

Community Quality-of-Life and Well-Being

Patsy Kraeger  
Scott Cloutier  
Craig Talmage *Editors*

# New Dimensions in Community Well-Being

 Springer

# **Community Quality-of-Life and Well-Being**

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The Community Quality of Life and Well-being book series is a collection of volumes related to community level research, providing community planners and quality of life researchers involved in community and regional well-being innovative research and application. Formerly entitled, Community Quality of Life Indicators: Best Practices, the series reflects a broad scope of well-being. Next to best practices of community quality-of-life indicators projects the series welcomes a variety of research and practice topics as related to overall community well-being and quality of life dimensions, whether relating to policy, application, research, and/or practice. Research on issues such as societal happiness, quality of life domains in the policy construct, measuring and gauging progress, dimensions of planning and community development, and related topics are anticipated. This series is published by Springer in partnership with the International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies, a global society with the purpose of promoting and encouraging research and collaboration in quality of life and well-being theory and applications.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

**Patsy Kraeger, Scott Cloutier and Craig Talmage**

**Abstract** An overview of new dimensions of conceptual and applied work in community well-being and quality of life studies across the globe.

**Keywords** Community well-being · Quality of life

### 1.1 Introduction from the Editors

Our book was conceived when a New Scholars Group was formed in anticipation of the 12th annual *International Society for Quality of Life Studies* (ISQOLS) conference convened in Berlin, Germany in 2014. New scholars who attended that conference came from Africa, North and South America, Asia, Europe and the United Kingdom. New scholars are early scholars within the international field of Quality of Life Studies and include doctoral students, candidates, recent PhDs, fellows, and assistant professors across a variety of disciplines in the sciences and liberal arts. This collection of chapters, consisting of both conceptual and applied work, represents the diversity of that convening, along with other new scholars who presented at the 13th annual *International Society for Quality of Life Studies* (ISQOLS) in Phoenix, Arizona, 2015.

Several perspectives are used when considering quality of life and well-being from both the individual perspective and the larger institutional perspectives uti-

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lizing theory development and both quantitative and qualitative methods. This first chapter, the introduction by the editors, discusses the relationships between the different perspectives to inform the fields of quality of life and well-being studies across the globe. The ten chapters present commonalities, organized in key themes, to promote connections across these areas of scholarship to be applied in practice.

## **1.2 Community Well-Being: General Considerations for Our Work**

The volume opens with two chapters focused on the general considerations for work, both research and applied, regarding quality of life and well-being. We felt compelled to emphasize the importance of diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness in our work. Our second chapter, *Rethinking Diversity, Inclusion, and Inclusiveness: The Quest to Better Understand Indicators of Community Enrichment and Well-being*, provides researchers with a general roadmap for exploring these three topics in quality of life and well-being research. The chapter highlights the different resources of diversity and processes of inclusion needed to achieve, reinforce, and amplify inclusiveness in communities. Our third chapter, *Community well-being or quality of place? A few notes and application in Czech Republic*, deconstructs the concepts community well-being and quality of life for readers, so that they may have a fuller understanding of the larger research field. The chapter examines the notion of a good life and good place, which reflect the psychological and geographic underpinnings of well-being and quality of life research.

## **1.3 Community Well-Being: Across the Globe**

The volume continues with a grouping of three chapters covering varying levels of community well-being. The section starts with a global perspective in our fourth chapter—*Nurturing The Nurturing Mother: A Method to Assess The Interdependence of Human and Planetary Health Through Community Well-Being*. The chapter highlights a planetary perspective, stating that ecological boundaries must be considered when striving to enhance human-well-being. In our fifth chapter, *Subjective National Wellbeing and Xenophobia in Sub-Saharan Africa: Results and Lessons from South Africa*, the researchers take a national focus by analyzing subjective national wellbeing using South African public opinion data and mapping the linkages between national wellbeing and xenophobia. The section concludes with our sixth chapter, *A Closing Window of Opportunity—When Does Multidimensional Poverty Become Chronic? A Longitudinal Study of Australians*. Chapter six takes an individual perspