibility. Being responsible for happiness refers to promoting good work, not just avoiding doing harm.

1.2 Importance of the positive approach to life in organisations

Although psychology and organisational studies have been accused of focusing only on negative aspects (Warr, 2007), and wellbeing studies are too often about 'illbeing', there has recently been a growing interest in positive experiences in the workplace as well. One of the most important reasons for the shift is said to be due to positive psychology, which Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000, 5) call as "a change in the focus of psychology from preoccupation only with repairing the worst things in life to also building positive qualities". Sachau (2007) has suggested that this will be the decade when positive psychology will find its way into the HRM literature and practice. The focus on positive aspects in workplaces has started shaping the organisations studies and workplace research (e.g. Atkinson & Hall, 2011), and positive psychology has influenced this research as well. Positive approaches can remind researchers of the holistic, humane approach and encourage looking into what is possible. They can provide alternatives to more traditional studies and aim at more rigorous results, as well as help to develop new methodologies. Positive organisational scholarship, Appreciative inquiry and Wellbeing lens

provide good examples on how these goals can be achieved in organisational research.

Positive Organisational Scholarship, POS, focuses on "positive human potential", and looks into the dynamics in organisations (Cameron & Speitzer, 2011). POS aims at understanding how to approach the "best of the human condition", is interested in "exceptional, virtuous, life-giving and flourishing phenomena" (Cameron, Dutton & Quinn, 2003, 5), and emphasises the aspects that elevate, inspire and give life to individuals, as well as concentrates on what is going well and experienced as good in organisations (Cameron & Speitzer, 2011). Without ignoring dysfunctional patterns, POS prioritises strengths and processes that are seen as or lead into positive outcomes (Roberts, 2006, 292). All these aspects are relevant to this study and support the approach not to focus on what is causing unhappiness in organisations, but to hear what makes people happy and how this happiness can be achieved and nurtured. Although I do argue that happiness has economic and political benefits, I also declare that it should be studied regardless of those benefits. This viewpoint is also supported by POS (Cameron & Speitzer, 2011).

Similar to POS, another outlook to the importance of positive approach in organisations is provided by *Appreciative inquiry*, AI, (Cooperider & Srivastva, 1987). AI focuses on positive aspects in organisations and supports those to grow, instead of looking at what is wrong and what needs to be changed (Waters & White, 2013, 20), and acknowledges that change can be achieved through appreciation as in contrast to criticism (Lewis, Passmore, & Cantore, 2008). AI accepts that as organisations contain all aspects of human life, they are therefore "chaotic, emotion ridden, illogical, irrational and a mystery" (Cooperider & Srivastva, 1987), which also seems to be true of the pursuit of happiness at work and has guided the approach in this study. Since organisations, consisting of people, are living organisms, they react to their environment and these reactions are also driven by the whole spectrum of human behaviour, including emotions and habits. Organisations are also

constantly changing according to what people think and talk about and which stories they decide to share with each other (Lewis, Passmore, & Cantore, 2008, 23, 31). AI systematically claims for stories of possibilities, success and strengths in order to find already existing positive aspects in organisations and to see what is possible (Waters & White, 2013, 20), which supports my choice for the narrative methods to study happiness. In this holistic and collaborative model, the researcher's role is to "illuminate and nourish the human spirit" (Cooperider & Srivastva, 1987, 130).

If POS is a concept and AI a model, *Wellbeing lens* (Thin, 2012b) is an "analytical framework for rethinking social priorities" which combines positivity, subjectivity and ethical transparency and aims at exploring the roles of society and culture (Thin, 2012b; 2016a; 2017). Thin (2017) suggests that using the wellbeing lens can direct research into more appreciative, considerate, interdisciplinary and longitudinal direction, which has been the case in this study. The wellbeing lens has guided to plan a participatory and co-productive research, seeing employees as human beings, with different background, experiences, life stage and values, which form who they are, how they act and what they need and appreciate. It also supports this study's aim at leading towards well functioning, sustainable and happy workplaces.

The main goal of the lens is to support people not just to avoid harm and to possess goods with instrumental value, but towards excellent lives. It supports holistic approach and integration between various life domains and emphasises life course approach. (Thin, 2016a.) The lens is divided into three: positivity, empathy and integration, each part relating strongly to the others (Figure 1). *Positivity* refers to focusing on appreciating and exploring successes and enjoyments and learning from them. It also leads to greater understanding on what people value. (Thin 2016a; 2017). When looking at workplace happiness, this part of the lens emphasises the importance of focusing on positive things and work well done, and emphasises strengths rather than weaknesses. Looking through the wellbeing lens can also lead into greater understanding on what

people essentially value at work, as well as showing or explaining connections between apparently separate issues and therefore "encouraging a more holistic analysis to help generate more appropriate action and interventions" (Viatte, Suojanen & Heins, 2014).

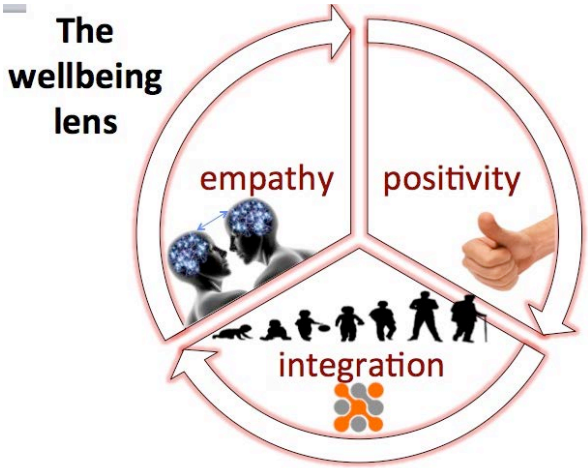


Figure 1 The wellbeing lens (Thin, 2016)

Appreciative *empathy* highlights the importance of respecting people's subjective experiences and considering, listening to and responding to this subjectivity with empathy. (Thin, 2016a.) In workplaces, appreciative empathy is a useful aspect of every interaction with colleagues, customers and other stakeholders, and especially useful for managers to understand the employees better. *Integration* acknowledges that wellbeing is derived from interactive processes. It also emphasises looking into how different parts of lives and experiences "fit together or harmonize through the life course". (Thin, 2016a.)

Although POS, AI and Wellbeing lens are related, POS focuses more on emphasising approaches and attitudes, whereas AI is a model that provides tools for research methods and Wellbeing lens is a framework. Even though AI tools are not used in this study per se, the attitudes and thoughts behind the model support the focus on and explain the importance of positive aspects in organisations. These three approaches have not only shaped organisational research, but also influenced this study to focus on positive aspects and to

highlight those in research and organisations, which has guided the literature search and focus. Emphasised in this study are the importance of discussion, sharing and listening, all aiming at understanding happiness, to elaborate perspectives from an individual's point of view and to bring up meaningful topics for constructive conversations about workplace happiness. Through these conversations we can better understand and promote happiness at work.

1.3 Distorted focus on happiness in HRM and workplace studies

Even though there are many studies on work satisfaction and wellbeing in a broader sense, relatively little attention is paid to workplace happiness (Fisher, 2010; Thin, 2012a). Happiness at work, as a distinct concept to job satisfaction and commitment, is not widely studied, apart from exceptions, such as Peter Warr's (1989-) work on happiness in the workplace. Surprisingly little of the research has found its way into use, particularly within organizational psychology (Judge & Klinger, 2008). The current management course books very seldom discuss the concept of happiness and very few guidelines are provided to increase the happiness of the employees in the workplace. Warr (2007, 7) highlights the strong "general bias in favour of negative states" in the work studies; this is in line with psychology, which has until the recent years, mainly focused on the problems of people, instead of their potential (Lyubomirsky, et al., 2005b; Potts, 2011). This is proven by a quick glance at organizational books, where emotions are mainly related to stress and conflicts.

Warren (2002) strongly argues that emotions and "the non-rational" are ignored in the mainstream organisational studies. She reminds us of the fact that "people at work are still human beings, with the same capacity for emotional --- experience inside the organization as they have outside it" (Warren, 2002, 226). Perhaps this is something that has not changed since 1978 when Freeman wrote as follows:

> subjective variables like job satisfaction .... contain useful information for predicting and understanding behaviour, but they also lead to

> complexities due to their dependency on psychological states (Freeman, 1978, 140).

These 'complexities' should not stop us from conducting research on happiness, and seeing them as the "undesirable side of working life" (Warren, 2002, 226), but instead as a possibility to support and cultivate more sustainable HR and management practices.

In human resource management (HRM) the discussion on employee well-being is often divided into three dimensions: "happiness, health and relationship" (Grant, Christianson, & Price, 2007; Van De Voorde, Paauwe & Van Veldhoven 2012, 394), which suggests that these aspects are not in unison. This is very much in the opposition to the understanding of happiness overall, as a mixture of different attributes, which will be discussed in Chapter 2. In these discussions happiness is seen as a subjective experience, but is, still, mainly a combination of job satisfaction and commitment to the organisation (Van de Voorde et al., 2012). Also, the HRM literature refers to wellbeing, not to happiness and mainly focuses on health (Atkinson & Hill, 2011, 92). Although health is important and has been shown to have a clear impact on happiness (Blanchflower, 2008; Veenhoven, 2010) and vice versa as studies show happiness having a positive impact on health and immune function and lessening stress, accident and suicide rates (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a, 825), happiness is much more than health. In this study, although I acknowledge physical wellbeing can have a big influence on happiness at work, I will not discuss health-related issues, as they did not come up during the data collection.

HR practitioners could also look beyond commitment and job satisfaction, and with happiness perspective better understand "which HR practices influence which attitudes and to the extent to which HR practices have sufficient salience for employees to influence attitudes" (Atkinson & Hall, 2011, 102). It can be argued that the term happiness is quite loosely used in the HRM discussions, research mainly focusing on wellbeing, not on happiness and neglecting the

personal, individual desires and needs. As there is also a difference between the concept of happiness in psychological, philosophical and lay terms, a gap in HRM literature occurs.

Warr (2013, 733) states that organisational happiness studies are most often focusing on the "features in the environment" in other words on the job and organisations, and too little interest has been shown to people's experiences, thoughts and personal features. In order to really understand happiness in the workplace, both personal features and environmental aspects need to be examined (Warr, 2013, 746). When thinking about the concept of happiness, how can the feelings of people be neglected, as after all, the academic term "subjective well-being" refers to subjectivity, to personal feelings and thoughts. This focus on the environment and setting people on the secondary aspect shows a clear gap in organisational happiness studies. With this study I aim at changing the focus more on the people and to their interaction with the environment they are working in. I aim at "expanding person-oriented intervention research in job settings, to enhance well-being and to learn more about key causal process", just like Warr (2013, 746) advocates in his recent work.

In addition, happiness studies are heavily quantitative, as they have mainly been using quantitative self-report fixed questionnaire surveys to address the topic (Fineman, 2004; Thin, 2012b). Godard (2014, 7) strongly argues that HRM is focusing on unlimited surveys of matters that do not really have a stance in the current employment life, which have turned people into "emotional numbers" (Fineman, 2004, 720). Even though questionnaires reveal many aspects of the ambivalent topic and can provide findings that may be generalizable in many different situations, qualitative approaches are needed to complement these by telling the stories behind the numbers (Thin, 2012b; Suojanen, 2013). Qualitative studies can also examine the phenomenon in detail and depth and provide new and emerging topics, which might be missed by positivistic enquiries (Bryman, 1988; Bernard, 2006; Creswell, 2009). Furthermore,

qualitative organisational research approaches reality in organisations as something people actively devise (Bryman, 1989, 117). These are all justifications for a qualitative approach with a topic as complex and subjective as happiness. In order to improve the wide spectrum of employee well-being, it is essential to ask employees themselves what, why and how work makes them happy. Therefore, in this study happiness is investigated using a narrative approach supported by visual data.

1.4 Young professionals – Generation Y

This study will focus on professionals because they are known as a highly skilled and very mobile workforce, and a rather expensive investment for companies (Adler, Kwon, & Heckscher, 2008; Greiner & Ennsfellner, 2010). As I am interested in understanding the many aspects of work-related happiness, I have chosen this group because of the nature of their work, which allows a study of more diverse factors that may shape happiness at work. According to Boltanski and Chiapello (2005), professionals require a certain "spirit", motivation or engagement, to function and to give their part in production. They argue that freedom has an important role in capitalism, and although forced labour is in some cases used in unskilled manpower, it is

> utterly inadequate when the tasks to be performed require a higher level of skill, autonomy and positive involvement, or the use of sophisticated machinery, and when the product must satisfy stringent requirements in terms of innovation, reliability, quality of finish and respect of multiple manufacturing norms (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005, 486).

Another shaping factor is age. Generation Y is chosen because they are said to come to the job market with very different expectations to their ancestors (Eisner, 2005). As the vast study of 25 000 responses among Generation Y from 22 countries between the years 2008 and 2015 shows, people want to be happy at work and creating an environment where they have a chance to be happy is possible, if the organisation focuses on what actually is important to them (Deal & Levenson, 2016). As the work life is constantly forced to look for new ways to

balance in the world of unpredictable events in e.g. global economy, politics and technology, so are the minds and expectations of people in the midst of changing conditions reshaping as well. Therefore the understanding of the values and worldviews of this generation is not only beneficial, but crucial as well, for the sake of more sustainable working lives.

Most of the organisational research used to evolve around the Baby Boomers and Xs (Smola & Sutton, 2002), but there is a growing interest on Generation Y, which is said to be different to the previous generations. According to Eisner (2005, 5) the Ys are creating the biggest challenges to the managers in coming years, as the "managerial implications" of their entry is "complex" and they are said to be the generation who "rock the boat". For example, the rewarding systems need to be reformed, as even though the Ys are interested in advancing in their careers, they do not see climbing the ladders of promotions fulfilling "their ideals of success", as they are more self-motivated than their ancestors (McDonald & Hite, 2008, 98).

The discussion often circulates around the dilemmas the employers meet when managing the employees from different generations (Benson & Brown, 2011, 1843). The reason why employers want to understand the perhaps diverse needs of the employees of different ages, is that they want to find and maintain the best possible employees. Organizations are in constant struggle to compete for the talents they want and that are coming fewer due to the decrease in the birth rate. Therefore, "companies that are able to align work values with management practices are likely to retain the best and the brightest of today's and tomorrow's workforce" (Cogin, 2012, 2288) as they also want to prevent the employees from leaving the company (Benson & Brown, 2011, 1860).

However, the understanding of employees' values should not only be seen as a way to make them work more productively or innovatively (Smola & Sutton, 2002, 363) and to "unleash their potential" (Eisner, 2005, 14) but also as a way to add to their happiness at work. As there is still ambiguity and lack of

scientific proof about the wishes, needs and expectations of Generation Y, this study aims at providing more information on how young professionals define happiness, why and how it matters, what increases their happiness and what are their expectations for their employers regarding happiness.

1.5 Personal motivation behind the study

My trail towards PhD in happiness started when I was working as a lecturer and found myself very unhappy. I started questioning: 'should I be happy at work, what could increase my happiness and whose responsibility is it?'. This led to a thesis on workplace happiness for a master's degree in Educational Science at the University of Turku, Finland. This was in 2011 when workplace happiness studies were just starting to raise interest, a year before Harvard Business Review published the issue on the Value of Happiness. As I immersed into the existing literature I was at once persuaded that happiness was a concept requiring much more focus in organisational studies. My master's thesis was based on secondary data from the World Value Survey. As I was looking for correlations between different aspects, values and happiness, I became increasingly convinced that happiness is not about numbers. In the book called Work for Your Happiness (Suojanen, 2013), based on my dissertation, I emphasise that as happiness is subjective by nature, there is a need to hear the stories people have about their happiness, as well as to understand better what makes them happy and why. This gave the strong reasoning for a qualitative approach in this study.

I then attended a happiness conference in Leeds, in June 2012. There I began to understand the many happiness aspects still unknown to me. The hunger to learn more and the growing excitement on the topic motivated me to continue for PhD. Neither had I found answers to the responsibility question yet. During the conference dinner I had insightful conversations with an American researcher, who, I later realised, was the appreciated and well-cited happiness

philosopher, Dan Haybron[1]. Haybron recommended a book by a good friend of his, whom he presented to have fresh, elaborated thoughts and no fear of sharing them. That book was Social Happiness by Neil Thin, which encouraged me to continue towards the qualitative approach in happiness studies and to apply for a PhD at the University of Edinburgh, in order to work under his supervision.

Although, being elevated by the idea of adding something to scientific knowledge, I was even more motivated to investigate the topic that would interest many people and could hopefully contribute to a greater happiness. I also wanted to make sure that my research would have practical implications, too. With a background in journalism, it was also very important for me to aim at writing a clear and engaging thesis, which would be accessible to many outside the academia, too. I didn't want my study to be quoted only by academics, but to suggest changes and especially enhance the lives of ordinary people as well. I also hope my participants not only conceive this study and benefit from it, but above all *want* to read it.

Therefore, it can be said that my motivation to study happiness at work rose from unhappiness and was later fed not only by curiosity, but also by unexpected advice, great scholars and a good luck.

1.6 The key contributions of this study

As elaborated before, regardless of the importance and the significance of happiness in the workplace, there are still many aspects, which have not been addressed adequately in organisational research, heavily focused on wellbeing (and illbeing), leaving happiness of the employees on the side. This study fills some of the gaps in knowledge and contributes to these four key areas of focus:

[1] Haybron's work is used throughout this study, as although a professor of philosophy (Saint Louis University), his work is in intersection with psychology (especially on psychological wellbeing and empirical research on it), ethics and politics, which I find closely related to the themes in my thesis as well.

1) the conceptualisation of happiness, 2) aspects enabling happiness at work, 3) happiness responsibility and 4) alternative ways to study happiness in the workplace.

1.7 Structure of thesis

This first chapter has provided a background for the study and clarified why happiness at work matters, why further research is needed and why the selected approach has been taken. The next chapter, Chapter 2, will review literature on happiness and especially on happiness at work, looking into happiness definitions, aspects influencing happiness in the workplace, happiness responsibility and the Generation Ys' happiness requirements. At the end of Chapter 2 gaps will be stated and the aims of the study presented, together with the research questions. In Chapter 3 the research design and chosen methods will be explained and justified. Chapters 4-7 will present the findings from data collection. Chapter 4 will look into happiness concepts and the importance of happiness in the workplace. Chapter 5 focuses on aspects that enable happiness to happen at work. Chapter 6 looks into happiness responsibility and provides a four-way pathway into happiness responsibility. Chapter 7 provides suggestions on how employers and organisations can enhance happiness in the workplace. At the end of each chapter, there is a section for discussion for the particular topics in the chapter. The last chapter, Chapter 8 brings these discussions together, answers the research questions, suggests ideas for future studies and acknowledges limitations in this study.

Chapter 2. Happiness, at work, among young professionals

As the introduction elaborates, happiness at work matters, for both individuals and organisations. It is becoming a very valued topic and part of the wellbeing concept of workplace management, as well as the concept of sustainability. People want to be happy at work (especially Generation Y) and when aiming at supporting people to give, approach and reach the best of themselves, happiness studies can provide important information on individuals' needs, preferences and expectations.

This study neither aims at one definition on happiness, nor does it provide tools for measuring happiness. It shows that there are many definitions which are all as accurate or as insignificant as the others, and aims at adding to the happiness debate, which is "more important than all agreeing on one definition and one measurement" (Viatte et al., 2014). However, it is important to know what we are talking about when talking about happiness and what is the approach to happiness in this thesis, therefore this chapter will start by discussing the terms and definitions of happiness, before looking into theories in happiness studies and aspects that previous research has proven enhancing happiness at work. Then happiness responsibility will be discussed as well as the happiness expectations by Generation Y. At the end of the chapter I will emphasise the gaps in the literature and present the research questions guiding this study.

2.1 Terms and definitions of happiness

Philosophers aim at defining happiness and its importance and outcomes in people's lives. Economists often focus on measuring happiness and seeking for instruments to improve happiness of the citizens, they also see economic development as one of the solutions for boosting happiness (Potts, 2011, 4, 6). Psychologists want to understand the emotion and to find ways to improve people's lives (Seligman, 2003, 266), whereas sociologists do not see happiness

only as a mental state but a condition of society and they focus on explaining which characteristics of the society correlate with happiness (Veenhoven, 2010).

Not only do the approaches vary, but there are also plenty of different terms and definitions of happiness as well, used by scholars even within the same disciplines. Therefore, it is not only important to mention these terms and to clarify why I have chosen the term happiness, but also to look at which definitions of happiness this study is based on.

2.1.1 Happiness has many names

There are many terms that are sometimes used simultaneously with happiness, such as: joy, meaningfulness, satisfaction, pleasure, eudaimonia, zest and fulfilment (Seligman, 2003). Happiness can also be seen as a synonym for the quality of life or well-being (Veenhoven, 2010). In the academic world, the term *Subjective well-being* (SWB) is often used when talking about happiness, but Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (2011) emphasises that it should be classified as a hybrid theory and defined as a "compound of life satisfaction, domain satisfactions and positive and negative affect". Haybron (2013b) sees this combination problematic as it "unhelpfully lumps together" different aspects (2013b, 12) and proposes the term SWB to be used as a "catch-all term for the psychological aspects of well-being, not a synonym for happiness". As I agree with Haybron, the term SWB is not used in this study.

Sometimes happiness works as a synonym for the terms "quality of life" or "well-being". (Veenhoven, 2013, 161.) ONS (2017) defines wellbeing as "how are we doing" as individuals, communities and as a nation and how sustainable it is for the future. They list 10 dimensions of wellbeing as: the natural environment, personal wellbeing, our relationships, health, what we do, where we live, personal finance, the economy, education and skills, and governance, which are then divided into 41 measures. This list mixes up conditions,

processes and outcomes that are all relevant to wellbeing, but any plausible account of wellbeing should distinguish means and ends at the very least. Preferably, material conditions, psychological processing and psychological, physical and social wellbeing outcomes ought to be distinguished. In addition, personal wellbeing is seen, rather vaguely, as satisfaction with life, having a sense of worth with what we do, our daily emotional experiences (e.g. happiness and anxiety) and wider mental wellbeing (ONS, 2017). Also, as Haybron (2013b, 78) states, wellbeing is "a matter of value", looking into what benefits us. Therefore, happiness is part of the wider term of wellbeing. Happiness philosopher and an economist, Erik Angner, highlighted in his presentation in Rotterdam (A World to Win conference, March 2017) that it is "harmful and unacceptable to use terms wellbeing and happiness interchangeably", therefore, I want to clarify that in this study I will use the term happiness (also used by e.g. Layard, 2005; Warr, 2007; Lyubomirsky, 2007; Thin, 2012a). One reason to call it happiness, instead of subjective wellbeing, is that it reaches much wider audiences than the academic terms unknown to many. It also fascinates people as there is a strong personal need to understand and, especially, to achieve happiness. In addition, the "connotative meaning" of happiness with the personal and sociocultural levels, with "emotional and value-added possibilities", also provide a fascinating topic to explore. (Warr, 2007, 7.)

According to Seligman (2003) happiness research focuses mainly on three areas: positive emotions, positive traits (such as virtues and strengths) and positive institutions (such as democracy). My study focuses on positive emotions and I have decided to follow Haybron's (2008, 29) advice to refer to happiness in the psychological sense, as a subjective experience, in contrast to objective happiness in the well-being sense and will do so throughout this study.

2.1.2 Happiness has more than one definition

Even when the term happiness is used, the definitions vary. In a very broad sense most of the definitions are usually divided into hedonic or eudaimonic categories of happiness, and being happy or having a good life (Haybron, 2008, 27). Hedonist approaches value balance of pleasant experiences over unpleasant ones, whereas eudaimonia is about living a good life, which benefits the individual and "makes her better off" (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 2011; Haybron, 2013b, 11). In studies on happiness at work, hedonic and eudaimonic approaches are used as well. Hedonic approach focuses on pleasures, likings and positive attitudes, whereas the eudaimonic involves more growth and development (Fisher, 2010, 388). What is common to these studies is that they focus on pleasant judgements and experiences, such as attitudes, feelings, moods and emotions, but also both on pleasures. The need for distinction between these two approaches in empirical work has been questioned by Kashdan, Biswas-Diener and King (2008) and Vittersø (2016) and as the pursuit of pleasurable experiences seems unsustainable without eudaimonic happiness (Fisher, 2010, 385) and since eudaimonic happiness also consists of pleasant experiences, I prefer to avoid using this dual approach.

Happiness can be seen as having a positive life attitude (Sumner, 1996) or as life satisfaction (Diener, 1999) as in Veenhoven's (2010) definition on happiness as a mixture of affect and contentment, the "overall enjoyment of one's life as-a-whole". For Bentham (1789) happiness was a psychological experience and the "sum of pleasures and pains". According to Kahneman (1999) objective happiness is based on the extent the person wants the moment to continue. Dolan (2014) combines pleasure with purpose, which in the right balance for each individual brings the greatest happiness. Happiness can also be about "the frequent experience of positive emotions" (Diener, Sandvik, & Pavot, 2009) or "flourishing" in a way that the person is both "feeling and functioning well" (Crum & Salovey, 2013, 81). Happiness can also be a natural tendency: "long-term propensity to frequently experience positive emotions" (Lyubomirsky et

al., 2005a, 805). Instead of giving a tight definition, Cieslik (2015, 423) elaborates on happiness as a balance of both good and bad experiences, aspect that is shared with others, imagined and internal, but also something that people work at over time. Warr reminds us that happiness is something that people in the Western World are trying to find and it is believed to be an outcome of one's activities. Henceforth, one possible definition to happiness is "a positive state that people seek". (Warr, 2007, 8.) The next chapter will look more into how happiness definitions are approached in this study.

2.1.3 Approach to happiness definitions in this study

As discussed, names and definitions for happiness vary even within disciplines. Veenhoven (2013) argues that the endless conversations around defining these terms and finding the ultimate, explicit definition for happiness or quality of life are indecisive. He claims that the "multidimensionality" of the matter suggests talking about different "qualities of life". (Veenhoven, 2013, 161.) Even though happiness has become more "systematic and scientific" during the last few decades due to the rising interest in it (Crum & Salovey, 2013, 73), the variety of definitions and terms suggests that there is still much to explore (Bok, 2010). This thesis provides employees a chance to contribute to their own definitions on happiness and to elaborate what the happiness concept means to them. This decision is mainly based on Sumner's (1996) theory of authentic happiness.

Authentic happiness

Sumner's theory on authentic happiness is based on the thought that as happiness is grounded on an individual's subjective experiences and sovereignty, it therefore, is their own (Sumner, 1996). Similarly to Sumner, I believe that although we are members of the society we live in, and all the things we hear, read, discuss or experience form the way we see the world and consequently somewhat influence our concept of happiness, we still have the autonomous level of happiness, which is not based on "manipulation or

oppressive social conditioning" (Haybron, 2008, 24) but is purely our own and should therefore reflect the response of one's own life.

For Sumner, happiness is a combination of life satisfaction and positive affect. This approach supports my earlier claim of happiness combining these both aspects. Sumner also says that happiness requires active endorsement and appraisal, but he highlights that the endorsements need to be based on authenticity, which consists of autonomy and being informed. (Sumner, 1996, 140.) Sumner's theory supports my reasoning for choosing individuals as participants of my study, in order to give employees the voice to provide their own, authentic definitions of happiness. This theory also highlights my understanding of happiness as something very individual and authentic, but yet shaped by the values of the society we live in. I believe we all have our own definitions of happiness. There might be a lot of similarities, but they are still different and we might not even be able to define happiness by words, yet we know when we are experiencing it. Our definitions for happiness are also very likely to change as we approach different stages of our lives and change as persons.

In order to organise people's thoughts on happiness and to clarify the variety of definitions in this study, I have chosen Haybron's (2010) threefold approach to happiness concepts: 1) as a momentary emotion, 2) as a mood and 3) having a happy life. This approach looks not only into the length or duration of happiness, but also for its causes. It also combines both the hedonic approach to pleasurable moments and the eudaimonic approach on life satisfaction without hedonic-eudaimonic distinction.

1) Momentary emotion

Happiness as a momentary emotion, is often immediate and short-lived (Fisher, 2010), although Cropanzano, Weiss, Hale & Reb (2003, 835) argue that emotions can be kept active e.g. by rumination. It has a clear object or cause (Frijda, 1993) or an event, which is part of the subjective experience, in other

words “emotions are always about something or someone” (Cropanzano et al., 2003, 835). It refers to feelings, being happy (Haybron, 2010). This takes place on the transient level (Fisher, 2010): real-time affective work events leading to certain emotions as a result. The strength of happiness as a momentary emotion is that as it refers to a particular moment when happiness is experienced and recorded, it helps to understand the effects of the circumstances creating base for happiness to occur (Csikszentmihalyi & Hunter, 2003). Happiness as a momentary emotion can contain or stand for variety of different emotions, such as the ease of comfort or the intensity of joy (Ahmed, 2010, 202).

2) Happiness as a mood

Mood refers to a positive emotional condition (Haybron, 2013b), which is more continuous or long-lasting than momentary happiness, and varies less over time (Fisher, 2010). Mood, like momentary happiness, is a feeling, being happy, but moods last longer than emotions, are weaker and uncertain of origin (Frijda, 1993) and are “affective experiences disconnected from their proximate causes” (Cropanzano et al., 2003, 835). Mood is based on the emotional state theory or the mood theory (Haybron, 2001). The emotional state theory claims that happiness is a balance of emotions, moods and mood propensities, happiness being an entirely affective phenomenon and not including cognitive judgements of satisfaction (Haybron, 2008).

3) Having a happy life

Having a happy life differs from emotion and mood. It is not about being happy, but having a happy life, not so about a feeling but a judgment about one’s life and its turns, relating to the life satisfaction theory (Haybron, 2010). The enduring enjoyment of life as a whole is what Veenhoven defines as happiness (Veenhoven, 2008). Diener (1999, 277) provides five aspects for having a happy life (life satisfaction): a desire to change one’s life, satisfaction with the current life, past and future and the significance of others’ view of one’s life.

This threefold approach will help to guide the data analysis in this thesis and will be elaborated in the first result chapter, Chapter 4, with real-life narratives. Next we will move into looking at the theories and approaches shaping happiness studies in the workplace.

2.2 Happiness in the workplace

Happiness in the workplace is a wide topic to study. Not only is this term a combination of two concepts: happiness and workplace, both multi-dimensional in themselves, but also because it includes both organizational and individual aspects, and can be seen as an umbrella term for a variety of different concepts. As the wealth of literature on both topics themselves is rich, within the constraints of a doctoral thesis it is vital to limit the scope and accept that not everything can be discussed, presented or included into this thesis. Therefore, only the key concepts this PhD seeks to address are concentrated on. This also means that in some cases there might be a lack of depth addressing the aspects. This section will first look into theories used in research on workplace happiness related aspects and themes and what those theories have shown. They will also be reflected on the light of happiness studies for their strengths and limitations. Some concepts dominating studies on wellbeing at work will also be discussed.

2.2.1 Theories to study workplace happiness

To this day and to my knowledge, there is no one theory to study happiness in the workplace, but a variety of theories are used to study the topic and the aspects influencing it. One of the reasons for choosing a qualitative approach was to let people's stories guide the study and not to be restricted by existing theories. The aim was also to provide new theories based on the collected data. As inductive reasoning was chosen, moving from specific observations into broader theories to understand the phenomenon was justified.

In addition to the theories presented in the introduction shaping this study to focus on positive aspects and happiness in the first place, I will now introduce a variety of theories that are found useful when conducting research on workplace happiness. They are Fisher's framework (2010), Psychological contract (Rousseau, 1989), Broaden and build theory (Fredrickson, 2001), Emotional self-leadership theory (Manz, 2015) and Affective events theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996).

Fisher's framework

Among different approaches to study happiness at work, the work of Fisher (2010) particularly stands out in its extensiveness looking at the many different aspects of workplace happiness. Her framework is based on a literature review on studies on happiness at work. Table 1. demonstrates how she has included many different concepts from emotions and job satisfaction to vigour and morale under the happiness umbrella. This division aims at explaining how happiness at work has been studied and what the different elements related to happiness are, by either constituting to it or considering its outcomes. This supports my understanding of happiness as a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon, especially in the workplace setting.

Table 1 Happiness-related constructs in the workplace (Fisher, 2010)

Table 1. Happiness-related constructs in the workplace

Transient Level	Person Level	Unit Level
State job satisfaction	Job satisfaction	Morale/collective job satisfaction
Momentary affect	Dispositional affect	Group affective tone
Flow state	Affective organizational commitment	Group mood
Momentary mood at work	Job involvement	Unit-level engagement
State engagement	Typical mood at work	Group task satisfaction
Task enjoyment	Engagement	
Emotion at work	Thriving	
State intrinsic motivation	Vigor	
	Flourishing	
	Affective well-being at work	

Fisher has divided work-related happiness constructs on three levels: transient level, person level and unit level. Transient level studies focus on momentary emotions and moods affected by the work events (such as flow, joy or

happiness). They aim at explaining within a person why certain moods appear. According to Fisher most of the well-being studies are on the person level, which focuses on interactions between individuals, aiming at defining and measuring e.g. job satisfaction, commitment and common mood. The unit level focuses on teams, units and organisations, by "aggregating the personal experiences of individuals in the collective". The studies on the person level and unit level are often expected to be stable over a period of time. (Fisher, 2010.) As this study aims at finding out what makes employees happy at work and especially focuses on those moments they experience happiness, it is mainly on the transient level, but shifts occasionally to the person level, as the narratives from the participants request. Another approach to happiness studies can be the division between "hot" (emotions and moods) and "cold" (evaluations and believes) cognitions (Fisher, 2010, 388). This study mainly focuses on emotions and moods in the data collection, but evaluations and believes are also occasionally discussed in the result chapters.

Fisher's framework also provides a tool to organise the main causes of happiness in organisations. She has divided them into three contributors: environmental, dispositional and person by situation contributors. Environmental contributors in organisations can be divided into three levels: organisational (culture and HR practises), job (variety of job characteristics) and event level (variety of transient causes of momentary emotions). Distributional contributors refer to genes and personality, such as self-esteem and emotional stability. Person by situation contributors are those involving the fit between person and situation, which can be divided into supplementary fit (values and personality fitting to the organisation), needs-supply fit (employee's needs are met) and demands-abilities fit (employee's skills fitting job requirement). (Fisher, 2010, 394-397.) Although this three-level division is not perfect and there is overlapping between levels as they have an influence on the others, it does help to systematically arrange the many aspects of workplace happiness and has been used in my study when looking at the happiness

enablers. To my knowledge there are no other studies using this framework to conduct research on happiness at work.

Psychological contract

Psychological contract (Rousseau, 1989) provides a framework to understand the beliefs, promises, possibilities, responsibilities, expectations and limits both employees and employers have towards each other and can hence be useful for workplace happiness studies as well. The roots of this contract are often planted as early as in the job interview, and deepened after employment starts. The contract begins when a person "infers promises" which then lead to beliefs of mutual obligations (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998, 679). These beliefs might also differ from or be completely absent in written obligations, as the psychological contract is an "individual perception" and highly subjective. They often concern trust, commitment and job satisfaction (Robinson, 1996). Rousseau (1989) sets a distinction between transactional and relational psychological contract, first referring to a contract where the terms are specific and "entail the exchange of tangible resources" and the latter referring to highly subjective and intangible contracts, without no clear time frame (Conway & Briner, 2009, 86).

The relationship and the experience of the relationship or situations at work may arise from any number of sources and be influenced by previous employers (Conway & Briner, 2009), might differ greatly even between employees doing the same tasks in the same company (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998, 679) and can change over time (Ruokolainen, Mauno, Diehl, Tolvanen, Mäkikangas & Kinnunen, 2016). These are explained by the psychological contract being influenced by a range of factors, such as occupational ideologies (Bunderson, 2001), personality (Raja, Johns & Neuman, 2004) and work values (De Vos, Buyens & Schalk, 2005). This is especially the case with psychological contract and happiness at work, as it is very much based on subjective beliefs, hopes, wishes and expectations, and might vary during time, age, stage of life or career and also from one job to another.

There are very few studies on psychological contract and happiness (Cassar & Buttigieg, 2015), but merely those focusing on employees' wellbeing. Recent studies indicate that the psychological contract is a significant predictor of an employee's wellbeing (Erkutlu & Chafra, 2016), and when violated, increases the fact that employees, in all probability, leave the company (van der Vaart, Linde, de Beer & Cockeran, 2015). The study by Parzefall and Hakanen (2010) suggests that perceived contract fulfilment has both motivational and health-enhancing effects, such as a reduced turnover and a better mental health. According to Conway and Briner (2009) employment contracts, human resources practices and the way managers communicate the messages to the employees are the main actors shaping the psychological contract. To establish a fair psychological contract, recognition, creation of effective communication channels and being sensitive to employees' needs and concerns are suggested (Handley, Sturdy, Fincham & Clark, 2006). Erkutlu and Chafra (2016) add to that by suggesting managers to break down barriers which stand in the way of effective discussion. Also, as van der Vaart et al. (2015) emphasise, it is not just the way messages are communicated, but the content matters too. A recent study also suggests that several types of obligations predict higher employee wellbeing, than only one type of obligations, such as transactional ones (Ruokolainen et al., 2016).

Studies focusing on a psychological contract are typically quantitative (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998, 679; van der Vaart et al.,2015) and the most common method used is questionnaire surveys (Conway & Briner, 2009). In-depth interviews and diaries are called to provide deeper understanding on the psychological contract, in which call this thesis aims at answering. There are normally two approaches to study the psychological contract: emic and etic (Morey & Luthans, 1984). This study takes the emic approach, as the psychological contracts are created by the respondents themselves and aim at reflecting "individuals' unfiltered and unique mental model" without researches predetermined expectations. The etic approach is mainly arising from theory and often based on "common organizational practices and structures, such as

rewards or career paths". (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998, 682.) As the psychological contract is "perception of mutuality" (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998, 679), employees are the best source of information, as it is not often verbalized or even clearly constructed in an individual's mind. This study aims at listening to the participants sharing their beliefs on what expectations they have for themselves and for their employers regarding to their happiness at work.

Another way to look at the psychological contract is to divide it between how the promises oblige the employees to behave and how the employees react when the believed promises are broken (Conway & Briner, 2009). These broken promises are called breach, and defined as "occasions where an employee believes that their organization has failed to fulfil its promises" (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994) and it is one of the most empirically studied aspect of psychological contract (Conway & Briner, 2009). Breach is linked with lower job satisfaction and commitment (Conway & Briner, 2002, 289), lowers the employee obligations to their employers (Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2002) and can create more intense reactions than failing to live up to expectations (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998, 681). Therefore, HR practices should be better tailored to prevent breach (Erkutlu & Chafra, 2016). There are no studies on breach and workplace happiness per se, as studies merely focus on engagement and job satisfaction (e.g. Rayton & Yalabik, 2014), and what the aspects that create a breach concerning happiness include.

There are suggestions that the approach and expectations to the psychological contract might be changing, due to different generations responding dissimilarly to the aspects of psychological contract (Lub, Bal, Blomme & Schalk, 2016). According to Ayadhya and Lewis (2011) young professionals are no longer subscribing for relational psychological contract (long-term and beyond the contractual obligations) but aim at transactional contract instead (short-term and focusing on contractual obligations), and are more motivated by job content and career development (Lub et al., 2016). They are said to want and

even expect a contract that provides "lack of long term security and less than optimum conditions in exchange for flexibility and reasonable hours, in order to achieve work-life balance" (Smithson & Lewis, 2000, 695). More empirical research is needed, and more attention to the different responses to psychological contract fulfilment among generations "becomes a more pressing matter" (Lub et al., 2016).

Broaden and build theory

The name of the *Broaden and Build Theory*, BBT (Fredrickson, 1998) comes from the idea that 1) the positive emotions broaden the "momentary thought-action repertoires by widening the thoughts and actions" and 2) as the mind broadens it will lead into building "enduring personal resources, which then function as reserves to be drawn on later to manage future threads" (Fredrickson, 2001, 220). Positive emotions also "broaden cognition and expand attention". This is the opposite to the idea that emotions exist only to activate physical actions, they might also stir cognitive activity (Fredrickson, 1998). A good example is joy: play in childhood endures physical (climbing, running) and social resources (social bonds and attachments through shared amusement), the intellectual resources grow as well, as the level of creativity increases and fuels the brain development (Fredrickson, 2001, 221).

As this theory suggests, positive emotions increase the chances of optimal functioning, not only in fleeting moments, but also in the near and long-term future (Fredrickson, 2001, 224). This is something that should interest employers as well, as they would surely like their employees to give their optimal input in every day work, especially in demanding and challenging tasks, and also in the long run. Experiencing positive moments shows in patterns of thoughts, which are "notably unusual, flexible, creative, integrative and open to efficient information" (Fredrickson, 2001, 221) and influence proactivity at work (Fay & Sonnentag, 2012, 76). They increase personal resources, since "idle curiosity can become expert knowledge" (Cohn, Fredrickson, Brown, Mikels, & Conway, 2009, 362) or even "little-by-little reshape who they are" as their

mind-set expands (Garland Fredrickson, Kring, Johnson, Meyer, & Penn, 2010, 851). BBT is in line with Bao and Lyubomirsky's (2013, 120) concept of *positive affect*. When things are going well, people are more likely social and active, which leads to positive experiences, enhancing the possibility to gain skills and valuable resources, which then courage the person to take steps further to succeed in goals they have created for themselves and leading into mere positive experiences. (Bao & Lyubomirsky, 2013, 120.)

BBT also proposes the *undoing hypothesis* of negative thoughts and their effects being undone, as focus shifts to bigger picture and positive events (Fredrickson, 2001, 222). Such an example was in the study of Oerlemans, Bakker and Demerouti (2014) on daily recovery where work was enhanced as positive emotions undid the influence of negative emotions.

This theory supports the need to increase happiness in the workplace, as the happy moments would not only lead into more creative and skilled personnel, but in many ways would help them to flourish later in life as well, as these positive experiences become reserves, which can be used in subsequent moments (Fredrickson, 2001; Meyers & Woerkom, 2017). This is especially the case when we are talking about Generation Y, which is suspected to change their workplaces and careers many times during their lives.

According to Fredrickson (2013) there is a growing interest on optimising organisational growth by using the BBT, but more empirical research is needed, especially from neuroscience. This theory has been noticed and is getting support from happiness scholars such as Veenhoven (2008) and Diener and Ryan (2009), who acknowledge its importance e.g. in proving that happiness is not just an epiphenomenon but actually has a role in human survival. The purpose of positive emotions in evolution is that the developed scopes of attention, cognition and action translate into greater chance of survival and to living long enough to have offspring. As Fredrickson (2001, 220) says: "the

capacity to experience positive emotions is genetically encoded" through the natural selection, and "has become part of universal human nature".

This theory justifies the importance of focusing on positive emotions, as they build resources that might be useful later on and benefit both the employee and the company. However, there is a risk when categorising and ranking emotions to positive and negative, and happiness may be more than just happy moments. BBT is perhaps more useful in quantitative studies. I have chosen narrative approach, to understand better what are the causes underlying the happiness experiences, what causes positive emotions and how employees seem to benefit from them, instead of systematically collecting positive emotions and looking for correlations.

Emotional self-leadership

In the work context there is a growing interest in the self-leadership and emotions. The Emotional self-leadership theory (Manz, 2015) provides an angle to study happiness and especially to reflect on happiness responsibility. According to Manz, this theory has a new way to look at how individuals can intentionally influence - not only regulate - emotions in the workplace. Manz, Houghton, Neck, Fugate & Pearce (2016) take theorising emotional self-leaderships further by categorising it into five focused strategies: environmental, behavioural, natural reward, cognitive and physiological focused strategies, which are all interrelated. According to this theory by selecting or modifying the environment, intentionally choosing certain behaviours, focusing on positive aspects, controlling and reframing one's mind and living a healthy life can help people to cope with work life challenges and increase the experience of e.g. happiness. Self-influence is the most important aspect of emotional self-leadership as is the focus on the values of the individual, instead of organisational goals, such as maximizing sales. Manz et al. (2016, 380) also highlight the significance of authenticity:

> Employees faced with pressures toward inauthentic emotional expression might use emotional self-leadership strategies to proactively

> reappraise the situation and make choices consistent with elements of authenticity inherent in deep acting that transcends emotional labour effects, thereby more constructively regulating potential outcomes. --- Strategies that promote authenticity and self-awareness while generally evoking favourably experienced discrete emotions conducive to heightened personal effectiveness.

This theory offers suggestions for people to cope in stressful and constantly changing workplaces, and can provide a sense of power when they can make "constructive behavioural choices" (Manz et al., 2016, 383). It is a very recent theory and there is a strong need for empirical research to show its robustness and to test it in practise. Nonetheless, it shows the growing interest and need for both understanding the emotions in organisations and in regulating and influencing them. As it refers to individuals' choices and self-influence, it consequently highlights individuals' responsibility in workplace happiness.

Affective events theory

Affective events theory, AET, is a psychological model originally created by Weiss and Cropanzano (1996) to study moods, emotions and job satisfaction and to explain the connection between feelings and the job performance. AET is based on the belief that people's behaviour is guided by emotions and as human beings we are emotional. AET suggests that certain characters create a base for affective events, situations and moments, which lead to certain emotions or moods (Fisher, 2010, 396). As the theory has developed, it now states that the continuance of the experience of positive emotions have influence on the overall job-satisfaction, but the judgement of a job in general is different to moods and emotions, since they "have causes and consequences that are distinguishable from the causes of evaluative judgements" (Wegge, van Dick, Fisher, West & Dawson, 2006, 240). Therefore, as Weiss (2002) claims, although job satisfaction is related to emotions at work, they are "separate constructs" as job satisfaction measurements are "attitudinal responses people often construct when called upon", and often only partly affected by prior experiences at work (Wegge et al., 2006, 241).

This theory does not look into happiness per se, as it was created mainly to study job satisfaction. However, Wegge et al. (2006) used AET in their study in call center work and found that AET is a useful framework to understand how management strategies influence the attitudes and well-being of employees. As it is interested in aspects triggering emotions and looking into how these emotions then influence performance and behaviour it can be wider used in happiness research.

Of these five theories, the most useful for this particular study are Fisher's framework and Psychological contract. Fisher's theory is important as it provides a tool to organise the main causes of happiness in organisations, with the three-level division, and helps to systematically arrange aspects influencing workplace happiness. As it, to my knowledge, has not been used before in an empirical study this way, this study tests the benefits and the clarity of the three-level division. Psychological contract guides the understanding of happiness responsibility at work, and works as a base and a supporting theory when creating a new theory on happiness responsibility. In addition, the Emotional self-leadership theory adds to the happiness responsibility theory, as it looks at responsibility from the employee's point of view. Just like the Emotional self-leadership theory, the two remaining theories take more of a supporting role in this study, as they emphasise, explain and provide justification for the importance of positive emotions at work.

All these theories are put into Table 2 to summarise the focus, aims, outcomes and limitations of these theories in happiness studies, as well as explaining how this thesis will contribute back to these theories.

Table 2 Theories to study happiness at work

	Focus	Aim	Useful aspects	Limitations	Contribution
Fisher's framework					
	Happiness at work	To arrange studies in workplace happiness	- 3 levels of constructs - 3 levels of causes	Some aspects overlapping, not created as a theory.	-Testing the use of the three-level division. -Adding examples and information in depth.
Psychological contract					
	Job satisfaction and commitment	To understand expectations, believes and promises	- Useful framework to study unspoken promises - Breach	Limited use in happiness studies and heavy focus on quantitative studies.	- Testing the use of the theory in happiness studies and in creating a new theory on happiness responsibility. -Adding new information to the theory.
Broaden and build theory					
	Positive emotions at work	To explain the purpose of positive emotions	- Provides justification for the importance of positive emotions	Categorises emotions into positive and negative. More empirical research is needed.	- Supporting the importance of positive emotions in the workplace.
Emotional self-leadership					
	Emotions at work	To provide strategies to influence one's emotions at work	- Importance of individuals' experiences and emotions - Authenticity	Claims individuals' responsibility in emotions and feelings. More empirical research is needed.	- Testing the use of the theory in creating a new theory on happiness responsibility. - Supporting the importance of authenticity.
Affective events theory					
	Job satisfaction	To explain connection between feelings and performance	- People are guided by emotions. - Management strategies influence wellbeing.	Strong focus on job satisfaction.	- Supporting the theory of events leading to emotions and performance.

As most of these theories refer to job satisfaction, commitment and engagement, it is important to have a closer look at these concepts to see how they relate to happiness.

2.2.1.1 Job satisfaction, commitment and engagement versus happiness

The main three aspects in workplace wellbeing studies have often been job satisfaction, commitment and engagement, which have also sometimes been used as synonyms of happiness, as discussed in section 2.1.1. All these concepts are in Fisher's framework as well, and as the space is limited to discuss all the

constructs in this thesis, I will now focus on these three, which have been the most studied and argued topics, and are also related to this study the most.

Job satisfaction

Employee wellbeing has been, and still is, often labelled as job satisfaction. Fisher (2010) argues that "happiness at work includes, but is far more than, job satisfaction". According to Locke (1969, 317) job satisfaction is related to the expectations and desires regarding the job and the level these certain aspects are met. In other words, job satisfaction is an attitude, an "evaluative judgment" made of the job (Weiss, 2002, 175) or "positive beliefs about an object" (Fisher, 2010, 388). By reducing the expectations or improving objective aspects, satisfaction can be achieved (Clark, 1996, 191). This attitude, and therefore job satisfaction, is not an affect, a mood or an emotion, which all have a "surplus meaning over and above pure evaluation" (Weiss, 2002, 176). The evaluation might lead to happiness, if the result is satisfactory, but job satisfaction does not reach to the "surplus" level of happiness as such. According to Locke (1969), satisfaction is the discrepancy between the desired and received, but only in the light of the importance of the certain aspects to the employee.

Commitment

Other than job satisfaction another often-studied aspect of wellbeing at work is employees' commitment to the organisation (Fisher, 2010). The commitment construct can be divided into three: affective, continual and normative commitment. If the goals and values of the organisation are close to the identity of the employee, affection can be seen as part of happiness at work as it represents emotional attachment. Continuance refers to the wish to stay in the organisation for indefinite time and normativeness to the feeling of obligation or loyalty to stay in the organisation. (Meyer & Allan, 1991.) Studies have shown that when organisational identification is high, employees are more likely committed to the company (Riketta, 2005). Organisational identification is based on the social identity theory and refers to the state of which employees are part of, belong to or are one with the organisation they work for (Ashforth &

Mael, 1989). It has also been found to increase employees' feelings of self-worth (Kilmchak, Carsten, Morrel & MacKenzie, 2016). As the companies want their extensively chosen and trained employees to stay in the company, commitment is a rather valid and important argument to increase employee wellbeing, so that they would stay in the company. The relevance to happiness can, however, be questioned, as the commitment might well be related to the situation or obligations, rather than valued as something pleasant (Fisher, 2010, 388). Research has also shown that happiness at work increases commitment (Gavin & Mason, 2004; Achor, 2012) and therefore commitment is more likely an outcome of happiness.

Engagement

The third aspect is work engagement, which has been in the focus of organisational studies since the 1990's when Kahn's study on work engagement inspired academics (Eldor, 2016), and is not only related to happiness, but to commitment and job satisfaction as well. Kahn (1990, 694) defines engagement as "the harnessing of organisation members' selves to their work roles, by which they employ and express themselves physically, cognitively, and mentally during role performances". It is often defined as satisfaction and involvement (Harter, Schmidt & Hayes, 2002, 269), and has been seen as a cognition or behaviour and as a trait or stable state (Fisher, 2010, 389) or as "one's psychological presence in or focus on role activities" (Rothbard, 2001, 656). Schaufeli, Salanova, Gonzalez-Roma and Bakker (2002) refer to engagement as a positive and fulfilling mindset, which is a combination of vigour, absorption and dedication, defined by Bakker & Oerlemans (2016, 757) as follows: "Engaged employees have high levels of energy and mental resilience while working (vigour), and they experience a sense of significance, enthusiasm, and challenge (dedication), --- they are often happily engrossed in their work, such that time passes quickly (absorption)". According to Macey and Schneider (2008, 24) engagement "has components of organisational commitment, job involvement and the positive affectivity components of job satisfaction".

Autonomy and decisions latitude increase chances to stay engaged (Bakker & Oerlemans, 2016) and when employees are cognitively and emotionally connected to their work (Harter & Blacksmith, 2010). This is more likely when they find meaningfulness in their work, feel safe, have a chance for individual contribution, feel connected with colleagues and can see their future in their work. Adding to this De Neve and Ward (2017) highlight the importance of committing to advancing organisation's interests. These create higher levels of positive energy and enthusiasm, and are demonstrated in productivity and efficiency, as well as innovations and better contacts with customers. (Harter & Blacksmith, 2010, 122-123). Therefore, as Shuck and Wollard (2010) state, work engagement is more of a motivational concept, taking into consideration people's physical, emotional and cognitive energy at work.

According to De Neve and Ward (2017) being actively engaged with work is strongly correlated with happiness, especially among professional workers. Bakker & Oerlemans (2016) claim that people who are engaged experience higher levels of happiness, joy and enthusiasm (Bakker, 2009), as they satisfy their psychological needs throughout most of the workdays. In addition, Kashdan et al. (2008, 230) claim that humans are the happiest, when they are engaged in something that has high importance and meaning to them and Eldor (2016, 332) emphasises that "work engagement embraces a combination of individual's deeply physical, emotional and cognitive connectedness". Therefore engagement can be seen as one of the aspects of happiness, especially since part of the engagement is the positive affect (Macey & Schneider, 2008, 4).

All these concepts are about different aspects but have matters in common, which makes drawing a line somewhat difficult and blurry, as for example autonomy, meaning and connectedness can all be part of job satisfaction, commitment, engagement or happiness, and can foster flow to happen, which then might lead into happiness. The difference between these three concepts proposed here in their relation to happiness is that whereas job satisfaction and commitment are likely outcomes of happiness at work, engagement can be part

of producing happiness and is hence not a cause but enabler and ingredient of happiness.

2.2.2 Happiness contributors in organisations

This study will also look into the contributors that influence happiness in the workplace. A few models have been created to emphasise the key ingredients creating happiness, of which Warr's (2007; 2013) Vitamin model and Seligman's (2011) PERMA model are presented here, firstly because they are often used and quoted models for creating happier societies and workplaces, and secondly because both Warr (happiness at work) and Seligman (positive psychology) are known as essential scholars in their fields. After these models are elaborated, different happiness contributors at work are presented and structured by Fisher's framework for happiness contributors.

2.2.2.1 Happiness models

Two models for creating happier societies and workplaces are Warr's (2007; 2013) Vitamin model and Seligman's (2011) PERMA model. Warr's model was created for understanding happiness at work, whereas PERMA model works as a guide to flourishing in life, but refers to work as well. PERMA's validity in this study focusing especially on positive aspects in organisations is also based on it being one of the first models from positive psychology and created by Seligman, who is said to be the father of positive psychology.

Vitamin model

Peter Warr (2007; 2013) has listed 12 characteristics that are shown to influence an employee's happiness and unhappiness. This model is called the Vitamin model as it approaches different characteristics at work as the vitamins of daily intake. These vitamins are essential, but there is also a risk of overdose which does not only lead to limited benefits but can also harm happiness, e.g. having too much personal control or variety. Hence some of the vitamins have an "additional decrement effect" and others a "constant effect". (Warr, 2007.)

The first model included nine vitamins whereas the later version has 12 vitamins, which are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Principal job characteristics affecting happiness (Warr 2013, 734)

Principal job characteristics affecting happiness or unhappiness	
Job feature	**Themes and illustrative subcomponents**
E1. Opportunity for personal control	Personal influence, autonomy, discretion, decision latitude, participation
E2. Opportunity for skill use and acquisition	A setting's potential for applying and developing expertise and knowledge
E3. Externally-generated goals	External demands, challenge, underload and overload, task identity, role conflict, required emotional labor, competition from others, work-home conflict
E4. Variety	Changes in task content and social contacts, varied work location
E5. Environmental clarity	Predictable outcomes, clear requirements, role clarity, task feedback, low future ambiguity
E6. Contact with others	Amount of social contact, quality of social relationships, dependence on others, team working
E7. Availability of money	Available income, pay level, payment for results
E8. Physical security	Working conditions, degree of hazard, quality of equipment
E9. Valued social position	Significance of task or role, contribution to society, status in valued groups
E10. Supportive supervision	Consideration by bosses, fair treatment by supervisor, concern for one's welfare
E11. Career outlook	Job security, the opportunity to gain promotion or shift to other roles
E12. Equity	Justice within one's organization, fairness in the organization's relations with society

A good job does not require all these characteristics, and they can also be seen in unemployment, retirement and "home-making" as well, for example the personal control (E1) has much influence on many levels of a person's life as "sustaining a sense of personal agency and for reducing feelings of helplessness", not only at work. Only the last three are specifically attached to the working environment. (Warr, 2013, 733.)

This Vitamin model presents important and well-researched aspects of work-place happiness, but it is not a complete list. For example, Morgeson and Humphrey (2006) have listed some additional characteristics to the model, such as: job complexity, information processing, problem solving, initiated and

received interdependence and interaction outside an organization, which are not clearly addressed in Warr's vitamin model.

PERMA

PERMA model is created by positive psychologist Martin Seligman. In his book Flourish (2011), he presents five core elements of well-being and happiness. He argues that in order to reach a life of happiness, meaning and fulfilment, these elements have significant importance. PERMA stands for positive emotions (P), engagement (E), relationships (R), meaning (M) and achievement (A) in Figure 2.

Figure 2 PERMA model (Seligman, 2011)

According to Seligman positive emotion refers to feeling good, being joyful and happy. Engagement is about absorbing in the present moment, being in a flow. Positive relationships with parents, friends, colleagues and loved ones are highly important to wellbeing, but also a skill that can be improved. Meaning refers to belonging to and serving something that is bigger than self, having purposeful existence. Accomplishments are about having goals and ambitions in life which can be met and achieved. Each of these elements contributes to happiness, is defined and measured independently of the other elements and are pursued for its own sake, not to get any of the other elements. (Seligman,

2011.) These five components were created for a good life, but PERMA is also relevant and often used in the work-context, although surprisingly little use of PERMA has found its way into work-related studies (e.g. Slavin, Schindler, Chibnall, Fendell & Shoss, 2012; Kun, Balogh & Krasz, 2016). This might be due to the model being rather new, or these five elements normally being studied separately, not as a composed model. As PERMA is taken into closer inspection in this study, it also aims at filling the gap and testing the use of the model.

Both the Vitamin model and PERMA model could be criticised for not really being models, as they do not provide theories or actual models, but are merely lists of concepts that have influence on happiness. Although the Vitamin model was partly created to add understanding on the effect of different amounts of each vitamin, it does not explain why these characteristics matter and what forms they take in the workplace. It also questions the positivity of each characteristic, presented as amount-dependent. Through qualitative and narrative enquiry the interactions between these various components of wellbeing can be elucidated, which this study aims at doing.

2.2.2.2 Happiness contributors

Some of the happiness contributors in the workplace have been listed in the previous models, but they require a further look on what has been studied about these contributors and how they influence happiness. The contributors are divided into environmental, dispositional and person by situation contributors, following Fisher's (2010) framework. This division is also used in the data analysis in Chapter 5.

Environmental contributors

Environmental contributors refer to aspects on the organisational (such as leadership and physical environment), job (colleagues and rewards) and event level (such as flow) (Fisher, 2010, 394-397).

Leadership

Companies are investing increasing amounts of their employee learning and development on leadership education (Ruben & Gigliotti, 2016). When looking from a happiness perspective, this seems highly relevant as in many workplaces management is seen as the greatest obstacle on the way to happiness (Varila & Viholainen, 2000) and there is evidence for leaders having a strong influence on happiness, in happiness studies (De Neve & Ward, 2017) and job-satisfaction and organisational commitment studies (Fisher, 2010). In the study by Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz and Stone (2004) of 900 workers, participants valuated their happiness while interacting with people during their workdays. They were the unhappiest when they spent time with their bosses. Therefore understanding the role of the good leadership, and what it includes, is important when approaching employee happiness.

The leadership literature is vast and it would be impossible to discuss here all the different aspects of a good leadership, also the understanding of leadership and happiness is still rather limited (Fisher, 2010). Acknowledging this, only certain aspects are elaborated here, as they support the coping of this study the best. Generation Y's demands for leaders are discussed later on in this chapter.

One model for good leadership can be found in the Health and Safety Executive report (HSE, 2008): four management competencies promoting good work environment are: 1) respectful and responsible behaviour, including integrity, managing emotions and considerate approach; 2) work style, referring to proactive work management, problem solving, participative and empowering leadership; 3) behaviour, standing for being personally accessible, sociable and engaging empathically; and 4) reasoning, including managing conflicts and taking responsibility for issue resolution. (HSE, 2008.) This model highlights respect, responsibility, participation and empathic leadership. A more latitude approach to leadership could also increase happiness at work. According to Helliwell (2017) "life evaluations are much higher for those who regard their immediate supervisor as a partner than for those who regard the supervisor as

a boss." In Warr's Vitamin model (2013) in the earlier section, instead of leadership, supportive supervision is seen as a vital aspect of workplace happiness.

Trust is an important part of happiness management. Organisational culture and the HR practises can have a great impact on the employee happiness, especially on trust, respect and fairness (Great place to work, n.d.). According to Manka (2011) management plays a crucial role in creating possibilities for happiness to occur in workplaces. In a study on performance and wellbeing Baptiste (2008) found that trust is a significant contributor to employees' commitment to the organisation. Studies suggest that trust is especially important for women, as they might choose a job with lower pay but with a higher level of trust (Helliwell & Huang, 2011). Trust works positively in two ways: employees need to feel trusted by managers but also to be able to trust their managers, and is linked with supervisory support. For building trust in organisations Ariely (2016), behavioural economist specialised in trust, lists key aspects: long-term relationships, transparency, intentionality and aligned incentives. Proven trust will show in a higher motivation and commitment, which in turn will lead into improved performance. Therefore companies should provide fair and supportive leadership. (Baptiste, 2008, 301; Manka, 2011.)

Communication skills are linked with leadership, but very often seen as a technique to achieve certain purposes, and forgetting the importance of humane communication (Ruben & Gigliotti, 2016). Message being sent does not mean that message has been received (Ruben & Stewart, 2016), and leadership communication requires much more knowledge on the process than the basic understanding everyone has (Ruben & Gigliotti, 2016). Leadership should be seen through a "constructionist lens", and as joint product of leader-follower interaction (Fairhurst & Connaughton, 2014), as it is "jointly created by senders and receivers" (Ruben & Gigliotti, 2014). A very important part of communicating is listening, as Thin (2016b) says:

> Listening, as opposed to merely hearing, is one of the most important routes to our own wellbeing, and active, engaged listening is crucial to the expression of our co-responsibility for the wellbeing of other people. Since we are a highly interactive, curious, and social species, listening and being listened to are vital and sorely neglected aspects of living well. (Thin, 2016b.)

Leaders need good listening skills to truly hear what people have to say about their happiness at work. This study is partly responding to that call, as it provides employees a chance to share their experiences and leaders, managers and decision makers to listen what they have to say.

Physical environment

Happiness studies often focus on environmental contributors such as the job and the supervisors (Fisher, 2010, 394), but more research is needed on the effect of the actual physical environment. Recently there has been a growing interest in the correlations between environment and happiness. MacKerron and Mourato (2013) conducted a study of 20 000 participants to explore momentary happiness and the immediate environment in UK, using an app called Mappiness with GPS response locations. They found out that people were significantly and substantially happier outdoors in green spaces and natural habitats. (MacKerron & Mourato, 2013). Similar results were found in the study of Aspinall, Mavros, Coyne & Roe (2015) as EEG recorder showed evidence of lower frustration, engagement and arousal when moving into a green space zone and higher engagement when moving out. Natural scenes are also proven to increase trust, generosity and prosocial behaviours (Zhang, Piff, Iyer, Koleva & Keltner, 2014). As green space and natural habitats are seldom accessed in traditional office work during workdays, it is important to see how nature can be brought into the office through windows and by plants and green views.

There are plenty of studies focusing on the influence of the physical environment on the perception and behaviour of people in office buildings (Kim & de Dear, 2013), but not that many on what is the influence on workplace happiness. Enriched office space is said to enhance the wellbeing of the

employees (Elsbach & Beckhy, 2007; Knight & Haslam, 2010) and is closely linked to stress reduction (Grahn & Stigsdotter, 2010). The sense of privacy is important, as shown in the study of Kim and de Dear (2013) where people in private, enclosed offices were more satisfied with their work, than those in open-plan offices, based on privacy, acoustics and proximity. Although the trend is towards open spaces, people often find them noisy and full of distractions. In addition, the amount of light and the comfort of furnishing were positive factors, in addition to visual privacy and noise level. (Kim & de Dear, 2013.)

Dravigne, Waliczek, Lineberger, and Zajicek (2008) found out in their survey study that people who worked in offices with interior plants and green window views were more likely to score high not only in job satisfaction but in the perceptions of overall life quality as well. Plants are also suggested to "clean" the air in the office and therefore increase the happiness and health of employees (Bringslimark, Hartig, & Patil, 2007). Kaplan (1993, 199) highlights the importance of windows for employee wellbeing, as they are not only a source of light or information about happenings outside and the weather, but they also "provide a suggestion of the extension of where one is in time and space". He emphasises that the view matters too, as built elements do not provide employees the same psychological benefits as the elements of nature, which also provide a possibility to have a break from directed attention. (Kaplan, 1993, 199.) Other studies have also found how even images of nature are supposed to reduce stress and anger in offices (Kweon, Ulrich, Walker & Tassinary, 2008).

When Warr (2013) refers to the environment in his Vitamin model, it is called "physical security" which is then divided into working conditions, the degree of hazard and the quality of equipment. These are all very important contributions for feeling safe at work, but neither do they tell us much about the aspects in the environments that increase happiness in the workplaces, nor why or how this happens. More information is needed.

Other people

Social connections, the *inherently social dimensions of happiness*, are essential to the wellbeing of people (Cieslik, 2015, 431) and the most important source of happiness (Haybron, 2011, 250). In 2016 Harvard University announced the results of their 75-year longitudinal study of hundreds of men. The most significant finding revealed that "good relationships keep us happier and healthier" (Waldinger, 2016) and the studies suggest that having friends is especially critical to the younger generations (Deal & Levenson, 2016). Harvard study also shows that lonely people are more likely to have a shorter life than those with friends, and that the brain can endure emotional and physical pain better, when people have someone to lean on (Waldinger, 2016).

In the workplace, social capital is one of the fundamental variables in increasing happiness. DeNeve and Ward (2017) found out that the level of support an employee gets from fellow workers is highly correlated with life satisfaction, happiness and job satisfaction, and that 98 percent of younger generations want to develop close ties with their colleagues (Deal & Levenson, 2016). Other studies show that happiness and energy are correlated with high quality connections (Dutton & Ragins, 2007) and also with commitment to work and organisation (Deal & Levenson, 2016). Important ingredients in workplace social support have been found to be "open communication, physical presence and familiarity with context-specific knowledge" (Kowalski, 2013).

In the vitamin model of Warr (2013), the contact with others is highlighted as a happiness vitamin at work, and defined as the number of social contacts, the quality of social relationships, dependence on others and team working. Also in the Seligman's (2011) PERMA model, as presented before, R stands for relationships with others, especially highlighting authenticity in social connections. Still, social connections at work are very little studied in happiness at work studies (Fisher, 2010).

Rewards

Monetary compensation and salary are often discussed when conversations turn into rewards, especially when referring to extrinsic rewards. In Warr's (2013) Vitamin model income, E7, refers to availability to income, pay level and payment for results, differentiating from salary per se and focusing on being paid for the work that has been done. In the study of De Neve and Ward (2017, 168) salary and happiness are correlated: "those in well-paid jobs are happier and more satisfied with their lives and jobs than those in the lower income brackets". According to Warr (2010) once a moderate income has been reached, happiness does not grow. He also highlights that the income is only one of the bases for happiness, and once a person is reasonably well-paid, all the other vitamins have more importance to people's happiness. (Warr & Clapperton, 2010.)

There are other kinds of rewards as well. The study by Kosfeld and Neckermann (2011) found out that even a symbolic award, such as a card honouring the best performance, increases performance, motivation and feeling of social recognition. Getting feedback for the work is rewarding as well. This is especially the case with the youngest generation, as Generation Y is claimed to require updated information on how their work is going on a regular basis, based on being used to grades and tests at school and university, and even more so to instant feedback and likes in social media (Deal & Levenson, 2016). Feedback from supervisors and line managers increase employee engagement (Rodríguez-Muñoz, Sanz-Vergel, Demerouti & Bakker, 2013), motivation for work and intrinsic rewards (Winter & Jackson, 2015). Feedback can also provide the feelings of competence and create a strong base for intrinsic motivation for one's work (Deci & Ryan, 1985).

Flow

Flow is often mentioned as a significant form of engagement and important ingredient of happiness at work. It was developed by Csikszentmihalyi (1975) and he has described the experience as "one that many people have used to

describe the sense of effortless action they feel in moments that stand out as the best in their lives" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, 29). In flow people are fully engaged in activity, and the level of challenge and skills are in balance. In a flow moment a person is happy, concentrated, creative and active, and learning new skills and increasing one's self-esteem. In the flow moments people lose their self-awareness and the sense of time, and it can be seen as the opposite of boredom. (Haybron, 2013b, 21.)

Flow is most likely achieved at work, and possible in both white and blue collar jobs. (Csikszentmihalyi & LeFevre, 1989.) At work the flow experience is about being totally immersed in work and is intrinsically motivating (Bakker, 2005). If the work is too boring or stressful people will sooner or later give up, but if they experience flow they will more likely continue working on their talent (Csikszentmihalyi & Hunter, 2003), and being competent in the present, predicts flow later on in the future (Salanova, Bakker & Llorens, 2006). In Bakker's (2005) study music teachers were more likely to experience flow when there was enough social support and coaching, but also autonomy and feedback. These resources are also likely to contribute to work engagement (Bakker, Demerouti & Verbeke, 2004).

Dispositional contributors

Distributional contributors refer to genes and personality, such as self-esteem and emotional stability (Fisher, 2010), but also to ways of behaving, thinking or feeling (Quinlan, Swain & Vella-Brodrick, 2012). Even though the work design, the nature of work and colleagues, to mention but a few, have a great impact on happiness, the personal characters have a significant influence on it too. In happiness studies, especially in economics, the personality is not an aspect much discussed, for example in Kahneman's moment based framework, the personality does not exist (Kahneman & Tversky, 2000), unlike in psychology, where the personality is associated with happiness (Verme, 2009). In a study by Myers and Diener's (1995) extraversion, neurotiscm, optimism and self-esteem are correlated with happiness, as is agreeableness (DeNeve & Cooper, 1998).

Happy people are also found to construe events and encounters in a more positive light (Lyubomirsky & Tucker, 1998), to care less about negative feedback and look more likely to opportunities than unhappy people (Lyubomirsky & Ross, 1999).

When considering work-place behaviour, understanding the individual differences of happiness is needed to be taken into consideration since attitudes such as optimism, self-efficacy and "positive core self-evaluations" can have a huge long-term influence on it (Searle & Parker, 2013, 724). As Warr (1996, 235) states: "people's feelings about their work are thus a function both of that work itself and also their own personality". Also, when people use their individual strengths at work it becomes more enjoyable, satisfying, motivating and energizing (Peterson & Seligman, 2004; Peterson & Park, 2006).

One rather recent aspect of dispositional contributors in the workplace is authenticity, which was already referred to in the Emotional self-leadership theory. Authenticity can be a challenging term to be used as an analytical term, as its users are so diverse. Manz et al. (2016, 375) define authenticity as "having ownership over one's experiences of phenomena such as thoughts, beliefs, preferences, emotions, wants and needs" and Kernis (2003) as acting according to one's true nature. Manz et al. (2016) also highlight the awareness of personal values and the sense of self. It can be looked as an individual or team level phenomenon (Kernis & Goldman, 2006; Grandey, Foo, Groth & Goodwin, 2012).

Authenticity at work is suggested to correlate with work engagement, job satisfaction and performance (van den Bosch & Taris, 2013), and to have a great impact on the quality of work life experience and should therefore be acknowledged in the studies of organisational behaviour (Manz et al., 2016). In the study of 685 participants, van den Bosch and Taris suggest that authenticity has a greater impact on happiness at work than for example performance. Their study also suggests that positive outcomes at work are more likely when employees can be truthful to their values. (van den Bosch & Taris, 2014.)

Authorship, genuineness, doing something that matters and work having a meaning are part of Thin's (2017, unpublished) analytical model of authenticity. Also, when the emotional experiences are authentic for the person experiencing them, it is more likely that the receiver of these emotions (e.g. colleague or client) will also return favourable responses and outcomes (Côté, 2005; Manz et al., 2016, 381). Van den Bosch and Taris (2013) created the Individual Authenticity Measure at Work (IAM Work) model which consists of three aspects: "authentic living, self-alienation and accepting external influences". The first aspect "authentic living" is strongly connected to many of the happiness enablers discussed in this thesis. The wish to be happy at work can also be seen as part of being authentic.

Person by situation contributors

Person by situation contributors are those involving the fit between person and situation (Fisher, 2010). Meaning, flexibility, sense of control and work-life integration are all person by situation contributors.

Meaning

The words *meaning* and *meaningfulness* will be used in this thesis. These concepts have been closely related e.g. with engagement (Harter & Blacksmith, 2010), employee turnover (Searle & Parker, 2013; Kashdan et al., 2016), authenticity (Thin, 2017) and motivation (McManus Warrell, 2015). It is M in the PERMA model and sometimes used as a synonym for happiness (Seligman, 2003). Several researchers have highlighted the growth on the role of meaning at work, especially among Generation Y (Pink, 2006; McMagnus Warrell, 2015; Deal & Levenson, 2016). As repeating these findings is not sufficient, this section will just look into the definitions of meaningfulness and to its relatedness with happiness.

In addition to Seligman's definition for meaning in PERMA model, Baumeister, Vohs, Aaker & Garbinsky (2013, 506) define meaningfulness as "a cognitive and an emotional assessment of whether one's life has purpose and value". Ariely,

Kamenica and Prelec (2008) refer to meaningfulness at work as an acknowledgement or having a point of purpose. Therefore the sense of purpose and meaning are closely linked. In the experimental study by Ariely et al. (2008) including legos, the results suggest that having meaning in tasks can matter a lot, and that doing meaningful work is rewarding in itself and people are even likely to accept smaller pay when their work has some purpose. (Ariely et al., 2008.) Interestingly, although studies show that happiness and meaningfulness are linked and even used as synonyms, Baumeister et al. (2013) argue that although these two overlap, there are important differences. They claim that meaningfulness depends on culture and is more linked to one's cultural identity, whereas happiness is natural. Their survey-study suggests that satisfying one's needs is irrelevant to meaningfulness, involves thinking about the past and future and involves expressing and defining the self. Being a giver, rather than a taker, is also seen as one aspect of meaningfulness, as well as having deep relationships and connections with others. (Baumeister et al., 2013.)

Flexibility, sense of control and work-life integration

Workplace flexibility is often discussed as one of the solutions to meet the requirements of the contemporary work life, and is also noted as an ingredient of workplace happiness. Therefore these two are clearly linked and understanding of the connection between flexibility and happiness is needed. Also, what is often neglected when discussing workplace flexibility, are the intrinsic, work-related wishes for flexible arrangements. This thesis approaches the concept of flexibility from a worker's perspective, as the opposite to the organizational perspective (Hill, Grzywacz, Allen, Blanchard, Matz-Costa, Shulkin & Pitt-Catsouphes, 2008), referring to the degree which workers are able to make choices to arrange the core aspects of their professional lives and "about an employee and an employer making changes to when, where and how a person will work to better meet individual and business needs". When flexibility is provided based on the employees' needs, also the goals of the organization can better be achieved (Hill et al., 2008).

There is a growing trend in workplace flexibility. As early as in 2004, the Workplace Employment Relations Surveys found out that more than 70 per cent of employers provide alternative options for employee flexibility (Kersley, Alpin, Forth, Bryson, Bewley, Dix, & Oxenbridge, 2005) and the number has grown since, as the focus has sifted to work-life balance (Kelliher & Anderson, 2008): balancing work and other aspects of life successfully (Hill et al., 2008; Prowse & Prowse, 2015). Sometimes the terms vary although discussion stays the same, for example Frank and Lowe (2003) have used "alternative work arrangements" and Fallon (1997) "distributed work arrangements". When talking about flexibility and balancing work and other aspects of life are discussed, it can be divided into employee and employer friendly practises, first one deferring to flexitime, compressed working week, job-sharing, career breaks and sabbaticals and the second one to zero-hours and shift patterns (Fleetwood, 2007; Torrington, Hall, Taylor & Atkinson, 2010). Still it is unclear why flexibility is such an important ingredient for happiness and what are the underlying aspects of flexibility that increase workplace happiness. These issues are aimed to be researched in this study.

People do not want their job to interfere too much with their time with partner and family, or to be too tired after work to enjoy others aspects of their lives (De Neve & Ward, 2017). Often the discussions are about family matters and family-friendly approaches (Thin, 2012a, 209) mainly biased towards the employees with young children (Loretto & Vickerstaff, 2015) and referring only to certain cohort and life stage (Ayadhya & Lewis, 2011). Flexibility should, to promote happiness, be provided to all employees, not just those with small children (Hall & Atkinson, 2006, 375). Some studies highlight the importance of choices for older workers, such as possibilities for downshifting, providing "bridge jobs" before full retirement or allowing part-time work in order to look after elderly parents or grandchildren (Vickerstaff, 2010; Loretto & Vickerstaff 2015). Also the young professionals with plenty of hobbies or boyfriends living in other cities are looking for flexible working arrangements. Instead of big salaries, they might well appreciate having a laptop and working Friday's from home or a

remote location (Ayadhya & Lewis, 2011). As Deal and Levenson (2016, 15) say: "having time to pursue personal interests is important to everyone, not just those with immediate family obligations".

Flexibility and the sense of control are often intertwined, as flexibility is seen as employee control over work – timing, duration and location (Atkinson & Hall, 2011), which is in line with Hill et al.'s (2008) definition of workplace flexibility of "when, where and for how long". Maslow's theory of motivation (1954) included control as well. Control often refers to employers' control over employees working at home (Felstead, Jewson & Walters, 2003) or to understanding how flexible working is linked with the concept of control, to understand how control can explain the reactions to work flexibility (Hall & Atkinson, 2006, 376). Hill's threefold definition of flexibility is not complete though, as it does not address the concept of how work is done or with whom.

What should be noted is that having control over work, does not only cover work, but other aspects of their lives as well (Hall & Atkinson, 2006, 376), referring back to work-life balance discussion. Studies have shown that the work-life balance is one of the strongest "workplace drivers for an individual's subjective well-being" (De Neve & Ward, 2017). Young professionals are said to be looking for 'a balanced life' instead of the work-life balance (Lewis, Smithson & Kugelberg, 2002). For them to balance work and other aspects of life is one of the most important career goals (Sturges & Guest, 2004). Therefore, Reindl, Kaiser & Stolz (2011) and Quatro (2012) suggest to call it work-life integration instead, which clearly states that instead of wanting to balance time and resources divided between work and other aspects of life, they look into integrating these aspects.

McManus Warnell (2015, 98) takes the idea of work-life integration into a deeper level:

> If we consider the notion of integration – of our time, our values, ourselves – this can open us to contributing to work in meaningful ways,

> to choosing and cultivating careers aligned with who we are and what we believe – in short, those characteristics expressly desired by millennials.

She suggests achieving this through child-care support, alternative work schedules and "employee input into benefits and philanthropic activities" (McManus Warnell, 2015, 98).

In the study of Atkinson and Hall (2011) on NHS employees unprompted link was made between HR practices considering flexibility, happiness and performance outcomes, and no links indicating flexible working with job satisfaction or commitment, providing four improved outcomes for employee happiness after more flexible alternatives: recruitment, retention, performance and reduced absence. They also highlight the importance of flexibility in employee experience of being well treated and valued. (Atkinson & Hall, 2011.) As the study of Wegge et al. (2006) states, when people report higher autonomy, support from their supervisors and positive experiences, they also experience less negative emotions at work. So these enablers do not only enhance the changes to happiness, but also diminish the likeliness of negative emotions at work. When an employee feels a sense of control over work, empowerment is likely to occur, showing mainly in involvement and participation, but still connecting employee control over workplace decisions and the performance of the job (Hall & Atkinson, 2006).

Warr (2013) stresses that just like vitamins, personal control might be harmful for the employee if imposed excessively. If the work is all about hard decision-making and lots of responsibility, it might have the opposite effect on happiness, especially if the skills and knowledge are not sufficient. Personal goals and attaining them, can become unrewarding if the goals are set too high or are two many. (Warr, 2013, 736.) Wishes for flexibility and control can also differ. Not everyone demands more sense of control, as it might also mean requirements to work harder or to have more choices, which not everyone welcomes (Hall & Atkinson, 2006, 377), depending on if individual believes in internal (result of

own actions) or external control (Rotter, 1966). For some it might be more pleasant to be guided in what to do, and therefore reactions might be different (Hall & Atkinson, 2006, 377). Also, as Verme (2009) states, it is not the number of choices we have that makes us happy, but we need to feel in control of the choices we have as well. Generation Y and the future generations may bring their own set of changing values as well. Companies that make modifications to flexibility, "are more likely to attract and retain the best and the brightest of today's and tomorrow's workforce". Managers may need to be creative in accommodating those needs while still watching the bottom line." (Smola & Sutton, 2002, 380.) Although many aspects of flexibility are covered in literature, there is still no full comprehension on how and why it influences happiness, especially among young professionals.

Section 2.2 has covered theories, models and happiness contributors. All this shows how multi-dimensional and varied a topic happiness at work is. Covering the many aspects relating to workplace happiness in one thesis is a challenge, but this section has tried to cover those most relevant to this study. The next section will look into happiness responsibility and how it can be approached from different angles.

2.3 Who is responsible for happiness at work?

In the previous section different happiness models and contributors were addressed and discussed on environmental, dispositional and personal levels. This section will add onto understanding workplace happiness by looking into who is responsible for happiness at work. Is it the individual? Is it the work community, colleagues and teams, or the line and top managers? Or is it the employer and the organisation that are responsible for happiness at work? To whom should the finger be pointed at when happiness at work is needed, requested or lost? There are only a few studies aiming at answering the happiness responsibility question directly (e.g. Ahuvia, Thin, Haybron, Biswas-Diener, Ricard & Timsit, 2015; Cederström & Spicer, 2015). It might have been

seen mainly as a topic for philosophical discussions, but in order to completely understand how happiness happens at work, and what the obstacles, pressures and driving forces are, happiness responsibility needs to be looked at from both individual and organisational viewpoints and these two aspects can also share the responsibility for happiness (Ahuvia et al., 2015).

2.3.1 The individual's responsibility for happiness

As guidebooks and lessons often focus on sharing information on how to improve situations in the organisations in the way that happiness can be increased, they simultaneously direct the responsibility of creating a happy workplace for the organisation. Due to the nature of subjectivity it is worth considering what the possibilities and perhaps demands for employees are to influence their own happiness at work.

One way to look at this is to question how much influence employees have on their happiness. According to Lyubomirsky et al. (2005b) happiness can be divided into three factors: 50 per cent of our happiness is determined by our genes, 10 per cent is about external circumstances and 40 per cent is determined by actions, attitudes and the way how situations are handled. This would mean that at least 40 per cent of individuals' happiness is something that they can have influence on, even 50 per cent, if it is possible to change some of the external circumstances. Ahuvia et al. (2015) argue that genes and environment interact in unknown ways, and Haybron (2013b) questions the assumption of genes having so much influence that nothing can be changed. Thin (2015) strongly claims that "this kind of reductionism dumbs down the science of happiness and detracts from the meaning of positivity" and calls to look closer into synergies between mental and social processes: "our minds, our behaviours and our circumstances" (Thin, 2015, 756).

Another way to look at the responsibility question is to see how employees could increase their happiness by their actions and choices. Lyubomirsky et al.

(2005b) and Seligman (2002) suggest that by practising kindness, gratitude, forgiveness and optimism, nurturing social relationships, seeking for flow experiences and through meditation and physical exercise chances for happiness can be enhanced. Seligman (2002) also emphasises the importance of curiosity, humour, open-mindedness and hope, whereas Emotional self-leadership theory (Manz, 2015) provides tools to influence ones emotions at work to become a happier employee through training.

Self-help books suggest some ideas to increase happiness by such methods as looking for balance, eating and sleeping well, practising mindfulness and nurturing relationships, which direct the focus on changing one's individual behaviour, instead of looking into the surrounding environment (Cederström & Spicer, 2015). Illouz (2008) sees these self-help books as both misleading and also as a form of psychology imposed on people by culture industries. On the one hand they enhance self-interest, individualism and the focus on one's emotions, yet simultaneously teach people how to control those emotions, in order to maintain the self within the social network where expressing emotions such as shame and anger, are easily seen as signs of immaturity and dysfunctionality. (Illouz, 2008.)

Also, as people have different priorities, expectations and values, it does matter where their work is and what the job is about. Fisher (2010) suggests that people should think both how they fit for the job and the organisation when they choose for their employment and also how likely their expectations meet in reality. By better understanding one's needs and expectations, they are more likely to find a job in which the chances to be happy are better. Also the awareness of unique individual strengths and authentic goals can help people to better employ them within their careers (Seligman, 2002). This refers to looking at career choices from the demands-abilities aspect, suggesting that people could design their career based on their strengths and talents, in a way that they can both use them frequently and to cultivate them, as this would lead into "greater competence and self-actualization". (Fisher, 2010, 398).

Based on these studies and suggestions, there are many things individuals could do to increase their happiness. Does this mean they are responsible for happiness then? According to Ahuvia et al. (2015, 3) "this heavy emphasis on developing more resilient internal capacities" might lead into assuming that individual is the one to blame for unhappiness. If the essence of positive thinking lies in believing that individuals can achieve anything and that people are responsible for their own happiness (Cederström & Spicer, 2015), and yet they are unhappy, does it mean that they have not done everything they can to change their mindset into more positive? Illouz (2008, 7) points out that a person's ability to control emotions, and especially depression, is easily seen as "an essential element of social competence". Haybron (2013b, 59) strongly argues that happiness is not a choice by questioning the possibility for a deeply depressed person to "will himself into happiness", and claims that telling a person to choose to be happy, is "foolish and cruel". Neither does he believe that happiness is a skill that can be cultivated through effort and with time, but mere that we can learn to control our internal states with self-awareness and control. (Haybron, 2013b.) Davies (2015) adds to this discussion by questioning the meaning of happiness if it is conceived as a muscle that needs constant exercise to grow and to maintain energy and resilience, and especially if the final goal is not happiness, but power or success.

The main concern of laying too much responsibility burden on individuals to create happiness, is that it can be used against employees: resources are given for them to be happy and if they then are not happy, they are the ones to blame on. If an employee is held responsible for happiness, all the problems are the individual's responsibilities too, which can also be seen as a form of executing managerial control (Illouz, 2008; Cederström & Spicer, 2015). Hence it follows that: if the organisation provides fruits and mindfulness-training and the employee is still deeply unhappy, there is something wrong with the individual, not the organisation (Salerno, 2010). This is especially the case if happiness practices and attitudes are only focusing on the mentality and behaviour of people, instead of the structure of the power (Davies, 2015). As this is resonant

of the debates over stress during the last big recession, there are chances that the same mistakes will be repeated this time as well.

This increasing interest in pursuing happiness, is suggested to have led into the dual thought between good and bad; thinking that there is something wrong with an unhappy person, as Zupančič argues:

> Negativity, lack, dissatisfaction, unhappiness, are perceived more and more as moral faults – worse, as a corruption at the level of our very being or bare life. There is a spectacular rise of what we might call a bio-morality (as well as morality of feelings and emotions), which promotes the following fundamental axiom: a person who feels good (and is happy) is a good person; a person who feels bad is a bad person. (Zupančič, 2008, 5.)

In order to be a good person, employee and a member of society, individuals might feel a pressure to be happy, and to exercise happiness as a task to "produce positive emotional states just as a fitness guru muscles" (Binkley, 2011). And this is not just for their own sake, but as a universal moral obligation. As happiness discussion and wellbeing debate is growing around people, they might not know anymore what is their inner wish and what comes from outside. This is what Cederström and Spicer call "wellness command", which can lead into the wellness syndrome, which, based on the idea that individuals are strong, autonomous, constantly improving themselves and having the control over their lives and destinies, causes quilt and anxiety, especially in inadequate circumstances (Cederström & Spicer, 2015, 5). As Kingfisher (2013) explains, this wellness command could be partly blamed by neoliberal values on free markets liberating autonomous, entrepreneurial, self-fulfilled and happy individuals (Peck, 2013). As neoliberalism can be seen as a form of "a government-at-a-distance", self-governance has replaced the state government and therefore emphasises the individual's responsibility to work on themselves to be happier and hence more valued in society (Kingfisher, 2013, 78).

There is also the matter of choice. This is especially the case with the younger generations, to whom the world with open boarders and global social media seems to promise endless opportunities. However, the choice also "brings an overwhelming sense of responsibility into play" and the risk of making wrong choices (Cederström & Spicer, 2015, 6, 22).

There are some aspects an individual can influence and change, in order to be happy (happier) at work, and as the Emotional self-leadership theory suggests there are still many aspects that ought to be studied more to understand the individual's responsibilities in experiencing happiness better (Manz, 2015). But there is also a growing concern of creating a false sense of self-control over happiness that might lead into controversial results. Also, although happiness is a subjective experience, it does not mean that each of us actually has the final authority over it (Ahuvia et al., 2015). Next we will look into organisations' responsibility in creating and maintaining happiness.

2.3.2 Organisational happiness responsibilities

In these turbulent economic and neoliberal times, overall well-being can be seen at in danger, due to the increasing competition, globalisation, growing inequality, class tensions and austerity (Thompson, 2013; Springer, 2016). Working conditions in some cases have become poorer and jobs more demanding, less secure and more focused on performance under surveillance (Thompson, 2013), as well as the competition for professional jobs has increased (McManus Warnell, 2015, 108). These can be seen as threats to the ideas of employee happiness, and due to the globalisation, events around the world have influence on even the most local organisations. Simultaneously, an interest in and a demand on happiness are growing, as explained in the previous section and in the introduction. Companies face challenges when trying to meet the economic demands *and* to create happy workplaces. The employees who perceive their organisations as indifferent to their wellbeing might lack in

motivation, commitment and performance (Baptiste, 2008). Is it organisations' responsibility to increase the employee happiness then?

Challenges start with defining the organisational responsibilities in the first place. Klein (2013) states that although responsibilities mainly refer to ethicality in social, environmental and economic actions in organisations, there is "remarkable lack of synthesis and cohesion in theory, definitions and research results". The terms often used when referring to an organisation's responsibility, are corporate social responsibility, corporate social performance, corporate citizenship and sustainable responsible business (Carrol & Buchholts, 2011). The Ten Principles of the UN Global Compact, aiming at guiding organisations' values and principles, highlight the areas of human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption, the labour section focusing on forced and child labour and discrimination. By incorporating these principles, "companies are not only upholding their basic responsibilities to people and planet, but also setting the stage for long-term success". (United Nations Global Compact, n.d.). Happiness is not mentioned in any of these discussions.

The concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR) has existed for over 70 years (Freeman & Hasnaoui, 2011, 419) and the focus on and interest in it has been rapidly growing during the last few decades. There is debate on the definition (Freeman & Hasnaoui, 2011, 419), but the main idea is that the companies have other responsibilities beyond making profit for the stakeholders (Carroll & Shabana, 2010, 85) and that they should "give something back" and therefore clearly define their responsible role in society (Lindgreen et al., 2009, 303). CSR can also be seen as the umbrella term for corporate citizenship, business ethics, stakeholder management, corporate social performance and sustainability (Carroll & Shabana, 2010, 86; Freeman & Hasnaoui, 2011, 419). Under CSR a variety of different actions are being made, such as volunteer work, promoting environmental awareness and supporting local communities (Jacques, 2010). Very often CSR is seen as a way to benefit the company, to increase the competitive advantage and reputation and to

create win-win relationships (Carroll & Shabana, 2010, 101). In the excessive literature review of CSR in the States, Aguinis & Clavas (2012) found out that CSR practices increased employee engagement, commitment and identification with the firm, and also makes the firm more attractive for job-seekers. Companies are expected to practice CSR, as they are not just seen as the sources of scandals and environmental disasters, but also as the possible solution for global regulation and public goods (Scherer & Palazzo, 2009, 414).

CSR can be divided into external and internal aspects of socially responsible behaviour, external referring to external stakeholders and internal to internal stakeholders, such as employees (De Roeck, Marique, Stinglhamber, & Swaen, 2014; Suh, 2016). According to De Roeck et al. (2014), the influence of internal CSR practices (such as work-life balance, competency development and recognition or others addressing functional or psychological needs of employees) is a much better job satisfaction predictor, than the external CSR. Another significant result in their study is that companies engaged with the external CSR are also more likely to provide support for their employees (De Roeck et al. 2014.) In the study of Freeman and Hasnaoui (2011) all of the four countries they were comparing had the wellbeing of the employees in their agendas. However, only UK and USA mentioned the happiness of the employees. (Freeman & Hasnaoui, 2011, 426.) Aguinas & Clavas (2012) went through 588 journal articles and 102 books or chapters regarding CSR in their study, there was nothing about the happiness of employees. This is in line with many of the CSR studies (e.g. Lindgreen et al. 2009; Carroll & Shabana, 2010): the focus is on what the company can do for instances outside the company, but they do not look into what CSR's role is in doing good within the company: looking after employees' happiness.

In addition to CSR, companies also have a wider responsibility in creating and maintaining good societies and "health, happiness and productivity are all essential ingredients of a good society" (Gavin & Mason, 2004, 381). When a person is feeling and functioning well, it has influence on health, security,

environment, relationships and the feeling of purpose, as an illustration from What Works Centre, funded by UK government, shows (Figure 3).

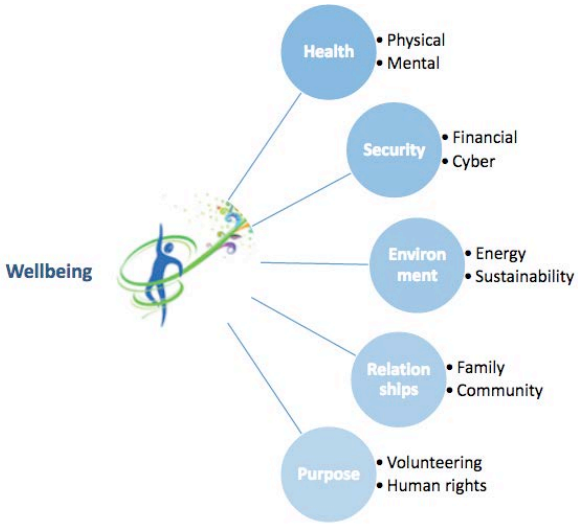


Figure 3 Illustration on wellbeing (What Works Centre, 2017)

Wellbeing spreads into many aspects of the life spectrum. According to studies happiness also has a correlation on solidarity, tolerance and love, which are more common and often endorsed by happy people (Veenhoven, 2010, 619, 624) and which are the ingredients of good citizens too. When looking at the bigger picture, the wider implications reach for the whole of society as Figure 4 shows.

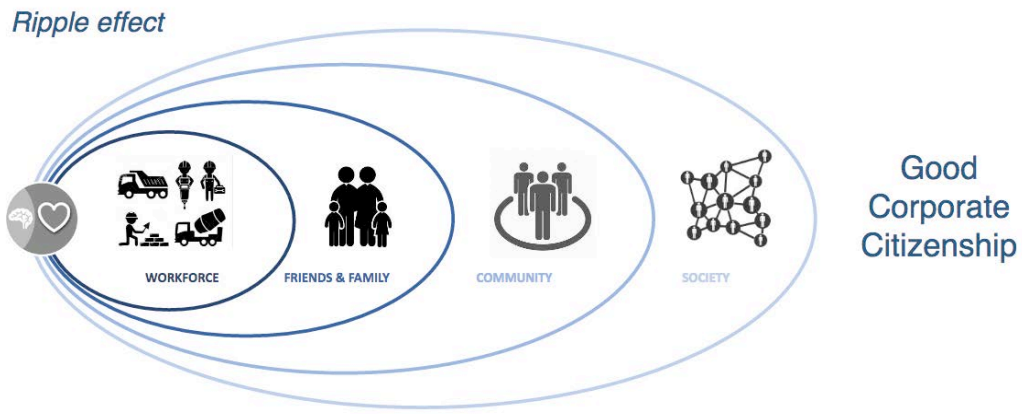


Figure 4 Ripple effect (What works Centre, 2017)

On the other hand, Fisher (2010, 396) highlights that the working environment and certain events do not automatically have direct impact on employees' happiness, as happiness is also based on interpretations, expectations and appraisals of these environments. As happiness is very much subjective, HR personnel and mangers can go a long way to increase the happiness of the employees by creating frames and bases for happy work environments, but the happiness itself is a very autonomous experience and cannot be suggested neither forced on employees. The extent to which employing organisations can 'manage' people's emotions, including happiness, has previously been questioned, for example, by the critical appraisal of 'fun' in the workplace (Bolton & Houlihan, 2009). Just like having fun, being happy is repeatedly referred to in managerial terms, based on stereotypes, without asking people how they define happiness or whether being happy at work is even important to them.

There are researchers (e.g. Illouz, 2008; Cederström & Spicer, 2015; Davies, 2015) who are very critical in their work about how happiness is used in organisations, taking it as far as referring to managerial power and emotional control. In their books they claim that therapeutic discourse has been incorporated into companies and happiness wishes are imposed on people by the organisations. Davies (2015) argues that the increasing interest in positive psychology and happiness is due to one principal reason: the declining mental health of working population - directly impacting companies' success by increasing absenteeism, sick leaves and resistance to work - proposes the greatest problem confronting capitalism and neoliberalism today. Illouz (2008) explains how industrial psychologists have offered organisations guidance on how to remove problems around productivity, by examining what kind of personalities and types of selfhood can help the company to succeed, and blamed employee problems arising from personal problems and childhood, not from organisation. She elaborates how this has led people, with certain level of emotional control and required personality or behaviour, to advance in their careers, as they are seen to have adapted the company's ideology on how to feel

in various situations. (Illouz, 2008.) Davies (2015, 108) blames HR personnel and managers equipping the companies in new forms of processes, which they put under a well-being label, to intervene with "minds, bodies and behaviours" of their personnel, for purely economic reasons.

There is also a growing body of research on emotional labour in organisations, referring to companies' rights to require employees to display certain emotions regardless of their authentic experience, for example when facing difficult customers (Hochschild, 1983; Carlson, Ferguson, Hunter & Whitten, 2012). According to Côté (2005) the stress and strain created by acting unauthentic emotions can risk both health and performance, as the pressure to intentionally manipulate one's feelings and hide the real ones has its costs, and inauthentic acting might well "trigger significant dysfunctional emotional experiences" (Manz et al., 2016, 376).

In the CIPD's Absence management report (2016) 75 per cent of the organisations offered health promotion benefits, such as gym memberships, "stop smoking support" and guidance on healthy eating, but also counselling services. In the public sector nearly every other organisation provided mindfulness practises to all employees. These can all be seen as great initiatives, but there is also the other side of the coin in mindfulness training provided by companies, as it is another way to shift the responsibility back onto the individual:

> Rather than addressing the root causes of these feelings it provides us with "tools" for self-help. But what is perhaps the cruellest twist in the story is that stress, anxiety and feelings of depression are not seen as a creation of the external work environment. Instead they are a creation of your own lazy and unfocused mental habits. (Cederström & Spicer, 2015, 25.)

This can be explained, but not approved of, by the history of studies on subjective feelings and external circumstances showing that feelings are often seen easier to change than the circumstances, which can lead to the risk of solely focusing on the individuals (Davies, 2015).

Among mindfulness practises fresh fruits were provided in every fifth organisation and more often in the private sector (CIPD, 2016). Although research (e.g. Lutz, Brefczynski-Lewis, Johnston & Davidson, 2008) shows that through meditation both compassion and emotional regulation can be achieved, and fruits are excellent source of vitamins and minerals, a part of balanced diet and help to reduce risks for many diseases (NHS, 2015), Litchfield[2], in his presentation at Work, Learning & Wellbeing –conference (University of East Anglia on January 12th, 2017), strongly clarified, that wellbeing at work cannot be achieved by providing fruits and yoga classes to employees. Health promotion benefits are an excellent way to support employee wellbeing and show that their health matters, but these activities are not enough and health is only one aspect of wellbeing. Companies could also provide psychological support, legal and financial advice, loan consolidations and reinforcing purposefulness and higher engagement to help their employees in other aspects of their lives as well, such as family matters and financial challenges (Litchfield, 2017). Davies (2015) emphasises the importance of participatory decision-making and distributed authority. Fisher (2010, 398) in her extensive literature review on happiness at work, concluded some main suggestions for companies wishing to improve happiness:

- creating a culture that is healthy, respectful and supportive
- providing competent leadership on all levels
- providing security, fair treatment and recognition
- creating jobs that are interesting, challenging and autonomous
- providing feedback
- having possibilities for training, growth and development
- choosing the right people for the right job
- providing realistic job previews and socialization practices
- increasing daily uplifts and reducing distress
- supporting employees to reframe their thoughts regarding work

If companies have happiness initiatives and programs, it would be very important to evaluate the impact of their efforts and investments to see if they actually work and lead into wanted results. According to the CIPD Absences

[2] Paul Litchfield is the Chair of the What Works Centre for Wellbeing, organisation funded by UK government.

management report (2016) only a minority of organisations evaluate the impact of wellbeing investment: 83 per cent of the companies either did not evaluate the impact of their wellbeing initiatives or didn't know if they did so. This can reflect on the challenges to measure the outcomes or reflect the value of wellbeing initiatives, not seen as highly important to the organisations' actual goals.

However, happiness is not just an organisation's responsibility, just like it is not solely an individual's responsibility either. In order to find sustainable solutions, the next section focuses on shared happiness responsibility.

2.3.3 Shared happiness responsibility

As both the individual and organisation are responsible for happiness, and the actions of both parties have influence not only on individual happiness but happiness in a wider picture as well, better outcomes could be achieved through shared happiness responsibility. This is an even less studied topic than individual or organisational happiness responsibility. Ahuvia et al. (2015) call attention to the importance of co-responsibility. They argue that individuals are not solely responsible for their own happiness. This approach has its roots in *interactionism*, in the idea that happiness does not arise only from the internal processes, just like it cannot be based on the consumption of external goods, "it emerges from the interaction of mind and world". As happiness is a rather complex phenomenon there are always internal and external conditions, which mutually affect each other. (Ahuvia et al., 2015.) Thin (2016a, 8) recommends to analyse interactions between "minds, bodies, sociocultural processes and physical environments", as explained in Figure 5.

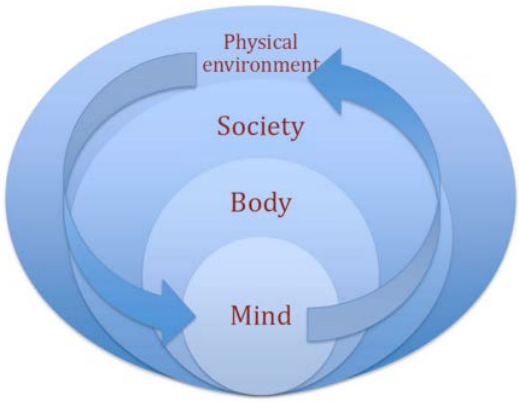


Figure 5 Interactionist model of how wellbeing happens (Thin, 2016, 8)

These aspects are all interdependent on each other, and the connections are complex, dynamic, holistic and context-sensitive (Ahuvia et al., 2015). Thin (2015, 757) argues "our happiness is qualified by, and conditional on, our belonging in a social environment, which is partly built on our own self-transcending social motivations and virtuous engagements". In other words: we build the world we live in. Our societies consist of people and they are shaped according to the thoughts and actions performed by the individuals. These thoughts and actions are shaped by individual personalities and experiences, life situations, surrounding societies and the physical environment. Therefore, happiness "requires both favourable life conditions and individual effort" (Ahuvia et al., 2015).

Shared happiness responsibility can also be looked through Psychological contract lens, which is based on individual's subjective perceptions and believes (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998), but can be seen as one of the main tasks for companies which "attempt to develop people-building rather than people-using organisations" (Schalk & Rousseau, 2001). According to Guest and Conway (2002, 22) most of the researchers agree that psychological contract is a "two-way exchange of perceived promises and obligations".

Freeman & Hasnaoui's (2011, 438) study also suggests that as individuals are responsible for their activities, social responsibility is everyone's responsibility, too and is not separated from a daily life. Illouz (2008) sees this challenging, as

she blames "therapeutic persuasion" with the focus on self-absorption leading to a new relationship of oneself to others. According to her this new relationship has "emptied the self of its communal and political content, replacing this content with a narcissistic self-concern" (Illouz, 2008, 2). The discussed dark side of neoliberalism should not lead us to work on monitoring our own mental attitudes only, hence removing us from "a collective engagement" (Kingfisher, 2013, 78). If all parties accepted the idea of co-responsibility and understand "happiness emerging from and being embedded in a rich network of interactions, including both internal and external factors" (Ahuvia et al., 2015, 2), it would also open doors to mutual responsibility of individual happiness at work.

The lack of studies in focusing on happiness responsibility at work clarifies a clear gap. More studies are needed to comprehend this concept. Adding to the responsibility discussions, as this study focuses on young professionals, it is important to understand what expectations and wishes they have for happiness. The next section will look into that.

2.4 Young professionals and happiness

As explained in section 1.4 this study focuses on young professionals due to their importance to the companies (e.g. Greiner & Ennsfellner, 2010: Cogin, 2012), their different requirements for workplaces compared to the earlier generations (e.g. Eisner, 2005; McDonald & Hite, 2008; Parry & Urwin, 2011; Lyons & Kuron, 2014) and their demand to be happy at work (Deal & Levenson, 2016). As the aim of the study is to draw a broad picture on happiness at work and to look for as many aspects of the work-related happiness as possible, the focus is on professionals, on account of the diversity of their tasks and work environments. Clearer definitions on both 'generations' and 'professionals' are given in the methodology chapter, in Section 3.3.2 where the research context is explained in detail.

Organizations are in constant struggle competing for the talents they want and therefore: "the companies that are able to align work values with management practices are likely to retain the best and the brightest of today's and tomorrow's workforce" (Cogin, 2012, 2288) as they also want to prevent the employees from leaving the company (Benson & Brown, 2011). However, understanding the employees' values should not only be seen as a way to make them work more productively or innovatively (Smola & Sutton, 2002) and to "unleash their potential" (Eisner, 2005, 14) but rather as a way to add to their well-being at work.

Since work life is forced to look for new ways to balance in the world of unpredictable events in e.g. global economy, politics and technology, so are the minds and expectations of people, in the midst of these changing conditions, reshaping as well, a process which has already started in childhood and youth, as stated in Inglehart's (1997) theory of Intergenerational Values Change. Simultaneously, as older workers are leaving the organisations and new faces are entering the workforce, people management needs to evolve too (Lub, Bal, Blomme & Schalk, 2016). Gelbart and Komninos (2012) state that managers tend to struggle when the new generation enters the workforce. As there are 80 million young adults born between 1979 and 2001, it means that by 2020 46 per cent of all workers (in the US) will be Generation Ys (Maximizing millennials -report, 2012). This generation is at the beginning of their careers, and as the retirement age is due to rise, they have many decades of working life ahead. Hence understanding the values, worldviews, attributes and aspirations brought to the work and the workplace by a population early on in their careers is not only beneficial, but crucial as well, for the sake of more sustainable working lives (Edge, 2014; Kilber, Barclay & Ohmer, 2014). If they manage to work out how to lead Generation Y, they are said to have the "most high-performing workforce in history" in their hands (Tulgan, 2009, 4). As the vast study by Deal and Levenson (2016) of 25 000 participants among Generation Y from 22 countries between the years 2008 and 2015 shows, this generation

wants to be happy at work, the revelation supported by other scholars (e.g. Suleman & Nelson, 2011; Kilber et al. 2014).

2.4.1 Changing values and expectations

Although there are some critical voices claiming that generational differences might not exist (Lyons, Duxbury & Higgins, 2007; Cogin, 2012) or are not very clear between Xs and Ys (Brown, 2012), most of the studies support differences on values and expectations between generations, especially the Ys standing out with changing ideas regarding work (e.g. Smola & Sutton, 2002; Eisner, 2005; Gursoy, Maier & Chi, 2008; Deal & Levenson, 2016; Lub et al., 2016). However, this study neither compares the different generations, nor does it look into generational differences, but focuses on young professionals and their expectations, to elaborate what recent studies have found out about the wishes and needs of this cohort.

As Kilber et al. (2014, 89) remind us, not all of Ys are in the work market yet, and as those who are have been there for less than 15 years, it is impossible to "find definite trends". Values and priorities can change rather rapidly, and Lub et al. (2016) suggest that even the most recent economic crises might have already shaped Generation Y's appreciation for job security and pay. Individual approaches to work can change according to their careers and stages of life (Macky, Gardner & Forsyth, 2008), and suggestions have been made to study both career and generational attributes to understand better how these two aspects collide (Edge, 2014), as well as generating more longitudinal studies (Lub et al., 2016,). Therefore, the concepts discussed here share light on young professionals, but do not suggest these aspects to be definitive, as differences are likely to appear globally, geographically and individually.

Globalisation and technologization have allowed these young adults to grow up in a world more diverse and tolerant, and therefore their views on equality and limited authority have strengthened (Berl, 2006; Edge, 2014). They are said to

be "the most racially diverse workforce generation in history" (Kilber et al. 2014, 83). Used to variety of options, they also want challenging and varied jobs (Tapscott, 2009; Lub et al., 2016). Their worldview is probably individualistic (Lub et al., 2016) and each of them is likely "to see the world in their own ways" (Sheahan, 2005, 205). They are also said to be independent learners (Cekada, 2012) and therefore, there are suggestions made that different kinds of personality tests, such as Meyers-Briggs Personality Assessment, are useful to best adjust to the individual pace and communication medium (Gavatorta, 2012).

Flexibility, social connections and leadership are shown to be some of the key factors of workplace happiness for young professionals. All these factors have already been discussed earlier in this chapter and this section will look into how and why these aspects are found to be essential especially for young professionals. As Generation Y is also accused of being "entitled" at work (Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline & Bushman, 2004), a discussion to elaborate these accusations and the suggested reality is at the end of the section.

2.4.2 Demands for flexibility

Young professionals are said to crave for flexibility (Lavoie-Trembley et al., 2008), 1) "because of the way they live their lives, 2) because of the way they are, and 3) because it is logical" (based on Deal & Levenson, 2016, 150).

1) They live flexible lives.

Working hard is not as popular among Generations X and Y, as it is for their ancestors (Cogin, 2012). They set value in having life outside the work, whereas the previous generations live to work (Gursoy et al., 2008, 457). The study by Deal and Levenson (2016) argues that Ys are willing to work whenever necessary, providing they can take time off to meet their personal obligations when needed. 91 per cent of the participants in their study said they are contacted outside work hours, and 80 per cent read email on their smartphones

– for them leaving the office does not mean they have stopped working (Evans, 2011). This has also given them the reputation of 'multitaskers' (Kilber et al., 2014). For them there is "no real off time". They want to have flexibility to work where and when they want to, while being productive. This also means that they would prefer their managers not to focus on when they do the work, but on the fact that it gets done in time. (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 16-17, 29, 62.) Kilber et al. (2016) suggest that they should be allowed to switch between tasks, as they are used to getting information in fragments.

2) They have grown to yearn for flexibility.

Allowing flexibility can help young professionals to find a way to do tasks in their ways, so that work does not get boring and mundane. Gursoy et al. (2004, 457) highlight the optimism of the Ys, dissimilar to the previous generations. They want to speak up and help to improve the processes at work, especially if there are aspects they find boring or clearly unnecessary (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 38). Also, according to Eisner's study (2005, 7) a big salary is not as important as enjoying life and having a balance between work and parenting. Cogin (2012, 2287) suggests that possibilities for holidays and flexible working contracts and hours could add to the well-being of the Ys, and the balance between personal and professional lives needs to be maintained in order to have a successful career. According to Deal and Levenson this is due to them witnessing their parents working lives and styles:

> They saw their parents deal with long hours, cutthroat competition, layoffs, wage stagnation, and insecure retirement plans. They witnessed the consequences of employees not having an independent attitude toward work. They saw dependence on an organization as an invitation to be taken advantage of, rather than something that is rewarded. As a consequence, they are independent: they want control over their work, don't trust or defer to authority much and want their work to be flexible. (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 57.)

McManus Warnell (2015) also believes that the political and financial uncertainties have created this "unique generation".

3) Flexibility is logical.

Young professionals are said to want flexibility, because it makes sense. In the study of Deal and Levenson (2016), 95 per cent of 25 000 participants found it important to occasionally work from home and 96 per cent highlighted the importance of occasionally being able to shift their work hours to suit their personal needs better. They agree that sometimes being present in the office is necessary, but not in all times. As flexibility is so important to them and in the times of remote working and mobile devices easily accessible by principle, they do think it should be possible, especially for professionals, whose tasks are more mobile. They do not think that spending time in the office indicates them being productive. (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 65.)

2.4.3 Importance of social connections

In addition to flexibility, other people and social connections are an important ingredient for happiness for Generation Y (Real, Mitnik & Maloney, 2010) as they are team oriented and want to bounce off ideas with their colleagues (Kilber et al. 2014). Some concerns have risen that since the Ys are known to have generally better IT and technology skills, and are used to different gadgets and computers from an early age (Benson & Brown, 2011), these strong technical skills might show as weaker networking and social skills (Eisner, 2005). Deal and Levenson (2016) disagree and claim that being high tech does not mean not being "high touch", neither does it mean that people are not important. Generation Y highly value the importance of social aspects (Lyons, Duxbury & Higgins, 2005) and have a high regard for "positive work climate" (Eisner, 2005, 7) to "get things done in positive spirit" (Gursoy et al., 2008, 457). Although they are after remote working and control over their tasks, they still prefer working in a group than alone (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 121). At the same time, a possibility to create "inter-generational teams" to support the understanding, sharing and building of "co-operative relationships" (Benson & Brown, 2011, 1859) is important to them. In contrast to the finding above, there are also studies perceiving less need for social approval and greater levels of

individualism and narcissism among this age group (Macky et al., 2008; Twenge, 2010).

It is not only good connections with co-workers, but there is a wish to develop closer ties with them, to have friends at work. According to Deal and Levenson (2016) this is universal and strongly related to how committed Ys are: "Many told that having a chance to spend time with their friends at work makes work a place they want to be at – and a place they didn't mind spending 12 hours a day during the week". In addition to having fun with (Kilber et al. 2014), friends at work can provide an outlet to release stress and indicate a feeling of community, which is an important factor in commitment, job satisfaction, engagement, retention and happiness. (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 117, 172.) This might be due to them spending more time with their parents than other generations when growing up, which has led them to "value engaged workplaces that foster feelings of involvement and allow for meaningful impact"(McManus Warnell, 2015, 122).

2.4.4 Leadership requirements

Generation Y is said to have very different demands to their leaders and managers than the earlier generations (Eisner, 2005; Gursoy et al., 2008, 448). Traditionalists prefer the "top down management style" as they are used to "hierarchal management structure" and want to be informed when there is something they need to know (Eisner, 2005, 5), whereas Generation Y prefers "centralized authority" (Gursoy et al., 2008, 448). They are informal, and therefore look for informal meetings and new ways of working (Sheahan, 2005, 57), which benefit the company with a creative and innovative approach to work, but can also cause frustration for managers, as they also question the authority (Kilber et al. 2014).

They are also said to speak up. This ability does not necessary aim at challenging the authority, but they genuinely want to be part of the company's

processes, improve the workplace and then have their contribution recognised (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 36). This need to improve work is based on their needs to be motivated, which often comes from meaning and purpose, based on esteem and self-worth (McManus Warnell, 2015, 92), and the wish to help others (Wieck, Dols & Landrum, 2010). This generation want their jobs to have a purpose. They hope to make a difference with their work and do not just want to be occupied for the sake of working (Sheahan, 2005). They also want to be heard (Cogin, 2012), treated with respect (Lavoie-Trembley et al. 2010) and to be trusted (Mycoskie, 2012).

Training opportunities might also increase happiness among young professionals, who are said to "respond particularly well to career development options" including coaching and broad professional development (Lub et al., 2016, 674). According to the study of Kaifi, Nafei, Khenfar and Kaifi (2012), educated young professionals are more likely to be committed to their organization, than those who do not hold a degree. This generation sees education as the key to success (Kilber et al., 2014), has realised that life-long learning is unavoidable and wants to be challenged in order to learn new skills (Lavoie-Trembley, Leclerc, Marchionni & Drevniok, 2010). According to Cekada (2012), instead of reading text they learn best through visual methods and by doing. Kilber et al. (2014) suggest that adjusting a three-step process of listening, seeing and doing into learning would be useful. For long-term productivity and development in professional life, intrinsic motivations, such as the feeling of satisfaction, the pleasure of learning and accomplishment are highly important (McManus Warnell, 2015, 91), because the sense of progress results in mere commitment (Manion, 2009). Therefore, it might be wise to make sure the work education and chances for training provide possibilities for them to improve and update their skills.

Another important aspect of leadership requirements is rewards (Lub et al. 2016). Cogin (2012, 2288) suggests that the strong need for younger generations to live in the present should be remembered when considering the

rewards of the job well done, planning for training and work education, and when considering the ways and the need of communication. Generation Y demand transparency and want the communication channels to work both ways, as they "prefer interactivity" (Eisner, 2005, 7). They want to be aware of the goals, timelines and expectations, and their managers to communicate clearly and frequently with them (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 70). Simultaneously, too much micromanaging is seen as the lack of trust (Kilber at al. 2014). Although they require control, it is not full control they are after. They are after information for their assignments and enough power to decide how to get the work done (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 59). The immediate needs and the strong focus on life in the moment are worth taking into consideration, too. Regular feedback, evaluation and recognition are needed (Cogin, 2012), as frequent (Manion, 2009) and "immediate gratification" is valued (Eisner, 2005, 7). After all, this is a generation, which is used to frequent feedback, starting form school and taking tests, and continuing in social media with immediate comments and 'likes' (Deal & Levenson, 2016, 53). In a way they are used to and might even feel entitled for rewards (Macky et al. 2008). Lub et al. (2016, 673) suggest that rewards could be seen more as a "hygiene factor in contemporary jobs" – if they are not provided, employees will leave. However, they also remind that although committed to good employers, young professionals might still leave, better opportunities arising (Lub et al. 2016).

2.4.5 Entitled generation?

The critical voices are often calling the Ys as "entitled". This refers to them acting as they deserve more than others and are therefore entitled to a better treatment (Campbell et al., 2004, 31). They are seen as "getters, who expect to get more than the others for the same or less work, time and effort" (Klimchak et al., 2016, 389). If these expectations are not met, it might result in worse performance, increased turnover (Fisk, 2010), supervisor conflict and job frustration (Harvey, Harris, Gillis & Martinko, 2014). Some argue that this feeling of entitlement is based on elevated self-esteem (Twenge & Campbell,

2008). In their resent study, Klimchack et al. (2016) argue that as entitlement has negative connotations, especially when talking about the latest generations, very little research has been done to look at the benefits of entitlement and that the relationship is very likely more complex than thought. They suggest that when entitlement is pared with organisational identification, i.e. feeling part of, belonging to or being one with their organisation (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), entitlement may have positive results for the organisation. (Klimchack et al., 2016.)

Generation Y is also blamed for the lack of loyalty and job-hopping. McManus Warnell (2015, 108) reminds of the economic instability, high competition for professional jobs and vast student loans, which impact the job choices. Smola and Sutton (2002) propose that employees should not be treated as "disposable asset, but valued members" of the company; the need for work-life balance should be better accommodated. By making these modifications, the best employees are attracted and kept. (Smola & Sutton, 2002, 380.) On the other hand, Generation Y is also after more meaningful jobs: they are ready to leave if the feeling of connection and purpose are not met. If they are miserable at work, no matter how high-paid, they will look for something else. This is perhaps made possible by financial support of the parents, which was not always an option for previous generations. (McManus Warnell, 2015, 109, 115.)

In addition to emphasising and understanding these happiness ingredients there most likely are other aspects, which are yet to be studied. Supplementary to finding out more factors, surplus specific information on why and how these influence happiness and what are the underlying causes is vital. Creating an environment where Generation Y, like all employees regardless of their birth year, have a chance to be happy is possible, if organisations focus on what actually is important to their employees (Deal & Levenson, 2016). This study aims at filling these gaps and providing more knowledge on happiness among young professionals.

2.5 Gaps in knowledge and research questions

As this extensive literature review on happiness definitions, theories and models to study workplace happiness characteristics, happiness responsibility and young professionals has shown, not only are there clear gaps on our knowledge on happiness at work, but it is a messy topic to study. These two chapters have clarified the importance of happiness studies and provided an overview on what is already known about workplace happiness. Next, we will define the gaps in knowledge, outline the aims of this study and state the research questions.

2.5.1 Gaps in knowledge

Despite the growing interest in happiness at work, there are still some key omissions. The literature review shows four clear gaps in knowledge in research on happiness at work. Firstly, in the context of policy and HR discourse there is a limited focus on happiness and a mere focus on job satisfaction and commitment, referring to poor conceptualisation of happiness and limited understanding on happiness in the workplace; this referring especially, but not exclusively, to the young professionals. Secondly, the theoretical and empirical focus is more on the environmental issues and organisational benefits in happiness, leaving the employees' perceptions on the side and voices unheard. Thirdly, there is very little understanding of happiness responsibility. Fourthly, the happiness studies are heavily quantitative studies, focusing mainly on measuring and comparing, aiming at generalising, not at understanding the phenomena.

2.5.2 Aim of the study and the research questions

Only a few studies have attempted to show how happiness actually occurs in working environments. The independency and flexibility of tasks and flow, as well as good relationships are found to increase the happiness of employees (Seligman, 2003; Bentz & Frey, 2004; Layard 2005; Suojanen, 2013). All these

aspects are surely important, but there may be other and perhaps more meaningful characteristics that the researchers have not yet considered and therefore left out of the study (Thin, 2012a). To aim at more sustainable working environments, a deeper understanding of the aspects that influence happiness at work is needed. I agree with Fisher stating:

> If happiness is viewed as the proverbial elephant being examined by blind men, we can conclude that we have developed a good if isolated understanding of its parts, such as the trunk (e.g. job satisfaction) and the tail (e.g. typical mood at work). It may be that we have decomposed the beast into almost meaninglessly small pieces (e.g. the right ear of vigor, the left ear of thriving). Perhaps what is missing is a more holistic appreciation of the entire animal in the form of happiness at work. (Fisher, 2010, 391.)

One of the main goals of this thesis is to look and aim at understanding the entire animal better and also the environment and other animals in it. A fairly unenthusiastic goal that is.

Referring to the presented gaps, this study allows participants to share their own thoughts, experiences of and expectations for happiness to understand the phenomena better. It aims at clarifying the conceptual understanding of happiness and to inform how happiness is identified and expressed at work among young professionals. It also looks into why and what ways happiness matters to employees. As it focuses on the aspects that enable happiness to happen at work, instead of listing happiness factors, it seeks to explain why they matter and what are the underlying aspects allowing happiness moments to occur. As happiness responsibility is little studied and discussed, this study will also address the actors and their responsibility in workplace happiness. It aims at providing suggestions for organisations how to improve workplace for greater happiness, and supplies new insights into elucidating employee happiness, by explaining the advantages and challenges of using a qualitative approach.

To address these issues and to generate a deeper understanding on workplace happiness, the following research questions were formed:

RQ1 How do young professionals identify, express and conceptualise happiness?
RQ2 In what ways does happiness at work matter?
RQ3 What enables happiness moments to occur at work?
RQ4 Who is responsible for happiness at work?

> **RQ4a How do young professionals perceive their employers' role in enabling happiness in the workplace?**

Qualitative methods will be used to explore these matters and to answer these questions. It is anticipated that this study will have implications for theory, practice and further research. The next chapter will present the research design, which aims at answering the proposed research questions.

Chapter 3. Approach to happiness in this study

This chapter will provide a description on how the choices of data collection techniques have been made. It will first look into my philosophical position as a researcher, in terms of how I see this study from the ontological and epistemological point of view, and how that has then influenced my methodological approach and the choice of qualitative methods. It will then look at how I approached the study and where deductive and inductive approaches have been used. I will explain the research strategies, choices and time horizon next followed by the techniques and procedures of the data collection and data analysis. Finally, the challenges and advantages of the mindful photography will be explored.

3.1 The researcher's philosophical position

Shedding light on my philosophical position as a researcher has significant importance. It doesn't only explain the chosen strategies and methods, but also the "explicit or implicit assumptions about the nature of the social world and the way it may be investigated" (Burrell & Morgan, 1982, 1). In other words: it explains the relationship between knowledge, what I find important and the research process (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2008). Since the purpose of the study is to understand happiness from employees' point of view and to provide them a chance to share their individual and subjective experiences, a subjective interpretivist ontological and epistemological approach has been chosen for the study.

3.1.1 Ontological and epistemological approach

Ontology refers to assumptions of "the very essence of the phenomena" (Burrell &Morgan, 1982, 1) and is "concerned with the nature of reality" (Saunders et al., 2008, 108). One way to look at the ontological nature of assumptions is in the

division between nominalism and realism. I believe that our reality exists through the concepts and labels, which we have created and will continue to create, in order to make sense of our experiences and our place in this world. There are no hard and rigid structures, but it is all based on our interpretations and appreciation of the world we live in. This refers to the *nominalist* approach. (Burrell & Morgan, 1982, 4.) For me, the phenomenon under the magnifying glass in this study – happiness - does not just exist out there, regardless of our interest in it. Happiness is neither a simple structure within the reality we live in, but something much more intangible, a mind product we have given a certain label to describe. This raises a question of whether this renders the division between ontology and epistemology blurred for elusive, abstract and experimental phenomena like happiness.

Another approach to ontology is the matter between objectivism and subjectivism (Saunders et al., 2008, 110). As people are not identical and happiness cannot be structured interchangeably and rigorously across the companies or the world, but is always a dynamic and on-going phenomenon, my view is *subjectivist*. Also, as I see the reality socially constructed and changing constantly according to individual experiences and the interpretations of situations, my approach is associated with the term *social constructionism*. (Saunders et al., 2008, 111.) In addition, I acknowledge that, as the term suggests, the interpretations and experiences of individuals are socially constructed. This means that our understanding and even some of the most authentic experiences are influenced by the society we live in and therefore happiness is also a socially and even politically constructed, through e.g. research, media, cultural bodies and governmental actions. As Illouz (2008, 11) suggests emotions are formed of and dependent on cultural meanings and social relationships, and therefore "concern the self and the relationship of the self to culturally situated others". Although emotions are "deeply internalized and un-reflexive aspects of action" (Illouz, 2008, 11), it doesn't mean they have not been affected by the surrounding culture, since they are, and at the same time, it doesn't devalue their worth as subjective experiences.

One of the key ideas of my study from the early beginning has been giving a voice to people to share their subjective experiences of happiness in the workplace, in order to understand how they see it and to make sense of their experiences, and to study the meanings and understandings of happiness as a social phenomenon, not a social reality (Matthews & Ross, 2010, 25). I also wish to look into how their professional identity has been structured and shaped by their hopes and demands to be happy at work, and on the other hand, how they see workplace happiness being constructed, negotiated and guided in organisations, formed by themselves and the others.

Supported by social constructionism, this study is based on the thought that the constructed ideas people have on their happiness are constantly evolving, as they are reviewed and reworked through reflection and interaction (Matthews & Ross, 2010, 25), and are also shaped by different institutions throughout their lives (Illouz, 2008). This institutional shaping has been criticised as a form of power to control people's emotions and actions to serve a bigger purpose of governments and especially businesses (e.g. Davies, 2015). I admit that the power relationship between employees and employers is hardly equal, which certainly has its effect on employee happiness, too. Nevertheless, just like Sumner (1996) and Haybron (2008), I do believe that there is an autonomous level of happiness which is not manipulated or oppressed by social conditioning. This study looks at workplace happiness through the wellbeing lens (Thin, 2016) focusing on the positive human potential in organisations (Cameron & Speitzer, 2011). It emphasises the importance of looking at happiness from an individual angle: the wishes, thoughts and realities real and truthful to them. It looks into the power relationship if and when participants refer to it, but leaves further investigations of power and emotional control to more political and critical studies.

Since I have come to understand during these years of researching happiness, that happiness concepts are various, volatile and situation-dependent, I do not believe there is a possibility for a definite existence called happiness at work. In

my opinion, all we can do is to try to understand and make sense of the phenomenon, such as it is socially and personally experienced in any given moment. As a social constructivist, I also recognise that my own background, shaped by my personal, cultural and historical experiences, and the surrounding political and cultural society, also shape my interpretation as a researcher (Creswell, 2009).

Epistemology refers to the assumptions about "the grounds of knowledge" and is concerned on what is adequate knowledge and how this knowledge can be truly acquired (Burrell & Morgan, 1982,1; Saunders et al., 2008, 112). In my view, knowledge is based on softer, subjective and unique insights, and the closer it is experienced personally, the truer the knowledge is. Although I do agree that some knowledge can be transformed into quantifiable form, to truly understand the phenomenon, especially in social sciences, requires seeing it from the inside, from a view point of the person directly involved. (Burrell & Morgan, 1982, 5.) This refers to an *anti-positivist* approach (Burrell & Morgan, 1982, 5) and *interpretivist* philosophy (Saunders et al., 2008, 113). The crucial part of the interpretivist philosophy is that the researcher aims at understanding the world from the research subject's point of view and to enter their unique settings. It has been very important for me, from early on, not to test hypotheses, but to try to see happiness as it appears in people's everyday lives, and to capture something about their happiness moments through their eyes, experiences and interpretations. I am interested in their points of view, their concepts of happiness. This study aims at making sense of happiness experienced by employees. As happiness is a very complex phenomenon it cannot be "reduced to series of law-like generalisations" (Saunders et al., 2008, 113). Besides, the sense making approach to study any organizational phenomena requires an interpretivist, in-depth study.

The epistemological standpoint also influences the research questions and the chosen methods to study the topic (Crotty, 1998). These will be discussed in the methodology section. I also accept the plausibility of intersubjectivity and

reflexivity in interpretive research on happiness (Saunders et al., 2008, 119). I have adopted a *radical humanist* paradigm as I aim not only at offering suggestions how to improve workplaces in order to allow happiness happen, but also at trying to critically approach some existing aspects and question them, in order to "allow humans to reach their full potential" (Burrell & Morgan, 1982, 32).

3.1.2 Qualitative approach to studying happiness at work

After clarifying the ontological and epistemological standpoints of knowledge, and presenting the research questions in the previous chapter (Chapter 2.) the *qualitative* approach on the micro level to happiness in this study will not come as a surprise. Qualitative research does not merely refer to a participant's observation and in-depth interviewing, but it also refers to much more than collecting data: to the nature and purpose of research (Bryman, 1988, 3). The understanding of the social world being based on individuals' experience, looking at a phenomenon from the inside of situations and not testing a hypothesis, refers to the ideographic approach of the methodological nature (Burrell & Morgan, 1982, 6). As the importance of individuals' experience and unfolding the nature of happiness were crucial for me, I did not find surveys and questionnaires sufficient for studying happiness, but wanted more ideographic and "impressionistic account" (Burrell & Morgan, 1982, 7) and to bring in the perspective of those who are being studied (Bryman, 1988, 61), for which I found the qualitative approach irreplaceable. I do, therefore, accept that generalisations cannot be made based on the results.

Ontology	Nominalist, social constructivist
Epistemology	Anti-positivist, interpretivist, subjective viewpoint
Methods	Qualitative
Logic	Deductive and inductive

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Overview of methodology

As elaborated in the literature chapter (Chapter 2), the definitions of happiness are rather versatile and different aspects of happiness yet not fully understood. This will also be demonstrated in the first result chapter (Chapter 4). A further gap arises because happiness studies are often based on survey-analysis with happiness being frequently measured on a numeric scale and defined by ready-made questions (Fineman, 2004, 720). Thin (2012b, 326) argues that surveys are the most ironic base for happiness discussions as they are "surely the least empathetic, most reductionist, and most decontextualizing and temporally blind of social research methods".

Happiness questions in surveys often lack the whole range of alternatives to choose from. Also the choices of answers are often restricted. As Haybron (2008, 29) points out: when happiness is asked on a scale of "very happy, pretty happy or not too happy" the question does not even provide a neutral or negative option to choose from. These answers do not only fail to tell why they were selected, but they also fail in informing what the participants meant with the term 'happy'. Some might for example think they are asked to evaluate their satisfaction in life, whereas others are concerning about their emotional well-being. A typical survey question "How would you say thinking about your life overall, how happy are you?" is incoherent because it asks first about the life and then about the happiness of the respondent (Haybron, 2008, 29). Which question is the respondent expected to answer? This refers that happiness is related deeply into the lived life and not only to the current moment, and that the happy feeling cannot be happy as it is (I am happy, period), but should be reflected by lived experiences (I am happy, because…). Therefore, the combination of numerical and narrative approach could better explain how "self-ratings emerge from cultural contexts and self-narratives" (Thin, 2012b, 313). A good example of this is Cieslik's (2015) study on life course happiness, where participants rated their own experiences on a 10-point scale during the

happiness diary period. While they quantified their experiences, they were also able to elaborate their experiences and justify the chosen rate.

The key focus of this study is to make sense of happiness as it is experienced at work from the employee's point of view. Therefore, and as emphasised earlier in the ontological section, I have chosen to take a narrative approach and support it with visual data, to create synergy in order to really get inside the subjective happiness experiences. I believe this approach fits the aim of my study better than any quantitative approach. For the deeper understanding of such complex issue, as happiness, we need alternative research methods.

3.2.2 Narrative research

According to Thin (2012b) numerical measurements can work as a baseline for conversations around the satisfaction, motivation and happiness theme, but it is quite optimistic to assume, that numerical measurements can actually be of use when organisations want to increase the well-being of their employees (Thin, 2012b, 327). The measurements surely provide a convenient format of happiness, but they simultaneously force the other forms of understanding emotions into marginal (Fineman, 2004, 731). Also, as Cieslik (2018) claims, surveys reduce happiness into "something people have, rather than something they do, with and against others" and continues: "in wellbeing surveys we rarely get a sense of the process of happiness – how it evolves".

Thin (2012b, 327) highlights that quantitative studies can surely tell us if the glass is half full, but they fail to tell what the glass contains and how the contents were poured in. As feelings and emotions are often mobile, context dependent, ambivalent and mixed (Fineman, 2004, 731), there is a need to use narrative research to tell the stories behind the numbers, to complement the proliferation of survey-based happiness research (Thin, 2012b). According to Thin (2017) it is not just the inaccuracy or limitations with the information based on numbers, but numbers might also distort our efforts to focus on

unimportant aspects of happiness, lead away from sincerity and empathy and give too much emphasis on scores, which after all, are only scores (e.g. Danish being the happiest nation). Therefore other methods to understand happiness are needed.

Narrative research is based on the narratives that people have chosen to share. According to Matthews and Ross (2010, 265) the narrative is the "depiction of a sequence of past events as they appear in present time to the narrator, after they have been processed, analysed and constructed into stories". They are stories, which the person, the narrator, has decided to share, and are representations of past and current events. As happiness is also an evaluative process, where people, based on their values and interests, reflect and monitor on the choices they have made (Cieslik, 2015, 429), narratives allow them also to explain what led to the happiness experience. By hearing the stories of the employees, it is possible for the HR personnel and managerial level to learn and understand what they have not, and cannot, personally experience (Carro & Mattingly, 2000, 2). Narrative approach can also elaborate how people arrive to or experience happiness, after or while they navigate constraints and conflicts (Cieslik, 2015, 433). According to Flyvberg, (2001, 137) narrative approach is "one of the most fundamental forms for making sense of experience" as it combines "interpretation, embodiment and lived experience" (Fineman, 2004, 734) and is therefore very useful methodological tool. The key focus of my study is to make the sense of happiness experienced at work from the employee's point of view.

3.2.3 Creating synergy: narratives supported by mindful photography

One of the challenges in narrative research is that it is often heavily focused on spoken or written language (Riessman, 2011, 324). Not all people are verbally talented and as some might find surveys and interviews challenging, other forms of expression are needed (Gabhain & Sixmith, 2006, 250; Vince & Warren, 2012, 281). Understanding something as intangible as happiness can be

substantially enhanced by supporting narrative analyses by visual data (Kunter & Bell, 2006, 177). One of the strengths of using visual data, especially based on images, is that they show the phenomenon as it occurs (Buchanan, 2001, 152), and they can also "yield a multisensory sense of movement and place" (Pink, 2011). In addition, visual data does not only tell about the specific research interest, but also about the surroundings and circumstances where it occurs (Coover, 2004, 190).

According to Buchanan (2001, 152) we live in a very visual world and the current postmodern culture expands visual aspects to all parts of our lives. As Belk (2017, 79) states "the saturation of visual representations in our lives has never been greater". Therefore there are global trends towards greater dominance, or at least new forms, of visual information. Art, media, Facebook, advertisements et cetera, all "render the world in visual terms" (Rose, 2012, 2). As the participants are young, they are very much used to taking photos and sharing their lives in visual ways in social media and using different apps (Millennial Impact Report, 2015), as they are very used to using different gadgets and computers from an early age (Benson & Brown, 2011, 1845), some research showing that Generation Y spend more than 6 hours in the Internet every day (Eisner, 2005, 6). The use of visual data is, however, still relatively rare in the organisational research, despite the highly visual postmodern culture (Strangleman, 2004, 181). Also, as Warren (2002, 230) highlights:

> Surely a more 'sensually complete' methodology than a narrow and limiting focus on those aspects of organization which can be spoken or written down is demanded.

In this study, photos allowed me to enter the places and settings where people actually experienced happiness; in this case, into work environments in organisations but also outside, where happiness moments took place.

Photography implements a method of externalizing the deeper, inner views of the participants. Images can help to recall a variety of associations and provide a non-verbal tool to access happiness. Most people also have a "conception of

visual" (Banks, 2001, 178). However, as photographs can provide only a fragmented and partial reality (Warren, 2002, 236), words are needed to "synthetize images and text as a whole", which Mitchell (1994) calls the 'imagetext'. Warren (2002, 238) strongly argues that although the words and images are not sufficient alone, they can "create a synergy" together.

There are two approaches to visual data: that images are interpretive including plenty of narratives and codes or that image is a quantifiable "faithful record" of the event (Emmison, 2004, 249). In my study a photo is not just a representation of a moment, but it also contains information, which can bring more depth into narratives, by prompting dialogues about specific features and events of the work environment. I would not feel comfortable stating that an image speaks for itself, as I am fully aware of the fact that I am as biased as any researcher to give sociological explanations to images and interpret the images based on my thoughts and expectations.

Therefore, and as will be explained by detail later on in this chapter, when the benefits and challenges of the chosen method are revealed, although visual methods were found highly useful during the data collection, the data analysis will mainly focus on narratives. Mindful photography (Kurtz & Lyubomirsky, 2013) was used during the data collection to create synergy between narratives, interviews and lived moments. I have chosen to use this term, as it refers to focusing on the task at hand mindfully, but other similar terms are participant-led photography (Vince & Warren, 2012, 281), participatory photography (Prins, 2010) and visual storytelling (Caputo, 2003). All these terms support participants to generate their own work, to emphasise them having the power to choose what they want to include in the information they provide and invite them to share their lived experiences.

3.3 Empirical study design

3.3.1 Overview of methods

As I do not aim at testing theories or hypotheses, but to establish descriptions and search for patterns of happiness in the workplace and then relate them to my research questions, the inductive research strategy is being used (Blaikie, 2010, 84).

Both narrative and visual methods were used to collect the data, and the study was qualitative-qualitative combination research, not multi-method or mixed-method (Pritchard, 2002, 132). The main data was generated based on the narratives, the conversations during the interviews, not so in the images, due to the limitations which will be explained later in this chapter. The intention of the study was to give voice to the participants and to allow them to talk about happiness in their own terms and words.

The verbal accounts were analysed to code the stories people tell, their sense to the aspects, events and places, and the significance of the context and the participants' role in them. The thematic analysis was used as the emphasis is on identifying the key themes related to workplace happiness. By identifying the key elements the understanding of the core dimensions of happiness at work and the research questions (especially the "how"-questions) can be answered. (Maitlis, 2012, 495-496.)

Happiness can be examined over a short or long term. It can be seen as a short episode that arises from an event, environment or an input. Alternatively, happiness can be looked at from a longer-term aspect, even as a happy life. (Warr, 2007, 11.) In this research the focus is on the short-term angle, the situations and moments that make people happy in their everyday work environments. However, I do believe that these short-term happiness moments have influence on the longer-period happiness too, which Kahneman (1999, 6) believes can give us measures of what he calls the "objective happiness"; just as

long-term happiness can increase the ability to enjoy simple pleasures (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005b). The participants were asked to reflect on how these momentary happiness experiences influenced their overall happiness at work, and the responses will be looked closer in the next chapters.

The qualitative methods used in this study were semi-structured in-depth interviews (48) and mindful photography (170) in order to attempt to capture happiness moments and to gain deeper understanding on happiness in the workplace from the employee point of view. Since this was a qualitative study, there were no hypotheses and no need for generalisations to be made, but it aimed at providing deeper understanding and new insights of happiness in the workplace. This section of the chapter presents the sample, explains the research context, data generation and the analysis process in detail.

3.3.2 The research context

24 young professionals took part in this study. The participants were based in Edinburgh, although two participants worked outside Edinburgh. This choice was made for practical reasons and to ensure that most of the interviews could be done face-to-face with the participants. Due to the topic of the study and the nature of the methodology, all participants were working full-time (at least 30 hours/week) during the time of the data generation.

Age

This study focuses on Generation Y, who by 2020 are calculated to form 46 per cent of the global workforce (PWC, 2011; Maximizing millennials -report, 2012) and want to be happy at work (Deal & Levenson, 2016). When referring to generations, we are talking about people born in certain time-periods, experiencing same cultural and historical phases (Smola & Sutton, 2002, 363) as they have "a common location in the historical dimension of the social process" (Parry & Urwin, 2011, 81) and "share birth years and experiences as they move through time together, influencing and being influenced by a variety of critical

factors" (Kupperschmidt, 2000, 66). These factors are then argued to explain "issues of generational solidarity and identity affiliation" (McMullin, Comeau & Jovic, 2007, 297) and could perhaps work as guidelines in understanding the differences between values towards life and work, influenced by historical and cultural aspects, as well as the stage of life. Kupperschmidt (2000, 66) believes that in certain events in life "the cohorts develop a peer personality or generational characteristics" which have influence on many different aspects in people's lives, also with their values and expectations towards work. However, he admits that they should be seen more as "generalizations" as there are "individual differences" as well. This study acknowledges the individual differences and instead of aiming at generalisation, will provide a variety of narratives by this cohort to understand how happiness at work can be seen by them.

There are differences in categorizing generations. The existing generations are mainly called Traditionalists, Baby Boomers, Generation X, Generation Y and Generation Z (Cogin, 2012, 2280; Horovitz, 2012). Most often the definitions are made according to the birth year of the individuals. Generation Y are those born between 1979 and 1994 (Cogin, 2012, 2280) or from 1982 onwards (Parry & Urwin, 2011, 80). As can be seen, there aren't any specific or absolute years which to refer in research. The verbal definitions of generations are not absolute either. Generation Y is sometimes called "the Ys", "Millennials", "Nexters" and "Echo Boomers" (Eisner, 2005, 4; Parry & Urwin 2011, 80; Deal & Levenson, 2016). Although the start and end years and names differ, there is a "consensus" among academics about these generations (Eisner, 2005, 4). In this study young professionals are all born between 1979 and 1994 and therefore follow Cogin's definition. Both terms *Generation Y* and the *Ys* will be used, along with the term *young professionals*, in which this study is focusing on.

Most of the research focuses on looking at the differences between the Baby Boomers and the Xs, whereas the youngest generation of the workforce, the Ys, is still less investigated. This is one of the strongest arguments why I have

chosen this age group. This study does not aim to compare generational differences, but to focus on the youngest professionals.

Profession

This study focuses on young professionals. The reason why professionals were chosen as the participants of this study was, in addition to Generation Y being the least studied group, the nature of their jobs being versatile and providing more aspects to investigate happiness. Fewer routines, more independence and the possibility for creative and cognitive tasks are more likely in white-collar jobs (Suojanen, 2012) and therefore it is assumed it allows to study more aspects of happiness.

When looking for definitions for professionalism, it seems to be a well-known term, but lacking of widely accepted definition (von Nordenflycht, 2010). Professionalism can be seen as a rather wide definition for different occupations. Certain attributes from several researchers can, however, be listed here. Professionals hold expertise in a specific field (von Nordenflycht, 2010), which is often gained in higher education (Greiner & Ennsfellner, 2010, 73). They are required advanced (Greiner & Ennsfellner, 2010, 73) and "unusually esoteric knowledge and complex skills" (Freidson, 1987, 19). There is occupational monopoly over the practice jurisdiction and individual autonomy and responsibility of legal and ethical values (Adler et al., 2008.) Their job consists of intellectual and varied tasks in the opposite to manual or physical work (Greiner & Ennsfellner, 2010, 73), not necessary following routines and requiring expertise (Adler et al., 2008).

This study included both men (12) and women (12) for a balanced gender sample. Although some studies have shown differences on the happiness levels between sexes, women being happier than men (Blanchflower, 2008; Veenhoven, 2010; Suojanen, 2013, 66; Zweig, 2015), there are also studies, which have not found a significant correlation between gender and happiness (Ojanen, 2009). According to Diener, Oishi & Lucas (2003) women report higher

satisfaction with their lives and they also enjoy their (longer) lives more than men. Women are also often more satisfied with their jobs than men (Clark, 1996, 207). Gender is not in the core of this study, but whenever strong gender differences are noticed they will be mentioned. It is also worth noticing that I as a woman was solely interviewing all the participants, so there is a chance that the answers men gave to the interview questions or the topics that arose, could have been different had the interviewer been a man and vice versa.

3.3.3 Sample selection

The sample is 24 participants (12 men and 12 women), and the snowball sampling among friends, colleagues and through social media was used to find volunteering participants.

The participants were employed individuals from different organisations and backgrounds. The age group was young adults, between years 20 and 35 (born in 1979 and after), which is often called Generation Y or Millennials. The focus was on professionals living in Edinburgh. 17 of them had permanent agreements, the rest contracts with different lengths. All the participants had a university degree: 9 bachelor's degrees, 9 master's degrees and 4 PhD's. They worked in various fields such as education (8), finance, banking and business (9), legal services (2) and others (6) such as healthcare, design and energy, for both private and public sectors. The majority had worked in their jobs for less than 4 years, whereas two participants had held their current position for more than 6 years. Their total years of work experience varied from 2 to 16 years. One half of the participants were of the British nationality, the other consisted of a variety of nationalities, from Europe, Latin America, North America, Asia and Oceania. As comparing cultural differences was not the aim of the study, it will not be investigated, but is very much suggested for future studies. The heterogeneous sample in terms of occupations, gender and nationalities was used to have a potential of collecting more diverse perceptions and views of happiness. All the participants are listed in Table 4.

Table 4 List of participants

Pseudonym	Age	Field	Educational level
Soraya	33	banking	Bachelor
Jack	36	education	PhD
Alexandra	29	education	PhD
Ana	27	finance	Master
Sofia	27	business/education	Bachelor
Valentina	28	design	Master
Victoria	32	CSR	Master
William	30	finance	PhD
Dennis	28	education	PhD
Nathan	24	banking	Bachelor
Miguel	34	oceanography	Bachelor
Richard	27	finance	Bachelor
Olivia	35	charity	Post-grad diploma
Felix	25	consulting	Bachelor
Emily	31	law	Post-grad diploma
Charlotte	26	civil service	Bachelor
Charlie	30	retail	Bachelor
Harry	33	renewable energy	Master
Adam	31	education	PhD
Ananya	28	finance	Master
Lucy	28	healthcare	Master
Amelia	25	education	Bachelor
Karl	30	education	Master
Luka	31	education	Master

3.3.4 Outcomes of the pilot study

As the chosen mixture of methods, including mindful photography, was rather experimental by nature, testing was needed before the actual data collection. The pilot study with 10 participants turned out to be very helpful in order to test the chosen methods and to finalise and polish the procedure in order to avoid major pitfalls later on in the study. Challenges during the pilot study led into a better practice in the actual data collection. Suggestions from participants shaped the approach positively.

The main outcomes of the pilot study were as follows:

- The decision to send the photos using a mobile app called Whatsapp arouse during the pilot study. Most of the participants found it difficult or complicated to send photos by email, as they were not used to writing emails on their phones. If they waited for being on a computer to send the photos later by email, they often forgot to send them. Using the Whatsapp was the fastest and most convenient for them. Sending photos by email was provided as an alternative choice, which five participants chose.

- Challenges and questions arising during the pilot study were a great source of information when writing the information sheet for the participants. A Q&A section (Appendix 1) was given to each participant before starting the mindful photography period, providing useful answers to situations e.g. where taking photos was forgotten or facing certain limitations.

- As forgetting turned out to be the main challenge during the pilot study, and many participants suggested reminders, one reminder per day was sent to each participant during the two-week mindful photography period, unless the participant didn't want to receive any.

- Creating a collage of every photo from each participant was a suggestion from one of the participants. It became apparent to be a very effective way to discuss about the bigger picture of happiness at work.

- Analysing data from the pilot study proposed a few themes to analyse, which were then helpful when possible themes for the final analyses were considered.

The pilot study was very useful in shaping the mindful photography period and to also to convince me of the usability of the method. Some piloting of data

analysing could have been useful as well, in order to see the challenges and possibilities lying ahead.

3.4 Data generation

Data generation took place over a period of 26 weeks from late March to mid September 2015. The data generation was conducted ethically and consistently. The data was collected through mindful photography, written narratives and follow-up interviews.

3.4.1 Ethics

This work was carried out with the ethical approval of the University of Edinburgh. During the first meeting with the participants they were explained the aims and objectives of the study, to make sure they were aware of the nature of the research and understood both what was expected from them, but what were also their rights during the study. It was made clear that they were all participating voluntarily and could interrupt taking part in the study any moment. They were asked to fill a consent form (Appendix 2) and were given a sheet which had advice and guidance on how to take and send the photos (Appendix 1). A regular contact was maintained with all participants and they were also given the contacts of my supervisor for any extra information.

The participants were reminded to be considerate when taking pictures of people, and advised to ask for their approval. Pictures of children were forbidden. The participants were also asked for permission to use the photos in the final thesis, publications and presentations; and were assured that no identification of individuals, employers or organisations is possible. At the end of the interview they were able to say if they did not want certain pictures to be used. All the photos and transcripts of the interviews were securely stored (OneDrive) and the laptop in use was protected by password. The details of the participants were kept separately from the photos and interviews, which were saved in coded folders to guarantee anonymity.

In addition to the waver to conduct ethical study and to minimise the risk of harm, the ethical reasoning to study happiness should be acknowledged as well. As people value happiness very high in their lives and want to be happy at work and outside of it (Veenhoven, 2010), there is also an ethical responsibility to study happiness and to acknowledge, justify and promote the inquiry to create happier workplaces and societies.

3.4.2 Research phases

This study consisted of three research phases. The participants first took part in a semi-structured interview, before the two-week mindful photography period took place. The third phase included another interview based on the photos and on open-ended questions, and a collage of all the pictures by each participant.

1. Short interview with open-ended questions

Before conducting the study meeting with all participants individually was needed to provide detailed guidance on how the research was to be conducted and what was expected. This first meeting included a semi-structured interview where participants were asked various questions related both to their happiness at work and happiness in general in their workplace. Semi-structured open-ended interview questions were planned beforehand to guide the discussions and to let the participants talk about happiness in their own terms, instead of choosing from ready-made survey questions. The questions were broad, focusing on definitions, expectations and experiences on workplace happiness (Appendix 3). The participants were told that if any question appeared they did not want to answer, they were allowed to say "do not want to answer" or "next question please". The interviews were recorded with permission from the participants, after they were assured that the recordings and any other data collected was handled and stored in confidential and non-attributable manner.

Participants were told early on in the interview that they were the experts of their happiness at work. I wanted them to choose, judge and decide what happiness at work meant to them and not to think of what the researcher might want to hear.

2. Two-week mindful photography period

The participants were asked to take photographs of various aspects influencing their happiness at work during a two-week period. They were asked to "show me what makes you happy at work". These photographs helped the participants to express their inner experiences: their emotions and experiences within the environment they work in (Warren, 2002, 229). They were encouraged to decide themselves what was a happy moment for them and also to choose which moments were work-related happiness moments, as the happiness moments were possibly happening outside the company walls or after working hours. I also encouraged them to send a picture of any quality and in a case of not being able to take a photo, to send a short verbal narrative of the moment. They were also encouraged to send the photo soon after it was taken, to avoid forgetting to do so. During the pilot study some questions were presented and based on these questions and my own forethoughts, they were provided a Q&A–sheet (Appendix 1) that was planned to help them in a moment of doubt. They were also encouraged to contact me or my supervisor, if any problems were to arise.

The participants used smart phones to take the photos and mainly an app called Whatsapp to send them to me (alternatively by email). They were also asked to provide short captions to explain the photos at the time they were taken. The narratives both helped the participants to recall the moment the photo was taken and also provided their own interpretations of the photographs (Pink, 2011, 127). By signing the consent form the participants agreed the pictures to be used in the publications and presentations, unless otherwise indicated.

The participants were sent a reminder every working day (Mon-Fri) during their mindful photography period by either using the app called Whatsapp, text message or email, according to their preferred approach. Only one participant didn't want reminders. I made it clear that the reminder was sent automatically every day, regardless of entries received that day or not. There was no need to respond to the message and to send forced or invented happiness moment entries, as only real entries based on authentic experiences were wanted.

The total number of entries received during the data collection period was 203 of which 170 included pictures. The difference is explained by allowing participants to send a caption without a picture in the situations when taking photos was not possible. 26 was recorded as the highest number of entries and 3 the lowest. One participant sent 17 pictures whereas another participant didn't send any.

3. Semi-structured interview

After the two-week period, participants were met in person (two interviews conducted by Skype based on the participants' needs). All of the pictures of each participant were printed out and they were asked to "talk through" the photos and to share the narratives of the experienced happiness moment. The photos worked as prompts to entice people about the moments experienced at work (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Questions were asked to clarify the situation and to gain more information of the experience, sometimes in a non-interrupting and occasionally in interrupting interview style, for clarification, to attain more details or to help from side-tracking (Matthews & Ross, 2010, 268).

After going through each photo separately, participants were shown a collage of all their entries on one sheet and asked to reflect on what

they saw, whether something was missing or what it said about their happiness at work overall. This proved to be a very efficient way to reflect overall happiness at work. All the participants were later sent their collage when they were thanked for the participation.

Qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted to deepen the understanding of the research-generated photos and to allow them to talk about the aspects of happiness that were not necessarily covered in the photos. Similar questions were asked in both interviews to cover as many aspects as possible, and to open the possibility for later studies to focus on the influence of the mindful photography period on the answers.

3.5 Data handling and analysis

The main data was generated based on the narratives and the conversations during the interviews, not so in the images. The verbal accounts were analysed to code the stories people tell, their sense to the aspects, events and places, and the significance of the context and participants role in them. The thematic analysis was used as the emphasis is on identifying the key themes related to workplace happiness. By identifying the key elements the understanding of the core dimensions of happiness at work and the research questions (especially the "how"-questions) can be answered. (Maitlis, 2012, 495-496.)

When looking at the research frameworks, Warr (2007, 81) sees three different approaches to the cause of happiness: 1) person, 2) environment and 3) both of these two, which he calls the "joint-account". This study was person-centred, but insights about the environment were received as well, as the interaction between the person and the environment was found relevant.

3.5.1 Coding and analysing processes

The thematic analysis was used for coding the data. The thematic analysis is "a process of working with raw data to identify and interpret key ideas or themes" (Matthews & Ross, 2010, 374). The coding process followed Miles and Huberman's (1994) suggestion for the levels of coding. First the data reduction took place when the data was organised using NVivo9 and added into the database. The data was carefully read and any statements referring to research questions were identified, and so the codes and categories started to form. The initial codes and categories were created based partly on the research questions and literature review, but mainly on the themes, topics and issues that had arisen during both the pilot study and the familiarisation process of the data. Then the data was reread to confirm that the created codes and categories were useful and that everything important was included. As some of the themes fitted well into existing frameworks, they were used to guide the codes and provided a systematic frame for this study. These will be explained later in this chapter when the research questions and analysis are provided in detail.

Once the code names were given, they were also supported by definitions, which provided great help when analysing the data in the moments of uncertainty. Some changes were made after new themes started coming up repeatedly or the definitions needed readjustment to cover a wider concept. The diagnosed themes were then completed by using NVivo9. The themes are explained in Appendix 4 in greater detail. If the analysis was deductive by nature, the order of executions is as follows: 1) dimensions, 2) theories supporting the dimensions and 3) the final themes in the result chapters. If the analysis was inductive by nature, then the order follows the structure by Corley and Gioia (2004): 1) concepts, 2) themes and 3) aggregate dimensions.

It was challenging to draw a clear line between the narratives and the interview discussions, as often, although responding to the semi-structured interview questions, they also shared stories of their experiences. Therefore both the

narratives and data from the interviews were organised under the same thematic headings.

All through the data collection and research process, anonymity and confidentiality were carefully respected. Each participant was given a unique identifier, which consisted of pseudonym, age at the time of data collection and the field of work. Gender was not mentioned, but it can be easily detected from given pseudonyms. The identifiers looked as follows: Richard, 27, finance. A list of all participants is in Table 4, in section 3.3.3. Any contextual references from the interview transcripts were removed or replaced to guarantee anonymity. The recordings, transcripts and notes were stored securely and the paper based materials were in a locked safe.

Although narratives and interviews were coded similarly, there where differences in the presentation in the result chapters, as the narratives often required a context to be understood fully, whereas the comments from the interviews were easier to present solely and as shorter quotes. Also, sometimes the narratives were able to support the interview data as by hearing stories it was possible to understand why the participants had certain world-views or opinions.

The use of quotes from participants is justified by the key purpose of giving the participants a voice to share their own experiences. The selection of the quotes presented in this and result chapters were based on the suitability of the description of the phenomenon and the capability to show interesting, detailed cases. The references for how each quote referred to the analysis were given. Occasionally, to fully represent observations, some "postholing" was made. Postholing is a term used by Sennet (1976) for digging deeper when presenting the data, to show the experiences, characters and vignettes in richness of details and specific moments. A good example of postholing is in the first result chapter (Chapter 4) where Richard shared his concerns of comparison affecting happiness. However, postholing is only used selectively and sparingly, as in

Sennet's words: "what posthole methods gains in intellectual vigour, it loses in a certain kind of veracity" (Sennet, 1976, 42).

After the reduction and display stages, the third stage was to develop conclusions and to verify them. More information how analyses were made, will follow next.

3.5.2 Result chapters answering the research questions

The first result chapter (Chapter 4) will answer to two research questions:

RQ1 How do young professionals identify, express and conceptualise happiness?

RQ2 In what ways does happiness at work matter?

The question focusing on identifying and conceptualising happiness, was deductive by nature, as Haybron's (2010) trial division of momentary emotion, mood and long-term life satisfaction was used and tested. The aspects of how happiness was expressed was inductive, as the codes were created based on emerging themes in the data and research questions, and no specific theories were used; this was also the case with analysing the reasons for why and in what ways happiness mattered. Most of the data came from the answers to interview questions.

The second result chapter (Chapter 5) focuses on the research question:

RQ3 What enables happiness moments to occur at work?

This started as an inductive study, but as the themes evolved it became clear they were closely following Fisher's (2010) framework, as explained in the literature chapter (Chapter 2). The codes for enablers of happiness at work were defined in detail as environmental, dispositional and person by situation contributors to happiness in organisations. Environmental contributors were on organisational, job and event level, and the person by situation level was

divided into supplementary and needs-supply fit. Although the framework was very useful, there was still movement between the inductive and deductive approach constantly through the analysing process, as the framework was not covering all the aspects and oversimplified the approach to the phenomenon on some occasions. New aspects influencing happiness at work or new angles to phenomena were detected and added. Also Seligman's and Warr's models were challenged in order to add more information to existing knowledge. The analysed data for this research question was heavily based on the images and narratives collected during the mindful photography period, but also from the interviews.

The third result chapter (Chapter 6) focuses on the research question:
RQ4 Who is responsible for happiness at work?

Coding the data was early on based on Ahua et al.'s (2014) theory on interactionist approach, but as the themes developed analysing happiness responsibility became more inductive and provided a new framework to look at happiness responsibility, which is very little studied in happiness research, especially in organisations. Also Psychological contract (Rousseau, 1989) was chosen to support the new theory. Most of the data came from the answers to interview questions.

The last result chapter (Chapter 7) is mainly looking into answering the sub question on happiness responsibility
RQ4a How do young professionals perceive their employers' role in enabling happiness in the workplace?
and partially answers the research question
RQ3 What enables happiness moments to occur at work?

This chapter does not lean on theories and the analysis was inductive. The aspects on what can be done to increase employee happiness were based on the themes that were created to answer the research question and resulting from

the thematic analysis. Most of the data came from the answers to the interview questions.

As the study was experimental in nature, it also provided information on how the combination on narrative research and visual data can conceptualise happiness studies in a new way and what are the advantages and disadvantages of using visual data in elucidating employee happiness.

3.6 Challenges and benefits of mindful photography

Early on in the thesis planning, I was curious to analyse the images among narratives. As the images were communicated literally in photographs, verbally and explicitly in scene descriptions and verbally but implicitly in metaphors, the analysing process would have been very interesting. However, I came to the conclusion to focus on the narratives and the interviews in the study. To explain this, I will first present the challenges the participants experienced during the mindful photography period, which then led to challenges in analysing the photos in the planned way. As this is narrative research and aims at giving employees a voice to talk about their experiences, quotes will be used to explore the discussed matters.

3.6.1 Challenges of mindful photography

Participants faced challenges in capturing happiness moments. Some of these challenges were based on practical issues in taking photos, others were more of philosophical matter. The main five challenges were: 1) not being able to take a photo, 2) difficulties in choosing a happiness moment, 3) challenges in photographing happiness, 4) attempts to please the researcher and 5) the timing of the study.

It became clear throughout the interviews that during the mindful photography period there had been situations when participants experienced happiness, but

were **1) not able to take a photo.** This was mainly due to a) having no camera at hand, b) professional requirements, c) confidentiality/anonymity, d) technical issues and e) forgetting.

a) Having no camera at the moment of happiness provided some challenges. In some occasions, cameras were not allowed at work, the task required full concentration or there was no time to take photos:

> We are not allowed to use camera at work. - Sofia, 27, business/education

> I was driving in and I couldn't stop to take the picture. – Emily, 31, law

> It was just so busy and then whenever something happened I was oh, that is perfect. Sometimes 7 to 8 hours later I realised it was gone. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

b) Taking photos at work or having mobile phones in work settings was also seen as an interruption or part of nonprofessional behavior, which made taking photos a challenge:

> I would have found that very weird, unprofessional, because I am there in a work setting, to ask if I can take a picture for research process. There are contexts where people should not get their mobile phones out. - Dennis, 28, education

c) Confidentiality and anonymity provided challenges as well. They concerned often other people, such as customers, patients or students:

> The main thing was - obviously with patients - confidentiality. Hospital is not as free as working in an office where you can take pictures.- Lucy, 28, healthcare

> I had really enjoyable lesson a few times that week, which was something you cannot take a picture of, because of kids and confidentiality issues. - Amelia, 25, education

Confidentiality also included documents, patents, websites and buildings:

> The documents I deal with are confidential. So when I am working on something I cannot take a picture of it. Or if I finish a piece of work and it makes me happy I cannot take a picture of it. - Nathan, 24, banking

> The organisation obviously has very distinctive architecture, so I was trying to take photos that were not that obvious. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

> I couldn't take a picture of it, as it is company's secret, it was their equipment. - Harry, 33, renewable energy

d) Sometimes technical issues interrupted taking a photo or made it more complicated:

> Just because my phone is quite old, sometimes I couldn't connect to the internet, so toward to the end I was basically taking the photo, writing it to my own email address and then sending it to you when I got home. Also I couldn't turn off the sound of my phone so became bit self-conscious sometimes taking photos. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

e) Although only one participant confessed forgetting to take a picture, this was most likely experienced by some other participants too:

> I guess because I didn't photograph it I then forgot about it and didn't send it to you and forgot to mention it. -Harry, 33, renewable energy

The participants had been advised before the beginning of the mindful photography period that if facing a challenge they could take a picture right after the experienced happiness moment or share a verbal entry by message or email. This advice was followed and Sofia once took a picture of the ceiling:

> I then just walked a little bit and realized oh that made me happy, I should take a photo about this moment. So I looked around and up and thought oh that is so beautiful, so I just took that. - Sofia, 27, business/education

Whereas Victoria had the opposite approach:

> I was not trying to photograph the most beautiful thing. I was just trying to catch a photo that would remind me of that time. - Victoria, 32, CSR

Although both of them aimed and reached the same destination of first capturing the moment and then recalling it afterwards, they had very different approach to represent the moment in a photo.

Other than these kinds of practical or technical issues, participants found it sometimes **2) hard to recognise or choose a happiness moment** to report:

> You can clearly tell when you are unhappy, but when something happens that makes you smile, you are like am I happy? Or is it just a good feeling? Happiness, what is happiness? – Emily, 31, law
>
> What I found difficult about this was judging when happiness is worth recording.- Jack, 36, education
>
> They present my happiness but they also represent the moment when I had to consciously say this is a happy moment. So perhaps there were other moments when I was happy but unaware. - Sofia, 27, business/education
>
> Some days I didn't send picture even though I was happier, but there was nothing different from any other day to take a photo of. - Ana, 27, finance

When facing these issues, participants had found different ways to solve them:

> If you came to my mind when something happy happened then I just sent it because I was clearly thinking it was a happy moment. – Emily, 31, law
>
> I only took photos if that was something above normal. I am pretty happy at work so I don't just walk around photographing everything, these were something I could put my finger on. - Harry, 33, renewable energy
>
> When I was in London, it was the whole day. I couldn't take pictures all day long, so I took one picture. - Felix, 25, consulting

Some participants shared problems of taking photos of an aspect as intangible as happiness. They questioned **3) if happiness can be photographed**. Taking a photo of something that was *"happening in the head"* (Valentina, 28, design) and *"more inferior"* (Miguel, 34, oceanography) was challenging:

> Sometimes I found it hard to take the photo. Cause I felt like sometimes happiness seemed so abstract, and photo is such a real thing. - Ana, 27, finance

A few participants claimed that it was sometimes impossible to take photos of happiness, which was a highly internal feeling and not necessary related to anything external around them that could be captured in a photo:

> A lot of the things that make you happy aren't things you can take pictures of. So for example having a good conversation. Or the feeling of nice weather or wind on your skin. Or working in a company that values what you value, you cannot take a picture of it. - Nathan, 24, banking

> How can you show in a photo that you have developed a positive relationship with a kid you find difficult? You cannot take a picture of that kid, because it is just a picture of a child. The actual photo does not show you anything, unless you can explain it. So it is more complex than that. Some things just cant be photographed. - Amelia, 25, education

One participant had solved this dilemma by taking selfies, images of himself. This was his way to emphasize that happiness happened within him. In some cases when it was hard to capture the cause of happiness by photo, they created something related and took a photo of it. For example, one participant wrote the words 'secondment opportunity' on a piece of paper and took a photo of it.

There were also occasions, when it could be questioned if the happiness moment was an authentic one or **4) an attempt to please** the researcher and to complete a promised task:

> Most of them I was trying to push, I am not going to lie to you. If I had not received your messages I would have not sent anything, because it was really difficult to find something. - Miguel, 34, oceanography

One participant shared her rising concern during the mindful photography period of her pictures not being interesting enough. She had wanted her pictures to be metaphoric for happiness and started shooting plants and threes as they presented flourishing and progressing, which for her was an analogy for happiness. This way she made them also neutral and not clearly giving her workplace away. This led her to take images that were not capturing the happiness moments visually but followed the theme. She was still able to recall

the happiness moment, but analysing those images as highly informative of her specific happiness moments would have been irrational.

5) Timing of the study in spring and summer very likely increased the amount of sunny outdoor images. Also, the amount of entries of nature and natural environment might have been increased due to the seasonal effect. Also the tasks differed in some cases around the year, so for example for those in education, happiness moments could have been different, were they all taken between September and December, instead of April and September:

> I would have taken very different pictures had this been during semester time. But that is a particular nature how university work is, so during the semester there would have been more pics about teaching naturally. But it is not necessary an issue, because the key things we can still talk about.
> - Dennis, 28, education

A few of the academics partaking were obviously still at work during the mindful photography period, but their tasks were different to those during the term. This is something that other occupational groups did not discuss, but it is very likely that busy periods such as the end of the financial year in finance and tight deadlines vs. easier periods are normal in any job. Variations between weeks and tasks are normal.

These challenges presented here lead to a conclusion that the photos were not necessarily always representing a happiness moment and were occasionally perhaps misinformative. Had happiness been analysed purely based on the images, the main conclusions could have been: warm beverages and nice weather make people happy at work, other people have no influence on happiness. There were 19 photos of mugs and 28 photos of blue skies and the sun, and barely no pictures of people. The analysis based on narratives gave somewhat different results, as although nature and weather were among the main generators of happiness moments, coffee wasn't.

Also, the importance of interaction with others in happiness was highly valued. Although entries did include a variety of nature related photos and the weather was highly appreciated, there were also pictures of light and the environment, which were not related to nature as such, but were taken on the way home after a successful day at work or a pleasant train journey with colleagues, in which case happiness was not caused by the weather. The many images of warm beverages were shared with narratives of pleasant conversations with colleagues, quiet breaks during a busy day or the flexibility of the work.

As the participants were aware of not taking photos of people for various reasons, there were barely any images of other people, although many of the narratives focused on interactions with others.

> The photos are interesting because none of them have people in them. But nearly everything I talk about is interactions with people. I think if I had just described the moments I would have talked about people more. - Dennis, 28, education

Dennis' comment also suggests concerns that even though people did share the happiness moment in the interview recalling the moment as it happened, the images might have lead them to talk about slightly different things, had the

happiness moments been collected in an alternative way. Although they did share their thoughts on people-related happiness moments, it is questionable if their reflections had been different had those people been photographed.

Although most of the participants enjoyed taking photos of happy moments, it wasn't always easy for them. Not only was the fleeting moment often short, and stopping to take a photo in some cases ruined the moment, as the essence of it was to be in the moment and not to think of other things, such as if taking a photo for research purposes was needed. Happiness was also seen as something very intangible, and hard to capture or visualise. By using this visual method they were forced to take pictures of external aspects, although the feeling or emotion was felt within, in their bodies and minds. Basing the analysis only on the images would not have truly reflected happiness felt within.

A minor thing was that the images differed greatly in quality and style. Whereas some of them were bright, thoughtful and even artistic, some were mundane, blurry and dark. Although the participants were told before the mindful photography period that the quality of their images was irrelevant and all images were wanted, analysing such variety of images would have not led to equal treatment.

Images could have been analysed according to their style, place, colour or atmosphere, but this would not have provided valuable information for the study which aimed at understanding what makes people happy and who is responsible of it. Therefore I decided to use the images as illustrations for this thesis, providing added information of the situation or moment when happiness was expressed. I am aware that this claim to provide or not to provide information is also open for interpretation.

This does not however mean that the data collection was unsuccessful and narratives and interviews alone would have lead to same results. The benefits of the methodology are discussed next.

3.6.2 Benefits of mindful photography

This approach has many benefits, from both the participant's and from the research point of view. This approach provided 1) a natural way to share information, 2) help to recall the moments later, 3) a fresh way to look at happiness, 4) a good attempt to capture happiness, 5) ownership of the photos, 6) a new way to interview, 7) more information of the surroundings and 8) interesting study for all.

One of the reasons why mindful photography worked well in capturing happiness was that taking and sending photos was **1) a natural way to share information** for this generation:

> We are so used to taking pictures of ourselves, I didn't even register. I guess it is second nature. Like looking into mirror and sending it to you. - Richard, 27, finance
>
> I do take photos in my daily life, I use Instagram. And it is not that I put photos that make me happy but usually they do. - Sofia, 27, business/education

The photos **2) helped participants to recall the moments** later:

> It is quite a good way of capturing this subject, it does not take any time, it is very easy, if you write that down and send it later, I will probably forget it. Pictures are better. - Harry, 33, renewable energy
>
> Whatsapp was a great idea, because you can instantly send it. I took pictures to remind me of what the moment was. If this wasn't written, I would remember why I took it. - Adam, 31, education
>
> There are some times when I go on my phone and I see a picture and I am like oh I forgot that happened. So when you take pictures of moments when you are happy and you revisit those moments it makes you happier. - Valentina, 28, design

One thing they liked about this approach was that it **3) provided a fresh and instant way** to look at happiness, instead of typical surveys and diaries and was also a **4) good attempt to capture** a fleeting happiness moment:

> There is certain immediacy to it that you don't have in what we call diaries. I also like it you go back to pictures, when we talk about it.

> Taking a picture of it makes it a bit more real. It makes it bit more tangible in a sense, that strength of that notion, it made it even more real than it was already. - Dennis, 28, education

> Lots of research on happiness at workplace is done by surveys. They are very important but I don't think there is an awful lot of thought on how to do them. Happiness is quite complex idea really and it means very different things to different people. I don't think very simplistic staff survey which they are a lot of the time cannot address those things. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

Another important benefit of mindful photography refers to the **5) ownership of the photos**. They were taken by the participants and even though they allowed me to use them in this study, they were - and still are - their photos. So their focus was on something that was theirs and which they chose to share with me. They were able to bring up topics that mattered to them and therefore were able to lead the conversation.

This methodology also provided **6) a new way to interview**. It allowed the participant to focus on something else than my face during the interview, which, I believe, made the situation more relaxed and helped to focus on the happiness moments. Also the collage of all of the entries allowed them to look at the bigger picture and to reflect their happiness at work on another level. This would have not been possible with words only, as images were easily put together on one page and quickly seen as a combination of different aspects.

The images also **7) provided information of the participants' surroundings and environments**, that the researcher would not have had access otherwise.

The use of images in the thesis makes it **8) more interesting, pleasant and informative** for the researcher, participant and the reader.
The participants reflected on the benefits of taking part in the study and on the advantages for their happiness in general, but not so much about the photo taking methodology. The most often heard comments were "*it was easy*" and "*it was fun*".

> It wasn't just a little thing to stop for 10 seconds, it actually made me happy. I enjoyed taking the photos and it made me to stop and think, which I don't normally do. - Charlie, 30, retail

They also liked to look at happiness from a different aspect and enjoyed the creative part of capturing happiness:

> It does make you think more creatively about ok I feel happy now, what is it that makes me happy, ok it is that, how can I express it in a picture format? - Soraya, 33, banking

Just like the quotes of the participants are not really needed in the thesis, but are used to bring life to the thesis and allow the participants to use their own voice (which was one of the main aims of the study), the use of images in this study is justified. It is rather surprising how few studies on organisations include images and this study does not want to add to the vast amount of imageless studies. As Belk (2017, 93) indicates "the current generation of 'born digital' consumers have come to expect visual images and quickly become bored with purely textual information", which is not necessarily the case only with digi-natives and doesn't exclude research outputs. Therefore, the photos from the data collection are used throughout the thesis and images, unless indicated otherwise, were taken by the participants.

The benefits and challenges of mindful photography in this happiness study are collated in Table 5, where all three stages of the data collection, interviewing and analysing are looked from both the participant's and the research's point view.

Table 5 Challenges and benefits of mindful photography

Mindful photography		
	Challenges	**Benefits**
Data collection Participant's point of view	- issues taking/sending photos - no camera - unprofessional - confidentiality/anonymity - technical issues - challenges in recognising happiness - challenges in choosing what to take a photo of - intangible => hard to capture - nothing special/happy day - forgetting - intrusive and interruptive	- fun and easy -creative exercise - fresh approach - typical for culture and generation - reflecting happiness - instantaneity
Study's point of view	- sending reminders - pleasing researcher - timing of the data collection	- participants chose the happiness moment and the content of the photo => ownership - captures the context and surroundings of the occurring moment - good attempt to capture happiness moments
Interviewing Participant's point of view	- directed the discussion	- ownership of the photos - photos helped to recall the moment in the interview and after - photo collage allowed to see the big picture
Study's point of view	- directed/limited discussions and topics	- alternative way to interview - photos helped to recall the moment in the interview - photo collage allowed to reflect on the big picture - the context and surrounding helped to rise questions and allowed conversations focus on the topic, instead of setting the scene
Analysing	- photos not presenting happiness moments - created settings - limitations/challenges as above => misinformative - variety in style and quality	- two rich sources of information - photos supported analysing narratives - final thesis informative and interesting for the reader

The next four chapters will now explore the results from the data analysis. They will aim at answering the given research questions and provide information about the happiness experiences in the workplace. Firstly the concept of happiness will be explored together with the importance of happiness at work. Secondly happiness enablers will be looked at closely. In the third and fourth result chapters the responsibility of happiness and what can be done will be in the focus. Every chapter will provide an individual conclusion section in the end to draw together the main findings. The results and answers to all research questions will then be discussed in the final chapter.

Chapter 4. Concepts and importance of happiness

This chapter will focus on the wider set of concepts of happiness, as discussed in the Chapter 2. It starts by looking at what participants talked about when they talked about happiness: their definitions and concepts on happiness. Then it focuses on the importance of happiness for these participants: whether happiness mattered to them and why this was the case, following by how happiness was expressed at work and also how it was influencing their behaviour and actions.

4.1 Happiness is…

One goal of the study was to allow the participants to provide their own definitions for happiness. They seemed to know what happiness is:

> You know it when you are happy. - Valentina, 28, design
>
> I suppose I know when I am happy. - Charlie, 30, retail

However, verbalising happiness was challenging for them:

> It's hard. I thought this would be easier. - Ana, 27, finance
>
> There is a dictionary definition for happiness, which I don't know…
> - Felix, 25, consulting
>
> When you are happy, you just feel it, you don't think about how to name the emotion. - Valentina, 28, design

Sofia questioned the call for definition:

> I don't think you should even define it, because if you define it, you limit your happiness. - Sofia, 27, business/education

For some the question was dealt with one sentence or few words, whereas the others pondered on the definition and gave longer, philosophical answers. If the participants faced a definitional challenge, so did I when trying to analyse the given definitions. Happiness was not only described by a variety of terms, but it

was also described in alternative concepts and given different values. As 'definition' can be too limiting a word, this chapter will focus more on the concepts of happiness.

As the discussions with the participants were mainly about a happiness moment, mood and having a good life, it followed Haybron's (2010) threefold approach to happiness concepts. Mood was the least discussed of these three, as the narratives focused mainly on happiness moments and their influence on overall happiness in life.

Happiness is…

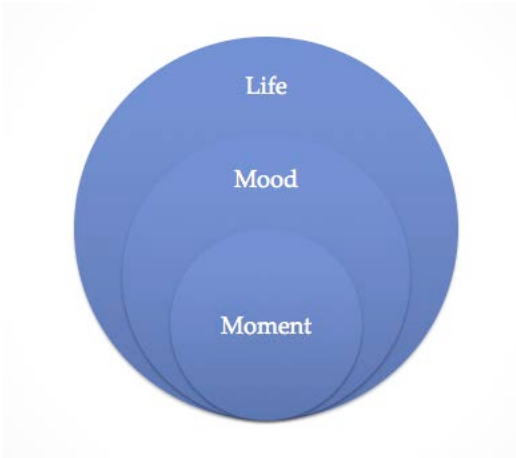


Figure 6 Happiness is …

4.1.1 … a moment

> It is being satisfied in the present moment. - Nathan, 24, banking

Happiness was often described as a fleeting moment, a moment that happened unexpectedly and suddenly and didn't last very long, but made the person feel elevated:

> Happiness is like emotion you feel in relation to certain things. It is not necessarily a state of mind, you feel happy and then you can feel unhappy. And that can change from one minute to another. It is a positive emotion that makes you feel good. It is a very delicate feeling that can change very quickly. - Amelia, 25, education

It was also seen as an exiting moment, an outburst:

> It is almost as happiness is excitement. It is one of those moments, when you are a kid and you are surprised that you are going to Disneyland… It releases something, it makes you feel that outburst and it lasts maybe a few seconds or few minutes. It is a moment, an outburst of something, it goes away within seconds and you would like to freeze it, but you cannot. - Adam, 31, education

Or a perfect moment, which was cherished in a calm manner:

> Happiness means that if you were given opportunity to change anything at that particular moment, you would not want to change anything. Leaving things exactly the way they are. -Alexandra, 29, education

In many narratives happiness was a moment without negative feelings or experiences, such as "not feelings anxious" (Sofia, 27, business/education), "not feeling bad, not being gloomy" (Felix, 25, consulting), "lack of anxiety" (Harry, 33, renewable energy) or "not dreading coming in" (Emily, 31, law). In Jack's words, happiness was being able to enjoy the moment without worries:

> Happiness has a strong correlation with being in a relaxed and unstressed state, where I can appreciate what is going on in that particular moment, without having to think about anything else. That goes with both work and outside of work. That I can just be in the moment and enjoy the moment. Not thinking oh my god what is going to happen, or how am I going to manage this. - Jack, 36, education

Typical of momentary happiness, the cause or object was easily detected, and this will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. Alexandra's happiness definition was divided into three categories: situational happiness, on-going hidden happiness and spill over happiness. For her all these emerged in a moment, but from different sources:

> Situational is a particular event or piece of news. On-going hidden happiness is what you catch yourself on, like 'Oh my God, I work at a top UK University'! So it's always with you but some days you carry on with the routine worries and tasks and forget about it and then it dawns on you every now and then. Spill over happiness is driven by the fact that work is not the only thing in your life. That you have your amazingly productive 8 hours but there is something else waiting for you at the end of the day. - Alexandra, 29, education

Richard emphasised that happiness was not a constant state but emerged from happy moments. He was also able to point representative causes:

> I would define happiness in an episodic way, rather than state of being way. Other people may define happiness as I am a happy person, like a constant state of being. When I think about happiness I think about those things that make me happy for example developing a new insight of a company, or reading about a company that is really interesting, playing football or music or something good happens. That episodic activity is happiness. - Richard, 27, finance

For some participants happiness was not in the moment, but in the moments that together formed the sense of happiness. Happiness was "broken down into little peaks throughout the day" (Charlotte, 26, civil service) and "small moments made big happiness" (Valentina, 28, design). Amelia (25, education) found it hard to pick individual moments to present happiness, as it was all those moments together that made her happy.

4.1.2 … a mood

> It is being on a good mood. - Miguel, 34, oceanography

When participants talked about happiness as a mood, it was the length of the experience that differentiated it from momentary emotion:

> Happiness is sort of longer state which takes a longer time than just feeling good. - Victoria, 32, CSR

> I don't think it is emotion. It is more of a feeling and you go through periods of being happy. It is a feeling when things have been going well or things that have happened have been good. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

Similar to happiness moments, happiness as a mood was also about enjoyment:

> Happiness means just feeling good. Feeling like anything is possible. Just enjoying life. - Soraya, 33, banking

Participants also discussed positive approach to work, when explaining mood:

> Being able to smile and approach things positively, whether it was work task or anything else. The positive energy and the way to get through the

> day in more positive light, that would be happiness. - Adam, 31, education

Ana found no explanation for these moods, as their origin was uncertain:

> I noticed I have moods, and sometimes I would just have a happy day at work and sometimes no happy days, so I was trying to figure out what it was, cause I was kind of in emotional yoyo. Some days I was in a mood not to work at all and then some days it was all ok. Even though the situation hadn't changed, it wasn't like I was working with different people in a different project. -Ana, 27, finance

The word 'contentment' was often used in the narratives. The participants discussed the feeling of being content with their work, their lives and situations. In some cases these words were used as synonyms, but contentment was also seen as part of happiness or happiness being more than contentment. When happiness and contentment were seen the same, they were about mood:

> For me it is being content actually. If someone spoke the word happiness I would say contentment. And people say why just be content why not go for something more than that, but as long as I am content with my personal life and each workday, then I am a happy person and I can build on different levels of happiness. There is this super happy, because not only I am content but I've got this level as well. If I got promotions at work I would be even happier but I would still be happy to begin with. So I would be content. - Emily, 31, law

Whereas when they were seen as different terms, happiness was a momentary emotion and contentment was more about longer-lasting mood:

> There is a difference between happiness and content. So when I am content I don't send pictures because I am just content. So during that period it was more about feeling of contentment. Happiness itself is like an emotional outburst. It lasts only a second after we have realised it is happiness, then it goes back to being content. So happiness itself is just something that comes in small doses. - Adam, 31, education

4.1.3 … a life

Some narratives were about having a happy life. These referred to happiness in work overall and to wishes and hopes on how career/life would go and how certain aspects at work enhanced the chances of having a happy career/life.

> For me happiness would be just having a good life, with good friends for support and love, and knowing that I am doing a good job. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

> It is feeling good, recognizing all the positive things in life, being aware of them. And that on the whole most things are pretty good, despite a few problems or frustrations. - Victoria, 32, CSR

In the times of global society, these participants were aware and constantly updated on what their peers were doing and achieving. In social media Richard saw people graduating with degrees, wearing fancy suits, meeting famous people and having pretty girlfriends, and that made it hard for him to be happy:

> There is this deep level of general bitterness and dissatisfaction, like the world hasn't given you the things that it has given to other people. Why is it that I am not good enough, what is the world not seeing in me that it sees in these other people? You build these unrealistic expectations as what you should do in future and of course you can never live up to them. And it looks like this automatic unhappiness trap. You go to a restaurant and you haven't got the whole portion - why I only got half of the portion?! You can never enjoy it. - Richard, 27, finance

He acknowledged that this was something his generation was facing and suggested happiness being an easier goal to reach for the previous generations:

> Your brain is just aware of a larger set of choices that exists, that you either could have made or could be making or may make in the future, and therefore you are never happy with the choice you make, because you always imagine the choices you could have made. Our parents' generation is so much happier, because they have so much less choices, they just didn't get all this stuff, they just didn't know all this stuff existed. That baseline of happiness gets further and further away, out from reach. We have to do more to just feel that we are not shit. That level of happiness, that platform, gets higher and higher and higher. Unless you start to seek what it is that makes you happy in your context, rather than looking where somebody else's happiness lies. - Richard, 27, finance

He perceived this comparison as a big obstacle for happiness and contemplated during the interview the need to focus on one's life and not to constantly compare it to that of others'.

Few of the happiness definitions were future-oriented. The participants found trust in a bright future influencing their current happiness:

> I can see positive things happening in the future, that I can see the direction things are going and that things are going to happen well and also contentment with the way things are right now. - Valentina, 28, design

> It is about being happy about something in the present but also working towards something in the future. - Nathan, 24, banking

4.2 Why is happiness important?

There was no doubt about the importance of happiness for the participants. They all wanted to be happy at work. When asked "do you want to be happy at work?", not only did they all say yes, but their answers were always direct and fast - there was no need to ponder over the question. They even seemed surprised that such a question needed to be asked, that is how evident the wish for being happy was for them. It was also seen as an essential requirement in life.

> Yes, of course, who wants to be sad at work? – Valentina, 28, design

> I don't think anyone would answer 'no' to that question. – William, 30, finance

> Absolutely, I need to be happy at work. – Dennis, 28, education

The participants were invited to elaborate more on their demand for happiness and they found it easy to answer, although their answers varied. For most of the participants happiness was one of the main components at work, whereas a smaller group of the participants wanted to be happy at work, but it was not something they required. Richard elaborated on his reflections on happiness at work:

> I've probably thought about unhappiness at work more than I have thought about happiness at work. Unhappiness is a crisis and we are designed to deal with crises, whereas happiness is like, the difference between having dessert and not having dinner. If you don't have dinner it

> is a crisis and something needs to be done, whereas having dessert you just kind of forget about it as soon as it has happened. - Richard, 27, finance

He didn't see happiness as a requirement at work, so happiness was dessert for him. As there was a bigger group of the participants who strongly recalled for happiness in the workplace, for them it was a dinner. Therefore, I created two classifications for their responses: 1) Happiness as a dinner and 2) Happiness as a dessert.

4.2.1 Happiness as a dinner

Many of the participants made it clear that they didn't only wish to be happy at work, they required it. It was seen as an essential component of job satisfaction:

> What we do at work is so important, people pretend like it isn't, but it is such an important part of what we do and important aspect weather we are happy or not! Why would you do something that you do not like, something that makes you unhappy? Why would you do that? That is insane! How happy you are is linked to how happy you are at work. – Charlie, 30, retail

Being happy at work was already introduced to their ways of seeing the work life and career from very early on at school. It was a part of being a member of the new generation:

> Perhaps my generation was one of those who first started to be told at school to choose what makes you happy, choose what you really like doing, rather than look where there are job opportunities and study that, so we've been prompted into it from very young age to follow your dreams and do something that is fulfilling. - Victoria, 32, CSR

The participants often started by acknowledging how big a part work played in their lives and especially how much of their time it took. This seemed to provide a very strong explanation why happiness at work was a requirement, and many in their calculations quantified happiness:

> The fairly obvious answer is that it is something that you do 8 hours out of the day, there are 24 hours in a day, therefore you are spending a third of your life doing that. Which is a big chunk of time. So it makes sense that you want to be happy and if you are not you would change

> something. If I said you were going to supermarket and 25 per cent of the products you bring back is going to make you feel ill, then you would probably revise your supermarket. - William, 30, finance

This quantification was not only about the time spent at work, there were also discussions on how work spills over other parts of life and reverse, but also how the lines between work and life outside of work were blurred. This is something that seemed to be typical of these participants, during the interviews conversations often lingered from work to hobbies and life in general, very few discussed solely work. As work often lingered beyond the working hours and the office walls, it easily took more than just the 8 office hours a day:

> Probably 70% is work-related or thinking about work, so being happy is important for the overall wellbeing, spending more than 50% of your time doing it. Thinking about those times when you are thinking about work, students, certain aspects, or about your promotion, or what is going to happen next - 70% is occupied time with that. – Adam, 31, education

Work and life were inseparable; what happened at work influenced other aspects of life as well. There was no such thing as work and life balance, as work was a part of life - and a very important part, as they discussed work-life integration. How they felt during working hours, spilled over the other aspects too:

> Of course love life and family and sports are something very important to me but the thing I spend most time with is work. So if that doesn't make me happy then I would have to struggle with the other three things to compensate that. – Miguel, 34, oceanography

The participants talked about how work influenced their hobbies, relationships and easily disturbed their sleep if they were not happy there. It was not just about the time spent well during the office hours:

> Because even if I am not at work, I am unhappy and worried about the work and I am thinking throughout the weekend 'oh god, I have to go to work again'. So it affects everything, it affects you when you get home tired and you have had a horrible day and you are on bad mood and then your relationship starts breaking down… It drives what you can afford to do, it drives what time you can afford to do it in, it drives where it is you are most of the time and therefore, what friends you have time to see

> after work, what activities you can do, so even when you are not there, it massively defines what it is that you do, so on that basis probably more significant than I would think. – Harry, 33, renewable energy

As work takes so much of the time, it has a great influence on the other aspects of life as well. There were concerns that being unhappy at work, would be a waste of time and the "whole life would be depressing" (Sofia, 27, business/education):

> We are not here to work, we are here to live. If you are not happy the most time you are awake, you are doomed, you are going to die an early grave. – Olivia, 35, charity

Although Harry earlier saw unhappiness at work as a threat to overall happiness, work was also seen as a platform for happiness:

> … but having work there is - in musical terms - a chordal pad. It is the platform on which happiness takes place. That is the best you can hope for. – Richard, 27, finance

Or the driving force for motivation at work:

> That is what makes me want to get up in the morning, to get out of the bed, it is big part of the day and it is the part of the day where you spend so much energy. And it has effect on your close people and your family, but most importantly it is why you want to wake up in the morning for. - Alexandra, 29, education

The requirement to be happy at work was also about the life choice and even identity. Alexandra couldn't detach from her feelings at work. She saw it impossible to act as a robot during the day to get through the list of x,y,z and then return to her hopes and dreams after the work was done. She was the same emotional person at work as she was outside of it:

> So even at work I am looking for sources of my personal happiness. All my emotions, they are all here, in the same way. – Alexandra, 29, education

For Alexandra there was no division between work-self and non-work self, she was the same person with emotions and feelings through her working days. During the interview she articulated how much happiness at work mattered to

her and got concerned whether there was a need to reduce her desire for happiness. Then she quickly turned back to calm:

> I realized I don't want to. It is good that work matters so much, it is good when there are other things, but it is good when you care, when you are fully there, and it is worth looking for happiness there rather than trying to reduce the importance of it. - Alexandra, 29, education

The participants wanted not only happy workplaces or jobs, but happy lives. Being happy was the end goal and therefore influenced decision-making at work as well:

> My goal in life is to be happy. So everything I do, every action I take or decision I make is trying to make me happy. That is the end goal. – Nathan, 24, banking

Nathan didn't see happiness only as the best alternative state of existence, but also as a way to live longer:

> Because it is preferable to all the other states of existence. I'd rather be happy than sad, because being happy feels better. It has been proven to make you live longer and make you healthier, so being happy is good. You want to be happy at work because you spend so much time at work that often work becomes your life, so if you want to be happy at life, you have to be happy at work. - Nathan, 24, banking

4.2.2 Happiness as a dessert

Although all of the participants wanted to be happy at work, some of them did not see it essential, in other words: happiness at work was not a requirement for them. Others hadn't even thought of the concept of happiness at work before taking part in the study:

> I just thought like happiness in general, and I knew that I wanted a change in my job. I never actually thought about being happy in those moments of work. – Ana, 27, finance

Work ethics were also seen inherited from the previous generation, in the attitudes of the parents:

> I do have a little bit of, hmm, protestant work ethics in my genes still. I go to work to do a job and I do it regardless of whether it makes me happy or not. And I guess I get that from my parents. Get on with it. I wouldn't

> say I expect to be happy at work, but I feel privileged that I do feel, that sometimes it really does make me happy. - Jack, 36, education

Jack wanted to be happy at work, but did not expect it and found himself privileged, when it happened. Happiness was also seen as the better choice between the two alternatives:

> I kind of want the space to be happy. I want to be allowed to be happy, but whether or not I take that… Happiness is my own choice, I don't feel entitled for that or anything like that, but certainly if I need to choose between if I want happiness or not, of course I want happiness. - Richard, 27, finance

There were also discussions about making the ends meet, as the main purpose of work:

> That is not a requirement. I think the requirement is to be there, if you have a job, you need to be somewhere. For me it is that I have to get it done in certain amount of time. You are not expected to be happy and so it is not a priority, my priority is to get the work done. Make money. And it is not to be happy and that is sad that it is that way. - Valentina, 28, design

Other emotions were invited as well, in order to encounter challenges to grow:

> If you are always searching for happiness as an ideal you will never be happy, that is out of reach all the time. I also want to be sad at work, and frustrated, and angry at work. Because having a balance keeps you real, keeps you constantly thinking what I want to do better. What do I need to do to become a better person, to become a better teacher. I am not sure if you are always happy, that it is very easy to constantly grow. It is important for me to feel happy at work but it is also important for me to feel those other emotions as well. I need the balance. - Amelia, 25, education

Happiness was not a requirement at work, or if it was, so were all the other emotions as well. More than happiness, balance was desired.

4.3 The benefits and limitations of a happy employee

It was clear that the participants wanted to be happy at work and to many of them it was also a requirement. They elaborated why happiness mattered often

based on how they felt and how they saw happiness based on their own definitions and expectations. To better understand the importance of happiness at workplace, what effect it has on people and how it is expressed in the workplace, the participants were also asked how being happy influences their behaviour and actions at work. This provided a way to understand what are the consequences of happiness at work from employee's point of view.

The participants discussed how their happiness can be seen at work and how it influences their behaviour. The behavioural outcomes were divided into performance and social behaviour, the first referring to organisational benefits and the latter to personal and social outcomes. Some limitations of happiness at work were also acknowledged. These answers draw a certain image or a character of a perfect professional, who needs to be constantly happy, but not overly showing it.

4.3.1 Happiness influencing performance and social behaviour

The participants were assured that happiness had influence on their existence at work. They saw it enhancing their skills to be better employees, but also allowed them to be more social and enjoying their time more. This way they saw the benefits of happiness for both the organisation and themselves.

Performance

The participants talked about being faster, more efficient and more productive when they were happy, especially when compared to the periods when they were unhappy:

> I actually got a lot of work done, I just had the energy to be productive, instead of procrastinating, because it was quite a lot of boring stuff I had to do. - Soraya, 33, banking

> It makes me do things faster. I will still do them with the same robustness, but much faster. I will get a lot less tired for doing the same thing. - Alexandra, 29, education

As Alexandra stated, it was not just the speed that was influenced by her happiness, but it also took less of her energy. Happiness also allowed some to focus better, as they were not distracted by things that were bothering them.

Most of the participants mentioned productivity when wording how happiness influenced their work. It is however, worth questioning whether the participants were more productive because they were happy or was it the productivity that made them happy:

> Happiness has feedback loop with productivity, productivity equals more happiness equals more productivity equals more happiness, and on the other side happiness equals more productivity equals more happiness and so on. - Richard, 27, finance

Creativity was embraced as an outcome of happiness at work. The participants felt that happiness allowed them to look at things from a different angle and see more possibilities and solutions. It improved their problem solving skills. They were able to "focus on the positive rather than negative" (Victoria, 32, CSR) and saw fewer limits:

> If I am happy I feel all calm, and if I feel calm I feel like the opportunities are endless. So I can more easily create ideas, think of things in my mind and then try to work on them so I can express them to other people. - Sofia, 27, business/education

They also felt that when they were happier, the quality of their work was better, they were more likely to say yes and to do more:

> I do better work when I am happy, my design is better. It also makes my ability to present my work better. When I am happy with my design I present it in more places and I put it in different areas and when I am happy it actually helps me to get more clients. - Valentina, 28, design

> I am more willing to go that extra mile to make sure my work is high quality. - Nathan, 24, banking

> When I am happy I am more likely to be generous with my time I am more likely to say yes to things. - Jack, 36, education

Happiness made them work harder and to devote more time on tasks.

Social behaviour

The participants emphasised how their social behaviour changed when they were happy. They were more likely to have positive interactions with each other and be better colleagues:

> When I am happy I am just very enthusiastic, very smiley, full of energy, just greeting my colleagues and how awesome they are and you know just sending that kind of energy. - Soraya, 33, banking

When happy, they were more likely to help others out and to give positive answers to questions, especially in the moments of rush, than when they were not happy:

> When you are happy you are more smiley, more approachable, more willing to help. - Emily, 31, law

> So a colleague asks you for second marking you are happy to do that, if student comes and asks you a question, you are happy to engage. If you are not content you might want to shoot the student away, you might want to say I don't want to do the second marking. - Adam, 31, education

The change in behaviour was also seen as an attempt to increase the others' happiness in the workplace. The participants discussed their willingness to make people around them feel lighter and happier too:

> If you see unhappy people you try to make them happy. - Felix, 25, consulting

> I think people who are happier are more likely to pour happiness on others, and I am more likely to be kind of jokey and laughy and kind to others when I am happy than when I am unhappy. - Richard, 27, finance

As Richard commented about his attempts to make others happy he also referred to himself as a jokey person, chatting away with colleagues. He wasn't the only one. The participants often referred to themselves as talkative, funny and more social when happy:

> I talk more when I am happy. - Adam, 31, education

> If I am happy then people can see that. You laugh more, you make jokes. - Amelia, 25, education

> When I am happy, I am more sociable. - Alexandra, 29, education

Being happy seemed to refer to extroverted and outgoing behaviour: expressed by making noise and actively engaging with others. The opposite and introverted behaviour was sometimes seen as unhappiness:

> Some people just aren't very chatty with other people, some people never go to lunch with other people, they never do any socializing and I think that often is an indicative of people who are not very happy, don't want to do anything beyond the job they do at their computer. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

4.3.2 The limitations of happiness

Some participants also recalled drawbacks of being happy. Harry and Richard both had suspicions that in the moments of great happiness they perhaps performed worse and made some miscalculations:

> I might just be thinking oh, this is done, when actually I have not thought of it all the way. If you are too happy you might not be thorough enough for the job safety, to be honest. I am not saying everybody should not be more happy, I am just saying that if you are bouncing around your mind is probably less in the job. - Harry, 33, renewable energy

> There have been incidents where I have made some calls that I shouldn't have made because I was too overly optimistic about the possibilities of a particular company, that the history had shown I shouldn't have. So my happiness affects my forecast of future in a pretty dramatic way. - Richard, 27, finance

So happiness can have downsides too. It might distract from focusing on the job carefully and as Victoria (32, CSR) said "you do not want to be so ecstatic that you cannot concentrate on something that appears boring", and lead into over-optimistic decisions that should not have been made. These examples were only a few, the participants were talking more about the advantages of happy employees or gave examples on how they performed worse when being unhappy.

Charlotte said she had what she called a weird mannerism, a habit of rubbing her hands together when she was happy. She had got comments from colleagues

about this habit and inquiries if she was cold. She felt that maybe her happiness should not have been so visible:

> Charlotte: It would be better if I was more like my boyfriend. He is more chilled out about everything, he never gets outrageously happy about stuff, and never gets bothered about things either. In the workplace it can be quite good.
>
> Ilona: Why do you think it should not be so obvious in the workplace that you are happy?
>
> Charlotte: Some people see it as some sort of weakness. Some people might think you are too connected to something or you perceive to care about things that don't matter. Other times when people feel they can share their happiness with you and it feels like some kind of joint achievement or joint reason to be happy then people would find it strange if you were not showing your happiness. But other times, I don't think it is necessarily seen as a good way. Sometimes you get colleagues of which people say, oh he is so nice and I think that is because he comes across as a happy person all the time. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

Certain kind of emotionless behaviour seemed to be expected from professionals, and being openly happy was not seen as part of that, unless it was for common good and joining a shared happiness. Charlotte called showing happiness a weakness, being too attached to things that did not require it.

4.3.3 Professional happiness

It seemed there were unwritten rules on how a professional acts and behaves at work during the time of great happiness or unhappiness and how emotions are allowed to be expressed. The participants referred to masks and theatrical performance:

> Work is a part of performance, especially in academia. You put on a face and then you go in front of the audience as if you go on the stage. Like actors cannot be influenced what is happening in their personal life, I learnt not to be influenced by my personal state. - Alexandra, 29, education
>
> That is why people in investment try to have a poker face. More kind of steady emotional life. - Richard, 27, finance

However, that does not mean that showing unhappiness was appreciated either. Emily shared her thoughts on what she saw as an expectation to look happy and approachable even in moments of unhappiness:

> If I am happy I am more helpful and more approachable, just generally a nicer person, whereas when you are unhappy, it takes a lot more effort to be approachable and be happy so people feel like they can come and talk to you. - Emily, 31, law

The participants did not only want to be happy at work, they also seemed to feel it was expected from them, as a part of being a good employee. These were not written rules but often arising from their own inner critics and based on their thoughts on how things should be:

> I have always said to myself, even when I was a student nurse, that I will be like the same baseline to everybody when I go to work 7 in the morning, until I am leaving, and never fluctuate below it, but when you are happy you tend to go way above it. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

> If I feel little bit tired or not particularly happy I can sometimes feel it when I am speaking to people, which is quite not as lively and as energetic and not the level of service that I think I should give, because I've got high standards for that. I get annoyed with myself, if I haven't given the service that I should. - Charlie, 30, retail

Being happy was also not solely based on the wish to feel happiness for the sake of feeling good, but also to work better:

> Happiness is important, not in the selfish way of wanting to be happy but because we know when we're happy we perform better. So in order to get better at something, to produce the best paper, best slides, you need to be happy that way so rather than just wanting to be happy as a feeling, it is more to do with those things itself. - Adam, 31, education

These participants required a lot from themselves. On top of having required skills to do their jobs, there seemed to be pressure to be seen as a positive and happy person who never faces stressful moments:

> I come often as an offbeat positive person and willing to help, I am often seen as a person who is full of energy and makes things happen. I guess I do that when I am happy and enjoying things. When things start to flip, I close myself off a little bit from the outer world, trying to manage, until I feel on top of the things again. - Jack, 36, education

> When I am not happy I don't want to see anyone. I want to lock myself up in my office. Especially because I am an introvert. So if I am not happy, I won't go to the seminar, I won't go for a lunch in the common room, I wont go to an evening presentation. I essentially try to separate myself from everyone. Cause I don't want to show this unhappiness and I don't want to say or behave in a way that people around me will think that this is the normal state, while this might just be triggered by me being stressed about something. - Alexandra, 29, education

These comments referred to the world where everyone is supposed to be happy and extroverted and when they are not, they need to hide it as it is seen as abnormal behaviour and might make them the topic of discussion in the office:

> People make comments about people who aren't perceived to be so happy, I think it is something that is obvious. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

4.4 Chapter discussion

As the themes in this chapter are rather diverse, they are discussed separately. First happiness concept, then the importance of happiness and lastly professional performance.

Happiness concept

Common to discussions on all three levels of happiness (emotion, mood and a good life) (Haybron, 2010) was that they all referred to feeling good. Plenty of circularity was detected in these definitions, e.g. happiness is contentment and contentment is being happy with something. If the definitional conversations from the data are compared to componential definitions of happiness, such as Diener's (1999) combination of positive affect, negative affect and life satisfaction, or Seligman's (2011) PERMA model, these discussions were focusing mainly on the positive affect, although life satisfaction and the avoidance of negative affects were mentioned. All the findings have been collected to Table 6.

Table 6 Happiness is…

Happiness is…	Description	Cause
… a moment	-feeling good -fleeting moment -outburst -a perfect moment -lack of negative feelings -moments form the sense of happiness	Clear cause/object
… a mood	-feeling good/enjoyment -longer state than a moment -positivity -contentment	Cause uncertain
… a life	-satisfaction -having a happy life -comparison to others -future-oriented happiness	Cause uncertain

The definitions were not clarifying the meaning of happiness as such, but underpinned the vagueness of the term. The participants did not find it easy to define happiness and this implicates that there is confusion of what happiness is or means. As there is an increasing demand to measure happiness, the vagueness of definition and challenge to verbalise it, raises doubts of the usefulness of such measurements. Although Veenhoven (2010, 612) sees the low rate of "I do not know" answers in happiness questions a sign of people understanding the meaning of the word happiness, it is still not a proof that the word has been understood in the same way (Haybron, 2008, 29), or people knowing to which question have they given an answer. This refers to Locke's advice of knowing first what is being measured, instead of focusing on how it can be measured (Locke, 1969, 334). One of the participants, Adam (31, education), verbalised in the end of the interview that if he was asked on scale 1 to 10 how happy he is, he wouldn't know what to answer anymore, as his pondering on the connection between happiness and contentment made him realise answering such question numerically and without further explanations would be impossible.

Some participants, for example Richard (27, finance), raised the influence comparison had to their happiness. Being constantly updated with information on how others in their social group were spending their lives, achieving goals

and experiencing happiness, did not increase their happiness, but made them uncertain about their own decisions, achievements and ways of living their lives. This is in line with Warr's (2013) thoughts on comparative judgement and its influence on how people see their self-efficacy, and the novelty and authenticity of their own experiences. He has listed personal "comparative judgments" as follows: comparisons with other people, comparisons with other situations, comparisons with previous and future times and assessments in self-efficacy, novelty and personal salience. Studies on how social media influences our ideas and expectations of happiness are needed, to understand the concept of happiness in today's world.

Although the definitions were ambiguous, circular and focusing merely on positivity, there was shared understanding of the importance of the phenomenon and an urge to discuss the experiences in further detail. The images and narratives throughout the thesis will answer to this call, by filling the gaps the definitions left, in order to clarify the concept of happiness. This is in line with Cieslik's (2015) findings in his qualitative study of people providing deeply felt narratives in addition to simple examples for happiness, when prompted.

Importance of happiness

The requirement to be happy at work became clear, as even though there were some participants for whom happiness at work was just an added bonus, dessert after a meal, most of the participants emphasised the need and expectation to be happy at work. All findings have been collected to Table 7. This requirement is in line with Frey and Stutzer (2002, vii) stating that there is a high degree of consensus of everybody wanting to be happy. Happiness was what they crew up to expect and pursue in their lives (see Deal and Levenson, 2016), but also something these young professionals seemed to take for granted. As they often quantified the need to be happy at work, based on the hours they spent on work-related activities, they did not only want to waste their lives being unhappy at work, but they also saw the platform workplace

provided for greater happiness. Enjoying what one does for work was also a motivating force to get up from the bed in the morning and to enjoy going to work daily (McManus Warnell, 2015).

Table 7 Happiness as a dinner and as a dessert

Happiness as a dinner	**Happiness as a dessert**
- expectations from early on in life - time spent working - work-life integration - platform for happiness - motivating force - authenticity	-happiness as a privilege -work is about making the ends meet -importance of balance

Work-life integration was one of the leading themes to explain why happiness at work mattered. There was no more clear separation between happiness experienced at work and during leisure time in their narratives, and they clearly stated that spill-over affect (Judge & Klinger, 2008) has a great impact on their happiness overall. They were aiming at balanced life (Lewis et al., 2002) and wanted to find ways how to best integrate all these different aspects most successfully (Reindl et al., 2011; Quatro 2012), acknowledging they were the same people in and outside of work.

Not only did they calculate the hours spent at work or understand the spill-over effect and the source of motivation to justify this expectation, but they also wanted to be authentic at work and act, feel and behave according to their true nature (Kernis, 2003; Manz et al., 2016). For them being happy at work meant being a happy human being, which they aimed at.

However, there were also those voices that demanded variety in the workplace and balance between happiness and other emotions. They acknowledged that although happiness is a good and positive force and something to aim at, being constantly happy is neither possible, nor ideal. Happiness at work was also seen as something to be thankful for, as it was not necessarily given to all and therefore made the person experiencing happiness while working a privileged one. This increased their gratitude and happiness.

People want to be happy at work and for most of them it is also a requirement. Being happy in other parts of life is not enough for these young professionals but they want to be happy while working as well.

Professional happiness

Most participants shared their insights on how being happy had a positive influence on their performance and behaviour. The quality of their work and results improved, they got more done and their creativity increased. They were also nicer colleagues, as their communication skills, willingness to help and wishes to create greater happiness for all increased. The benefits and drawbacks of happiness manifesting as professional happiness are in Table 8.

Table 8 Professional happiness: performance and social behaviour

Professional happiness			
Performance		**Social behaviour**	
+	**-**	**+**	**-**
Better worker with improved: -productivity, pace and efficiency -creativity -quality of work and results	Safety issues Lack of concentration False optimism	Better colleague: - communication - helpfulness - sharing happiness Extraverted behaviour	Wearing a mask Need to hide unhappiness Extraverted behaviour when not inherent Pressure to be constantly a happy person

There was a dual approach to happiness and performance: unhappiness clearly leading into lower performance and happiness guaranteeing better results, and being, as Felix (25, consulting) said: a "better worker". The participants often lacked of giving accurate proof of performing better, but were certain that happiness was good for their work. As Adam (31, education) commented: "we know when happy we perform better", strongly resonating with the often heard "happy cows give more milk" (Tex Gunning, CEO of LeasePlan, EHERO conference, Rotterdam, March 2017). This suggests that the numerous studies of happy employees being more productive might well be true (e.g. Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a; Baptiste, 2008; Edgar et al. 2015) but it might also refer to the participants following the trends in media and literature regarding

the changes and expectations in the job market and also in life. Focusing on happy employees and happy people might therefore increase the pressure to be one (Cederström & Spicer, 2015). Appearing as a happy person, creates a better and more valued employee. Fanti (2017) raises concerns of this leading into new categorisation of people: happy and unhappy, and questions if being happy will one day be monitored for example in recruiting processes, as happy employees provide more asset to companies.

Interestingly, some participants did raise the question of what comes first: happiness or positive outcome (e.g. productivity)? They acknowledged that the correlation is not clear and one-way only. They found themselves co-operating better with their colleagues (e.g. Bao & Lyubomirsky, 2013), interacting in a more positive way with each other and being more creative in their actions, which are all said to be encouraged by positive emotions like happiness (Lewis, Passmore, & Cantore, 2008, 30). Baylis (2005, 48) claims that "happiness is not only a result of things going well, it is also a cause of them." This is supported by Fredrickson's (2001) broaden and build theory and Warr's (2007) research links between happiness and performance, retention and absence. This study cannot clarify this question any more accurately than cross-sectional studies, which show the correlation between two variables, but doesn't either show which one comes first or if there are other variables influencing this connection (Bao & Lyubomirsky, 2013), but it can question the assumption that a happy employee is automatically a productive employee and suggest that productivity increases happiness. Also, as participants acknowledged happiness sometimes in big doses leading into lessening concentration or too optimistic decisions, an interesting question of optimal happiness levels at work arises.

The downsides of this urge to be a perfect professional were also reflected in their narratives. When unhappy they felt they needed to hide it by withdrawing from others or by taking a mask when at work. They also felt the pressure to act as an extroverted person, which was seen as a happiness manifestation, although they were more introverted by nature. As clarified in the previous

section, these participants wanted to be authentic at work, therefore the pressure to be happy at work even in the moments of unhappiness, is strongly violating this wish. Being constantly happy "is possible only for a devoted Buddhist", as Jack (36, education) suggested, but for others being persistently happy can be a challenge, or requires, as stated before, acting out. As authenticity has a great impact on the quality of work life experience, individual's happiness, work engagement and performance (Bosch & Taris, 2013; Manz et al., 2016), behaving against one's true nature by pretending happiness or feeling pressurised to be happy, is not sustainable. This is in line with the criticism with Manz' (2015) emotional self-leadership, according to which one needs to train themselves, to 'authentically' feel and act according to general expectations. It also raises the concerns Zupančič (2008) suggests of unhappiness being seen as a moral fault, or even corruption, and an unhappy person being a bad person. The pressure to be a happy employee in order to be a good one, is also related to happiness responsibility, which will be discussed more in detail in Chapter 6.

The concept of Psychological contract (Rousseau, 1989) could help to understand this urge to be happy at work, as it was not solely based on their inner wishes, but also because they strongly felt it was expected from them, as they referred to both a certain happy social behaviour expected by "others" and the strong belief that by being happy they would also perform better. Being a happy employee and performing well were most likely seen as their part of the psychological contract they had formed based on unspoken promises and expectations during the time they had been in their jobs. Also the aspect of breach (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994) is relevant here. When they were not given their best or were unhappy, they felt like they should hide it as it was not what was expected from them. This can refer also to breaking the psychological contract. Interestingly, breach is defined as an occasion where the organisation has failed to fulfil the promises (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994). What is it called when an employee breaks the promise and what are the consequences? To these questions this data does not give accurate answers.

Happiness at work mattered to these people. They wanted to be happy in their lives, which could not be achieved without happiness at work. Requirements were different and so were the reasons why happiness mattered, but they all aimed at happiness. Therefore, it is fair to suggest that employees, especially these young professionals, want, wish and need to be happy at work. This is good news for the organisations, as this group is known as highly skilled and very mobile workforce, and is a rather expensive investment for companies. By understanding their needs and desires, companies can find ways to keep them motivated, committed and engaged in their jobs and to their organisation, but also to fulfil their role in creating more sustainable workplaces and societies. How can happiness be achieved then, what causes and influences it? The next chapter will look into happiness enablers.

Chapter 5. What enables happiness at work?

We have learnt so far from the results, that the participants wanted to be happy at work and for most of them it was a requirement. They also regarded happiness as a part of being a good employee. What then enables them to be happy at work? What makes happiness possible for them in the workplace? Answers to these questions are collected and analysed from the happiness moments experienced during the mindful photography period. The most frequently discussed themes were taken into closer consideration to truly understand the phenomena behind the happiness moments. The themes discussed, when looking at the photos taken during the mindful photography period, can elucidate what enables these young professionals to be happy at work. The main key enablers in this study were: work going well, working with friends, physical environment, doing something that matters and having a sense of control (Table 9).

Table 9 Happiness enablers

Themes	Sub-themes
Environmental contributors	
Work going well	Accomplishing a challenge Getting work done Sense of relief Rewards Being in the flow
Working with friends	True connection Benefits of good relationships with colleagues: - giving and receiving help - having fun - releasing steam - coping with stress
Environment	Participating in the outer world Weather Not being an inmate Sanctuaries
Person by situation contributors	
Doing something that matters	Having an impact on others Forming identity and self-worth
Sense of control	Maintaining identity Working better Work-life integration

According to Fisher (2010) the main causes for happiness in organisations can be divided into three contributors: environmental, dispositional and person by

situation contributors. I used these three levels when analysing my data and the most discussed themes enabling happiness were mainly under the environmental and person by situation headings. As clarified in Table 9, work going well, participating in the outer world and working with friends are environmental contributors, whereas doing something that matters and a sense of control are person by situation contributors. The environmental contributors will be looked at first, followed by the person by situation contributors.

Narratives about dispositional contributors will not be discussed here as they were only mentioned occasionally. Although it is good to take into consideration that dispositional causes are always present when individuals are asked about their happiness, as these dispositions and personality traits do have influence on a person's sensitivity to events and environments and the way they respond to these (Bowling, Beehr & Lepisto, 2006). Also, although dispositional aspects are not presented in this chapter, they are important as evidenced in Chapter 4. The themes will be reflected in the light of Warr's Vitamin model on job features. Seligman's (2003) PERMA model is also used to compare different happiness models.

5.1 Work going well *Happiness is that ability to look back and think 'yes, I've done well'. - Jack, 36, education*	

Many of the happiness moments in this study were based on work going well: when people achieved their goals and when they got tasks done. Almost all of the participants referred to some sort of achievement during the mindful photography period. Often it was just about getting things done that gave them the sense of achievement: completing tasks made them feel productive and useful. Happiness was an intrinsic reward in these cases, they didn't need outer appraisal; experiencing flow sometimes led to a feeling of achievement itself,

regardless if the task was finished. Other times happiness came from a feeling of conquering oneself, succeeding in the tasks given and either feeling relieved or rewarded for beating the challenge.

Accomplishing a challenge

> Not only things being done, but things being done well, in the sense that they accomplished the goals I had. - Alexandra, 29, education

Some happiness moments manifested when participants had a feeling of conquering themselves, facing a challenge and coming out of it successfully.

> Lucy: I like challenge at work, I don't like to go to work and not be challenged, so it makes me happy being challenged and being able to manage it fine.
>
> Ilona: Are you happier during the challenge or after you have conquered the challenge?
>
> Lucy: When I have conquered the challenge. I get excited by the challenge, or having a lot to do, lets get through it and at the end 'ha, done'. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

Conquering challenges was both intrinsically and extrinsically rewarding:

> I have been trying to get work done on this damn book. And finally I got something that I can call a first draft. It's kind of a pay off and I was very satisfied. Well done Jack. - Jack, 36, education

Jack patted himself and was proud of his accomplishment and hard work. For him it was intrinsically rewarding. However, some of the happiness moments were based on getting appreciation from someone else or being recognized for the work well done. Nathan was on an early stage of his career after eight months of working at the time of participating. One of his happiness pictures was taken of an empty desk after a particularly successful day:

> Both of my co-workers were away and another team member had just been fired. So I was the only one. --- I got to do lots of tasks that were above my level so it gave me good experience

> and it was challenging, more responsibility, and again, I got to prove my boss that I am ready to move up. I had a meeting with her a week after I had done all this work and she said she was very happy and she appreciated all the work that I had done and if I keep this up then promotion is likely in near future. - Nathan, 24, banking

Even though these situations were stressful and he wasn't necessarily happy while doing the tasks, having achieved them made him happy. What also played a big part in Nathan's happiness was the possibility to move up on his career ladder.

Getting work done

Getting work done and finishing tasks created happiness, crossing items on the to-do-list was rewarding:

> It seemed I was having a very very productive day and managed to get through the list very quickly. It was fairly early on the day and that just made me feel that if I did nothing else on that day then it wouldn't matter, because I got all that done and I wasn't even expecting to do all that. - Emily, 31, law

As was finishing something that had been waiting for being done for a while:

> On that particular day I actually had time to go to the office and actually sit down. I finished the working rota for the following four weeks. It was nice to have a feeling I have done that, so it was good. Getting stuff done. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

William explained how taking some recommendations from a book he had recently read (The Organized Mind: Thinking Straight in the Age of Information Overload by Daniel J. Levitin) had made him happier as finishing tasks got concretised:

> Instead of your brain bombarding you "you need to do this", you should externalize it. His recommendation is that there is a series of little cards in your suit pocket, you can write it down to free yourself from that nagging sensation that there is something you should be doing but you

> are not quite sure what it is. There is happiness feedback, when you have done something and throw the card into bin. I am doing that, have been doing it now for three weeks. - William, 30, finance

Sense of relief

There was also the underlying aspect of happiness that achievement brought up in some of the narratives - the sense of relief:

> Oh my god I don't have to do that ever again, it's done. That's the relief happiness. -Valentina, 28, design

When Emily completed her to do –list, by being productive she also lessened her worries about tomorrow's tasks:

> Those types of things make me happy because I am not going home worrying that I have something else coming up tomorrow but I haven't been able to get through today's tasks. Not only you have to carry on to another day but also there will be new things you need to do in addition to the stuff that you wished you had got done. I guess it is maybe that fear that it grows and grows and you'll never manage to do all the things that you want to. - Emily, 31, law

A part of the achievement was therefore not only about being productive, but also about relief and the feeling of control over one's job. These feelings of relaxedness and relief, were often connected in the narratives. Dennis (28, education) emphasised that the periods of being productive were really good, as "you can be quite relaxed at that".

Jack was sensing this relief in one of his happiness moments, when after spending hours to interview a candidate for his organisation, he decided not to support this candidate against his colleague's wishes:

> We had a very long conversation and I just had a bad feeling in my gut and I ended up putting my foot down and saying no. Which is really difficult, I was disappointing a student, I was disappointing my colleague. I was exercising authority, which I do not particularly enjoy. I just knew I had done the right thing. I don't know if happy is the right word to that one but relief and satisfaction. That I hadn't just rolled over and didn't do what everyone else wanted me to do but actually stood up for some principles that I am here to defend. -Jack, 36, education

He didn't feel good about disappointing or overriding people, but feeling it was the right decision to make, it led into a sense of rightness and an achievement, which he then chose to report as a happiness moment. However, the line between relief and happiness seemed to be fine as he questioned the use of the word 'happiness' in this case.

Sometimes it was not just the relief but also the sense of conquering oneself and one's own insecurities and succeeding in what was expected. Soraya shared a picture of her own feet, which she had titled "relief". She had been asked to give a presentation at a conference:

> This was something I had to do and I was nervous, but I did fine, and it was over very quickly, so I just felt very very happy and I just felt very relaxed and I was enjoying the conference. I was just thinking I really don't want to do this. So when I did do it, I felt great about it. It went well and the relief afterwards was enormous. - Soraya, 33, banking

The picture was taken after the presentation when she felt a great relief. As she did not want others to see her taking a picture, it was taken of their feet.

Rewards

Sometimes succeeding in challenges led to being rewarded for hard work:

> This is like a reward for a really hard work, as this was a really good sale. This was a satisfying moment, because I knew the money it was going to make me was for a small amount of work. These big accounts are just a bonus, for all the hard work I put into this place. - Charlie, 30, retail

It was not only the money that made Charlie happy, but the sense of being rewarded for the hours of work. Also seeing how successful work was used in the company brought happiness:

> I have done work on the engines that I designed, so it was quite nice to see that on the wing. It is nice to see something you designed to be useful and used, quite rewarding really. Most people would never know obviously, because it is behind the cover of the engine, but I know. It is nice to see something I worked with working away. - Harry, 33, renewable energy

Harry didn't need any recognition from outside, his happiness came within as was the case with most of the happiness moments related to a sense of achievement. Rewarding for him was to know that his knowledge and skills had been useful, and were still used even though he had already changed the companies.

Sometimes the sense of work going well came from a collaborative effort, as was the case with Amelia in her work as a school teacher, often facing moments when her work was not about her performance, but highly dependent on how students behaved and whether they participated in the activities she had prepared for:

> They were enjoying themselves so much, everyone was involved: they were talking and taking it seriously and just enjoying themselves, they were really in to it. That is something I encourage. So it is quite rewarding to see that they actually take something away from that. If they had seen that and gone 'whatever, I don't care', then that would have been really upsetting. It came from me and I wanted them to participate. So definitely it had direct impact on how I felt, because of the way they felt. - Amelia, 25, education

During the interview Amelia said that she often felt the happiest when she had overcome a difficult situation, for example found ways to work with a difficult child.

Being in the flow

Even though most of the happiness moments arouse from the task being completed, some participants discussed the feeling of an achievement while they were involved in their tasks; when they saw progress in their work, or when they were close to solving something. Alexandra experienced a flow moment, when she had a couple of calm hours to write an article:

This moment I realized that it is happening. I could feel how easy it was to write but also that I had a lot to say and the more I was writing the more I thought I can say. --- There was the flow, there was the story, I knew the punch line I wanted to get to. --- I was happy because I reached the state I thought was going to take years, it will never happen. Experiencing this feeling was, it literally made me jump on the chair 'on my god, I am writing'. - Alexandra, 29, education

Just like Alexandra, it was really important for Dennis, to be cut off and fully focus in order to be in the flow:

Every time I get on a train to London or vice versa, I feel really happy. Some of my most productive times are in these trains, because I can be cut off. I feel so positive in those moments, it is really wonderful and every time I think: what a nice way to work. - Dennis, 28, education

Flow moments were some of the most difficult ones to capture, not only because they were such intangible, but also as "taking a photo would have destroyed the moment" (Ana, 27, finance), since flow is dependent on full concentration.

5.2 Working with friends *Happiness is having workmates that are friends. - Miguel, 34, oceanography*	

Although there were barely any pictures of people among the mindful photography entries, interaction with other people was very important for their happiness. Many of the happiness moments included another person and social interaction. Also during the interviews the participants often discussed the importance of other people for their happiness at work. Social interactions mainly took place with colleagues, but also with clients, students and people they met either frequently or on one occasion.

It was clear the participants valued good relationships with other people highly and they discussed helping and being helped and having fun. However, for them it was not about the number of these contacts, regardless of the quality, but quite the opposite: they wanted to have friends at work. They sought for true connections, which gave them a sense of belonging and being valued.

True connection

These young professionals often talked about the situations where the happy moment required a presence of another person. Whether it was a laugh over a cup of tea, an interesting conversation with a colleague or being helped by someone, they highlighted the importance of a real connection. The participants repeatedly shared a wish to have friends at work:

> I treat my colleagues as people who can become my friends and I can feel something for, not just a colleague I have to be in the same office with. - Alexandra, 29, education
>
> You discover they are very nice and there is potential for a friendship. - Sofia, 27, business/education
>
> Just the fact that I have friends at work and people get along well. - Nathan, 24, banking

Victoria had a couple of happiness moments related to having friends at work. She told me how Mondays felt less like Mondays when she was able to chat with a colleague informally about personal matters. One of her happiness moments took place when she was walking home from the station after a successful conference trip with colleagues:

> I was feeling very positive because I had gone with the colleagues that we had been working on a project with, in the formal working relationship. It was nice that we were able to travel four hours back together and had a laugh about lots of silly things, and got to know each other. Making friends at work. It is nice. - Victoria, 32, CSR

These were the moments when they felt seen, heard and appreciated. In these moments they were not just parts of an engine, faceless colleagues or workers, in these moments they were human beings connecting with others around them. Richard embraced this connection as his happiness moment related to a farewell card:

> So one of the guys who quit, I got him a card and then I ended up giving it to a person next to me to sign. Half an hour later I got it back and it turned out that everyone in the office, entire 100 people, had signed this card and it was pretty cool. It made me happy that I did that for him and it warms your heart a bit, reminds you that even though they are colleagues and you have disagreements, you are also human beings, you share that connection. - Richard, 27, finance

In Richard's narrative happiness was created as a united effort. Among his own effort and the colleagues' input, he also saw the company having a big role in creating these connections:

> That is kind of a family culture the management actively promotes. If you looked at the number of people who are married to one another, you'll probably be surprised. A lot of people are friends to each other and it is because of the cultural attitude that is set by the management. They do happiness that way. - Richard, 27, finance

Benefits of good relationships with colleagues

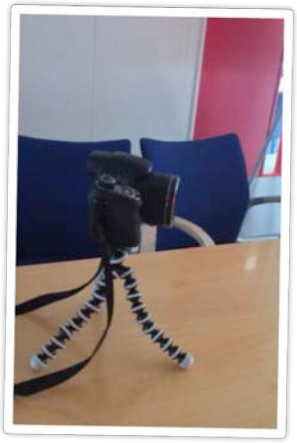
Being in good terms with colleagues allowed them to give and receive help, and to support each other:

> When we work we are always asking for things. When I am in Italy I am constantly calling for two or three colleagues because of something I

> cannot solve. If we didn't have good relationship those things were hard. I really really enjoy not having to think too much if I am going to hurt someone, or the person is not going to help me if something happens. - Miguel, 34, oceanography

Apart from help and support, they also valued having fun at work and releasing steam:

> We had en event the following week and in this event, we wanted to make a video of the kind of work we are doing right now. And it was funny because it was work but we had a couple of laughs, it was super active. A colleague lent a camera, it was a nice change of the day, I would not do it every day, but it was funny. - Felix, 25, consulting



Laughing and joking were seen as a great way to cope with stress:

> We were just joking around. Not only because of those 15 min that I laughed but it left a really good feeling with me and also I was very productive as well. That is what I always want, that kind of fun, having fun at work, being silly, that really helps. You look forward to being around those people, being around at work. We are all human beings and we spend 70-80% of our time in a week working and having just that human kind of connection, that laughing - when you are stressed and you just have a laugh with someone, you realize all your stress and everything becomes easier. - Soraya, 33, banking

The participants also noticed that when people around them were happy it influenced their happiness as well and they acknowledged being more likely to help others too if they were happy themselves. Happiness seemed contagious and they enjoyed making others happy in the office. This has also been discussed in the first result chapter (Chapter 4).

Charlotte shared a happiness moment beyond a workday having after work drinks with colleagues. When we looked at the collage of all her pictures she noticed there were several moments relating to people, emphasising personal necessity:

Because I am so new to Edinburgh, that is something I really look forward to, the people, the collegiality and looking into people whom I could be friends with, not just work colleagues. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

Her wish for friends at work came from wanting to build a social network in a new city. Emily experienced happiness during a phone call with a colleague who had been away for a long period of time due to sick leave. She came off the phone feeling elevated having had a conversation with a friend. When she was asked if having friends at work was important to her she saw it more as an added bonus:

> I think if you can work somewhere where you really get on with your team, then it is really important from the work perspective, but if you then build a non-work-related friendship surround that then it is just an added bonus. - Emily, 31, law

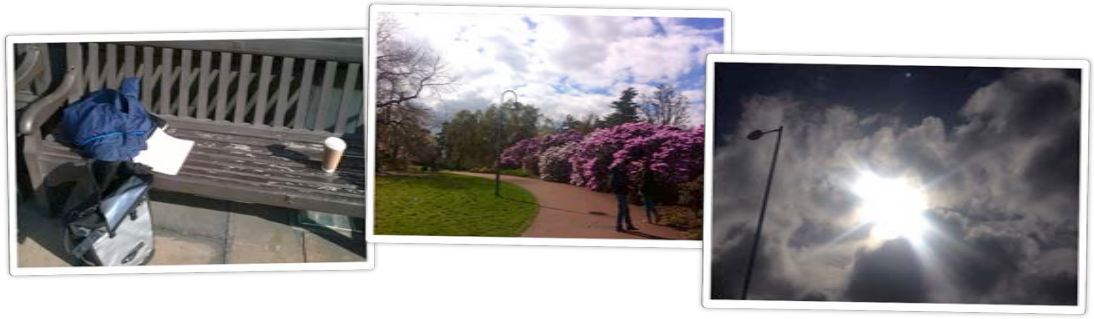
Having good interactions was highly important to happiness at work. They also sought for deeper connections and making friends at work. Good interactions with other people helped these participants to work better and also gave them a sense of doing something that matters. Both of which are discussed in this chapter. The aspects that enable happiness are therefore interlinked and intertwined.

5.3 Physical environment *Simple happiness: enjoying nature.* *- Karl, 30, education*	

The environment made a huge contribution to the happiness of the participants. Due to the nature of their jobs as professionals, safety was never discussed with the participants and the quality of equipment only a few times, as they focused mainly on the pleasance of their working environments. They shared pictures

from offices with beautiful views, natural light or plants, images of commuting to work through a park or having lunch outdoors. As it was spring when the mindful photography period took place, the sun perhaps had a bigger role in the pictures than at other times of the year.

The sun made them happy. It also made them reflect on how weather dependent they were and how the sun was causing happiness:



> It just puts you on a positive mood, before you've even gotten into the office. - Soraya, 33, banking
>
> It makes me bit more casual and relaxed, it makes me concentrate better on the activity. - Sofia, 27, business/education
>
> I think sunshine but also the environment, even when it is not sunny, it is just inspiring. - Jack, 36, education
>
> Because I cycle to work every morning, when the weather is nice it has a positive influence. - Nathan, 24, banking

When the sun reached them in the office through the windows, it was more comfortable to be at work:

> That was the first time I got sun, I was able to feel it warming my back. It makes me feel that I am not missing out but that I am part of the world outside although it sounds really strange. I am kind of not daydreaming that I wish I was outside, but it is ok to be in the office. This was the shadow of me on the floor. - Sofia, 27, business/education

Sofia laughed when she commented feeling a part of the outside world. But her narrative might well be in the core of explaining the number of images of nature and views. Being part of the outer world and not alienated from it while working enables people to be happy at work.

It was not just seeing the sun and having windows in the office, but what they saw through them:

> Number one is definitely the windows, the idea of having so many windows, not feeling like you are in a prison in a closed environment. The second thing is also green fields and blue, earth colours, they make me happy as well. --- So I sat there and I looked down and I thought, well actually that was a happy moment, so the school has subconsciously created an environment that made me happy. - Adam, 31, education

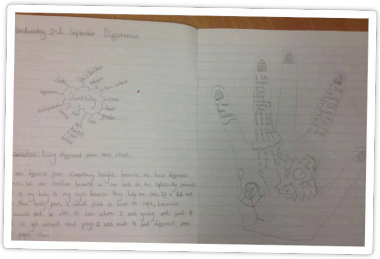
This experience was both the feeling of freedom and space, as not being locked somewhere while working, and the view contributing to the emergence of pleasant feelings. The participants did not want to feel like prisoners at work:

> This is the view from my classroom window. It gives me this sense of peace. You feel like expanded at some way, if I can see the space extending beyond me, then it is not just the classroom. Apart from just this beautiful view it is that feeling of extending beyond, sometimes it is bit of a prison. - Amelia, 25, education

Similar to Sofia's thoughts of being part of the outside world, Amelia also talked about the feeling of expansion, being part of something beyond the walls of the classroom. It was important to their happiness not to be locked away into their offices and to be completely removed from the outer environments. The windows, with pleasant views and natural light was all they needed for a

happiness moment to occur. Peaceful views provided unexpected sanctuaries, which also allowed a moment of silence during a hectic workday:

> Our printers are at the window, and I do a lot of printing so it is so nice when I wait for the printer to warm up and you get to see that really nice quiet view. You look out from the window and you see a site that is really peaceful, it is just full of green and trees. So you have been working on your desk, being very busy and trying to get through a lot of stuff, and then you go to the printer and you are just standing there looking at the view and there is nothing, there is silence. It is just peaceful. - Emily, 31, law

5.4 Doing something that matters *Nobody wants to come home feeling that you have not really added anything great to sum of humanity. - William, 30, finance*	

About two third of the participants brought up having a sense of the purpose of importance for their happiness. In this study most participants used such terms as “making contribution” (Jack, 36, education), “meaningful job” (Alexandra, 29, education), “having impact on lives and the world” (Sofia, 27, business/education), “having a positive social impact on people” (Victoria, 32, CSR), “making a difference” (Olivia, 35, charity) and “having purpose” (Amelia, 25, education). They did not talk about their status or gaining appreciation from others through their job, but shared their wishes to do something socially meaningful. A part of this was the desire to be useful and to feel having purpose

for existence. Having a certain social role provides an opportunity to enhance the feeling of self-worth:

> Otherwise there is no point if you don't have some kind of purpose, or if you don't feel like you are fulfilling something or doing something then you can just go home. - Amelia, 25, education

Having an impact on others

The happiness moments arousing from having the sense of purpose were often about helping people or guiding them to the right direction, and having a positive impact on people. Dennis worked in higher education and valued to see that his contribution was actually being used and reached beyond himself. The main feeling of having an impact aroused from being able to help his student:

> Throughout our discussion I could place things into the context in the way that allowed the student to see there is not just one possible way of doing this, but there are multiple options. If you feel like you can have a positive input and impact on improving the situation for the student, at least putting some perspective on things, providing whatever needed for help, that is really really important. - Dennis, 28, education

He realised that the impact he had on his students included plenty of responsibility:

> I often remember the conversations I have with students in a lot of detail because the responsibility is higher. You go to news and even if you make a mistake, everyone will forget about it in a day, if you are talking to a student you might discuss big decisions like should I remain in the university, should I change my program, that has a much higher impact, and I am actually more nervous in those conversations, because ultimately you cannot make those decisions for students. - Dennis, 28, education

Helping people and making the world a better place was important to happiness:

> Happiness for me is leaving at the end of the day knowing that I have done something to make a difference that day, no matter how small it is. Something has been made better by me being there. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

Lucy shared a concrete example of how she in her managerial level job, was able to bring happiness not only to herself, but to her colleagues and patients as well:

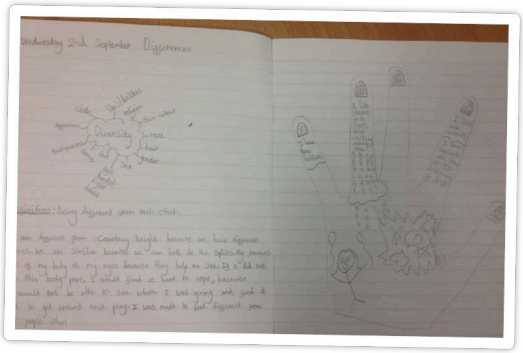
> A few Sundays ago I was in charge and I said: could everybody do something nice to a patient, let's go that extra mile today. And we got all the patients outside in the sun. We had someone who had not been out for a month and a half because they had had stroke and they had not been able to leave. Seeing the difference it had on the patients and the staff… some of the staff came to me and said you know we've forgotten to do all this stuff. Patients were crying coming back in because they had seen daylight, I think these is really important. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

One of Amelia's happiness moments took place in the classroom, where she led her pupils to discuss about the value of the diversity in people. For her having an impact on people was both her job and also her success:

> They were thinking about things in them that make them feel special and it was nice to see how positive the children were. It is directly to do with the teaching, and the work and it was just having the sense of actually having an impact on people that you are there to have an impact on. - Amelia, 25, education

Forming identity and self-worth

Happiness at work was about doing fulfilling and meaningful work and about the feeling that they were exactly where they were supposed to be:



> I was always thinking about doing something that I felt right doing. I guess that includes being happy, feeling happy is the path you choose. Happiness at work to me is a chance to have an impact on people and that they actually benefit from what you are doing with them. - Amelia, 25, education

Helping people also shaped their identity:

> It is really satisfying when you can help someone. It is something that I really enjoy. I get very happy at work if there has been an obvious result to someone that I am trying to help. That you are doing a job that agrees with your sense of what is worthwhile pursuit and it can have a big impact on your identity and self-worth. -Charlotte, 26, civil service

Self-worth was also present in Alexandra's happiness moment, when she got positive feedback from a satisfied student. For her happiness, it was not that she had succeeded in providing a practical, applicable and useful course only, but the sense of having a meaningful job:

> It also makes me happy to know that I've made a difference. I feel like my happiness at work depends on feeling useful. Feeling like someone needing me, being it colleague, student, the world out there. That it has meaning and that I managed, not just to want to be meaningful, but managed to do it. It makes me happy when I am doing something important that I care about but is also meaningful for someone else. - Alexandra, 29, education

5.5 Having sense of control *It is a feeling of having a control over my life and not being slave to my job. That is a big thing. - Adam, 31, education*	

Many of the happiness moments were related to having control over one's work. The participants often talked about the capability to make their own decisions, and how this related to their happiness at work. They wanted to have a sense of control over their work and consequently over their lives:

> Feeling that you have some kind of control over what you are doing, whether that points your career to direction you wanted to go or gaining a promotion. - William, 30, finance

It wasn't the control that made them happy, it was the feeling of control that enabled them to organise their work in a way that happiness moments could

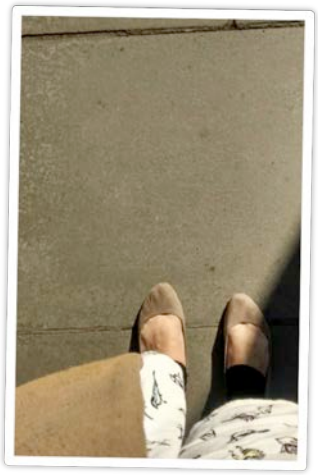
occur. This was one of the most spoken aspects of the narratives. Studies often refer to autonomy or control influencing employees' happiness. This chapter aims at explaining why personal control is so important to individual happiness. It answers to the question: 'why having a sense of control matters to people'?

The narratives on having a sense of control over one's work can be divided into three categories: maintaining identity, working better and integrating work and other aspects of life successfully.

Maintaining identity

The participants talked about their identity – the possibility, not only to control their jobs and have the feeling of freedom, but also to maintain their identity - their true self, and not to lose it while working:

> It makes me think about freedom and not having boundaries. And how important it is that you do not feel trapped when you are at work. I think that is why there are so few pictures of me inside the office, but most of them involve something, moving or being flexible in any sense. I think my happiness at work is like work does not mean they are taking your soul away. You do not give away your freedom. - Sofia, 27, business/education



The importance of flexibility was intertwined with the generational identity:

> Especially for this generation that travels and moves a lot and gets to study whatever they want, that is just appreciated more. This is something that perhaps older generations had to cope with, you basically gave your life to that forever (and that is till you are 50 or 60) and then retire and have your freedom back. These are the best days of our lives when we are young and we are not married, we do not have children. And you have all these possibilities. Why should you just give yourself to that job because that is what is required from you? Just because you need to earn money and one day you will recover your freedom. - Sofia, 27, business/education

Sofia mentioned the age and the stage of life before children, to justify the need for freedom, as the opposite to the family-related discussions, which often manipulate the dialogue around workplace flexibility.

Being told where to be and when, was found unnatural. For Victoria it caused Sunday blues:

> I think c'moon this is silly, because I do generally like my job. I look back being a masters student, I had four hours of economics on Monday mornings from nine, I loved it. No one told me to go, I wanted to go. But now I have to go into the office so it is very sort of an unnatural thing to be told to do this or do that, rather than deciding to do things. I am a very independent person so being in charge of my own work is something I feel good about, rather than being told all the time how to do something. I find that frustrating. - Victoria, 32, CSR

Having control over the working hours and location allowed the participants to maintain their true identity. Valentina's picture of a happy moment was of empanada, typical food to her culture, and a proof that she was still maintaining her identity:

Empanada is something that is very typical of many cultures, but this especially comes from where my family is from and where I identify myself a lot. Even though I am so far away and not around any family members and not anyone that I really know who is 'callega'. If I had a 9 to 5 schedule I would not be able to do all those other things. I would have to drop a lot of my identity so having a flexible schedule allows me to keep everything I want. - Valentina, 28, design

Valentina, just like so many others in their generational cohort, was a global citizen: she had her roots in different countries, and had already lived within diverse cultures, before landing in Edinburgh. Their identity meant a great deal to them.

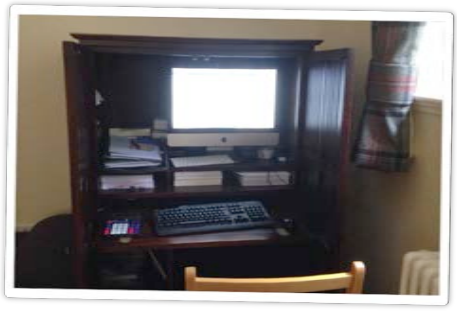
Flexibility was also seen as an enhancement of creativity. Creativity was not only linked to being creative at work, and working better per se, but also to revealing one's true self without taking roles or masks:

> Allowing people to feel free to do what they want to do, within reason within the environment. Many places are traditional and it does not allow the creativity to flow, creativity comes from what you are passionate about, so that would make you be happy because you could be yourself, you are not wearing a mask. - Adam, 31, education

These participants wanted to be themselves. Holding on to their identity, being themselves at work, was their way of being authentic at work.

Working better

Having control over their work allowed them to organise their work in a way that enabled them to concentrate, be more productive and creative in given tasks, in other words: they were able to organise their work in the way which manifested in working better:



> It would have just been a ridiculous waste of time and also very difficult for me to try to do anything productive that day. But because I had this flexibility to work from home it meat that I actually had some time to get some work done, so it was a productive day. - Emily, 31, law

Emily didn't want to work from home because it was convenient for her personal reasons, she chose to work from home so that she could get as much work done as possible. Sometimes the office was not the best place to focus on the tasks which needed concentration. The possibility to work remotely was also a way to escape distractions caused by the colleagues and the continuous stream of noise:

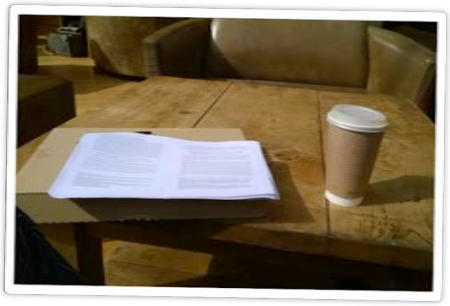
> It can be quite difficult to work at the office. Sometimes I arrange to work from home. I was just appreciating that I can sit on my sofa with a laptop and write, which I enjoy doing and not to be distracted by anybody, just to be in control of what

> I am doing all day, no disruptions. I have some projects that need quiet concentration. - Victoria, 32, CSR

The realisation that a workplace is not tied to certain walls can also be a source of happiness. Alexandra told us how she sometimes found it impossible to have any fresh ideas in the office, as she found herself thinking in the "old ways, the ways I associate within this place, the way I thought before." As that was vital in her field, she had found a solution by working in a nearby cafeteria:

> When I can take my work away from the office and particularly to a place where there are a lot of things going on and I can just be in my own world, it helps. I felt really happy I was in a setting where it was just kind of blank: just me with this paper - none of those piles around - my favourite cup of coffee. Just that piece I could focus on and I can think of whatever ideas come to my head, inspired by the music, or people chatting. I did feel happy that I could do that, knowing that not just once, but when I needed it I can do that, so the whole of Edinburgh, the whole world can be my workplace. - Alexandra, 29, education

Being able to change the work environment also helped to concentrate better:



> I am very bad at sitting in the same place all day. I do a few hours at home, come to the office - do a few things on the desk, go out to get a coffee. Sit somewhere, come back here (office). And I work best that way. I think having a comfortable environment is very important to me being able to concentrate, the work we do requires immense concentration. I never just randomly google things and browse online. That has something to do with the fact that when I start getting distracted, I shift my location. That solves the distraction and allows me to focus again. - Jack, 36, education

Jack wanted to do his work well. He wanted to be fully focused, to give his best. Instead of getting more distracted by browsing online, he had found a way that helped him to get his concentration back.

In some cases, even a short break from the office, walk to a nearby park or a meeting in another location helped to get some distance to work and solving problems:

Sometimes when you are trying to solve problems, it is nice to be moved away from in front of the problem, so it is almost like going away and coming back refreshed. Sometimes it is then easier to solve the problem. - Ana, 27, finance

In order to work better there was also a consensus on managing the work independently, making decisions on how to operate the tasks:

> It is about feeling independent on the way I am working. What you are working on and if you feel like you have been micromanaged or whether you feel in control managing your own work. - Victoria, 32, CSR

> When I am comfortable with what I am doing, but I am also independent and can make my own decisions. And when I have some flexibility on how my job is done, or flexibility on how you do your work. That is when I am happiest. - Nathan, 24, banking

The participants asked for clear goals, such as what was expected from them and where they were supposed to be heading, but they also wanted to have control over how to get there:

> So you are given a task or an objective to meet, a goal, but you are allowed to achieve it in your own way, rather than maybe receiving strict rules, that is important, so the flexibility to do that in some way. - Adam, 31, education

People are happy when their work is going well, therefore options to create a suitable working place/style or time that allow them to do their job well, should be provided. The control to change the working environment based on both personal needs and the nature of task at hand was seen vital for new ideas to emerge, or to allow full concentration. As discussed in the earlier chapter, all these young professionals were happy when they were doing their jobs well,

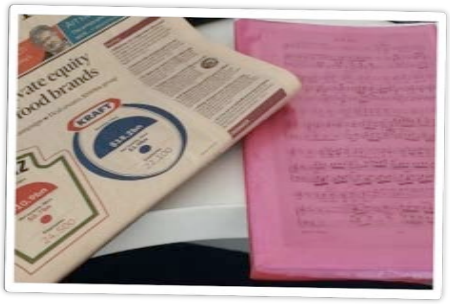
when they succeed in it, when they achieved their goals or excelled in what they were doing and when they got their jobs done successfully. And often they needed some control over their work to make this happen.

Work life integration

When the participants talked about integrating work and other parts of life, home was often the most ideal place for them to work at. Sometimes staying at home meant avoiding commuting that day, or simply sleeping longer. Working from home was also seen as a balancing requirement for periods when plenty of travelling was needed. Often the need for flexible working hours was justified by the restricted doctoral appointment hours or waiting for a delivery at home:

> Flexitime makes a big difference because so many places like doctors' surgeries and dentists' they are just not open on weekends or if you need to go to post office but you cant make it within a half an hour. It positively makes you happy, if you leave early on Friday afternoon 'cause you can. It can be also a reward mechanism if you have put in the hours you can leave early when you want. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

For Charlotte it was rewarding to work longer on certain days and then work shorter days when needed. Sometimes it was something much more personal though, about balancing between work and hobbies. Alexandra shared a narrative that was repetitive, as she went to her singing classes twice a week in the mornings, before heading for work. On this particular morning she realised, how happy both her work and her hobby made her, and how they both were a big part of who she was:



> I really do care passionately about both. I really felt the same sort of goose pumps coming from this heading in the paper and realizing this is what my work is about, as I got from my singing class, doing the thing that I know I love. - Alexandra, 29, education

Alexandra was happy for the flexible working hours to pursue her personal interests, but it also gave her more energy to do the daily tasks:

> I feel really happy when I can start the day with doing what I like. That really has a positive spill-over effect on my work. Every time when I complain about work I think this is a pretty unique setting where I can actually afford to do that, start the day with a hobby when I am full of energy and then with all that energy go to my main work. - Alexandra, 29, education

Having some control over the working hours, it was possible for her to fulfil both personal and professional needs, integrate work and other aspects in her life in a successful way. Finding time for both made her a happier human being and a better worker.

Having sense of control also made the participants to appreciate their work and employers more:

> I spent six days painting my flat. It is when you feel appreciation for what you do. I took six days off, no pressure, and it allowed me to get some other things in my life done. That was a moment of happiness, to be told that I don't have to come to work every day. That actually combines my happiness: it is to derive from flexibility of work, and my personal life, things I like to get done with, those things together. - Adam, 31, education

Even though the study focused on happiness and happy moments, there were unhappy stories shared as well. Sometimes having some control over their work allowed them to organise the hours in a way that they were able to improve their well-being significantly:

> Right now I am working for 4 days and Wednesday is my full day off. It makes everything so much better. I don't know what my life is going to be like in the future, but I just know that I cannot work 5 days a week. I get so depressed. Now that I have that day in the middle, I can say: 'Well at least on Wednesday I get to get up later, I can do some shopping, I can read. Today I am not thinking about work at all, I can do it tomorrow'. It makes it better. - Sofia, 27, business/education

Having control over the working hours, didn't necessarily mean starting later or finishing earlier, but reduced the number of hours as well, or organising the

hours in a way that was the most suitable for the employee's happiness. Flexibility on working hours also included having a choice on the timing of the holidays:

> Our company has the option to work bank holidays if you want and then take the holiday some other time. - William, 30, finance

5.6 Chapter discussion

The results draw a picture of a young professional who is happy when work is going well, goals are achieved, skills are on an ideal level to complete tasks and when they can be at ease. They enjoy working with friends and having a true, meaningful connection with people around them, which strengthens the feeling of doing something that matters. Apart from having great colleagues, it is also vital for them to work in a pleasant and functional environment, and to be part of the surrounding nature, which also gives them a sense of control over their work and lives. Added to these aspects around them (the environmental contributors), in order to be happy at work they also need it to have a greater purpose and impact on others, in order to have a sense of self-worth and identity. Important to happiness is also to integrate work and other parts of life successfully and maintain identity, which are both achieved when having a sense of control over one's work. This also helps them to work better and to feel they are part of the outer world. Suggestions on how all these aspects can be improved, are provided in the last result chapter, Chapter 7.

Work going well

People are happy when their work is going well. These participants were happy when they succeeded in their aims and got their work done. Surprisingly little about this aspect of workplace happiness has been discussed in the literature. Work can be a great reward itself, when the skills and the challenges meet, people are highly committed to tasks and can solve upcoming problems (May, Korczynski & Frenkel, 2002). This is especially the case for professionals, who work in demanding work environments known for a pressure to succeed

(Reindl et al., 2011). Achieving goals and getting work successfully done, does not only lead to possible rewards, but can give a sense of relief, and also lessen the stress and worries about future work, as this study shows.

The participants enjoyed challenges and were very proud of themselves for conquering them and doing good work. They also often felt they learnt from these moments. Succeeding in their tasks and having confidence in what they are doing, might also help them to succeed better in other tasks as well. When work goes well, it provides "a positive affect", which then encourages a person to take steps further to succeed in other goals and tasks (Bao & Lyubomirsky, 2013, 120). The joy and feeling of satisfaction when completing tasks or experiencing a productive day at work lead into broadening their thought-action repertoires and building enduring personal resources and growing intellectual resources, which will be beneficial in the near and long-term future (Fredrickson, 2001).

These happy moments, based on work going well, can also help them to see a bigger picture of themselves as employees and undo the influence of negative emotions (Fredrickson, 2001; Oerlemans et al., 2013). Work going well also made them more confident about possible promotions and continuance for their contracts. When employees feel that they are good at what they do, they are more likely emotionally connected and engaged to their work and their organisation (Harter & Blacksmith, 2010). It also spills over to their interactions with colleagues and clients, and influences their personal lives (De Neve & Ward, 2017).

Part of the sensation of work going well in this study was being in the flow. Participants shared their experiences of being so fully engaged to their work so that the world around them disappeared. In those moments the level of their skills and challenges were in balance and resulted in a moment of pure happiness. This also had influence on their self-esteem (also Haybron, 2013b) and built their intrinsic motivation (Bakker, 2005) for future work as well.

Succeeding in work or achieving something at work is in Seligman's PERMA model (A for achievement) contributing to people's ability to flourish, but there is nothing about success or achievements at work in Warr's Vitamin model.

Working with friends

As the findings in this study show, interpersonal relationships have a great influence on happiness at work (e.g. Baumeister & Leary, 1995), yet this is still a very little studied aspect of workplace happiness (Fisher, 2010, 396). Participants didn't only to work in positive work climate (Eisner, 2005) but they highlighted the importance of having friends at work, which is in line with the study by Deal and Levenson (2016). They wanted to feel truly connected with people around them and expressed both enjoyment for already having friends at work and mere wishes to deepen relationships from pure collegiality to a friendship. This might be due to, as Deal and Levenson (2016) suggest, most of them not having families of their own or living far from childhood families and friends, as was the case in this study.

Participants talked about going for drinks with their colleagues after work, sharing parts of their personal lives with their colleagues and enjoyment of having deep meaningful conversations with them. With friends at work they were able to laugh, have fun, release steam and cope better with stress. Having friends at work, made them enjoy the workdays more and as Deal and Levenson (2016, 117) comment, having friends at work, makes work the place they wanted to be.

This is the generation often blamed for spending too much time online and too little with people, and some concerns of the lack of social skills have been addressed (Eisner, 2005, 6). This study shows that other people are essential to their happiness and experiences in life and they truly want to feel connected with their colleagues. Other people are important to their happiness, and this is not only in the selfish way, on how others can satisfy their needs (Cieslik, 2015). The feeling that there are people who care about them and that there is a

supporting community around them, is a "determining factor" in employee's engagement and commitment to their organisation, job satisfaction, happiness and energy levels (Dutton, 2003; Rath, 2006; Deal & Levenson, 2016).

Interaction with other people is one of the twelve vitamins, E6, referring to the amount and quality of social contact, dependency on others and team working, also described as: "amount of contact, irrespective of its quality and pleasantness and helpfulness of interactions" (Warr, 2007). In Seligman's PERMA model positive relationships (R) are highlighted as a core aspect to wellbeing.

Physical environment

The physical environment had great influence on happiness in this study. The weather is also part of the environment. As the timing of the data collection was after the winter, many of their happiness images were about clear blue skies and sunny weather. They highlighted the joy of long days and the importance of the warming sun after the dark winter. Several of the images were taken on commuting to work, and although there were other aspects influencing happiness in that particular moment, living in such a green city, was embraced by the participants. This is supported by studies (e.g. MacKerron & Mourato, 2013) showing that green spaces and natural habitats have a great impact on people's happiness.

Although there were some pictures of plants in the office space, it was more the views from windows that boosted their happiness at work. The amount of light is found to be a positive factor in the office (Kaplan, 1993; Kim & de Dear, 2013.), as are the pleasant views from the windows. For these participants, windows provided natural light and pleasant views from the office, which both made them feel less lacking of something vital and more part of the outside world. Although a natural view was seen through a window glass, they still felt less like prisoners. Referring to being a prisoner is a strong argument and raises

questions on how anyone can be fully happy at work if they feel they are inmates and captivated without their free will?

Most participants shared a desire to be outdoors on a sunny day, which was partly satisfied by having a possibility, at least visually, if not technically, to leave the workspace during the workday. Therefore pleasant views and even pictures of nature can help to increase happiness (Kaplan, 1993; Kweon et al., 2008). Having a moment to pause in a sunny spot, in front of a large window or taking a walk to nearby park during lunch break were all linked to stress reduction (Grahn & Stigsdotter, 2010). Those moments were even called sanctuaries, where busy buzz or work-related problems were left aside for a moment, and the participants were able to feel more relaxed.

In Warr's Vitamin model environment is called "physical security" which is then divided into working conditions, degree of hazard and quality of equipment (Warr, 2013), but enjoyment of the surroundings is not part of his framework. In PERMA model the environment is not acknowledged.

Doing something that matters

Having a meaningful and purposeful job mattered to these young professionals. They wanted to help, improve, have an impact and contribute to society. This sense of purpose can be achieved outside work as well, but these participants needed to have that feeling also at work. This is supported by other studies (e.g. Ariely et al., 2008) and is typical for Generation Y, which is suggested to be ready to leave if they do not have a sense of purpose in what they do (McManus Warnell, 2015).

Although many spoke about the importance of purpose, it was often those working in a public sector (education, health care, charity and civil service) that reported these situations as their happiness moments. Most likely having a meaningful job was one of the attributes that had led them to choose these career fields in the first place and therefore it also generated their happiness

moments. There were no obvious gender differences, both men and women spoke about the importance of having a sense of purpose and for both genders happiness was also about having an impact on others by helping them. More than the gender it was about the person and the chosen occupation, to fulfil their wishes to make a difference by contributing to greater wellbeing.

These young professionals talked about having an impact on other people, which often manifested through helping, supporting or guiding others. They wanted to leave a positive footprint in their surroundings and found joy in seeing how their input had influenced somebody else's day. Having a sense of purpose in one's work didn't impact only the people and world around them, but it also had an impact on their self-worth and identity (McManus Warnell, 2015). When their work mattered, it gave them a sense that they mattered too.

Finding meaningfulness in their work and having a chance for individual contribution made them more engaged to their work as well, a finding which is supported also by other studies (Kashdan et al., 2008; De Neve & Ward, 2017). In addition, having a feeling that there is a sense of purpose in what one does, leads into a sense of achievement too, as achievement partly comes from a feeling that the effort and time put on tasks has actually led into accomplishments (Sirota et al., 2005). This refers to the enabler of work going well, presented earlier.

This aspect of workplace happiness is included into both models as vitamin E9, "valued social position", in contributing to society and gaining a valued status in groups, and in PERMA model meaning (M) referring to working and living for a greater purpose, and being connected to a cause bigger than oneself.

Sense of control

People feel good when their work is going well, when they succeed in their jobs, when they achieve their goals or excel in their attempts and when they get their jobs done successfully. Why they are not then let to find their own ways to

organise their day, environment and working style in the way that leads to this? Not to mention that it is also benefitting the company (Hill et al., 2008). Also it was clear that these participants were also grateful to their employers for allowing them to make decisions by themselves. This gratefulness surely pays back in many ways, not only in increasing commitment to the company and their jobs, but also in performance, absenteeism and reduced stress (Hall & Atkinson, 2006; Reindl et al., 2011; Atkinson & Hall, 2011).

Having control over one's work was also strongly related to flexibility, which is often focusing on three main factors "where, when and how long" according to the definition of workplace flexibility by Hill et al. (2008). The participants talked about how they enjoyed working from home, cafeteria, outdoors or on a train. They discussed about the importance of mastering their own hours, starting later or leaving earlier from work if needed to. They also shared their stories of wanting to find their own ways to reach goals and to get tasks done. It was clear that having control and sufficient amount of flexibility had a grand impact on their happiness at work. The participants repeatedly emphasised the importance of being able to work in 1) alternative environments, such as cafes and at home, 2) within flexible schedules e.g. mastering their own hours and 3) having control on the order and execution of tasks.

They also saw work and other aspects of life overlapping, as work played a big part in their lives and the separation between work and leisure time was blurring. It was important for them to have hobbies, take care of their personal needs and to integrate all these aspects successfully (Reindl et al., 2011; Quatro, 2012). This was an important factor and also a clear "workplace driver for individuals' subjective well-being" (De Neve & Ward, 2017). Having control over their lives also while at work was important:

> That is how it should be, my boss at work should not be the boss of my life. So I was feeling I am the master of my life. - Sofia, 27, business/education

The participants did not only want to have flexibility in order to fulfil their personal needs outside work, such as singing classes or painting their flat, but they also wanted to find an arrangement that would be suitable for them to perform better in their jobs and to make time spent working more pleasurable and happier. Happiness arising in moments that included plenty of autonomy, were often related to succeeding in work or the feeling of power and ownership of one's job. This ownership and the sense of having control also highlight the importance of flexibility at work. As flexibility and a sense of control are mainly looked from balancing work and other aspects in research, there is barely no discussion on a sense of control also allowing employees to get better results and find ways to perform better, as this study has shown. This is an important finding.

The participants needed to be themselves and to be human beings at work and outside of it. They needed to be seen as human beings, not robots, and they had the same needs, emotions and dreams at work as outside of it (Warren, 2002). By having control over how their tasks were executed and controlling the balance between work and other aspects of their lives was also about living their lives authentically. In many of the narratives happiness was intertwined with authenticity. The participants wanted to be themselves without masks, they wanted true authentic connections with their colleagues and they found it important to do something that matters. Authenticity has been very little examined in the workplace context especially when linked with happiness. Authenticity can be seen as connecting with oneself at work and to have a meaningful and important job according to preferences of an individual (van den Bosch & Taris, 2014). Not wearing masks and being oneself makes employees feel more comfortable at work and is also less energy-consuming. As it is also seen having influence on job quality (Manz et al., 2016), performance, engagement and employee wellbeing (van den Bosch & Taris, 2014) it requires further focus.

This enabler is in line with Warr's (2013) first vitamin *Opportunity for personal control*, E1, referring to influence, autonomy and decision latitude. Warr claims that this feature, if being experienced on high level, becomes harmful. The harmfulness occurs, if difficult decision making and personal responsibility are frequent and overloading. (Warr, 2013). The participants did not refer to being overwhelmed with a personal control in their tasks, but the personal needs and demands surely need to be taken into consideration as well in regard to personal control, since not everyone is driven by control (Hall & Atkinson, 2006, 377). In PERMA model having neither control nor autonomy are mentioned.

As happiness is a complex phenomenon and many facets influence each other, although enablers are proposed as separate aspects in this chapter, they are very much all intertwined. Employers, often focusing on great performance and successful results, are probably interested in what makes people work well. It is very likely, nearly inevitable, that all these enablers also have an impact on achievements and good results. However, those connections are not emphasised in Figure 7, where only a sense of control has a direct connection to work going well. These connections are also clarified in Table 8.

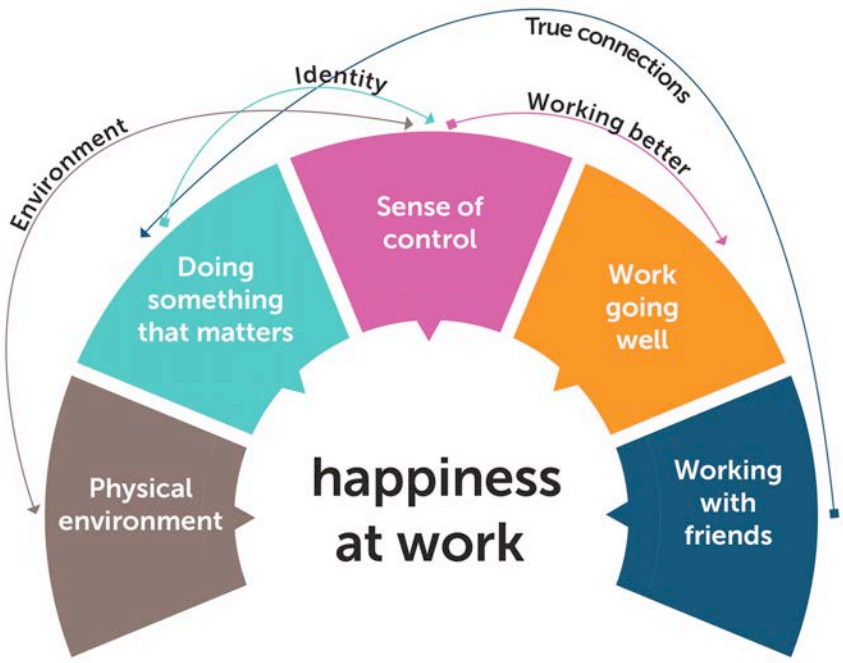


Figure 7 Connections between all five enablers

This is based on the data and the narratives. Most participants, although acknowledging that being happy makes them better employees and creates happiness, want to experience happiness for other reasons as well. They do want to do their jobs well, but they also want to enjoy their days at work, be themselves and live according to their values and wishes. Work going well is only one of the five enablers and the four others are just as important to them to experience happiness at work.

Knowing more about the enablers that make happiness more likely to happen at work, we will next look into who they think is responsible for happiness at work.

Chapter 6. Happiness responsibility

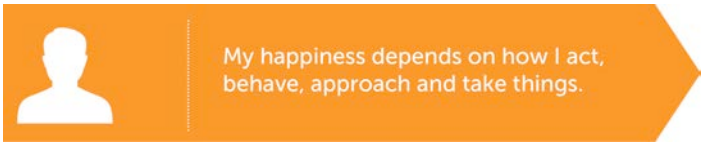
As studies have shown a correlation between happiness and desirable work outcomes such as motivation and high quality work, more companies have started to invest in creating happiness (Fisher, 2010; Cederström & Spicer, 2015). However, there is a concern that this can be used against employees, as resources are given to them to be happy (and profitable for the company) and if they then are not happy, they are the ones to blame (Haybron, 2013b; Cederström & Spicer, 2015). Happiness responsibility needs therefore to be addressed and although the main theme of the study was originally not to find out how responsibility is divided, it turned out to be an important matter.

As discussed in Chapter 2 the idea of Psychological contract (Rousseau, 1989) provides a useful framework to understand the beliefs, promises, experiences and expectations an individual has towards happiness responsibility. This study allowed the participants to share their thoughts on the expectations they had for themselves and for their employers regarding their happiness at work. The participants often mentioned during the interview that happiness was not a topic of discussions in the workplace. Several participants said they had never discussed their happiness with their employer. Therefore it could be said that their thoughts were mainly based on their believes and expectations, and were not communicated by their managers. Although there were a few narratives of when breach occurred, this chapter looks more into the psychological contract as a tool to understand how participants saw happiness responsibility. Another relevant approach came from Ahuvia et al. (2015) from their study of interactionist approaches to happiness, highlighting the concept of shared responsibility, since happiness, as a complex phenomenon, does not arise only from internal processes, just as it cannot be based on the consumption of external goods.

It was obvious that these participants wanted to be happy at work, however they did not have high expectations for their employers to make happiness take place in the workplace. Instead, they repeatedly emphasised their own responsibility in creating and maintaining happiness at work. In their narratives they, acknowledging certain aspects the companies can and should have influence on, and occasionally suggesting a shared happiness responsibility, often saw themselves as the main actors in producing happiness through their own choices and actions: if they are not happy at work, they should do something about it. As Jack (36, education) stiffly put it: "I very strongly believe that we are always responsible for our own happiness. I don't expect anybody else to make us happy."

Based on how the participants felt responsibility for their happiness at work, happiness responsibilities were divided into three happiness pathways: *my responsibility*, *mainly my responsibility* and *shared responsibility*. These pathways were then elaborated with suggested ideas to frame each pathway. The connection to the psychological contract was looked in the light of happiness responsibility, referring to earlier comments on non-existent happiness responsibility conversations at work, and can therefore be suggested to be based on the answers to responsibility questions. All three pathways are explained throughout this chapter. More information is also in Appendix 4, where the data analysis is explained in detail.

My responsibility

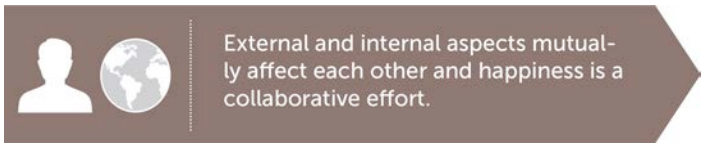


The first path is straightforward and ego-centric, it is all about oneself, about me: my happiness depends on how I act, behave, approach and take things. My happiness is fully my responsibility and my share of the psychological contract. I am not responsible for the happiness of others.

Mainly my responsibility

The second path is also ego-centric, but acknowledges that the environment has an impact on happiness as well. On this path, happiness depends on how I react to the environment, which I cannot control. This approach is a step towards co-responsibility, and I acknowledge that my behaviour might influence the happiness of others, but I still have the main responsibility and the main share of the psychological contract.

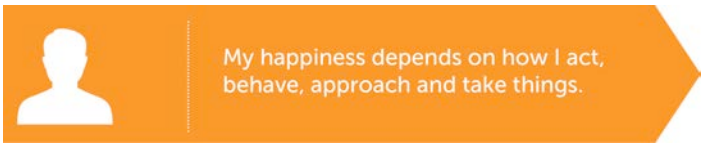
Shared responsibility



The third path is about sharing the happiness responsibility. Happiness is seen as a collaborative effort, which acknowledges that external and internal aspects mutually affect each other and an individual is not solely responsible for their happiness. This pathway follows the principals of interactionist approach (Ahuvia et al., 2015) and happiness is also shared according to the psychological contract.

To provide deeper understanding on these pathways and to clarify them, examples from data are needed. Therefore, these three pathways are explained in detail and supported by narratives from participants.

6.1 My responsibility



The participants were all professionals with university education, having the type of job that often involves a high level of education and training, and requires plenty of autonomy and self-motivation. As was discussed earlier in Chapter 5, the sense of control was highly important to the participants in this study. They wanted to be in control of their lives and also of their own happiness. Therefore, it is not really surprising, that many of them saw themselves responsible for their own happiness, and hence, very likely as their part of the psychological contract, too.

When they talked about their responsibility in creating happiness, they often talked about their attitudes and approach to things and events. They thought it was up to them to control or direct their thoughts, and either approach issues in certain ways, or have a positive attitude to seek for happiness. They required quite a lot from themselves, regarding happiness. Repeatedly they talked about how it was in their power not to let things have influence on them. In their opinion, happiness was about dealing with situations and people in a way that everything was seen either in a positive light or passed unaffected:

> You can get affected by anything around you, but ultimately it is entirely about you. So in any job you do, it is up to you. It is how you see it. Other people can influence you a little bit, but it is all about yourself, how you cope with situations how you treat the job, it is up to you really, how you deal with it. It is all on me, in terms of how happy I am. - Charlie, 30, retail

Some of the participants talked about different skills or capabilities in order to look after their happiness, when referring to happiness as their responsibility. Alexandra trusted her own skills, but needed to be allowed to use them:

> I, really, have a full trust in my ability to make myself happy at work if I am just given space. - Alexandra, 29, education

Part of the happiness responsibility was to raise concerns and to make sure wishes were heard:

> I realized recently that *you* need to take a hold of your career, tell people what you want to experience, so they can support you. - Felix, 25, consulting

> Because you can focus on positive moments, and especially working in a place like this and today's sort of working culture, you can talk to your manager or talk to someone in HR. You can always try to change things if something is really bad and making you unhappy at workplace. So we do have responsibility to voice concerns and at the same time try to bring positive attitudes to work. - Victoria, 32, CSR

One part of the happiness responsibility for participants was also to look after their own well-being, both at work and outside:

> You should look after your own happiness as well as you can, whether that means keeping to your deadlines, so that you won't feel stressed or speaking to people more if you find something difficult, making sure you get enough exercise and enough sleep. - Nathan, 24, banking

Happiness responsibility was also seen manifested as early as in the job selection process:

> You should take a job that you know you would be happy doing. That you could see potentially some happiness in it, and you shouldn't in theory take a job that you don't want. Because then your employer can try as hard as they can to make your job happy but if you don't want that job you will never be happy. - Valentina, 28, design

As happiness at work was really important to these participants, they questioned staying in an unhappy workplace. In several interviews, a part of the responsibility was to do something about constant unhappiness:

> If we really got to a point where I wasn't able to feel happy, I'd feel responsible for choosing to remain in the job. Which probably reaches a point where I feel that I could probably get another job. - Victoria, 32, CSR

> It is up to you to make sure you are in an environment where you feel happy and supportive. Ultimately it is up to you - if you are in less than an ideal situation - to make something out of it, or even just quit. - Amelia, 25, education

Apart from talking to people and seeking for help, they also suggested looking for another job in order to be happy. This was seen as the ultimate power and responsibility.

6.2 Mainly my responsibility

Some participants acknowledged that world around them had influence on their happiness. The environment didn't just mean the infrastructure and walls around, but the colleagues, atmosphere, management styles and general surroundings. Some participants saw the environment as a platform, which then combined with their attitude, would lead to happiness or unhappiness. They therefore shifted the responsibility from an employee's responsibility a step towards a shared responsibility and shared psychological contract, as they acknowledged that not everything was under their control and they were always influenced by their surroundings, as Jack explained:

> It is interaction of different factors, I am obviously responsible, but I am responding to my own environment and people around me and I can't control it. I should be able to control my stress levels and therefore I should be fully in control, but I am not and I don't think anybody is fully, apart from a really good Buddhist. I have a large part to play in it, but my environment, because it affects my happiness so much, everything interacts… So all I can do is to respond to events and make them as good as I can. – Jack, 36, education

Jack referred to his responsibility as the main actor, although admitted there was a limit to the human capability of dealing with events. Miguel experienced turmoil at work during the mindful photography period, as three of his colleagues were fired unexpectedly. All three were good workers and great colleagues, and the only reason they were fired was that the company was not financially well. It was not just upsetting to loose great colleagues and friends,

but it also meant more work for those who remained, and uncertainty about the future:

> Everyone has a limit of patience or even the capacity to endure certain flows that can happen, but when certain things start to happen too much… Sometimes it is difficult to keep happy. This is one of those situations that of course I am responsible for my happiness, but that was something no one was expecting, it was completely out of my reach. --- So I cannot control those things, but I am at work and doing my work, and there are lot of things to be happy with. - Miguel, 34, oceanography

Even in a situation like this, Miguel required himself to stay positive and focused on the aspects that were well, as happiness was his responsibility in the end. Soraya was having some communication issues with her manager and had been experiencing stressful days at work before the interview. Even though she acknowledged her boss' role in helping and advising her in those situations, she believed it all comes to her interpretation in the end:

> It is my responsibility how I interpret that and how I deal with that. It is no-one else's responsibility. - Soraya, 33, banking

Olivia was in a similar situation to Soraya's with her boss, described as antisocial and grumpy person, wanting people to fear her. Olivia decided for otherwise:

> I used to be bit scared of her but now I don't let her influence my level of happiness. I guess in some ways before I had to prove myself to her that I can do the job well, but now I am lucky not to be part of her little weird behaviour. - Olivia, 35, charity

She believed that things are as we see them and we are the ones having control over our own happiness. However, coping up with issues did not always turn into happiness but to detachment, as she explained:

> Your general happiness is all about how you deal with it. If you are able to cope with the things that are happening. So it is really you who is responsible, but a lot of things are out of your control, it is just how you can deal with it. You can detach yourself from what is happening around you, but to be happy through it is much more difficult. The last couple of weeks I have definitely managed to do that although it was hard and I was told that "oh you have been so professional" so I know I can do that,

> but it doesn't make you happy. It just makes you distant to everything and for me happiness is a connection to it all. - Olivia, 35, charity

Olivia also talked about an occasion when responsibility was shared between the colleagues, them all, to personally take charge of their own happiness, simultaneously feeling the responsibility to enhance the happiness of people around them too:

> Yes, everyone is responsible for their own happiness. We are always doing things for each other, too. Like one of the colleagues, her father just passed away and when she got back her entire desk was covered by chocolate. So that kind of thing made her happy, we knew she didn't want to talk about it at all, so we gave her chocolate. We are all responsible for our own happiness. - Olivia, 35, charity

Alexandra saw the value of other people highly important to her happiness as well. Although she was in charge, she needed significant people around her outside work as well, to provide for a foundation and help her to excel at work:

> Overall it can't be without me being happy on my own. So no one else, no parents, no partner - just me. But in practice it adds a lot to feel backup, that I have people in my life standing by me on different days, no matter what happens at work. So when I feel that, I feel more grounded. Then I have more energy and foundation to think how I need to organize my work time to be happy and so on. It helps to have these backups. And that is like friends and a relationship. - Alexandra, 29, education

In their narratives Alexandra and Olivia both talked about the importance of other people to their happiness, and how certain behaviours either raised or lowered their moods. Consistent with the personality analysis there are differences in where people get their energies from, depending on their position on the scale of introversion and extroversion, whether they get their energy and motivation from other people or within themselves.

Harry, on managerial level, believed strongly in his own capabilities, but was not sure if everyone was as privileged as he was:

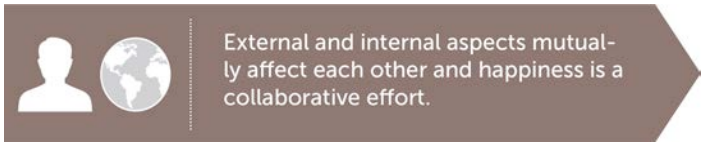
> I am quite lucky as if I am unhappy, I do something about it. So in my case, I would say it is pretty much entirely on me. But for many people, maybe they don't have the confidence or maybe they don't know what they want. It is that old question, is it yours is it mine is it somebody

> else's responsibility to make them happy? To a certain extent people need to take a bit more responsibility for what they want and if enough people do that, then things will change because they have to, because there will be soon a lot of people demanding they have to. - Harry, 33, renewable energy

Harry saw the happiness responsibility as everyone's own but also as a possibility for co-responsibility; everyone could, through their own actions, change things for greater happiness for people around them, too.

Jack, Miguel, Olivia, Alexandra and Harry among other participants, all understood that they do not live in a vacuum, but that things around them had impact on them and how they felt. They strongly believed though that it was their responsibility to choose how they reacted to certain events and stimuli, and at the end of the day, it was in their hands to make their lives happy.

6.3 Shared responsibility



There were some participants who, even though acknowledging their own role in producing happiness as an important one, still called for co-responsibility in creating and maintaining happiness in the workplace, and are therefore suggested to require a shared psychological contract as well. They had realised that external and internal aspects mutually affect each other and an individual is not solely responsible for happiness. Charlotte discussed the importance of the organisation looking after the happiness of the employees and them having a positive attitude at work:

> It is a mixture of yourself and your workplace, and you can do a lot to make yourself happy at work. Then again, there are some things at the organization to make their employees happy at work and they might depend on the actual work that people do. So, how the work can be done to make the employees happier, but genuinely, you yourself going with a positive attitude, and making sure, to the best of your ability, to have a

> good work life balance and other things like that, there can also be policies about work life balance. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

For Adam, it was clear that both the structure (organisation and life) and the person themselves needed to come together in order to create an environment that allows happiness. Yet, even if this created environment was perfect, it would still require the individual to acknowledge it and see it in a positive way, and not to let, for example, personal life to take over too much. Adam strongly believed that when both parts strive for happiness, it is possible:

> It is a two-way thing. It is always the individual and the structure together. It cannot just be one. The ideal would be the environment and the person striving for happiness, it is both together that would really make one excel. - Adam, 31, education

In addition to Adam's and Charlotte's thoughts, Dennis divided happiness responsibility between three actors:

> Clearly, first of all I myself, because I could now sit and prrr, I didn't get the office I want, my tea solution is not perfect, you need to put perspective on things. But obviously, there is the institution itself, it needs to provide an appropriate environment, and I now mean on the organizational level, but it is obviously the persons you work with, as a group. That is not each individually, that is you as a community, you need to make the decision, if you see lack somewhere, then you might suggest, 'let's organize this'. There are three things: you as an individual, it is the institution and it is the community of people, in between them. – Dennis, 28, education

He clearly defined the difference between individuals, and individuals as a part of the community. Simultaneously, he clarified that a community was not a part of the environment, just as an individual is outside of the environment, but an insider of the community and yet, an individual with different happiness responsibilities. This was similar to Emily's thoughts:

> There are line managers and managers, but whoever has control over the environment, the overall environment that you work in is responsible for at lot of the happiness. And if you have a good relationship with a colleague and you are happy working with them then you are happy at work, I guess you yourself as an individual have some responsibility, because you have to understand what makes you happy. - Emily, 31, law

Emily's comment on overall environment can be seen in two ways: it can be about anthropomorphising the environment, referring to something abstract in a humane way or she might have meant that certain causal factors are included in the environment. Just like the others, Richard believed in co-responsibility in happiness. He thought that the baseline of the emotion is built on our actions and how we interact with each other:

> How we treat other people is 90% dependent on how we treat ourselves. So while I have some wishes on how I would like to see things, like half empty or half full, ultimately is up to all of us, it is shared responsibility to create an environment to each other which allows happiness. - Richard, 27, finance

Richard saw happiness responsibility as social democracy, which he called neoliberal belief. In social democracy everyone can vote and happiness can be seen in a similar way to the tax system:

> Everyone has a vote, it is everyone's responsibility to ensure you are voting the right way and you are not being unkind to people, you are not necessary putting them down or being competitive or undermining people. It is important that everyone makes that effort on importing happiness on others, because then they are going to do the same for you. It is not any one person's responsibility, it is everyone's responsibility. Gathering taxes or something like that. Some people count more on that, some people are just bubbly and happy, and that is like a rich person with the tax system, everyone chips in their part. It is not like shut up and control your emotions, or you are depressed because you want to be or you are not trying hard enough, that is just monarchy. Individuals have responsibility on happiness - I am responsible for my own happiness - but it is shared responsibility. - Richard, 27, finance

His approach also took away the pressure on being happy as a requirement for the participation in this play called life, or even more so, in excelling in it. According to him not being happy does not mean that one has failed, it might as well mean that people around have voted wrong.

6.4 Chapter discussion

This chapter has presented three pathways to happiness responsibility: my responsibility, mainly my responsibility and shared responsibility. The

examples clarify that there are mainly two approaches to the question of 'who is responsible for happiness': individuals themselves or different actors sharing responsibility. This dual approach is something that employers would benefit from by understanding it and, through their actions, not only doing their part, but also supporting those who see themselves solely responsible. It was the majority who believed that happiness was either theirs or mainly their responsibility, and a much smaller group of those who emphasised sharing the responsibility. There were no clear differences between age groups, gender, nationality or the field of work. The participants strongly stressed their capability to alter their reactions and thoughts, but yet, some stated that they expected actions for greater happiness from their employers, too. It seemed obvious to most of them who was responsible for happiness, but they didn't really elaborate on why they thought so. One explanation could be, that since happiness is conceived in individualistic, psychological terms (Seligman, 2003; Haybron, 2013a) it is perhaps seen as something individuals can (and ought to?) be responsible for, compared to wellbeing, which is readily reduced to the status of the kinds of facilitations employers can take responsibility of (Veenhoven, 2013; ONS, 2017).

As can be seen from the narratives, those who presented the first pathway didn't discuss their responsibility to make others around them happy, whereas those who selected the third pathway acknowledged that shared happiness responsibility does not only cover their happiness but the happiness of others, too.

According to Ahuvia et al. (2015, 12) happiness "requires both favourable life conditions and individual effort", which could mean organisations providing safe, inspiring and functioning working environments, and suitable leadership and HR practices. Also, due to the nature of subjectivity it is worth considering what are the possibilities and perhaps demands for employees to influence their own happiness at work. As people have different priorities, expectations and values, it does matter where their work and what the job is. Individuals should

therefore think, both how they fit for the job and the organisation when they choose for their employment and also, how likely their expectations meet in reality (Fisher, 2010). Some of the participants acknowledged this, as choosing both the right career path and suitable organisation were both discussed.

Some participants emphasised that if they were not happy at work, they could always resign and look for a job or organisation more accommodating to their needs. Perhaps this is how this generation differs from their ancestors. If they are not happy, they move on. According to the PwC (2011) millennial report of 4,364 participants across 75 countries, employee turnover is likely to increase, since only 18 per cent expected to stay with their current employer for a long term, 38 per cent were actively looking for another job and 43 per cent were open to offers (PWC, 2011). Young professionals, known as highly skilled and very mobile workforce (McManus Warnell, 2015), are rather expensive investments for companies. They do not wait for someone to make changes for them, but act as the masters of their own faith. If employers want them to stay, they have to start listening to their needs, otherwise they will resign. Consideration on happiness requirements and knowing what actually makes them happy are beneficial. Focusing on employee happiness is not only for the benefit of employees but a great benefit for organisations as well (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a; Baptiste, 2008; Edgar et al. 2015). Also, those who see happiness as a shared responsibility will be expecting employers to act, which when not manifested, will most likely impact their motivation and commitment, and therefore performance as well (Baptiste, 2008). Also, companies should remember the bigger picture of the happiness responsibility and aim at happier workplaces, not because of the profit, but because of their social responsibility (Porter & Kramer, 2011).

6.4.1 Psychological contract and happiness responsibility

Simultaneously these results also suggest that happiness is either mainly employees' part of the psychological contract or that they expect it to be shared.

As there had been no conversations about happiness and happiness responsibility at their workplaces, these conclusions were based on unspoken and unwritten thoughts and believes. As this study only focused on employees, it cannot tell the other side of the story: how their employers saw the responsibility, but it suggests that happiness expectations can be better understood with the concept of the psychological contract.

Making the expectations transparent and having honest conversations on the expectations from both sides would be beneficial. The clearer both sides know what they need and what they can offer, the more likely both are happy with the outcome. Clarity and authenticity will most likely lead to a successful psychological contract as well, where both sides know what to expect and breaking the contract is less likely (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994). Regarding to the psychological contract, this generation might well be aiming at a transactional contract as suggested by Ayadhya and Lewis (2011). Instead of long term contracts they value flexibility and meaningfulness (Smithson & Lewis, 2000), as the results in this study suggest. This might also explain the approach to employees' expectations for their organisations to provide happiness for them, especially if they see themselves responsible for their happiness. Happiness responsibility should be communicated clearly between managers and employees as early as in the recruiting process (Rousseau & Tjoriwall, 1998) and throughout the contract, which would surely lead into less frequent breach of organisational promises and commitments, more positive attitudes and behaviour (Guest & Conway, 2002) and clarified roles in creating happier workplaces. In addition, if people see happiness as their part of the psychological contract, not being happy or not reaching expected happiness levels might possibly translate to them that they have failed and are therefore supposed to leave. Dialogue on this matter could decrease unnecessary turnout.

Harry (33, renewable energy) believed strongly in his own capabilities, but was concerned about others. His comment also raised a question on whether happiness responsibility as part of the psychological contract is dependent on

an individual's personal strengths, needs and the role in the company? These results can only raise this question, but not answer it. Verbalising and understanding these aspects would lead into more sustainable workplaces where everyone could be supported according to their individual needs.

Some of the participants noted that although happiness responsibility was everyone's own matter, everyone could, through their own actions, change things for greater happiness for people around them too. These two are essentially the same project, as sustainable happiness is very much dependent on engaging constructively within our social environment, and the level of happiness in that environment has influence on our happiness, too. These comments suggest the third actor to the psychological contract: colleagues. Employees do not only have expectations for their employer when they start in a new company, but they might have expectations for their colleagues' behaviour as well.

6.4.2 Why do young professionals think they are responsible?

The participants weren't asked why they think they are responsible for happiness at work, as responsibility was not originally the main focus interest in the study, but it was something that became a stronger theme as the data collection and analyses developed. The reasons for young professionals seeing themselves responsible for their happiness is therefore a good topic for future studies and can only be suggested in this study.

One reason could be that as contracts are not seen as a life-long commitment anymore, and as employers are expected to be changing during career, young professionals know they won't be around in one workplace for too long (also PwC, 2011), and therefore cannot expect companies to be responsible for their happiness.

Another reason could be the current trend in self-help books strongly claiming individual responsibility in creating a happy life, bringing up individuals' choices and willpower in happiness. Books such as *You can choose to be happy: Be happy!*; *Happier: Can you learn to be happy?* and many others, emphasise the idea that happiness is mainly a mental perception, and by changing our thoughts and attitudes, we can reach happiness. Perhaps these young professionals have read their guidebooks and got the message. Although these books provide easy ways to higher happiness, there is very little scientific proof of how they really work and what the long-term outcomes are (Bergsma, 2007).

The third reason for the self-responsibility could be, as Peter Von Rompuy, Flemish senator, during his speech at the World to Win Conference (Rotterdam, 20th March 2017) claimed that as we are responsible for our own happiness, we have control over it, especially in today's world with a constant stream of bad news. Perhaps our incapability of having influence on things happening in the politics and global economy has forced these young professionals to look inwards and to seek for a sense of control at least over something.

Simon Sinek (2016) a marketing consultant and author provides the fourth reason for self-responsibility, as he argues on a Youtube-video, with over 6 million viewers that this generation has a very low self-esteem which is due to failed parenting strategies. According to Sinek, Millennials crash when they start working as they realise that "they are not special, their mother cannot get them a promotion and they cannot have it just because they want it". Besides, as corporations care more about the numbers and short-term gains than people and long-term life, they do not help these young employees to build their confidence and learn needed skills. Millennials blame themselves for this, but Sinek argues that companies lack in good leadership and it is their responsibility to support these young professional to flourish.

6.4.3 The dark side of "my responsibility"

The first pathway on employee responsibility can be seen as a rather worrying phenomenon, as discussed in the literature review chapter in section 2.3. It requires plenty of strength and effort to constantly stay mentally calm and happy in today's working environments, where change and rush are present (Manz et al., 2016). These participants did put a lot of pressure and demand on themselves, as they were trying to master their emotions. If they do not succeed in it, does it mean they have failed? As the young professionals feel pressurised and in a constant competition with their peers, having this strong inner unrealistic expectation to make themselves happy is not sustainable and might lead into wellness syndrome, as suggested by Cederström and Spicer (2015). This expectation combined with the idea of a perfect professional, who is extroverted and always on a happy mood will most likely lead to burn-outs and unhappiness. The illusion of an individual being beyond society and capable of constant improvement keeps people disappointed forever as they could always perform better:

> We must be on the move, constantly. What is crucial is not what you have achieved, but what you can become. What counts is your potential self, not your actual self. (Cederström & Spicer, 2015, 5, 15, 21.)

Internalists, those who see happiness as a product of mental perception, argue that psychological change can be achieved by deliberately aiming at changing the evaluations and perceptions (Ahuvia et al., 2015, 2). A recent theory on emotional self-leadership (Manz et al., 2016) offers suggestions for people to cope in stressful and constantly changing workplaces. Emotional self-leadership surely does not mean that if a person is not feeling authentically happy in a certain situation, they need to change their way of thinking, behaving or acting, in order to authentically feel the right way. That cannot be what authentic means. These strategies should neither be seen as another way to roll the happiness responsibility on an employee's shoulders, but to support self-growth and acknowledgement on a variety of ways workplace challenges can be dealt

with, and which organisations will work on too. Even though regulating internal experiences can be seen as an important part of happiness - as has been proved by several studies on meditation, mindfulness, cognitive therapy and neuroscience (e.g. Davidson & McEwan, 2012; Bajaj & Pande, 2015; Guarnaccia, Scrima, Civilleri, & Salerno, 2016) - the limits of mental control are unknown, as well as the certainty that everyone can equally access this approach in order to make themselves happy. This might lead to a conclusion that unhappiness is individuals' fault. Ahuvia et al. call this 'polemical internalism', a rhetorical exaggeration of the autonomous mental route to happiness. (Ahuvia et al., 2015, 3.) How convenient for organisations it would be to take this approach and how dreadful for employees to have this burden!

Although we can have influence on over our own minds, we do not know how much the physical and social environment have influence on it (Haybron, 2014) as our actions might be more interdependent with our environment and people around us. As Ahuvia et al. (2015, 12) highlight: "our pursuit of happiness depends very much on those around us, and theirs on ours". This leads to another concern, which would be that if each individual believed they are solely responsible for their own happiness, would it also mean that they are not responsible for the happiness of others? A self-help book and international bestseller, The life-changing magic of not giving a f**k by Sarah Knight (2015), guides readers to stop pleasing everyone else before pleasing themselves and to stop spending time with the people they don't like. According to Knight, by caring less for others, stress and feelings of being overwhelmed can be avoided. Wouldn't everyone being solely responsible for how they react to situations and the behaviour of others, lead into a very cruel and selfish society, where people were only after their own happiness, and where consideration for others was unnecessary, as it is always up to an individual to react to the situation in the right way? For the sake of social good, individual responsibility should be seen in two ways: as the responsibility for not only our own thoughts and actions, but as the responsibility also for how our words and actions affect others. If all parties accept the idea of co-responsibility and understand "happiness

emerging from and being embedded in a rich network of interactions, including both internal and external factors" (Ahuvia et al., 2015, 2), it also opens doors to mutual responsibility of individual happiness at work.

As happiness at work has many scientifically proven advantages, the value of happy personnel should not be disregarded. However, it is worth considering that the outcome of the emotions experienced in a workplace is not necessarily symmetrical, even though this is the dominant approach to feelings in the work place. Positive emotions do not always lead to positive outcomes and negative emotions to negative outcomes (Lindebaum & Jordan, 2014, 1039). Therefore, there is no simple 'copy and paste' solution for happiness. Organisations are different, as they consist of people who have different needs and react differently. This leads to understanding emotions on a deeper level and in order to do so, people need to be heard.

Although, as many of the participants saw themselves as the main person responsible for their happiness, it didn't mean they thought there is nothing an employer can do for their happiness. For the rest of the participants, happiness responsibility was shared. Regardless of the responsibility aspect, the participants also had suggestions for their employers on how to make happiness happen. These suggestions will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 7. What could employers do for employee happiness?

As discussed in the previous chapter, happiness at work was often seen as employees' responsibility and the participants elaborated on how they can influence their own happiness, mainly through their own attitudes and actions. They were asked how their employers could increase their happiness and what kind of actions or initiatives would be needed in order to create happier workplaces. The happiness responsibility question was, therefore, not only looked at from the *being responsible* aspect, as in who is responsible, but also from the *acting responsibly* side. Therefore, although these young professionals felt being happy was their responsibility, they also acknowledged that there are many things their employers could and should do.

The main wishes required listening. The participants wanted to be heard. This was also one of the reasons to let the participants provide their own narratives of happiness in this study in the first place, in order to hear what they had to say. Flexibility, training, rewards, leading and a pleasant working environment were all seen to need improvement.

7.1 Listening to the employees

If the management level wants to hear what makes or could make their employees happier, what can they do? According to the participants, the simplest way was just to ask them:

> Why try to guess what makes people happy, why not ask them? They have meetings with senior managers and they are trying to guess what employees want rather than asking them. - Nathan, 24, banking

However, listening was not seen as sufficient, if it didn't lead into action:

> The employer could take feedback from us and do something with it. Actually, sit down and have a talk with the line manager, and say you

> need to change this behaviour, because it is impacting people in the team. Having the manager to listen to us and do something with it, would be a very positive thing. - Soraya, 33, banking

The participants wanted to be heard, but simultaneously they also recognised their requirement to speak, as the collaborative effort to increase happiness for all. They discussed possible obstacles to do so. Sometimes there were fears of speaking their minds, as that could impact possibilities for promotion or lead to one being seen as a difficult person:

> If I have some views, I want to be able to express them. I have done that, but it didn't make me happy, because I wasn't quite sure how safe it was. I want opinions to be detached from people, I want the bosses to recognize that. Having an opinion on something, not being efficient or a suggestion for some improvement does not mean that you think negatively, it's just a different view and you want to be able to express that. – Alexandra, 29, education

Sometimes the obstacle was a lack of premises to have a private conversation:

> Especially in an open plan office it is quite difficult to -- if you want to arrange a meeting with your boss or something, people think it is a bit weird: why do they need to talk in private? You cannot discuss things with your boss, because everything is so open. – Charlotte, 26, civil service

Another obstacle for people to speak was the lack of trust that anything would actually change, as Lucy heard from her peers:

> They have this NHS survey and people don't even trust the organisation; they say they aren't even going to fill in the form, because they are not going to do anything about it. That is the attitude. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

Surveys were not seen as the most useful way to find out what people really thought, especially when talking about happiness at work. Even if they had trust in the organisation, the form of a survey didn't necessary allow people to address the aspects that actually had influence on their work and their happiness:

> The staff survey could be improved. They did not have any kind of free text questions, and it was very pre-determent questions: do you agree, yes or no. That is very limited in terms of what the organization could get

> out of it. Those staff surveys in huge organizations are trying to cover too many bases with questions like that. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

Listening led to intrinsic and indirect happiness. In the moment of sharing experiences and disappointments the participants were not necessarily experiencing happiness, but if the thoughts were heard and acted upon, happiness could follow.

Although, as discussed in the previous chapter, most participants saw themselves mainly in charge of their own happiness, they still had expectations for their employers to, if not *make* them happier, *allow* them to be happier. Many of the wishes were in line with happiness enablers (Chapter 5) such as flexibility and a pleasant working environment, but they also discussed their hopes for mere training, rewards and better leadership.

7.2 Significance of true flexibility

As discussed throughout the thesis, having control over one's life, was an important enhancer of happiness at work. Having flexibility to arrange the days in the best possible way, was partly creating a sense of control. One example was remote working. The chance to stay at home to work was accepted with gratitude, but not seen as an ideal for every day. As interaction with other people was one of the main enhancers of happiness, they would have missed the interactions with colleagues:

> I would not want to do this too much or all the time, because I do live alone and I can see friends in the evening, but it is not the same as having some kind of social interaction at work, which is quite helpful to talk to other people sometimes, so a day in a week is really enough to do that. - Victoria, 32, CSR

Also, working from home was seen as a sensible thing to do only when it made sense:

> Whether I am working from home or from the office, or an office somewhere else, it is just the fact that you have that flexibility, to make your life easier rather than having to come up with some other

> arrangements or logistics or forced to work from the office when there is actually no need to do that all the time. – Emily, 31, law

In Emily's opinion and experience, the main reason why organisations are still rather stiff about flexible working arrangements was a lack of trust:

> Sometimes there is this fear to let people work from home, or have some flexible arrangement because they cannot see you are there, so what if you are not actually doing any work? You should be the best worker but they still doubt you slightly! Now in this job, it makes me really happy to have that flexibility, because I don't think I am asking for special treatment, to be able to work from home. - Emily, 31, law

As all of these participants were professionals, most of their jobs allowed some flexibility and trust. Flexibility didn't mean that they were allowed to do whatever they wanted to do, wherever or whenever, but to be trusted to make right calls, have pride of their work, to succeed in it, and also to take company's and colleagues' needs into consideration. In Adam's words true flexibility was:

> Allowing people to feel free to do what they want to do, within reason, within the environment. - Adam, 31, education

The three happiness enablers from Chapter 5 should benefit from flexibility: *work going well, participating in the outer world* and *the sense of control*. By allowing professionals to have more flexibility and control on their decisions, mere happiness moments could occur.

7.3 Requirement for training

A variety of training was seen as a way to increase workplace happiness. The participants thought that had they the needed skills, they were happier at work. Training didn't directly lead to happiness, but would do so later when succeeding in a variety of requirements and tasks at work. It was often an intrinsic wish aiming at greater personal satisfaction.

Some participants requested suitable training and more occasions to practice the skills, which were required in their jobs:

> There are probably a lot of people who have to do things they are not confident about. If you give them right skills and opportunities to become confident, and not feel horrible and nervous, sick in their stomach, then work can become a much more enjoyable experience. If I had training in becoming better in presenting and more experience, and some coaching maybe to become less nervous in these situations, I would have actually enjoyed it. – Soraya, 33, banking

> If people aren't properly trained it can cause them a lot of stress, anxiety or put them even in a danger. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

Lucy gave an example where proper training would have helped her to avoid pitfalls. In her new role as the head nurse she was expected to have knowledge on a variety of fields, such as finance, which were not part of the basic nurse training:

> I got a call, someone said you have overspent 13,000 pounds of your budget, and I am like hmm, I don't know what to do with that. They should have a clinical leadership programme for anyone who wants to be a clinical leader; courses like financial, how to manage people, how to manage stress and then at the end of it you get your job and you can manage it and you know what you are getting into. Investing on staff and valuing staff would make people happier at work. My organisation should really look after the happiness of their employees. They should think how they can make it a better environment for the people. –Lucy, 28, healthcare

Similarly to Lucy, some other participants emphasised that training should be beneficial for both of the parties in order to increase happiness. They wanted to be challenged and to learn new things:

> It is nice when they appreciate your work by telling you that they want you to learn something new. Because they know you have reached your limit of knowledge and you should go on and learn something. They still consider that the work you are doing is a mental thing and you are not a robot, pushing a button and that is all. That you are a thinking being and you need to be challenged all the time. –Sofia, 27, business/education

As Sofia pointed out, being trained was rewarding as it showed the employer valuing the personnel and their wishes to improve and grow. Lucy believed that one big contributor to unhappiness at work for nurses was the fact that unlike for doctors, there were not many possibilities for them to grow:

> I have to go and make my own pathway. For doctors they sign up for a five year thing and they are guaranteed the job for five years and they develop each year and get assessed, whereas nurses don't get to develop as much as they could and then they feel undervalued. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

Training could also be targeted directly at happiness at work. A few participants wished for happiness training, workshops that would focus on how to be happy in the moment and to value all the skills they already had:

> We have so many workshops on how to write grant proposals, how to improve your communication skills, how to improve your presentation skills, how to improve IT skills. They psychologically make you aware how much you still don't know, how much you need to master. You can always be better. They leave you panicked about how much more is out there and what you have to do. More workshops, seminars, on how to make you happy exactly, and what you've got this moment, that would be helpful. - Alexandra, 29, education

In many of the examples it was about the collaborative effort to increase happiness: the individual wanting to learn and gain more in her profession (both extrinsic and intrinsic motivators) and the employer valuing this and offering the support and resources. The outcomes of training would have indirect influence on employee happiness, as it would provide both the base for greater happiness and job satisfaction, and also skills to deal with challenges at work.

As discussed in Chapter 5, they were happy when their *work* was *going well*, therefore they naturally wanted more of the right kind of training in order to feel more confident and to succeed in their tasks. With suitable training mere happiness moments could occur.

7.4 The role of rewards

Some participants talked about the value of being rewarded. This is extrinsic motivation as it comes from outside the person, and was assumed to have direct influence on happiness. A higher salary was the main reward. Pay was

something men spoke about more often than women did. It was sometimes mentioned as a joke, and laughter followed, but it was the first thing that came to their minds when they were asked how their employer could make them happier:

> A higher salary to be fair. - Nathan, 24, banking
> Pay me more (laughter). - Richard, 27, finance
> Give promotions every day (laughter). - Adam, 31, education

Money was not often touched upon in the study. With Charlie I had a discussion about money, however:

> Charlie: I feel like I should be apologetic saying that, but I am in business and I am here to make money.
>
> Ilona: Why do you feel you need to be apologetic?
>
> Charlie: In business a lot of people say they don't do it for money, they do it for personal gain, for satisfaction. So if saying making money makes me happy, some people would think it is not right. But I just don't buy that. That is my wages, that is how I am earning my living. It is personal to me, so I don't care if some people judge it. - Charlie, 30, retail

Perhaps the reason for so little discussion about money in this study, came out in Charlie's honest response. Admitting that money has influence on happiness, was seen as a wrong attitude. A higher salary was not only suggested as a reward, but a motivator, too:

> If people could see, they would get more money if developed, they could probably be motivated and it could increase their happiness. - Lucy, 28, healthcare

The effect of a higher salary was not necessarily seen as having continuous additions to the personal happiness though:

> Paying me more would probably make me happier for a couple of weeks until I got used to being paid more. - Harry, 33, renewable energy

Not just money, but positive feedback was also seen as a rewarding gesture, in order to better see the value of one's job:

> At the end of each period, like a couple or six months, they should track what people have done, in terms of their work and send them a memo.

> That just says what they have done, so it is not appraising, it is not saying you haven't done this, it is just what they have done. If you have it written and you are reading it, then you go: 'that person has done very well, that is me'. That kind of reflection could make people aware. – Adam, 31, education

One of the happiness enablers, *work going well*, was also related to rewards. Mere happiness moments could occur either with monetary or verbal rewards.

7.5 Importance of good leadership

The participants recognised that if their managers behaved in a certain way, and the environment were better for them, they would be happier and do their work better, which would then lead to happiness. Some of the examples given, lead to direct, extrinsic happiness. There were wishes for the management to be more cautious about the language they use in order to create a more positive working environment:

> Senior managers should be aware of the effects of the things they say on the staff. Because it is just the way you say things and the language you use - there is a way of framing things. And to really recognize the positive things people are doing, and to be happy themselves. So it is from feedback and the messages that go out of the building. The managers could make sure they are positive. - Victoria, 32, CSR

Some participants hoped for a more relaxed relationship with their bosses:

> What is missing (in the photos) is kind of day to day camaraderie with my boss. Because a lot of these pics is me as an individual, doing my own thing. There are no pics of me high-fiving my boss or anything like that. If I was somebody's boss I would always be high-fiving. They are over reserved. – Richard, 27, finance

There were concerns for not realising how good their work or workplaces already were. One suggestion for this was to remind the employees of how lucky they are and how well things actually are around them:

> Little messages that make you aware of what you have: 'Look consultants working over summer, academics going for holidays.' Little messages like that relating to the job, like little reflection on what they have achieved. - Adam, 31, education

According to Adam having the appreciative approach to things could help to see how much better off they are in this company than perhaps in others. This reminded of the importance of interactionist approach and co-responsibility:

> 'Cause it is so easy to criticize as humans: 'that could be bigger, that could be better'. But when you compare things, you could think, 'oh yes, could be worse'. Try to reverse that, why not to moan. - Adam, 31, education

There were also complaints about managers not doing their jobs well. Wishes for managers to do their work so that the participants could focus on theirs were expressed, as Jack recalled for more prompt management to get everyone to do their share:

> My boss could actually get other people to do their job properly. I would not have to be constantly chasing people, who haven't done what they were supposed to do. And that is what often causes me stress, chasing after the things other people have done badly or not at all. So having a boss who would do that and lead greatly, my energy would not be wasted on the stressful things and could bring more positive aspects to my job. - Jack, 36, education

There were wishes, especially in the field of education, that the tasks would be divided according to people's skills in a way that everyone could spend their hours effectively and concentrate on what they were hired to do:

> It is not the best use of our time as academics to fill in complicated admin forms, we are not very good at it. It is not a good use of time! It is inefficient. It would be better to get a professional administrator who is much better at their job and free up the time of academics to do what they really are good at and the things we care about. – Dennis, 28, education

Macro-management was mentioned several times when the participants were complaining about situations in their office. The constant feeling of being supervised, controlled and criticised was not a happiness booster. A more structured way to find out how happy people were with their managers was required:

> In a performance review situation they don't do a 360-review, where they actually go and ask for feedback from the people they supervise. For example, someone like my boss does not work in our team at all. So how are they able to assess how she manages people. The management can

> have a huge impact on how people feel at work and how rewarded they feel, how happy they feel whether they feel macro-managed or not, whether they feel supported or not. There is almost like a fear asking people if they are happy and happy about the way that they are managed. - Charlotte, 26, civil service

When Charlotte was asked what she thinks is behind this 'fear', her answer was in the complexity of good management:

> It can get quite personal, if the person's personality is the thing that makes other people unhappy, in the opposite to their core skills or their ability to write well or... Organisations feel much more challenged by having to deal with personalities than say, give someone safety training or some other rather simplistic training that they can get on and tick a box with. That is something that has a huge impact on people in the workplace and their happiness, but it isn't addressed well. – Charlotte, 26, civil service

For some participants their management was focusing on wrong things and wasn't able to see what really mattered. As the participants were all in professional roles, it was understandable that too much managing and especially macro-managing, was more harmful than useful:

> There are these ridiculous rules, treating us like children. We are all grown women working in the team. Somebody complained a few weeks ago that I got to work a few minutes after 10. I worked till 9 the night before! Nobody cares about the work after 4.30, but for being 2 minutes late! - Olivia, 35, charity

Emily's praise for her manager showed another way to lead:

> I am very lucky because my line manager allows me to work flexibly and she trusts me that I am doing the work, and she is very good and gives good feedback. And she is there, she communicates. She allows me to be happy at work. - Emily, 31, law

Emily's quote could perhaps work as a simple method to happiness: flexibility, trust, feedback and communication = > happiness allowed.

The three happiness enablers from Chapter 5 benefit from good leadership: *work going well, working with friends* and *the sense of control*. With some changes in the management style, mere happiness moments could occur.

7.6 Pleasant working environment

The participants hoped their employer to provide them with a better physical space and working environment. Wishes were often very basic and led into indirect and extrinsic happiness. If the basics were provided by the employer, the employees would take care of the rest:

> People will have really good ideas, but if you then have to spend hours to organize the infrastructure around you yourself, you might be reluctant to still push with that idea because you are tight with the mandatory stuff. So to me the school needs to get the infrastructure right. They don't have to come up with fancy concepts. That is it: get the basics right and the staff will do very tremendous work. – Dennis, 28, education

In his case this meant having a private space, preferably his own office, where he could have personal interactions more easily and not to be walking crying students through the hallways. Relating to Dennis' requirement for the infrastructure, plenty of suggestions were about the working environment. Having a variety of working spaces to choose from, based on personal preferences or tasks at hand was suggested:

> When we can choose where we want to be, in a bigger space with people, or in a more private space. Lot of people just have to cover their ears, because someone is on a call, and they are talking next to you and you are trying to focus on. Or people start chatting and you are in the working mood and more focused and get interrupted. - Ana, 27, finance

> We could be looking for more modern ways of working and not to be tied in a desk. Why do you have to be in one space? We have enough meetings, we do not need to be all in one space. My organisation has different spaces around the city. If you live on the other side of the town you could work some days in that side of the city. You could choose the space that suits you. - Victoria, 32, CSR

As one of the sources of happiness for the participants were beautiful, airily and bright working spaces, it was no surprise that more of those were asked to increase happiness:

> Buildings with air conditioning, natural light, all those kinds of things, really basic things. – Charlotte, 26, civil service

> Number one is definitely the windows, the idea of having so many windows, the second thing is green fields and a blue sky, they make me happy as well. Not all the offices have this kind of windows, but it would be a good idea to make them all like that. Because then there would be lots of green that makes people more content or happy that way. - Adam, 31, education

Bigger windows letting more light into the offices was found a simple way to increase happiness. As it was embraced in happy moments earlier in the thesis, feeling part of the outer world increased the happiness of the participants enormously. Victoria dreamed about a future, where more work could be done outdoors:

> Some people are stuck in dark, cold offices. I am dreaming about a day, whether we are still working on laptops, that they are designed the way that you can work outdoors. Because it would be so much healthier if you could be outside more, when the weather allows. It is just wrong, sitting in a dark room looking at a screen, it is ridiculous. - Victoria, 32, CSR

Some of the employers already provided table football games and slides at their offices to create a more relaxed atmosphere. Alexandra had a related idea:

> Maybe having a piano at the workplace or a musical instrument so that people could just sit and play. Plenty of these companies have corridors where it won't be heard, volume can always be reduced. An electric piano or something that a person can go and do for 10 minutes. I can't see how that can cost a lot, but I can see a great benefit in that. - Alexandra, 29, education

Once the working environment was pleasant, people wanted to spend more time there with their colleagues. As other people and real connections with colleagues were important enhancers for happiness, some of the participants also asked the employer to make it easier for them to befriend with their colleagues:

> They could make it easier to meet more people at work as well, because I have been there for 9 months now and I still only know a dozen people, so if they facilitated working events or nights out, that would be nice. - Nathan, 24, banking

Knowing colleagues better would not only make them happier but would also ease the working situations, especially where help was needed:

> I feel more comfortable when I know the people around me. Knowing people makes things easier. Because then if I have a problem, I don't feel so ashamed to go and ask them, because I actually know them. So that would increase my happiness at work. -Ana, 27, finance

Better working environment is linked to four happiness enablers from Chapter 5: *work going well, participating in the outer world, working with friends* and the *sense of control*. By improving the office space and making it more pleasant, would, based on the narratives in this study, greatly increase happiness at work.

7.7 Chapter discussion

7.7.1 Listening and trust

There were two highly valuable concepts that can be seen in the comments of the participants: listening and trust. The participants truly wanted to be seen and heard, and they didn't find surveys capable of completing this demand. They wanted to talk more about their happiness with their bosses, and had wishes for their workplaces to become happier, but based on their wishes and needs. They were eager to share their experiences, both positive and negative, and they did have plenty of suggestions, as well. All that was required from companies was to organise time, place, atmosphere and will to hear what their employees had to say. Feeling safe to raise awareness or point out the areas of improvement would itself increase the chances for happiness in the workplace, and then through suggestions possibly lead to greater happiness. Some participants did notice that in order to be heard, they need to speak up. In addition to speaking up, other aspects relating to shared responsibility were about focusing on positive things and everyone doing their own share and job.

Listening can be seen as a solution to enhance shared happiness responsibility, as was suggested in the Chapter 6. As Thin highlights:

> Listening and being listened… are vital skills needed for social intelligence, mindful attention, and compassion. They exemplify well the ideas of the 'co-production' of wellbeing, based on recognition of 'co-

> responsibility'. Interactive intelligence lies at the core of relational wellbeing, and listening is a critically important and often underrated aspect of interactive intelligence. (Thin, 2016b.)

Listening to people and encouraging them to speak, as referring to giving a voice to employees and encouraging them to be more active in decision making can lead into more authentic organisations, where authentic selves are heard (Liedtka, 2008). The participants wanted to be themselves and authentic at work, and therefore it was also required from managers. This refers to workplace authenticity and authentic leadership (e.g. Ford & Harding, 2011; Van Den Bosch & Taris, 2014; Beddoes-Jones & Swailes, 2015). As authenticity also arose in the discussions on happiness enablers, it can be seen as an overarching theme and is suggested to be studied closer in the future happiness studies.

The participants also discussed trust repeatedly. Although professional jobs often allow more flexibility and trust compared to blue-collar jobs (Baptiste, 2008), these young employees did not often feel trusted enough. Trust was two-folded in their narratives: they wanted to trust their employers and their employers to trust them. It is rather interesting that Emily (31, law) pointed out the expectation to be the best worker, but not being trusted to manage her own tasks accordingly. Also, as professionals, their work surely is more than getting enough hours ticked off each day. The quality and the usefulness of the tasks probably matter more. The combination of trust and the sense of control were also found as the key elements in increasing mental wellbeing at work in the Wellness@work study (Making the case for the social sciences, 2013).

Through trust they felt that they could have had more options to find suitable solutions to give their best and to succeed better in their tasks. With trust they also felt that they could have better been able to choose a place to work that would fulfil their needs, not only as employees but as humans as well. As Emily in her quote said, with the right amount of flexibility, trust and good communication, happiness was allowed. She did not expect those things to

make her happy, but they allowed happiness to happen. Trust is therefore suggested as one of the keys to create happier workplaces for the young professionals (also Great place to work, n.d.; Manka, 2011).

7.7.2 Other requirements

As discussed in earlier chapters, having flexibility was very important to these participants. They wanted to feel that they had some control over how they were leading their lives and doing their work. Therefore these participants wanted to have good managers to support their happiness in various ways, but they also wanted to be given space to do their work independently. Having flexibility to arrange the days in the best possible manner, was partly creating this sense of control. However, the participants wanted to find themselves what works best for them. True flexibility for them didn't mean to be told how to be flexible in the terms of the company, without acknowledging what matters to the employees.

Managers were asked to be humane and not to macro-manage grown-up people who were very capable of leading their own projects. Managers were also seen as a source of creating a more positive environment through the choice of words and positive approach (also De Neve & Ward, 2017), and also by dividing the tasks according to employees' skills and knowledge.

Interesting notification here is that the participants did not require yoga classes or free fruits (e.g. Lutz et al., 2008; NHS, 2015). Additional activities or food related issues were mentioned during the study only occasionally as sources of happiness. When asked how the employer could increase employee happiness, neither of these two was mentioned. This could suggest that they are appreciated, but not the in the core of workplace happiness. The participants did, however, highlight the importance of big windows and natural light in the office space, which was very much related to the findings in Chapter 5. They also had hopes for more flexibility to choose where to work, as this way they could

be able to integrate work and other aspects of their lives better. They also shared wishes to get to know their colleagues better and for the office environment to be better designed to get to know each other, supporting Deal and Levenson's (2016, 172) argument:

> Millennials will respond well if your workplace provides opportunities for them to make friends at work and feel part of a community within their organisation, beyond the people they work with on daily basis.

Companies would benefit from creating supportive environments for employees to form social networks (Making the case for the social sciences, 2013).

Although this study focused on happiness, sometimes suggestions on how management processes could be improved to increase employee happiness were based on unpleasant experiences and clarified what made them unhappy. They were reflecting on to unhappy moments in order to explain what would make them happier and hence also on how the psychological contract was violated (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994). Managers were asked to create a more positive environment through their actions and also to have more trust in their employees. This is a relational, long term aspect of the psychological contract (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998) and contradicts the suspicions of this generation being happier with a transactional contract (Ayadhya & Lewis, 2011).

Chapter 8. Conclusions

This thesis was set out to explore how young professionals define and express happiness, what makes them happy at work, and why it matters. It also aimed at finding answer to the question: 'who is responsible for happiness at work?' These questions were approached in a study of 24 young professionals based in Edinburgh, using a two-method approach and three fieldwork phases: two semi-structured interviews and a mindful photography period. This thesis makes contributions to knowledge on three levels: theoretical, methodological and practical. Apart from answering the research questions, new insights into workplace happiness and happiness expectations are presented. This chapter will also look into limitations and suggest ideas for future research on happiness at work.

8.1 Answers to research questions

In Chapter 2, gaps in knowledge were identified: poor conceptualisation of happiness and limited understanding on happiness in the workplace; limited focus on employees' perceptions and happiness benefits; very little understanding on happiness responsibility and a lack of qualitative method studies in this field of research. The contribution to knowledge on these gaps and answers to research questions will be presented in more detail here.

RQ1 How do young professionals identify, express and conceptualise happiness?

This study has shown that young professionals want and expect their work to contribute to their happiness, and to be happy at work. Although there was some vagueness in defining the phenomenon, which resulted in an unclear definition, there was no question about knowing when experiencing happiness. Hence this study suggests that although people find it hard to verbalise happiness and provide clear definitions, it doesn't mean that they don't know

what happiness is or that it cannot be studied. Quite the opposite. If happiness is allowed to be seen as, what Cieslik (2015, 423) calls a *complex account* and instead of trying to squeeze it into boxes with labels, possibilities for further understanding and research on happiness are endless. In addition, as this study has elaborated, happiness is better elucidated through empirical narratives than through intellectual abstractions and definitions. Instead of asking people to define happiness, we should listen to what they talk about when they talk about happiness.

As happiness is formed from a rich variety of emotions, players and situations, and, besides, lingers from momentary happiness to mood and finally to cover the concept of a happy life, happiness is not strictly about work for young professionals. For them work and other parts of life are inseparable and, hence, instead of work-life balance, they aim at work-life integration (see also Reindl et al., 2011; Quatro, 2012). Besides, they do not want to be happy at work per se, but to be happy in their lives, of which work is a significant part.

RQ2 In what ways does happiness at work matter?

This study shows that happiness is important to young professionals for many reasons. Since childhood they might have been encouraged to pursuit happiness and the cultural norms have partly shaped their expectations (also Deal & Levenson, 2016). They also understand how big a part work plays in their lives, and how both the personal life and work are intertwined and, therefore, influence each other. Besides, the concept of understanding the fact that happiness matters at work is relevant. This being based on the acknowledgment that people at work are also emotional human beings and, therefore, also guided by their emotions, as the Affective events theory suggests (Cropanzano, 1996). Happiness at work also seems to matter because of its strong role as a motivating force. However, it is good to acknowledge that, although the majority might expect to be happy at work, there are alternative views as well. For some work might have mainly instrumental value as a means to earn the income

needed to pursue happiness, and for others happiness is an optional leisure-time extra, not a part of the serious business of earning a living.

The findings suggest that one reason why happiness matters to young professionals is that when happy they perform better and are better colleagues. This is in accordance with both the Broaden and build theory (Fredrickson, 1998) and the Affective Events theory (Cropanzano, 1996), explaining the purpose of the positive emotions and the connection between feelings and performance. Therefore, the results in this study add to these theories, by supporting the importance of positive emotions in the workplace and providing further material on how happiness can lead into improved results and greater social skills. However, this outcome is also linked to some of the core findings in this study, suggesting that there is a growing demand for being happy at work, not only because of intrinsic wishes, but also because of the pressure to fill the role of a perfect professional. In order to feel successful and to give their best at work– that is both being the best possible self and a perfect employee - young professionals might go as far as hiding their unhappiness and wearing an extroverted, happy mask.

In the beginning of this thesis, I presented Haybron's (2013a, 313) four reasons why happiness matters: 1) because it is pleasant, 2) it has a great influence on how we response to different aspects, 3) it is the "verdict on an individual's psyche on how he is living" and 4) "constitutes a kind of self-fulfilment". Based on the data, I would suggest a fifth component: 5) happiness being one of the highest goals in many of today's societies and a part of the definition for success, we want to be happy to succeed in society.

RQ3 What enables happiness moments to occur at work?

There are many aspects enabling happiness or allowing happiness to occur, which are based on subjective experiences and influenced by individuals' perspectives. This study has focused on the main five enablers, but there are many more yet to be studied. This study suggests that young professionals want

to be human beings at work. They want to be authentic themselves by doing something they find meaningful with people they have a real connection with (also e.g. Seligman, 2011). They want to achieve their goals and to be content with what they are doing. Discussion of authenticity adds to the theory of Emotional leadership (Manz, 2015) by supporting the importance of letting down the guards and being fully oneself at work. Through authenticity personal effectiveness can also be evoked. Results also show the value of having control over one's work in order to live a more authentic life.

The sense of control and having enough flexibility in where, when, with whom and how their work is done, are vital to young professionals (also e.g. Cogin, 2012; Deal & Levenson, 2016). Not only do these aspects allow them to find the best possible ways to complete their tasks and navigate in the many demands of today's lives, they also seem to help to maintain identity and freedom. Although sense of control, identity and freedom are important, results show that young professionals do not want to be lonely vessels, as other people are essential to their happiness (also e.g. Cieslik, 2015; Waldinger, 2016). They want to work with friends. In addition, they want to laugh and have fun at work. Other important enablers arising from this study, are work going well, having a job that matters and enjoying the physical environment they are in, on and out during the workdays and when commuting.

By answering this research question, this study has also tested the use of the Fisher's framework (2010) in an empirical study on happiness at work. It has proven that the three-level division is helpful in guiding the data analysis, structuring the data and elaborating on the happiness enablers. Through narratives this study has also added in-depth examples and information to the framework. In addition, providing detailed data on how certain events, situations and moments can lead to emotions and moods, which then have an influence on performance, these findings also support the core thoughts in the Affective events theory (Cropanzano, 1996).

RQ4 Who is responsible for happiness at work?

These results suggest that there is a dual approach to happiness responsibility: mainly the individual or shared responsibility. Some of the young professionals do not seem to expect happiness to be provided for them, but mainly see themselves as the persons responsible for their own happiness, often dependent on how they regulate their actions, thoughts and behaviour. These findings support the theory of Emotional self-leadership (Manz, 2015) by showing how individuals intentionally choosing the approach to events, believe they can cope with the challenges of life better and thus increase their happiness. While they see possibilities for their employer to increase their happiness, they still see happiness as their responsibility. The risks and downsides of this approach are discussed in this thesis, as it raises concerns of an unbearable burden and impossible task to tackle (see also e.g. Haybron, 2013; Cederström & Spicer, 2015).

Nonetheless, results also demonstrate how some of the young professionals believe in shared responsibility. They think happiness is not only dependent on the individual but is influenced by the surrounding world as well and, therefore, requires shared responsibility from individuals, work communities and the employers (also Ahuvia et al., 2015). More research and dialogue is needed to understand happiness responsibility in the workplace better and how these views of responsibility are formed both in individuals' minds and in the societies. More discussion on the findings on happiness responsibility, including the pathways to happiness and the use of the Psychological contract will follow in the section 8.2.1.

RQ4a How do young professionals perceive their employers' role in enabling happiness in the workplace?

Regardless of the different views on happiness responsibility, there are certain things employers can and are even expected to do to enhance happiness in the workplace. Besides the main happiness enablers presented before, the other aspects increasing happiness are suggested to be adequate training, rewards

and good leadership. In addition, results advocate the importance of trust (Mycoskie, 2012) and listening (also Thin, 2016b), as these young professionals wanted to be heard and trusted. These suggestions also partly answer the research question on what enables happiness, as they provide information on what, according to employees, could improve their happiness and enable them to be happy at work. Reflections on the management strategies influencing the wellbeing of the employees are also in line with the findings in other studies using the Affective events theory (e.g. Wegge et al., 2006).

8.2 Contributions and impact of the study

Contributions to knowledge and the impact of this study have been divided into three: theory, methodology and practice.

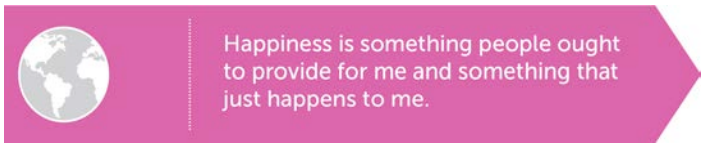
8.2.1 Theoretical contributions

As this thesis has covered many different aspects of workplace happiness, it is, very likely, adding more information on theoretical knowledge than can be addressed here. The main contributions to the theory are: four pathways to happiness responsibility, clarifications and elaborations on the importance of happiness enablers, new approaches to Psychological contract and updated conceptualisation of workplace flexibility. Reflections on the five theories used in this study are provided at the end of the section.

Four pathways to happiness responsibility

One of the most significant contributions to theoretical knowledge in this thesis relates to happiness responsibility, presented in Chapter 6. The significance refers to the nearly non-existent happiness responsibility literature, as elaborated in Chapter 2, and therefore provides valuable findings and information for understanding the concept and for future studies. In addition to the three happiness responsibility pathways presented in Chapter 6, there is also a possibility for a fourth, imaginative pathway. This pathway is called *others' responsibility*.

Others' responsibility



According to this pathway, I severely downplay or even ignore my own responsibility for happiness. I assume happiness is something people ought to provide for me and something that happens to me, instead of making it happen. I see it as the organisation's part of the psychological contract to make me happy. I am not responsible for anyone else's happiness either.

As this variant did not come up within the data, but helps to form a more coherent understanding on happiness responsibility, it is acknowledged in this study and included in the new model on *pathways to happiness responsibility*. Consequently, the four happiness responsibility pathways are: my responsibility, mainly my responsibility, shared responsibility and others' responsibility, as illustrated in Figure 8.

Figure 8 New model for the pathways to happiness responsibility

These four pathways form a model that can help to understand individual views, believes and expectations as regarding to the question: 'who is responsible for happiness at work?' This way it can also aim at clarifying the psychological contract for happiness responsibility. The change of the size of both the person and the environment, illustrated as a globe, visualize how the shift on individuals' responsibility changes between these four options. As this model was created for a happiness workplace study and is based on questions relating to happiness at work, it is mainly a model for workplace happiness responsibility. However, it can also be used for understanding happiness responsibility in a wider sense, as well as answering to the question: who is responsible for happiness?

This model is neither complete nor perfect, as it requires more empirical research and systematic testing. Furthermore, deeper understanding on why people choose between different pathways, what aspects influence this decision and if pathways can be context, job, age, gender and situation dependent needs further investigation. As well as studying if *my responsibility* automatically refers to such thinking as one having no responsibility for others' happiness either.

Clarifying the importance and the reason for the main happiness enablers at work

This study has added mere information on the knowledge of happiness enablers at work. Not only has it confirmed some of the previously known aspects (e.g. Warr's and Seligman's work), but has also elaborated them further. It has succeeded in that by providing narratives and images of concrete, lived-in experiences, which have been captured in the actual moment they took place by the individuals who experienced them. These moments have then later been reflected and elaborated further, to understand the underlying causes and motivators. All five enablers are in Table 10, which also presents the sub-themes, connections between the enablers and suggestions on how to improve PERMA (Seligman, 2011) and Vitamin model (Warr, 2007; 2013).

Table 10 Elaborating on the happiness enablers at work

Themes	Sub-themes	Connections between enablers	PERMA & Vitamin model	Suggestions to PERMA & Vitamin models
Environmental contributors				
Work going well	Accomplishing a challenge Getting work done Sense of relief Rewards Being in the flow		A= achievement Vitamin m.: n/a	Vitamin m.: Succeeding at work, work going well and achievement to be added as a new vitamin, E13
Working with friends	True connection Benefits of good relationships with colleagues: -giving/receiving help - having fun - releasing steam - coping with stress	Relating to "doing something that matters"	R = relationships Vitamin m.: E6, contact with others	Vitamin m.: true connections, sense of belonging and being valued to be added to an existing vitamin, E6
Physical environment	Weather Not an inmate Sanctuaries	Relating to "sense of control"	PERMA n/a Vitamin m.: physical security, E8	Vitamin m.: the enjoyment of environment to be added into existing vitamin, E8
Person by situation contributors				
Doing something that matters	Impact on others Identity and self-worth	Relating to "identity in sense of control"	M= meaning Vitamin m.: valued social position, E9	Vitamin m.: having impact on others, and forming identity and self-worth to be added into existing vitamin, E9
Sense of control	Maintaining identity Working better Work-life integration Flexibility	Relating to "work going well" and "environment"	PERMA n/a Vitamin m.: opportunity for personal control, E1	PERMAC Vitamin m.: identity, authenticity, work planning and work-life integration to be added into existing vitamin, E1

Some of the enablers are mentioned in Warr's model and included in PERMA. However, the results in this study explain the enablers in detail and provide new understanding for the phenomenon. The suggestions are expanded on here.

Work going well

This enabler is in the PERMA model as A for achievement (Seligman, 2011), but it is not acknowledged in the Vitamin model (Warr, 2013) and is therefore suggested to be added as a new vitamin, E13.

Working with friends

In both models, relationships with other people already exist and R in PERMA refers to authentic relationships (Seligman, 2011). However, Vitamin model (Warr, 2013) could be updated to include true connections, sense of belonging and being valued, as important factors of vitamin E6, *contact with others*.

Physical environment

The environment is not acknowledged in the PERMA model (Seligman, 2011). Rephrasing PERMA as PE^2RMA, would not be ideal as PERMA is meant as a mnemonic for the main components of happiness, whereas 'environment' can be more seen as a factor that influences it. In Vitamin model (Warr, 2013) vitamin E8, *physical security*, could be elaborated to include the enjoyment of the environment as well.

Doing something that matters

This enabler is addressed in both models. Meaning, M, in PERMA refers to serving something that is bigger than self, and having purposeful existence (Seligman, 2011), and is therefore in line with the results in this study, although M in PERMA is neglecting the self-serving aspect of identity and self-worth. Whereas, vitamin E9, *having a valued social position*, acknowledges status and contribution to society (Warr, 2013), but excludes having impact on others, forming identity and self-worth.

Sense of control

This enabler is in the Vitamin model as vitamin E1, *opportunity for personal control* (Warr, 2013). However, aspects of identity, authenticity, work planning and work-life integration could be added. Sense of control is not included in the PERMA model (Seligman, 2011), which could be rephrased as PERMAC (C for control).

This is a good example of how qualitative studies and narrative enquiry can better explain the interactions between various aspects, and to provide new insight into the existing knowledge of happiness components.

New approaches to Psychological contract

Psychological contract (Rousseau, 1998) provided a useful framework to look into happiness responsibility and, therefore, this study advanced the understanding of the psychological contract and its usefulness in happiness

studies. In addition to supporting the process of forming the four pathways for happiness responsibility, psychological contract can also be used when reflecting individuals' believes in the expectations for a perfect professional.

When the participants brought up the triangle of shared happiness responsibility, between individual, work community and organisation, they allowed the psychological contract to be looked at from a new perspective, too. As the psychological contract is mainly seen and studied as a contract between two actors: an individual and the organisation (Rousseau, 1989) and as a "two-way exchange" (Guest & Conway, 2002, 22), this study proposes a third actor: colleagues, and suggests that all three aspects should be taken into consideration when looking at how the psychological contract is formed. When people enter a new organisation they might not have only happiness believes and expectations for themselves and their employer, but for their colleagues as well. In this study, there were very few discussions on the happiness of the colleagues, their rights or requirements to be happy, or about social contagion. The participants merely talked about their own happiness. Some of them, especially those who referred to the shared happiness responsibility, brought up their expectations for colleagues and work society to take their share in happiness responsibility as well. Looking into colleagues' role in psychological contract is not claimed to be an easy approach, but would very likely provide more accurate understanding on how happiness responsibility is expected to be shared in organisations and how this expectation is formed in an individual's mind.

Happiness as individuals' responsibility and the idea of a perfect professional also allow us to look at breach in a new way. Since breach is defined as an "occasion where an employee believes that their organization has failed to fulfil its promises" (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994), what happens when employees break the promise: if employees find themselves guilty of breaking the promises they feel they have given to their employer and perhaps colleagues? If they do not fulfil the assumed expectations of being a happy, extroverted employee in

charge of their own happiness, are they the ones to be blamed for breach? This further emphasises the importance of understanding the psychological contract and the many influences it has on the minds of young professionals.

Earlier some suggestions were presented for the approach to psychological contract being in the wind of change as young professionals are no longer subscribing for relational psychological contract but aim at transactional contract instead (Ayadhya & Lewis, 2011). They are suspected, as a replacement for a long term security, to be after flexibility and work-life balance (Smithson & Lewis, 2000). The results in this study suggest that this change might be happening, as none of the participants mentioned long-term career plans in the same organisation having impact on their happiness, neither did they complain of nor rejoice in their contractual or permanent contracts. They did enjoy flexibility, reasonable hours and chances for work-life integration. However, it was not just flexibility they were after, but a list of the things they wanted their employers to do to increase their happiness. They also required a lot from themselves to fulfil the expectations they felt laid upon them. As there were also many discussions on trust, which can be seen as a relational, long term aspect of the psychological contract (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998), the suspicions of this generation being happier with transactional contract are contradicted. To gain deeper understanding of these potential changes further research is needed.

Updated conceptualisation of workplace flexibility

This study provided deeper understanding of workplace flexibility and its connection to happiness. In addition to requirements for flexibility rising from personal life, this study elaborated on intrinsic, work-related wishes for flexible arrangements. Most participants repeatedly called for the importance of being able to work 1) in alternative environments, such as cafes and at home, 2) within flexible schedules e.g. mastering their own hours and 3) having control on the order and execution of tasks. There was also a fourth aspect: working with friends. Therefore, the suggested updated version of workplace flexibility of when, where and how long (Hill et al., 2008; Atkinson & Hall, 2011) is where,

when, how and with whom. This way, the control on the order, the execution of tasks and the opportunity to choose with whom to work would also be acknowledged. Besides, as work has become increasingly more mobile and also taken to alternative locations, perhaps the definition for *workplace* ought to be updated in future studies as well.

Reflections on the five main theories in this study

As there was no one theory to use throughout the thesis to study all these aspects of workplace happiness, five different theories were mainly used to guide the approach and analysis: the Fisher's framework, the Psychological contract, the Broaden and build theory, the Emotional self-leadership theory and the Affective events theory. In addition to the contributions to the Psychological contract elaborated in this section there were other contributions to these theories, already mentioned in Section 8.1 and listed in Table 2.

These theories address different aspects of happiness. They all relate to emotions in the workplace and aim to reveal facets at work that can be relatively hard to capture, verbalise, demonstrate and study. Where Broaden and build and the Affective events theory look into how and why positive emotions are important at work, Psychological contract and the Emotional self-leadership theory look into who has the power, possibility and responsibility to enhance and provide those positive emotions. Fisher's framework focuses on how both these aspects have been studied before and can be studied in the future.

None of these theories was fully exact for this study and choosing to base the research solely on any one of them would have left many aspects uncovered, but together as a base and as a source of inspiration and theoretical framework they truly helped to guide this study to the results and contributions expressed in this chapter.

8.2.2 Methodological contributions

Some of the main goals this study started off with were to understand how happiness is experienced in the workplace, what makes people happy and how happiness can be better understood and captured in everyday lives. This study also aimed at getting answers to how and why –questions (Maitlis, 2012). To meet these aims, two complimentary methods were used. Mindful photography (Kurtz & Lyubomirsky, 2013) coupled with narratives and in-depth interviews were an experimental approach, which succeeded and hence confirmed the usability of alternative ways to study happiness in organisations, and contributed to the study of happiness by providing new information on the adequacy of the methods.

Some findings in this study are very much in line with earlier, quantitative happiness studies (e.g. Warr, 2013), but in addition, this study has reached aspects that have not been studied before and allows a deeper understanding of employees' perspectives and experiences on happiness. For example, instead of just listing happiness enablers, this study has provided exploratory narratives on what the underlying issues causing and enabling happiness in different circumstances are.

This study has also elaborated on how narrative studies allow people to choose which stories and events they want to share and to explain in more detail, why certain things matter to them. When we invite people to share their happiness moments and stories, we will learn more about them and their experiences in this world. As Belk says (2017, 103):

> We should also consider the fact that empowering the subjects of a project to engage in self-presentation creates another truth, but not necessarily a 'truer' truth. But we will learn about how people represent themselves.

As the participants were not only asked to answer interview questions, but also to create their own entries by capturing happiness moments in photos and

sharing their stories, the outcomes resulted in deeply felt narratives, instead of banal and shallow answers (e.g. Cieslik, 2015, 430).

It has been clarified in this thesis that there is a need for qualitative happiness studies, and also an urge to come up with new and alternative ways to approach the topic. One of the contributions to knowledge in this thesis is the in-debt analysis of the mindful photography method. Mindful photography works well in capturing the often fleeting moments of happiness and helping to recall them later. It also permits the researcher to enter workplaces visually and therefore helps to understand the experienced moments better. Images can also guide the discussions to a deeper level, as people reflect on their own photos and lead the interview.

Although most of the participants enjoyed taking photos of happy moments, it wasn't always easy. Not only was the moment often short, and stopping to take a photo in some cases ruined the moment, but happiness was also seen as something very intangible, and hard to capture or visualise. By using this visual method the participants were forced to take pictures of external aspects, although the feeling or emotion was felt within, in their bodies and minds. The feeling they felt was, in most of the cases, not really based on the object they took a picture of. This leads to a question if happiness can be photographed? This could, however, be stretched to words as well: do they ever reach the true essence of a feeling, or do we describe (and some of us better than others) this feeling by using the words we associate culturally and socially with happiness?

The advantages and disadvantages of mindful photography have been discussed further in Chapter 3 and are put together for a table (Table 11).

Table 11 Advantages and disadvantages of mindful photography

Advantages of mindful photography	**Disadvantages of mindful photography**
Captures happiness in the moment	Happiness is hard to capture
Captures the context and surroundings of the occurring moment	Intrusive and interruptive for happiness moments
Participants choose what a happiness moment is	Challenges in analysing data and with anonymity
Images help participants to recall the moments later	Challenges with taking pictures in situations where other people are present
Highlights the visual culture and image sharing, especially among this age group	Risk for participants to aim at a good picture, not so to present happiness
Participants are able to see and reflect their happiness at work, both the momentums and the bigger picture	Quality of the images is not consistent
Images provide an alternative way to interview	Challenges in choosing what to take a picture of
Visual thesis can be more informative and pleasant for reader	Happiness as an internal feeling might be hard to externalize in a photo
	Risk of images influencing and reframing the narratives later on in the interviews

Based on the findings in this study, the analyses focusing solely on photos, take a risk of being too interpretive and even mis-informative. However, this risk lies within numbers and words as well. To provide robust information on something as mobile, context dependent, ambivalent, subjective and intangible as happiness is a lovely challenge. Instead of ignoring visual research, especially in the work context, we should try to find ways to avoid pitfalls and improve the methods. For example, as this study has shown, photos and narratives together can create a synergy (Warren, 2002) and assist to create a better sense of happiness.

The vagueness and obscurity of the happiness definitions among the participants questions of the usefulness of measuring happiness, as they might answer to very different questions to each other, depending on how they understand happiness. When, and if, measurements and quantitative studies on happiness are needed, researchers can benefit from narrative studies when setting the measurements and survey questions. After all, the first question in research should be "What is it?" not "How can I measure it?" (Locke, 1969, 334).

8.2.3 Practical contributions

People want to be happy at work and for most of them it is also a requirement. Being happy in other parts of life was not enough for these participants, as they wanted to be happy while working as well. This is good news for the organisations, as young professionals, known as highly skilled and very mobile workforce (McManus Warnell, 2015), are rather expensive investments. The consideration of happiness requirements and knowing what actually makes them happy are beneficial. Focusing on employee happiness is not only for the benefit of employees but a great benefit for organisations as well (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a; Baptiste, 2008; Edgar et al. 2015), especially when aiming at more sustainable and humane workplaces.

This study has succeeded in its aim at looking at happiness from an employee's point of view and allowing ordinary people to tell in their own words what happiness means to them and what makes them happy. This approach has therefore, made it possible for the employers to hear what their employees might be thinking and to look at happiness from the point view of individuals. The usefulness of workplace surveys were also questioned by the participants, as they didn't find them addressing the right aspects and since they didn't feel heard, they also questioned of taking part in such surveys (see also Godard, 2014). Instead of listing happiness ingredients, this study has through narratives drawn a clearer picture of why these ingredients matter to employees. It has also succeeded in telling what kind of expectations and wishes young professionals have for their present and future employers.

Chapter 7 provided detailed and concrete suggestions for employers to enhance the happiness of their employees. All the suggested actions for improving happiness were clearly linked with happiness enablers. The environment, flexibility and good leadership all supported at least three happiness enablers to occur, the environment having the biggest impact, as it touched four of the enablers. This has been visualised in Figure 9.

Figure 9 Managerial actions and happiness enablers

Employers would benefit from improving all five aspects, since each one of them could have impact on *work going well*. By listening to their employees and answering to their needs with right actions they could also increase their happiness in other sectors. There was, however, one enabler *doing something that matters* that could not directly be linked with these suggestions. Perhaps it is the most intrinsic and personal aspect of happiness, which is difficult for outsiders to have impact on. Clarifying the goals and helping employees to see the purpose of their contributions in a bigger picture could help with this enabler, as it is highlighted as a key ingredient for workplace happiness for Generation Y and young professionals (McMagnus Warrell, 2015; Deal & Levenson, 2016).

Employers need to understand these wishes and also the pressure of being happy at work. They need to listen to their employees and to create a platform that allows happiness, which at least the younger generation, delusively think of being mainly their responsibility, adding to their pressure to be perfect professionals. Happiness can and should be addressed in workplaces. Honest communication on expectations and responsibilities regarding wellbeing and happiness at work should be discussed when aiming at shared happiness responsibility. This could be a great addition to recruiting processes and could

help to make the psychological contract more transparent, by dialog and communication. These require courage, authenticity, honesty and trust from both sides.

This study also emphasises on seeing employees as human beings, not only as human doings and an economic resource. True connection and the sense of community, where everyone is being seen, heard and valued, are needed. Furthermore, as suggested by Neil Thin, it is time to remove the humiliating term *human resource management*, HRM, which seems to indicate a caring attitude, but which instead instrumentalizes employees as resources rather than recognises the intrinsic values of wellbeing, and replace it with *human being management*, HBM, as has been suggested by Leo Boorman (EHERO conference, Rotterdam, March 2017) or simply with *people management*, PM.

8.3 Limitations of the study

One PhD thesis could not cover every aspect of a topic such as happiness at work and neither was it the purpose. Some limitations became clear during the writing process and were useful when considering suggestions for future studies. The main limitations focus on the sample, the lack of analyses between occupations, industries, cultural aspects and gender, and ambitiousness of the aims.

Limitations on the sample

Limitations on the sample relate mainly to the focus and the size of the sample, which, also due to the amount of data and many aspects under investigation, could not provide reflections between occupations, industries, cultural aspects and gender. Since the participants were all professionals, it wasn't possible to reflect on the plausible differences between blue-collar and white-collar workers. This is also the case with industries, since although many were presented, comparisons based on one representative would not have been reasonable. More diversity on workplace settings and different levels of

hierarchy could have provided expanded information on why and how, for example, the level of autonomy has an impact on happiness enablers.

Due to all the participants being based in Edinburgh, although half of them had multicultural backgrounds, there was not enough material to dive into a study of cultural diversity. On the other hand, this sample shows how cities and workplaces are more and more consistent of a variety of people with a range of backgrounds, which may greatly affect their happiness expectations. The cultural richness also makes the results not only British-based, but suggests broader understanding on happiness among young professionals from different cultures. Izquierdo and Mathews (2009) argue that there is "no single pursuit of happiness", as it varies greatly in societies and cultural contexts. I am bound to think that there is no single pursuit of happiness as it varies greatly also among individuals, teams, office floors and workplaces, firstly because happiness is a subjective experience and, secondly because especially these younger generations are increasingly becoming citizens of the world rather than representatives of one particular culture. Similarly, to the lack of a cultural analysis, this study didn't provide further information on gender differences.

As the study sample was rather small, there arise questions if more aspects of workplace happiness could have been uncovered, had the sample been bigger. However, as this study was longitudinal and included more than one method to study happiness, there was plenty of material to analyse, which allowed deeper reflections on happiness than one interview. In addition, as the nature of qualitative study is not to aim at generalisation, but to understand the world based on individuals' experiences and to unfold, in this case, the nature of happiness (Burrell & Morgan, 1982), the size of 24 participants is justified.

One limitation of the sample could be seen in the categorization of Generation Y, which although widely used in science, is questioned by some researchers who refer to them mainly as discussions in media based on assumptions and not on academic findings (Cogin, 2012, 2269) and claim that these "popular

stereotypes" have not been confirmed (Lyons, Duxbury & Higgins, 2007, 339). There are also suggestions that the values the Xs and the Ys have towards work currently are likely to change when they reach other stages of their lives, as they grow older (Smola & Sutton, 2002; Parry & Urwin, 2011) and as their values towards other aspects of life are bound to change too. However, if intergenerational differences do exist, as many studies refer to, and practitioners support, neglecting to deal with them, increases the risk of "further erosion of psychological contract between manager and employee" (Eisner, 2005, 13). Perhaps the most important aim is to understand "how work and people interact, and the ability to make predictions about the way workers will respond to these various interactions" (Benson & Brown, 2011, 1860), in order to make sense of happiness experienced at work. Also, if employees are treated as "disposable" it might have bigger influence on their values than their generation or age (Smola & Sutton, 2002, 379). This study does not provide generalisations about Generation Y, and it acknowledges that views, definitions, manifestations of and wishes for happiness might change with time and between life stages, as they mature and gain experience in various issues in both work and personal lives. Nevertheless, it shares some of the narratives young professionals tell about their happiness at work and supports earlier studies, as well as provides new findings.

Ambitiousness of the study

The second limitation could be seen in the aims of this study. As I started the analysing process I realised what a vast amount of information I had and what a challenge it was to cover so many aspects of a topic such as happiness in less than 100 000 words - this realisation was only confirmed during the writing process. The happiness enablers collected during the mindful photography period provided enough material for the whole thesis, and I also had the interviews to analyse and discuss. As I wanted people to tell their narratives and to focus on what happiness at work means to them, without restrictions or regulations, I also felt the responsibility of trying to cover all these aspects. Looking back now, I am proud to say that I did keep the story together and

managed to cover a variety of aspects in depth. Despite that, should I start PhD from the beginning again, I would only take one aspect for a closer inspection, such as happiness responsibility.

8.4 Recommendations for future research

> One thing can be said for sure: we are nowhere near the end of science. So most of what we know now will be disproved or reassessed in the future. That is how science works, not through the blind faith but continual doubt. – Matt Haig

Future studies on happiness responsibility are needed, among different generations, genders, occupations and levels of professionalism. Recommendations for future research are many, as there are plenty of unexplored aspects. I'll narrow them into six: happiness responsibility, happiness among genders, multicultural happiness, trust, work-life integration and visualising happiness.

Happiness responsibility

Deeper understanding on why people feel they are responsible for their happiness and ways to build more sustainable, shared happiness responsibility are needed. As often mentioned in the examples of this study, the responsibility on both employees' and employers' side was mainly positive in the matter that both sides were hoped to increase happiness by positive actions, either by being the main person responsible for happiness or by having a significant role in happiness process. The employer or co-workers could also be seen responsible, in a negative sense, of having duty not to make people miserable, by reductions or protocols. Therefore, the responsibility to produce happiness could also be looked at on the negative-positive scale, the negative responsibility referring to aiming at not damaging or inhibiting people's happiness.

Another approach to future studies on happiness responsibility could be looking into psychological contract and happiness expectations and how they are

formed when individuals sign contracts and start working in new organisations. It would be an interesting study to look closer at the personal attitudes or former experiences, which will lead into, either seeing happiness responsibility as individuals' part of the contract, or as a shared contract. A compelling aspect would also be to look into possible differences on relational and transactional contracts depending on which happiness responsibility pathway the respondent chooses. In addition, even though happiness is seen as a person's responsibility, it could be beneficial to study if they also act responsibly, referring to the practical actions of happiness responsibility.

Happiness and gender

As studies have shown that women report higher satisfaction with their lives (Diener, 2003), are happier than men (Blanchflower, 2008; Veenhoven, 2010; Suojanen, 2013; Zweig 2015) and are also more satisfied with their jobs than men (Clark, 1996), future studies on gender are needed in workplace happiness. Another reason why gender should be studied, is that when we talk about individual happiness, gender is always relevant (Thin, 2012, 189). Instead of looking for unfairness and troubles in identity, *the problematic gender*, gender can and should be seen more as in human flourishing, for the positive aspects of it, and to see what are the aspects and/or differences that can be detected between genders. There is also rather limited research on gender differences in happiness and, for example, neither The Oxford Handbook of Happiness nor Warr's work Happiness, Unhappiness and Work address the gender issue. Gender relations and gender reform are clearly neglected in the happiness studies.

Multicultural happiness

As this study shows, maintaining identity is one of the ingredients for workplace happiness, and it would be reasonable to study how migration or globalisation influences the happiness of those who move between different countries. Edmunds and Turner (2005) refer to the "second global generation" when talking about the Ys, which "both shares its information and ideas across

borders and acts with global impact", the opposite of the "first global generation" whose chances for the global reach and action in the 1960's were more limited. Due to Internet and expanding of immigration, global labour market, mobility and tourism (Edmunds & Turner, 2005, 573) the concept of culture is changing.

As the trend of global citizenship is growing and at the same time nationalism and closing boarders are taking stance in world politics, a study focusing on the movement of labour migrants and their happiness, could provide more information on how leaving a comfort zone, starting a life in a new country, interacting with a different culture and multiculturalism overall, influence the happiness of people and employees. Possible connections between these aspects and happiness responsibility could also be looked into.

Expectations for managers dealing with intergenerational and cultural differences can be challenging. Multinational businesses are spreading all around the world at the same time as labour moves freely. Due to the globalization, it is also getting harder to find organizations that embody generations of one nation only, the UK being a great example of this. Among the generations there are also "subgroups", which every employee belongs to, which can "be based on simple characteristics such as gender or ethnicity, on membership of internal and external bodies … or on the type of work performed". (Benson & Brown, 2011, 1859.) Among gender and nationality, class, race, ethnicity and education refer to the complexity of the generational studies as well (McMullin et al., 2007, 314; Parry & Urwin, 2011, 89). If different generations require to be managed differently at work, which nation's generations and values are we talking about in a country of a diversity of backgrounds? In most of the big companies the workforce is so multinational that not only respecting the needs of generations, but the generations of the nations around the world, is a challenging task (Parry & Urwin, 2011, 92).

Are people truly happier when they are among others like them, as a former UK politician, Trevor Phillips, stated when aiming at asserting the core of 'Britishness', (Ahmed, 2010, 122) or can happiness arise from diversity? How does multiculturalism influence our happiness and expectations? This is a topic for future studies. Ahmed (2010, 122), within her thoughts on *Melancholic migrants* states: "happy multiculturalism involves the demand for interaction". This call is something organisations will have to face.

Trust and happiness

As trust was often discussed in the interviews and was related to many aspects of workplace happiness, further studies on trust in workplaces are needed. In addition to the results in this thesis, discussions of trust were many at the World to Win conference (Erasmus University of Rotterdam, March 2017), consisting of European happiness scholars. There were suggestions that trust was becoming *the new happiness.* Further understanding on how happiness and trust are intertwined, how trust forms at workplaces with increasingly shortening contracts, if multiculturalism and work-life integration change the form of trust, and how, through this trust, greater happiness can be attained at work, is needed.

Work-life integration

Instead of work-life balance, discussion has changed towards work-life integration, and wishes for happiness at work are constantly intertwined with a more general and broader happiness desires. It did not become clear in this study whether happiness at work (e.g. achievement, purpose) was different to their happiness discussions at home (bliss, love) or in recreational life (contentment, relaxation, entertainment, fun). As the study focused on happiness at work, there was no need to draw conclusions and give answers to the question proposed. Future studies could focus on looking into happiness expectations and possible differences among age groups on the proposed work, home and recreational levels. It could also be studied if work-life integration has blurred the lines between these levels.

Visualising happiness and alternative methods

Can happiness ever really be understood? Will we ever really get to the source of happiness and fully know how it manifests and appears? I must admit that I doubt it. Like any other happiness study, this, albeit succeeding in providing new aspects and insights for workplace happiness, was just another attempt to understand something so mysterious, intangible and messy as happiness. For future studies, I strongly emphasise the need for alternative ways to conduct happiness research, as happiness cannot be this heavily dependent on measurements and surveys.

As this study has shown, visualising happiness is possible and provides a chance to look deeper into the phenomenon, capture and recall the moment, and to lead conversations in workplaces, as well as, in research interviews. Future studies could aim at tackling the challenges of mindful photography as elaborated in this chapter, e.g. how to visualise the happiness moment without interrupting it, and aim at creating clearer guidelines on how to analyse visual data without misinterpretations. Future studies could also look into understanding how employees literally see their organisations, and what are the aspects they value. Image sharing ought to be seen as an alternative for surveys, to understand what employees are experiencing on a day-to-day basis and how they express happiness at work. Also, more narrative research and especially life-narrative research is needed in order to better understand subjective experiences (e.g. Thin 2012b; Cieslik, 2018), as happiness is not only a momentary experience, but always a result and combination of complex aspects in us and our surroundings (also Ahuvia et al. 2015). By understanding the life stories of employees their expectations, needs and wishes could become met better.

Inspired by this study, I would also encourage researchers to look for alternative ways to study happiness. There are other aspects to study as well, such as sounds, smells, movement and touch to mention but a few, which could help researches to grasp the nature of happiness. If information on happiness is

only accessed by words or visual messages, we will continue blocking plenty of knowledge that is all around us in a variety of ways.

8.5 Concluding remarks

After seven years of pondering over the matter, which arouse as an unhappy lecturer, I have finally got an answer to my question regarding 'who is responsible for happiness'. I have come to terms agreeing with those happiness scholars, e.g. Veenhoven (asked in person), Ahuvia, Thin, Haybron, Biswas-Diener, Ricard and Timsit (2015) who see happiness as a shared responsibility. The answer is so clear and crisp in my head now that like Darwin I find it hard to believe in what I haven't seen before, neither can I really comprehend how anyone can say that everyone is responsible for their own happiness. I do not claim that the participants in this study or anyone seeing it that way are wrong; I am just saying that they perhaps, like me, have not thought of it through. To elaborate on how shared responsibility works, I would like to give a real-life example, a narrative of one of the main participants in this study, that of mine.

I was born in Finland, a Nordic country that has ranked among the top 10 happiest countries in the world every year since The World Happiness Report has been published in 2012, referring at least to a country with plenty of freedom, safety, social support and long lives. My parents gave me healthy and competitive genes, and later supported my growth to become an independent, strong and global citizen of the world. I have received 12 years of excellent education and warm, healthy lunches daily paid by the Finnish taxpayers. On top of that I have studied at universities in Finland and abroad for another 12 years, all reimbursed or heavily subsidised by Finnish Government and another funding bodies. Plus, I have received benefits for the times of unemployment. My former employers educated me further and provided a platform to grow professionally. Furthermore, I have (had) great people in my life, who have not only supported me mentally, practically and financially, but have also given me great joy, amazing adventures and three godchildren. I now live in a country

where I get my dental check-ups, visits to a doctor's and all prescribed medicines for free. Not only are there charming, well-kept, open-for-all gardens and parks in the city, but also breath taking, privately owned mountains, accessible for everyone beyond the city. I am constantly touched by great literature, magnificent artworks, enhancing music and detailed architecture, all that someone, somewhere has created and allowed others to enjoy. I also feel safe on the streets. I could go on endlessly, but perhaps my point has become clear: how much am I really in charge of my own happiness?

True, I can choose in which light I see all this, how I decide to use what I have been given to, and how I react to the events that are not in my control, but still, how much have I contributed to my happiness in the end? Someone else has already taken a big chunk of that responsibility. In addition, I am also aware of the many unwanted events in my life, some of which I have not had any influence on, but which caused me unhappiness and misery. I am also conscious of some of the aspects having something to do with luck and that there is far too much injustice and suffering in this world. How on earth could I stare at my own bellybutton and repeat a mantra: 'everyone is always responsible for their own happiness', when I see how many aspects intertwine and influence my happiness and the happiness of others, in unlimited, uncontrolled and unknown ways? I ought to be far too busy making sure there is at least some responsibility I take myself – and above all, make sure I am paying back for all I have been given. This revelation also leads me to a new happiness responsibility question: 'Are some of us more responsible for individual and societal happiness than others?' That is perhaps the question for the next study.

This world could become a cruel, selfish, scary and a lonely place to live in, if people only looked after their own happiness or felt that their own happiness was fully their responsibility. As one of the great ingredients of happiness is other people, why don't we allow them to share happiness responsibility with us and also make sure we chip in our part to the happiness of others? After all, as Lithuanian philosopher Emmanuel Levinas (1961) has explained, our

responsibility for the others founds our subjective being-in-the-world by giving it a meaningful direction and orientation. Only by taking responsibility for others, we can fully manifest our possibilities as unique and irreplaceable individuals.

Figure 10 Everyone who enters this world has a chance to heal it

I find happiness responsibility illustrated beautifully in the painting by Peter Van Straten (2016), titled: *Everyone who enters this world has a chance to heal it*. I wish to add to my earlier thoughts: healing the world is not one person's responsibility, but a shared responsibility.

References

A

Achor, S., 2012. Positive intelligence. *Harvard Business Review*. Jan-Feb, pp. 100-102.

Adler, P.S, Kwon, S. & Heckscher C., 2008. Professional work: The emergence of collaborative community. *Organization Science*, 19 (2), pp. 359-376.

Aguinis, H. & Glavas, A., 2012. What we know and don't know about corporate social responsibility: a review and research agenda. *Journal of Management*, 38(4), pp. 932-968.

Ahmed, S., 2010. *The promise of happiness*. Durham and London: Duke university press.

Ahuvia, A., Thin, N., Haybron, D.M., Biswas-Diener, R., Ricard, M. & Timsit, J., 2015. Happiness: An interactionist perspective. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 5(1), pp. 1-18.

Anderson, N., Potočnik, K. & Zhou, J., 2014. Innovation and creativity in organizations: A state-of-the-science review, prospective commentary, and guiding framework. *Journal of Management,* 40(5), pp.1297-1333.

Ariely, D., Kamenica, E. & Prelec, D., 2008. Man's search for meaning: The case of Legos. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 67(3), pp.671-677.

Ariely, D. 2016. The trust factory. *Dialogue*, Q2, pp. 16-21. Available at: http://people.duke.edu/~dandan/webfiles/PapersOther/DialogueCoverlet.ariely.pdf [accessed 15 May 2017].

Ashforth, B.E. & Mael, F., 1989. Social identity and the organisation. *Academy of Management Review*, 14(1), pp. 20-39.

Aspinall, P., Mavros, P., Coyne, R. & Roe, J., 2015. The urban brain: analysing outdoor physical activity with mobile EEG. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, 49(4), pp. 272-276.

Atkinson, C. & Hall, L., 2006. Improving working lives: flexible working and the role of employee control. *Employee Relations*, 28(4), pp. 374 – 386.

Atkinson, C. & Hall, L. 2011. Flexible working and happiness in the NHS, *Employee Relations*, 33(2), pp. 88–105.

Ayadhya, U.C.N. & Lewis, S., 2011. From 'Balancers' to Integrators'? Young professionals' talk about 'work' and the rest of 'life' in the UK. In S. Kaiser, M. Ringlestetter, D.R. Eikhof & M. Pina e Cunha (eds.) *Creating balance?*

International perspective on the work-life integration of professionals, pp. 47-64. Heidelberg: Springer.

B

Bajaj, B. & Pande, N., 2015. Mediating role of resilience in the impact on mindfulness on life satisfaction and affect as indices of subjective wellbeing. *Personality and individual differences*, 93, pp. 63-67.

Bakker, A.B., 2005. Flow among music teachers and their students: The crossover of peak experiences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 66(1), pp. 26–44.

Bakker, A. B., 2009. Building engagement in the workplace. In R. J. Burke & C. L. Cooper (eds*.), The peak performing organization*, pp. 50–72. Oxon: Routledge.

Bakker, A.B., Demerouti, E. & Verbeke, W., 2004. Using the job demands-resources model to predict burnout and performance. *Human Resource Management*, 43(1), pp. 83–104.

Bakker, A. B., & Oerlemans, W., 2011. Subjective well-being in organizations. In K. S. Cameron & G. M. Spreitzer (eds.), *The oxford handbook of positive organizational scholarship*, pp. 178–189. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Bakker, A. B., & Oerlemans, W., 2016. Momentary work happiness as a function of enduring burnout and work engagement. *The Journal of Psychology*, 150(6), pp. 755-778.

Ballas, D. & Dorling, D., 2013. The Geography of Happiness. In S.A. David, I. Boniwell & A.C. Ayers (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Happiness*, pp. 465-481, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Banks, M., 2001. *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London: Sage.

Bao, K.J. & Lyubomirsky, S., 2013. The rewards of happiness. In S.A. David, I. Boniwell & A.C. Ayers (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Happiness*, pp. 119-133, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baptiste, N.R., 2008. Tightening the link between employee wellbeing at work and performance, A new dimension for HRM. *Management Decision*, 46 (2), pp. 284 – 309.

Baumeister, R.F. & Leary M.R., 1995. The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological bulletin*, 117(3), pp. 497-530.

Baumeister, R.F., Vohs, K.D. Aaker, J.L. & Garbinsky, E.N., 2013. Some key differences between a happy life and a meaningful life. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 8(6), pp. 505-516.

Baylis, N., 2005. Come on get happy. *People Management*, 11(6), p. 48.

Beddoes-Jones, F., & Swailes, S., 2015. Authentic leadership: development of a new three pillar model. *Strategic HR Review*, 14(3), pp. 94-99.

Belk, R., 2017. Collaborating in visual consumer research. In M. McCabe (ed.) *Collaborative Ethnography in Business Environments*, London and NewYork: Routledge.

Benson, J. & Brown, M., 2011. Generations at work: are there differences and do they matter?, *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 22(9), pp. 1843-1865.

Benz, M. & Frey, B., 2004. Being independent raises happiness at work. *Swedish economic policy review*, 11(2), pp. 95-134.

Bergsma, A., 2007. Do self-help books help*? Journal of Happiness Studies*, 9(3), pp. 341-360.

Berl, P.S., 2006. Crossing the Generational Divide: Supporting Generational Differences at Work. *Exchange: The Early Childhood Leaders' Magazine* Since 1978, 168, pp.73-78.

Bernard, H.R., 2006. *Research methods in anthropology, qualitative and quantitative approaches*, 4th edition. Lanham: AltaMira Press.

Binkley, S., 2011. Happiness, positive psychology and the program of neoliberal governmentality. *Subjectivity*, 4(4), pp.371-394.

Blaikie, N., 2011. *Designing social research: The logic of anticipation*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Blanchflower, D. G., 2008. International Evidence on Well-being. In *Measuring the subjective well-being of nations: National accounts of time use and well-being*, pp. 155-226. University of Chicago Press.

Bock, L.,2014. Google's scientific approach to work-life balance (and much more). *Harvard Business Review*, 27 March, 2014. Available at: https://hbr.org/2014/03/googles-scientific-approach-to-work-life-balance-and-much-more [Accessed 5 May 2017].

Bok, S., 2010. *Exploring Happiness: From Aristotle to Brain Science*. Yale University Press.

Boltanski, L. & Chiapello, E., 2005. *The new spirit of capitalism*. London and New York: Verso.

Bolton, C.S. & Houlihan, M., 2009. Are we having fun yet? A consideration of workplace fun and engagement. *Employee Relations*, 31(6), pp.556-568.

Bowling, N.A., Beehr, T.A. & Lepisto, L.R., 2006. Beyond job satisfaction: A five-year prospective analysis of the dispositional approach to work attitudes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69(2), pp. 315-330.

Bringslimark, T., Hartig, T., & Patil, G. G., 2007. Psychological benefits of indoor plants in workplaces: Putting experimental results into context. *HortScience*, 42(3), pp. 581–587.

Brown, M., 2012. Responses to work intensification: does generation matter?. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 23(17), pp.3578-3595.

Bryman, A., 1988. *Quantity and quality in social research*. New York: Routledge.

Bryman, A. & Bell, E., 2011. *Business Research Methods*. 3rd edition. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Buchanan, D.A. & Huczynski, A.A., 2010. *Organizational behaviour*. 7th edition. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Bunderson, J.S., 2001. How work ideologies shape the psychological contracts of professional employees: Doctors' responses to perceived breach. Journal of *Organizational Behavior,* 22(7), pp.717-741.

Burrell, G. & Morgan, G. ,1982. *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis*. London: Heinemann.

C

Cameron, K.S., Dutton, J. E. & Quinn, R.E., 2003. Foundations of positive organisational scholarship. In K.S. Cameron, J.E. Dutton & R.E. Quinn (eds.) *Positive organisational scholarship, Foundations of a new discipline*, pp. 3-13. San Francisco: Berret-Koehler Publishers.

Cameron, K.S & Spreitzer, G. M., 2011. Introduction: What Is Positive About Positive Organizational Scholarship? In G. M. Spreitzer & K. S. Cameron (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Positive Organizational Scholarship*, pp. 3-11. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, W. K., Bonacci, A. M., Shelton, J., Exline, J. J., & Bushman, B. J., 2004. Psychological entitlement: Interpersonal consequences and validation of a self-report measure. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 83(1), pp. 29-45.

Caputo, A.C., 2003. *Visual storytelling: the art and technique*. New York: Watson-Guptill publications.

Carlson, D. Ferguson, M., Hunter, E. & Whitten, D., 2012. Abusive supervision and work-family conflict: The path through emotional labor and burnout. *Leadership quarterly*, 23, pp. 849-859.

Carro, L.C. & Mattingly, C., 2000. Narrative as Construct and construction. In C. Mattingly & L. C. Garro (eds.), *Narrative and the Cultural Construction of Illness and Healing*. London: University of California Press.

Carroll, A. B. & Buchholts, A.K. (eds.), 2011. *Business and Society: Ethics, Sustainability, and Stakeholder Management.* 8th ed. Mason, OH: South-Western Cengage Learning.

Carroll, A.B. & Shabana, K.M., 2010. The business case for corporate social responsibility: a review of concepts, research and practice. *International journal of management reviews*, 12(1), pp. 85-105.

Cassar, V. & Buttigieg, S. C., 2015. Psychological contract breach, organizational justice and emotional well-being. *Personnel Review*, 44(2), pp. 217 – 235.

Cederström, C. & Spicer, A., 2015. *The wellness syndrome.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cekada, T. L. 2012. Training a multigenerational workforce. *Professional Safety*, 57(3), 40-44.

Cieslik, M., 2015. Not smiling but frowning': Sociology and the 'problem of happiness. *Sociology*, 49(3), pp.422-437.

Cieslik, M., 2018. Sociology, biographical research and the development of critical happiness studies. In S. Brinkmann, A. Patersen & N. Hill (eds.) *Critical happiness studies*. London: Routledge. In press.

CIPD, 2016. Absence management report.
Available at: https://www.cipd.co.uk/Images/absence-management_2016_tcm18-16360.pdf. [Accessed 3 March 2017].

Clark, A. E., 1996. Job satisfaction in Britain. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 34(2), pp. 189–217.

Cogin, J., 2012. Are generational differences in work values fact or fiction? Multi-country evidence and implications. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 23(11), pp. 2268-2294.

Cohn, M.A., Fredrickson, B.L., Brown, S.L., Mikels, J.A. & Conway, A.M., 2009. Happiness unpacked: positive emotions increase life satisfaction by building resilience. *Emotion*, 9(3), pp. 361–368.

Conway, N. & Briner, R., 2002. A daily diary study of affective responses to psychological contract breach and exceeded promise. *Journal of organisational behavior*, 23(3), pp. 287-302.

Conway, N. and Briner, R.B., 2009. Fifty years of psychological contract research: What do we know and what are the main challenges. *International review of industrial and organizational psychology*, 24(71), pp.71-131.

Cooperrider, D.L. & Srivastva, S., 1987. Appreciative inquiry in organizational life. *Research in organizational change and development*, 1(1), pp. 129-169.

Coover, R., 2004. Working with images, images of work. Using digital interface, photography and hypertext in ethnography. In: S. Pink, L. Kürti & A.I. Afonso (eds.) *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*, pp. 185-203. New York: Routledge.

Corley, K. G., & Gioia, D. A., 2004. Identity ambiguity and change in the wake of a corporate spin-off. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 49(2), pp. 173-208.

Coyle-Shapiro, J.A.M. & Kessler, I., 2002. Exploring reciprocity through the lens of the psychological contract: Employee and employer perspectives. *European journal of work and organizational psychology*, 11(1), pp.69-86.

Côté, S., 2005. A social interaction model of the effects of emotion regulation on work strain. *Academy of Management Review*, 30(3), pp. 509-530.

Creswell, J.W., 2009. *Research design, qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. 3rd edition. California: SAGE Publications.

Cropanzano, R., Weiss, H.M., Hale, J.M.S. & Reb, J., 2003. The structure of affect: reconsidering the relationship between negative and positive affectivity. *Journal of management*, 29(6), pp. 831-857.

Crotty, M., 1998. *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process.* London: Sage.

Crum, A.J. & Salovey, P., 2013. Emotionally Intelligent Happiness. In S.A. David, I. Boniwell & A.C. Ayers (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Happiness*, pp. 73-87. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., 1975. *Beyond boredom and anxiety*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. 1997. Finding flow: The psychology of engagement and everyday life. New York: Basic Books.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. & LeFevre, J., 1989. Optimal experience in work and leisure. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 56(5), pp. 815-822.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. & Hunter, J., 2003. Happiness in everyday life: The uses of experience sampling. *Journal of happiness studies*, 4(2), pp.185-199.

D

Davidson, R. J. & McEwan, B., 2012. Social influences on neuroplasticity: stress and interventions to promote wellbeing. *Nature neuroscience*, 15(5), pp. 689-695.

Davies, W., 2015. *The happiness industry. How the Government and Big Business Sold Us Well-Being*. London and New York: Verso.

Deal, J.J & Levenson A., 2016. *What millennials want from work, How to maximize engagement in today's workforce.* McGrawHillEducation.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M., 1985. *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior.* New York: Plenum.

De Neve, K.M. & Cooper H., 1998. The happy personality: a meta-analysis of 137 personality traits and subjective well-being. *Psychol. Bulletin*, 124(2), pp. 197–229.

De Neve, J.-E. & Ward, G., 2017. Happiness at work. In J. Helliwell, R. Layard & J. Sachs (eds.) *World happiness report 2017*, pp. 144-177. Available at: http://worldhappiness.report/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2017/03/HR17.pdf. [Accessed March 2017].

De Vos, A., Buyens, D. & Schalk, R., 2005. Making sense of a new employment relationship: psychological contract‐related information seeking and the role of work values and locus of control. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, 13(1), pp.41-52.

De Roeck, K., Marique, G., Stinglhamber, F. & Swaen, V., 2014. Understanding employees' responses to corporate social responsibility: mediating roles of overall justice and organisational identification. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 25(1), pp. 91-112.

Diener, E., 1999. Subjective Well-Being: Three Decades of Progress. *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(2), pp. 276-302.

Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Lucas, R. E., 2003. Personality, culture, and subjective well-being: Emotional and cognitive evaluations of life. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, pp. 403-425.

Diener, E. & Ryan, K., 2009. Subjective well-being: a general overview. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 39 (4), pp. 391-406.

Diener, E., Sandvik, E., & Pavot, W., 2009. Happiness is the Frequency, Not the Intensity, of Positive Versus Negative Affect. In E. Diener (ed.) *Assessing well-being: The collected works of Ed Diener*, pp. 213–231. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.

Dolan, P., 2014. *Happiness by Design: Finding Pleasure and Purpose in Everyday Life*. London: Allen Lane.

Dravigne, A., Waliczek, T.M., Lineberger, R.D. & Zajicek J.M., 2008. The effect of live plants and window views of green spaces on employee perceptions of job satisfaction, *HortScience*, 43(1), pp. 183-187.

Dutton, J.E., 2003. *Energize your workplace: how to create and sustain high-quality connections at work*. San Fransisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Dutton, J.E., & Ragins, B.R. (eds.), 2007. *Exploring Positive Relationships at Work: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

E

Edgar, F., Geare, A., Halhjem, M., Reese, K., & Thoresen, C., 2015. Well-being and performance: measurement issues for HRM research. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 26(15), pp. 1983-1994.

Edge, K., 2014. A review of the empirical generations at work research: Implications for school leaders and future research. *School Leadership & Management*, 34(2), pp.136-155.

Edmunds, J. & Turner, B., 2005. Global generations: social change in the twentieth century. *British Journal of Sociology*, 56(4), pp. 559-577.

Eisner, S., 2005. Managing generation Y. *SAM Advanced Management Journal*, 70(4), pp. 4-12.

Eldor, L., 2016. Work engagement: toward a general theoretical enriching model. *Human resourece development review*, 15(3), pp. 317-339.

Elsbach, K. D., & Bechky, B. A., 2007. It's more than a desk: Working smarter through leveraged office design. *California Management Review*, 49(2), pp. 80–87.

Emmison, M., 2004. The conceptualization and analysis of visual data. In D. Silverman (ed.) *Qualitative research, Theory, method and practice*. 2nd edition. London:Sage.

Erkutlu, H. and Chafra, J., 2016. Benevolent leadership and psychological well-being: The moderating effects of psychological safety and psychological contract breach. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 37(3), pp.369-386.

Evans, B. 2011. The millennial generation is productive in the workplace. In D. Haugen & S. Musser (Eds.). *The Millennial generation*. (pp. 56-65). Greenhaven Press.

F

Fairhurst, G.T. & Connaughton, S.L., 2014. Leadership communication. In. F.M. Jablin & L.L. Putnam, *The Sage handbook of organizational communication: Advances in theory, research, and method*, pp.401-423. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fallon, B., 1997. The Balance between Paid Work and Home Responsibilities: Personal Problem or Corporate Concern? *Australian Psychologist*, 32(1), pp. 1–9.

Fanti, A.N., 2017. Happiness on demand, A world to win conference, EHERO, Erasmus University Rotterdam, March 2017, conference proceedings, unpublished work.

Fay, D. & Sonnentag, S., 2012. Within-person fluctuations of proactive behaviour: how affect and experienced competence regulate work behaviour. *Human Performance*, 25(1), pp. 72-93.

Felstead, A., Jewson, N. & Walters, S., 2003. Managerial control of employees working at home. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 41(2), pp. 241-64.

Fineman, S., 2004. Getting the Measure of Emotion - and the Cautionary Tale of Emotional Intelligence. *Human Relations*, 57(6), pp. 719–740.

Fisher, C. D., 2010. Happiness at Work. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 12(4), pp. 384–412.

Fisk, G. M., 2010. I want it all and I want it now! An examination of the etiology, expression, and escalation of excessive employee enticement. *Human Resource Management Review*, 20, pp. 102-114.

Fleetwood, S., 2007. Why work–life balance now? *International Journal of Human Resource Management,* 18(3), pp. 387–400.

Flyvberg, B., 2001. *Making social science matter, Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ford, J., & Harding, N., 2011. The impossibility of the 'true self' of authentic leadership. *Leadership*, 7(4), pp. 463–479.

Frank, K.E., & Lowe, D.J., 2003. An Examination of Alternative Work Arrangements in Private Accounting Practice. *Accounting Horizons*, 17(2), pp. 139–151.

Fredrickson, B.L., 1998. What good are positive emotions? *Review of General Psychology*, 2(3), pp. 300-319.

Fredrickson, B.L. 2001. The role of positive emotions in positive psychology, The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *American psychologist*, 56(3), pp. 218-226.

Fredrickson, B.L., 2013. Positive Emotions Broaden and Build. In P. Devine & A. Plant, (eds.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. 47, pp. 1-53. Burlington: Academic Press.

Freeman, I. & Hasnaoui, A., 2011. The Meaning of Corporate Social Responsibility: The Vision of Four Nations. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 100(3), pp. 419-443.

Freeman R.B., 1978. Job satisfaction as an economic variable. *American Economic Review*, 68, pp. 135-141.

Freidson, E., 1987. The future of the profession. *Journal of Dental Education*, 51(3), pp. 140–144.

Frey, B.S. & Stutzer, A., 2002. *Happiness and economics: How the economy and institutions affect human well-being.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Frijda, N.H., 1993. Moods, emotion episodes and emotions. In: M. Lewis & I.M. Haviland (eds.) *Handbook of emotions*, pp. 381-403. New York: Guilford.

G

Gabhainn, S. N. & Sixsmith, J., 2006. Children photographing wellbeing: facilitating participation in research. *Children & Society*, 20(4), pp. 249-259.

Garland, E.L., Fredrickson, B., Kring, A.M., Johnson, D.P., Meyer, P.S. & Penn, D.L., 2010. Upward spirals of positive emotions counter downward spirals of negativity: Insights from the broaden-and-build theory and affective neuroscience on the treatment of emotion dysfunctions and deficits in psychopathology. *Clinical psychology review, 30(7),* pp. 849-864.

Gavin, J.H. & Mason, R.O., 2004. The virtuous organization: The value of happiness in the workplace. *Organizational Dynamics*, 33(4), pp. 379–392.

Gelbart, N., & Komninos, J. 2012. Who? where? Y? Charter Journal, 84(7), 20-23.

Godard, J., 2014. The psychologisation of employment relations? *Human Resource Management Journal*, 24(1), pp. 1–18.

Grahn, P. & Stigsdotter, U. K., 2010. The relation between perceived sensory dimensions of urban green space and stress restoration. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 94, pp. 264-275.

Grandey, A., Foo, S. C., Groth, M., & Goodwin, R. E., 2012. Free to be you and me: A climate of authenticity alleviates burnout from emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health*, 17(1), pp. 1–14.

Grant, A. M., Christianson, M. K., & Price, R. H., 2007. Happiness, Health, or Relationships? Managerial Practices and Employee Well-Being Tradeoffs. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 21(3), pp. 51–63.

Great place to work, n.d. Available at: https://www.greatplacetowork.com/. [Accessed 12 April 2015].

Greiner L.E. & Ennsfellner I., 2010. Management consultants as professionals, or are they? *Organisation Dynamics*, 39(1), pp. 72–83.

Guarnaccia, C., Scrima, F., Civilleri, A. & Salerno, L., 2016, The role of occupational self-efficacy in mediating the effect of job insecurity on work engagement, satisfaction and general health. *Current Psychology*, November, pp. 1-10.

Guest, D.E. & Conway, N., 2002. Communicating the psychological contract: an employer perspective. *Human resource management journal*, 12(2), pp. 22-38.

Gursoy, D., Maier, T. & Chi, C., 2008. Generational differences: an examination of the work values and generational gaps in the hospitality workforce. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 27, pp. 448-458.

H

Hall, L. &Atkinson, C., 2006. Improving working lives: flexible working and the role of employee control. *Employee relations*, 28(4), pp.374-386.

Handley, K., Sturdy, A., Fincham, R. and Clark, T., 2006. Within and beyond communities of practice: Making sense of learning through participation, identity and practice. *Journal of management studies*, 43(3), pp.641-653

Harter, J. K., & Blacksmith, N., 2010. Employee engagement and the psychology of joining, staying in and leaving organizations. In P.A. Linley, S. Harrington, & N.

Garcea (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Positive Psychology and Work*, pp. 121-130. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harter, J. K., Schmidt, F. L., & Hayes, T. L., 2002. Business-unit-level relationship between employee satisfaction, employee engagement, and business outcomes: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(2), pp. 268-279.

Harvey, P., Harris, K. J., Gillis, W. E., & Martinko, M. J., 2014. Abusive supervision and the entitled employee. *Leadership Quarterly*, 25, pp. 204-217.

Haybron, D. M. 2001. Happiness and Pleasure. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 62, pp. 501–528.

Haybron, D. M., 2008. *The pursuit of unhappiness: The elusive psychology of well-being.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Haybron, D.M., 2010. Mood Propensity as a Constituent of Happiness: A Rejoinder to Hill. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 11(19), pp. 19-31.

Haybron, D. M., 2011. Central Park: Nature, context, and human wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 1(2), pp. 235-254.

Haybron, D., 2013a. The nature and significance of happiness. In S.A. David, I. Boniwell & A.C. Ayers (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Happiness*, pp. 303-314. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haybron, D. M., 2013b. *Happiness, A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford university press.

Haybron, D. M., 2014. Adventures in assisted living: Well-being and situationist psychology. In N. E. Snow & F. V. Trivigno (eds.), *The philosophy and psychology of character and happiness,* pp. 241–265. New York: Routledge.

Helliwell, J., 2017. *Organisational structures on workers' wellbeing*. London School of Economics website, available at: http://cep.lse.ac.uk/wwp/panellist.asp?id=41, [Accessed on 7 March 2017].

Helliwell, J.F. & Huang, H. 2011. Well-being and trust in the workplace. *Journal of happiness studie*s, 12(5), pp. 747-767.

Hill, J.E., Grzywacz, S., Allen, S., Blanchard, V.L., Matz-Costa C., Shulkin, S. & Pitt-Catsouphes, M., 2008. Defining and conceptualizing workplace flexibility. *Community, work & family*, 11(2), pp. 149-163.

Hochschild, A.R., 1983. *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Horovitz, B., 2012. *After Gen X, Millennials, what should next generation be?* USA Today, 4th May 2012, available at: http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/money/advertising/story/2012-05-03/naming-the-next-generation/54737518/1. [Accessed 19 March 2017].

HSE, Health and Safety Executive, 2008. *Management competencies for preventing and reducing stress at work*, research report RR633, Goldsmiths, University of London. Available at: http://www.hse.gov.uk/research/rrpdf/rr633.pdf (Accessed 15 April 2016].

I

Illouz, E., 2008. *Saving the modern soul: Therapy, emotions, and the culture of self-help*. University of California Press.

Inglehart, R., 1997. *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton University Press.

Izquierdo, C. & Mathews, G., 2009. *Pursuits of happiness well-being in anthropological perspective*. New York: Berghahn Books.

J

Jacques, A., 2010. Socially conscious: companies share CSR best practices. *Public relations tactics*, July, pp. 12-13.

Judge, T. & Klinger, R., 2008. Job satisfaction. Subjective well-being at work. In by M. Eid & R. Larsen, (eds.) The Science of Subjective Well-being, pp. 393-413. New York: The Guildford Press.

K

Kahn, W. A., 1990. Psychological conditions of personal engagement and disengagement at work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 33(4), pp. 692-724.

Kahneman, D., 1999. Objective happiness. *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology*, 3, p.25.

Kahneman, D., Krueger, A.B., Schkade, D.A., Schwarz, N. & Stone, A.A., 2004. A Survey Method for Characterizing Daily Life Experience: The Day Reconstruction Method. *Science*, 306(5702), p. 1776-1780.

Kahneman, D. & Tversky, A., 2000. *Choices, values and frames*. New York: Cambridge University Press and the Russell Sage Foundation.

Kaifi, B.A., Nafei, W.A., Khanfar, N.M. & Kaifi, M.M., 2012. A multi-generational workforce: Managing and understanding millennials. *International Journal of Business and Management*, 7(24), pp. 88-93.

Kaplan, R., 1993. The role of nature in the context of the workplace. *Landscape and urban planning*, 26(1-4), pp. 193-201.

Kashdan, T.B., Biswas-Diener, R. & King, L.A., 2008. Reconsidering happiness: the costs of distinguishing between hedonics and eudaimonia. *Journal of Positive Psychology*, 3(4), pp. 219-233.

Kelliher, C. & Anderson, D., 2008. For better or for worse? An analysis of how flexible working practices influence employees' perceptions of job quality. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 19(3), pp. 419-431.

Kernis, M.H., 2003. Toward a conceptualization of optimal self-esteem. *Psychological inquiry*, 14(1), pp. 1-26.

Kernis, M.H. & Goldman, B.M., 2006. A multicomponent conceptualization of authenticity: theory and research. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 38, pp. 283–357.

Kersley, B., Alpin, C., Forth, J., Bryson, A., Bewley, H., Dix, G., & Oxenbridge, S., 2005. *Inside the Workplace: First Findings from the 2004 Workplace Employment Relations Survey* (WERS 2004). London: Routledge.

Kilber, J., Barclay, A. and Ohmer, D., 2014. Seven tips for managing Generation Y. *Journal of Management Policy and Practice*, 15(4), p.80.

Kim, J. & de Dear, R., 2013. Workspace satisfaction: The privacy-communication trade-off in open-plan offices. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 36, pp. 18-26.

Kingfisher, C., 2013. Happiness: notes on history, culture and governance. *Health, Culture and Society*, 5(1), pp. 67- 82.

Klein, S. R., 2013. *Organisational Responsibility in Oxford Bibliographies*. Available at: http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199846740/obo-9780199846740-0055.xml#obo-9780199846740-0055-bibItem-0002 [Accessed 10 March 2017].

Klimchak, M., Carsten, M., Morrel, D., MacKenzie, W.I., 2016. Employee entitlement and proactive work behaviours: The moderating effects of narcissism and organisation identification. *Journal of Leadership & Organisational studies*, 23(4), pp. 387-396.

Knight, S., 2015. *The Life-Changing Magic of Not Giving A F*ck: How to Stop Spending Time You Don't Have with People You Don't Like Doing Things You Don't Want to Do*. Quercus publishing.

Knight, C. & Haslam, S. A., 2010. The relative merits of lean, enriched, and empowered offices: an experimental examination of the impact of workspace management strategies on well-being and productivity. *Journal of experimental psychology*, 16 (2), pp. 158-172.

Knowles, V., 2015. If you are happy and you know it… become a chief happiness officer. *The Guardian*, 13 July 2015. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/careers/2015/jul/13/if-youre-happy-and-you-know-it-become-a-chief-happiness-officer [Accessed 5 May 2017].

Kosfeld, M. & Neckermann, S., 2011. Getting More Work for Nothing? Symbolic Awards and Worker Performance. *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics*, 3(3), pp. 86-99.

Kowalski, T., 2013. The contribution of social support to employee psychological well-being: an exploratory mixed-methods case study. PhD. University of Edinburgh.

Kun, A., Balogh, P. & Krasz, K.G., 2016. Development of the work-related well-being questionnaire based on Seligman's PERMA model. *Periodica polytechnica social and management studies*, 25(1), pp. 56-63.

Kunter, A. & Bell, E., 2006. The Promise and Potential of Visual Organizational Research. *M@n@gement*, 9(3), pp. 169-189.

Kupperschmidt, B., 2000. Multigenerational employees: strategies for effective management. *Health Care Management*, 19, pp. 65-76.

Kurtz, J. & Lyubomirsky, S., 2013. Happiness promotion, using mindful photography to increase positive emotion and appreciation. In J. Froh, & A. Parks (eds.) *Activities for teaching positive psychology: A guide for instructors*, pp. 133-136. Washington: American Psychological Association.

Kweon, B. S., Ulrich, R. S., Walker, V. D., & Tassinary, L. G., 2008. Anger and stress—The role of landscape posters in an office setting. *Environment and Behavior*, 40(3), pp. 355–381.

L

Lavoie-Tremblay, M., Leclerc, E., Marchionni, C. & Drevniok, U., 2010. The needs and expectations of generation Y nurses in the workplace. *Journal for Nurses in Professional Development*, 26(1), pp.2-8.

Layard, R., 2005. *Happiness. Lessons from a new science*. London: Penguin Books.

Levinas, E. 1969. *Totality and infinity: An essay on exteriority*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Lewis, S., Passmore, J., & Cantore, S., 2008. *Appreciative inquiry for Change Management, Using AI to facilitate Organizational Development.* London and Philadelphia: Kogan page.

Lewis, S., Smithson, J. & Kugelberg, C., 2002. Into work: Job insecurity and changing psychological contracts. In J. Brannen, S. Lewis, A. Nilsen, J. Smithson (eds.) *Young Europeans, work and family: futures in transition*, pp. 69–88. London: Routledge.

Liedtka, J., 2008. Strategy making and the search for authenticity. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 80(2), pp. 237–248.

Lindebaum, D., & Jordan, P. J., 2014. When it can be good to feel bad and bad to feel good: Exploring asymmetries in workplace emotional outcomes. *Human Relations*. 67(9), pp. 1037-1050.

Locke, E. A., 1969. What is job satisfaction? *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 4(4), pp. 309–336.

Loretto, W. & Vickerstaff, S., 2015. Gender, age and flexible working in later life. *Work employment and society*, 29(2), pp. 233-249.

Lub, X.D., Bal, P.M., Blomme, R.J. & Schalk, R., 2016. One job, one deal… or not: do generations respond differently to psychological contract fulfillment?. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management,* 27(6), pp.653-680.

Lutz, A., Brefczynski-Lewis, J. A., Johnston, T., & Davidson R. J., 2008. Voluntary regulation of the neural circuitry of emotion by compassion meditation: Effects of expertise. *PLoS ONE*, 3(3), e1897.

Lyons, S., L. Duxbury, and C. Higgins. 2005. "An Empirical Assessment of Generational Differences in Work-Related Values." In *Proceedings of the Administrative Sciences Association Canada (ASAC) Symposium*, Toronto, Canada, May 28–31, pp. 62–71.

Lyons, S., Duxbury, L. & Higgins, C., 2007. An empirical assessment of generational differences in basic human values. *Psychological Reports*, 101(2), pp. 339-352.

Lyons, S. & Kuron, L., 2014. Generational differences in the workplace: A review of the evidence and directions for future research. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 35(S1).

Lyubomirsky, S., 2007. *The How of Happiness*. New York: The Penguin Press.

Lyubomirsky, S., King, L., & Diener, E., 2005a. The benefits of frequent positive affect: does happiness lead to success? *Psychological Bulletin*, 131(6), pp. 803–855.

Lyubomirsky, S. & Ross, L., 1999. Changes in attractiveness of elected, rejected, and precluded alternatives: a comparison of happy and unhappy individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76, pp. 988–1007.

Lyubomirsky, S., Sheldon, K. M., & Schkade, D., 2005b. Pursuing happiness: The architecture of sustainable change. *Review of General Psychology*, 9(2), pp. 111-131.

Lyubomirsky, S. & Tucker, K.L., 1998. Implications of individual differences in subjective happiness for perceiving, interpreting, and thinking about life events. *Motivation and emotion*, 22(2), pp. 155–186.

M

Macey, W. H., & Schneider, B., 2008. The meaning of employee engagement. *Industrial & Organizational Psychology: Perspectives on Science and Practice*, 1(1), 3-30.

MacKerron, G. & Mourato, S., 2013. *Happiness is greater in natural environments*. Global environmental change. LSE research online, available at: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/49376/1/Mourato_Happiness_greater_natural_2013.pdf, [Accessed 23 April 2017].

Macky, K., Gardner, D. & Forsyth, S., 2008. Generational differences at work: Introduction and overview. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(8), pp.857-861.

Maitlis, S. 2012. Narrative analysis, In G. Symon & C. Cassell (eds.) *Qualitative organizational research, core methods and current challenges,* pp. 492-511. London: Sage.

Making the case for the social sciences, 2013. *Wellness@work study*, British association for counselling and psychotherapy. Available at: http://www.acss.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Making-the-Case-9-Mental-Wellbeing-Web.pdf, [Accessed 12 May 2017].

Manion, J., 2009. Managing the Multi-Generational Workforce: Managerial and Policy Implications. *International Centre for Human Resources in Nursing*, Erişim Tarihi, 26, p.2013.

Manka, M.L., 2011. *Työn ilo*. Helsinki: WSOYPro.

Manz, C.C., 2015. Taking the self-leadership high road: Smooth surface or potholes ahead? *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 29(1), pp. 132-151.

Manz, C.C., Houghton, J.D., Neck, C.P., Fugate, M. & Pearce, C., 2016. Whistle While You Work: Toward a Model of Emotional Self-Leadership. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, 23(4), pp. 374-386.

Maslow, A., 1954. *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper & Row.

Matthews, B. & Ross, L., 2010. *Research methods. A practical guide for the social sciences.* Essex: Pearson.

Maximizing Millennials in the Workplace, 2012. Report. UNC Kenan-Flager Business School, Available at: https://www.kenan-flagler.unc.edu/executive-development/custom-programs/~/media/DF1C11C056874DDA8097271A1ED48662.ashx [Accessed 20 February 2017].

May, T.M., Korczynski M. & Frenkel, S.J., 2002. Organizational and occupational commitment: knowledge workers in large corporations. *Journal of Management Studies 39*(6), pp. 775–801.

McDonald, K. & Hite, L., 2008. The next generation of career success: implications for HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 10(86), pp. 86-103.

McManus Warnell, J., 2015. *Engaging Millennials for Ethical Leadership: What Works for Young Professionals and Their Managers.* (M. Gentile, Ed.). New York: Business Expert Press.

McMullin, J.A., Comeau, T.D. & Jovic, E., 2007. Generational affinities and discourses of difference: a case study of highly skilled information technology workers. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 58(2), pp. 297-316.

Meyer, J.P. & Allen, N.J., 1991. A three-component conceptualization of organizational commitment. *Human Resource Management Review*, 1(61), p. 29.

Meyers, M.C. & van Woerkom, M. Effects of a strengths intervention on general and worl-related well-being: The mediating role of positive affect. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 18(3), pp. 671-689.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis*, 2nd ed. London: Sage Ltd.

Millennial Impact Report, 2013. Case Foundation in collaboration with Achieve, available at: http://casefoundation.org/wp-

content/uploads/2014/11/MillennialImpactReport-2013.pdf [Accessed 14 April 2015].

Mitchell, W.J.T., 1994. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Morgeson, F.P. & Humphrey, S.E., 2006. The Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ): developing and validating a comprehensive measure for assessing job design and the nature of work. *Journal of applied psychology*, 91(6), p.1321.

Morey, N.C. & Luthans, F., 1984. An emic perspective and ethnoscience methods for organizational research. *Academy of Management review*, 9(1), pp. 27-36.

Mycoskie, B. 2012. *Start something that matters*. New York, NY: Speigel & Grau Trade Paperbacks.

Myers, D.G. & Diener, E., 1995. Who Is Happy? Psychological Science, 6(1), pp. 10-19.

N

NHS, 2015. Why 5 a day? Available at: http://www.nhs.uk/Livewell/5ADAY [Accessed 17 March 2017].

O

Oerlemans, W.G.M., Bakker, A.B. & Demerouti, E., 2014. How feeling happy during off-job activities helps successful recovery from work: A day reconstruction study. *Work & Stress*, 28(2), pp. 198-216.

Ojanen, M., 2009. *Hyvinvoinnin käsikirja*. Helsinki: Kirjapaja.

ONS, 2017. *Measuring national well-being in the UK: international comparisons*, available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/articles/measuringnationalwellbeing/internationalcomparisons2017 [Accessed 15 March 2017].

P

Parry, E. & Urwin, P., 2011. Generational Differences in Work Values: A Review of Theory and Evidence. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 13(1), pp. 79–96.

Parzefall, M.R. & Hakanen, J., 2010. Psychological contract and its motivational and health-enhancing properties. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 25(1), pp.4-21.

Peck, J., 2013. Explaining (with) neoliberalism. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1(2), pp.132-157.

Peterson, C., & Park, N. 2006. Character strengths in organizations. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 27(8), pp. 1149–1154.

Peterson, C., & Seligman, M. E. P. 2004. *Character strengths and virtues: A handbook and classification*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pink, S., 2006. *The future of visual anthropology: Engaging the senses*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Pink, S., 2011. Sensory Digital Photography: Re-thinking 'Moving' and the Image. *Visual Studies*. 26(11), pp. 4-13.

Porter, M. E., & Kramer, M. R., 2011. Creating Shared Value: How to Reinvent Capitalism—and Unleash a Wave of In- novation and Growth. *Harvard Business Review,* January-February 2011. Available at: https://hbr.org/2011/01/ the-big-idea-creating-shared-value [Accessed at 12 May 2017].

Potts, J., 2011. The use of happiness in society. *Policy*, 27 (1), pp. 3-10.

Prins, E. ,2010. Participatory photography: A tool for empowerment or surveillance? *Action research*, 8 (4), pp. 426-443.

Pritchard, K., 2012. Combining qualitative methods. In G. Symon & C. Cassell (eds.) *Qualitative organizational research, core methods and current challenges*, pp. 132-148. London: Sage.

Prowse, J. & Prowse, P., 2015. Flexible working and work-life balance: midwives' experiences and views. *Work, employment and society*, 29(5), pp. 757-774.

PwC, 2011. *Millennials at work, Reshaping the workplace*. PwC's 14th annual global CEO survey. Available at: http://www.pwc.com/m1/en/services/consulting/documents/millennials-at-work.pdf [Accessed 15March 2017].

Q

Quatro, S. A., 2012. Millennial-centric Strategic HR: Key Practices for Attracting, Developing, and Retaining Millennials, *Managing Human Resources from the Millennial Generation*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age, pp. 323–333.

Quinlan, D., Swain, N., & Vella-Brodrick, D. A. 2012. Character strengths interventions: Building on what we know for improved outcomes. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 13 (6), pp. 1145–1163.

R

Raja, U., Johns, G. & Ntalianis, F., 2004. The impact of personality on psychological contracts. Academy of Management Journal, 47(3), pp.350-367.

Rath. T., 2006. *Vital friends: the people you cannot afford to live without*. New York: Gallup press.

Rayton, B.A. & Yalabik, Z.Y., 2014. Work engagement, psychological contract breach and job satisfaction. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 25(17), pp. 2382-2400.

Real, K., Mitnick, A.D. and Maloney, W.F., 2010. More similar than different: Millennials in the US building trades. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp.303-313.

Reindl, C.U., Kaiser, S. & Stolz, M.L., 2011. Integrating professional work and life: conditions, outcomes and resources. In S. Kaiser, M. Ringlestetter, D.R. Eikhof & M. Pina e Cunha (eds.) *Creating balance? International perspective on the work-life integration of professionals*, pp. 3-26. Heidelberg: Springer.

Riessman, C. K., 2011. What's different about narrative inquiry? Cases, categories and contexts. In E. Silverman (ed.) *Qualitative research*, 3rd edition. London: Sage.

Riketta, M., 2005. Organisational identification: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 66(2), pp. 358-384.

Robinson, S.L., 1996. Trust and breach of the psychological contract. *Administrative science quarterly*, 41, pp. 574-599.

Robinson, S.L. & Rousseau, D.M., 1994. Violating the psychological contract: Not the exception but the norm. *Journal of organizational behavior*, 15(3), pp. 245-259.

Roberts, L.M., 2006. Shifting the lens on organizational life: The added value of positive scholarship. *Academy of Management Review*, 31(2), pp. 292–305.

Rodríguez-Muñoz, A., Sanz-Vergel, A.,Demerouti, E., & Bakker, A., 2014. Engaged at work and happy at home: a spillover-crossover model. *Journal of happiness studies*, 15(2), pp. 271-283.

Rose, G., 2012. *Visual methodologies, An introduction to researching with visual materials*. London: SAGE.

Rothbard, N.P., 2001. Enriching or depleting? The dynamics of engagement in work and family roles. *Administrative science quarterly*, 46(4), pp.655-684.

Rotter, J., 1966. Generalised expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs – General and Applied*, 80(609), pp. 1-28.

Rousseau, D.M., 1989. Psychological and implied contracts in organizations. *Employee responsibilities and rights journal*, 2(2), pp.121-139.

Rousseau, D.M. & Tijoriwala, S.A., 1998. Assessing psychological contracts. Issues , alternatives and measures. *Journal of organizational behavior*, 19, pp. 679-695.

Ruben, B.D. & Gigliotti, R.A., 2016. Leadership as social influence: An expanded view of leadership communication theory and practice. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studie*s, 23(4), pp. 467-479.

Ruben, B.D. & Stewart, L., 2016. *Communication and human behaviour*, 6th edition. Dubuque, AI: Kendall Hunt.

Ruokolainen, M., Mauno, S., Diehl, M.R., Tolvanen, A., Mäkikangas, A. & Kinnunen, U., 2016. Patterns of psychological contract and their relationships to employee well-being and in-role performance at work: longitudinal evidence from university employees. The International Journal of Human Resource Management, pp.1-24.

S

Sachau, D., 2007. Resurrecting the motivation-hygiene theory: Herzberg and the positive psychology movement. *Human Resource Development Review*, 6(4), pp. 377-393.

Salanova, M., Bakker, A B. & Llorens, S., 2006. Flow at work: Evidence for an upward spiral of personal and organizational resources. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 7(1), pp. 1-22.

Salerno, S., 2010. Ignorance of Bliss. *Skeptic*, 16 (1), pp. 52-59.

Saint Louis University, n.d. Faculty facts, Daniel Haybron, available at: https://www.slu.edu/colleges/AS/philos/site/people/faculty/Haybron/ [Accessed 21 April 2017].

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A., 2009. *Research methods for business students*, 5th edition. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Schalk, R. & Rousseau, D., 2001. Psychological contracts in employment: theory, methods and application'. In N. Anderson, D. Ones, H. Sinangil & C. Viswesvaran (eds). *Handbook of Industrial, Work and Organizational Psychology*, Vol 2. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Schaufeli, W. B., Salanova, M., Gonzalez-Roma, V., & Bakker, A. B., 2002. The measurement of burnout and engagement: A confirmatory factor analytic approach. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 3(1), pp. 71–92.

Scherer, A. & Palazzo, G., 2009. Globalisation and corporate social responsibility, in A. Crane, A. McWilliams, D. Matten, J. Moon & D. Siegel (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of corporate social responsibility*, pp. 413-431. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sheahan, P. 2005. *Generation Y: Thriving (and surviving) with Generation Y at work.* Victoria, Australia: Hardie Grant Books.

Searle, B.J. & Parker, S.K., 2013. Work design and happiness: active, reciprocal perspective. In S.A. David, I. Boniwell & A.C. Ayers (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Happiness*, pp. 711-733. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seligman, M.E.P., 2003. *Authentic Happiness*. London: Nicolas Brealey Publishing.

Seligman, M.E.P. 2011*. Flourish*. London: Nicholas Bradley Publishing.

Seligman, M. E. P., & Csikszentmihalyi, M., 2000. Special issue on happiness, excellence, and optimal human functioning. *American Psychologist*, 55, pp. 5-14.

Sennett, R., 1976. *The Fall of Public Man*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shuck, B. & Wollard, K., 2010. Employee engagement and HRD: A seminal review of the foundations. *Human Resource Development Review*, *9*(1), pp. 89-110.

Sinek, S., 2016. Millennials in the workplace, Inside Quest (video online). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hER0Qp6QJNU [Accessed 12 March 2017].

Slavin, S., Schindler, D.,Chibnall, J.T., Fendell, G. & Shoss, M., 2012. PERMA: a model for institutional leadership and culture change. *Academic medicine*, 87 (11), p. 1481.

Smithson, J. & Lewis, S., 2000. Is job insecurity changing the psychological contract? *Personnel Review*, 29(6), p. 680–702

Smola, K.W. & Sutton, C.D., 2002. Generational differences: Revisiting generational work values for the new millennium. *Journal of Organisational Behaviour*, 23(4), pp. 363–382.

Springer, S., 2016. The violence of neoliberalism. In S. Springer, K. Birch & J. MacLeavy (Eds.) *Handbook of Neoliberalism*, pp.153-163, London and New York: Routledge.

Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 2011. *Happiness*. Available at: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/happiness/ [Accessed on February 2017].

Strangleman, T., 2004. Ways of (not) Seeing Work: The Visual As a Blind Spot in WES? *Work, Employment & Society*, 18(1), pp. 179–192.

Sturges, J. & Guest, D., 2004. Working to live or living to work? Work/life balance early in the career. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 14(4), pp. 5–20.

Suh, Y.J., 2016. The role of relational social capital and communications in the relationship between CSR and employee attitudes: a multilevel analysis. *Journal of Leadership & Organisational studies*, 23(4), pp. 410-423.

Suleman, R. & Nelson, B., 2011. Motivating the millennials: Tapping into the potential of the youngest generation. *Leader to Leader*, 2011(62), pp.39-44.

Sumner, L.W., 1996. Welfare, happiness and ethics. New York: Oxford University Press.

Suojanen, I., 2013. Work for your happiness – Defining and measuring happiness at work. CreateSpace.

T

Tapscott, D., 2009. *Grown up digital. How the net generation is changing your world*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Thin, N., 2002. *Social Progress and Sustainable Development*. London: ITDG Publications.

Thin, N., 2012a. *Social happiness, Theory into policy and practice*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Thin, N., 2012b. Counting and recounting happiness and culture: on happiness surveys and prudential ethnobiography. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 2(4), pp. 313-332.

Thin, N., 2015. Positive Social Planning. In S. Joseph (ed.) *Positive Psychology in Practice: Promoting Human Flourishing in Work, Health, Education, and Everyday Life*, 2nd edition, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Thin, N., 2016a. Home and Away: Place appreciation and purposeful relocation in later life. *Anthropology in Action*, 23(3), pp. 6-16.

Thin, N., 2016b. *Listening and being understood, 'Social wellbeing keywords'*, unpublished draft.

Thin, N., 2017. *Happiness Lens*. Neil Thin's research and practice blog on life enhancement and ultimate values. University of Edinburgh. Available at: http://www.happiness-lens.ed.ac.uk/happiness-is-social__trashed/using-the-happiness-lens/ [Accessed 3 May 2017].

Thompson, P., 2013. Financialization and the workplace: extending and applying the disconnected capitalism thesis. *Work, Employment and Society*, 27(3), pp.472-488.

Torrington, D., Hall, L., Taylor, S. & Atkinson, C., 2010. *Human Resource Management*, 8th edition. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Tulgan, B. 2009. *Not everyone gets a trophy: How to manage Generation Y. San Francisco*, California: Jossey-Bass.

Twenge, J.M., 2010. A review of the empirical evidence on generational differences in work attitudes. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp.201-210.

Twenge, J. M., & Campbell, S. M., 2008. Generational differences in psychological traits and their impact on the workplace. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(8), pp. 862-877.

U

UN, 2011. UN resolution 65/309 Happiness: towards a holistic approach to development, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 19 July 2011. Available at: https://docs.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=http://www.happinessday.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/UN66281.pdf&hl=en_US, [Accessed 2 May 2017].

UN, 2012. UN resolution 66/281 International Day of Happiness, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 28 June 2012. Available at: https://docs.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=http://www.happinessday.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/UN66281.pdf&hl=en_US, [Accessed 2 May 2017].

United Nations Global Compact, n.d., Available at: https://www.unglobalcompact.org/what-is-gc/mission/principles [Accessed 15 March 2017].

V

Van Den Bosch, R. & Toon W. T., 2014. The authentic worker's well-being and performance: the relationship between authenticity at work, well-being, and work outcomes. *Journal of Psychology* 148(6), pp. 659-681.

Van der Vaart, L., Linde, B., De Beer, L. and Cockeran, M., 2015. Employee well-being, intention to leave and perceived employability: A psychological contract approach. *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences*, 18(1), pp.32-44.

Van De Voorde, K., Paauwe, J., & Van Veldhoven, M., 2012. Employee Well-being and the HRM–Organizational Performance Relationship: A Review of Quantitative Studies. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 14, pp. 391–407.

Van Straten, P., 2016. *Everyone who enters this world has a chance to heal it*. Available at: http://www.petervanstraten.co.za/page/3/ [Accessed 25 May 2017].

Varila J. & Viholainen T., 2000. Työnilo tutkimuksen kohteeksi. Mitä uusia tuulia ja virikkeitä työnilon kokemukset tarjoavat henkilöstön tai organisaation kehittämiseen? [Joy of work as the research target. What new trends and stimuli can experiences of joy of work offer to the personnel or organizational development?], University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu.

Veenhoven, R., 2008. Sociological theories of subjective well-being. In M. Eid & R. Larsen (eds) The science of subjective well-being: A tribute to Ed Diener, pp. 44-61. NY: Guikldford puclications.

Veenhoven, R., 2010. Greater happiness for a greater number. Is that possible and desirable? *Journal of happiness studies*, 11 (5), pp. 605-629.

Veenhoven, R., 2013. Notions of the Good Life. In S.A. David, I. Boniwell & A.C. Ayers (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Happiness*, pp. 161-173. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Verme, P., 2009. Happiness, freedom and control. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization,* 71(2), pp. 146-161.

Viatte, M., Suojanen, I. & Heins, E., 2014. *Good lives and decent societies* (GLADS), Project Report, Scottish Universities Insight Institute, University of Strathclyde. Available at: http://www.scottishinsight.ac.uk/Portals/50/GLADS/GLADS_final%20report.pdf [Accessed 1 May 2017].

Vickerstaff, S., 2010. Older workers: the 'unavoidable obligation' of extending our working lives? *Sociology Compass* 4(10): pp. 869–79.

Vince, R. & Warren, S., 2012. Participatory visual methods, In G. Symon & C. Cassell (eds.) *Qualitative organizational research, core methods and current challenges*, pp. 275-295. London: Sage.

Vittersø, Joar (ed.) 2016. *Handbook of Eudaimonic Wellbeing*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Von Nordenflycht, A., 2010. What is a professional service firm? Toward a theory and taxonomy of knowledge-intensive firms. *Academy of Management Review* 35(1), pp. 155–174.

W

Waldinger, R., 2016. *What makes a good life? Lessons from the longest study on happiness*, Grant and Glueck study. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8KkKuTCFvzI, [Accessed 24 March 2017].

Warr, P., 1996. Employee well-being. In: P, Warr P., (ed.) *Psychology at Work,* pp. 224-253. London: Penguin Books.

Warr, P.B., 2007. *Work, happiness and unhappiness*. London:Routledge.

Warr, P.B., 2013. Jobs and Job-Holders: Two sources of Happiness and Unhappiness. In S.A. David, I. Boniwell & A.C. Ayers (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Happiness*, pp. 733-750. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Warr, P. & Clapperton, G., 2010. *The joy of work?: Jobs, happiness, and you*. London: Routledge.

Warren, S., 2002. Show Me How it Feels to Work Here: Using Photography to Research Organizational Aesthetics. *Ephemera*, 2(3), pp. 224–245.

Waters, L., & White, M., 2013. Case study of a school wellbeing initiative : Using appreciative inquiry to support positive change. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 5(1), pp. 19–32.

Wegge, J., Dick, R. v., Fisher, G. K., West, M. A. & Dawson, J. F., 2006. A Test of Basic Assumptions of Affective Events Theory (AET) in Call Centre Work. *British Journal of Management*, 17(3), pp. 237–254.

Weiss, H. M., 2002. Deconstructing job satisfaction, Separating evaluations, beliefs and affective experiences. *Human Resource Management Review*, 12, pp. 173–194.

Weiss, H.M. & Cropanzano, R., 1996. Affective events theory: A theoretical discussion of the structure, causes and consequences of affective experiences at work. *Research in Organisational Behaviour*, 18, pp. 1-74.

What Works Centre, 2017. Available at: https://whatworkswellbeing.org. [Accessed 20 February 2017].

Wieck, K.L., Dols, J. & Landrum, P., 2010. Retention priorities for the intergenerational nurse workforce. *Nursing Forum*, 45, 1, pp. 7-17.

Winter, R. & Jackson, B., 2015. Work values preferences of generation Y: performance relationship insights in the Australian Public Service. *The International Journal of Human Resource management,* 27(17), pp. 1-19.

Z

Zhang, J.W., Piff, P.K., Iyer, R., Koleva, S. & Keltner, D., 2014. An occasion for unselfing: beautiful nature leads to prosociality. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 36(1), pp. 61-72.

Zupančič, A., 2008. *The Odd One In*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Zweig, J., 2015. Are Women Happier than Men? Evidence from the Gallup World Poll. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 16(2), pp. 515-541.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Information sheet

Show me what makes you happy at work
Study on workplace happiness

About the project
The research investigates happiness experienced at work. Through visual and narrative research the study aims to answer the question of how different aspects at work facilitate individuals' happiness in everyday work situations and what happiness at work means to people. The purpose of this two-week study is to find out more about your thoughts on this topic and about your experiences. This research is part of my PhD degree at the University of Edinburgh.

What is expected from me?
The data will be collected through two interviews and a photo-diary.
1. short discussion/interview about the research and workplace happiness, before the photo-diary (present: you and I)
2. two week individual photo-diary period, when photos with explanations are sent using WhatsApp (or email)
3. interview based on the pictures taken during the photo-diary period (present: you and I)

The photo-diary:
You will be asked to take photos of various aspects influencing your happiness at work during a two-week period. During these two consecutive weeks, I would like you to take photos of those moments when you experience happiness at work and then to support the photo with an explanation: by writing in a couple of sentences why the picture was taken. Please then send the picture immediately or as soon as possible to me with the explanation to my number, which can be found in this form, using WhatsApp.

What about confidentiality?
I would like to assure you that the data collection process will be completely confidential. Even though some of the quotes might be used in the written and verbal presentations, nothing you say will be attributed directly to you and no one will be able to identify you from your replies. Your identity will remain ANONYMOUS. Photos and interview transcripts will be saved on a secure server. Audio recordings will be destroyed upon completion of the PhD program. Individuals, employers and/or organizations will not be able to be identified from the results.

I have given you "The What if"-form which answers some of the questions you might have. If you would like some more information about the study, or if there are any questions or comments that arise, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor.

Thank you very much for your participation, it is highly appreciated!
So now, would you like to show me what makes you happy at work?

Ilona Suojanen (PhD candidate) Email: i.i.suojanen@sms.ed.ac.uk Phone: 07 472089205 Office 2.02., University of Edinburgh Business School, 29 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, EH8 9JS	Supervisor, professor Wendy Loretto Email: wendy.loretto@ed.ac.uk Office 2.11., University of Edinburgh Business School, 29 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, EH8 9JS

What if…?

What if I forget to take a photo?
- Preferably, you can take a photo afterwards and send it then. Or make a strong decision to remember to take a picture next time happiness happens.

What if the picture is blurry/too exposed with light/too dark/unfocused or otherwise poor quality?
- It does not matter at all. This is not a photo competition or an art project. Please send it anyways.

What if I am on business trip, working from home/café/library, have irregular working hours, experience happiness during a break?
- That is perfectly fine and part of today's working life. You decide those moments when you experience happiness at work. Lunch and coffee breaks are part of a workday as well.

What if I take photos of wrong things?
- As happiness is very personal and subjective experience, feel free to share anything that makes you happy in a work-related situation. There are no right or wrong experiences/feelings/photos/explanations. The content or the significance of the photo can be clarified in the explanation, if needed.

What if there is a day/period of no happiness?
- That is perfectly fine. You can send as many or as few pictures during these two weeks. There should be no pressure to take extra photos and the amount of photos is not limited either.

What if there are many happiness moments during one day?
- That is perfectly fine (and I am happy for you!). You can send as many or as few pictures during these two weeks. There should be no pressure to take extra photos and the amount of photos is not limited either.

What if I cannot take a picture in a certain situation?
- You can always take a photo afterwards (even set a scene if needed, this is not necessary though). Alternatively you can also send the explanation only. However, photo with the explanation is preferable.

What if there are children in the photo?
- Please avoid taking pictures of children. If there are any in the photos, they will be removed or partly blurred if used in publications or presentations.

What if the company's name, logo or address is in the photo?
- It will be blurred if the photo is used in any presentations or publications. Employers and/or organizations will not be able to be identified from the results.

What if participation in this study causes difficulty or distress?
- I do not anticipate any of these, but if there is anything you wish not to do or answer please let me know.

Appendix 2 Consent form

Consent form

Show me what makes you happy at work
Study on workplace happiness

Please tick the boxes and sign the form. Thank you.

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet about the research and have had a chance to ask questions. ☐
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time and this will not affect me in any way. ☐
- I give my permission for the interview to be recorded. ☐
- I give my permission for the taken images to be used in presentations, publications and other possible formats regarding this study. ☐
- I give my permission to send me a reminder of the study during the photo-diary period (between office hours 9-18, no more than once a day). ☐

I wish to receive a thank you message after every entry.

☐ No thank you ☐ Yes, please

You have received a copy of the information sheet to keep. By signing this form you agree to participate in the study described in the information sheet.

_____
Name of the person taking consent (in capital letters)

_____
Date and signature

Appendix 3 Interview questions

Show me what makes you happy at work

Pre mindful photography period interview questions:

(Could you tell me about the moments when you have been happy at work?)

Is this a happy place to work?

Are people happy here/at this office/ in this organization?

How happy are you at work*?

Do you think your colleagues are as happy at work as you are*?

When you speak of happiness, what do you have on mind*?

When are you happy at work?

What are the aspects that influence your happiness at work*?

What are your expectations for being happy at work*?

What role does your work and different aspects of work have on your overall happiness*?

Who do you think is responsible for happiness at work*?

Who do you think is responsible for your happiness at work*?

Does your happiness influence your behavior/actions at work*? If so, how?

Does other people's happiness influence your happiness at work?

What does happiness mean to you?

What does happiness at work mean to you*?

Afterwards:
Has participating in this study had influence on your happiness at work? If so, how?

Those marked with asterisk (*) will also be asked in the interview after the photo-diary period.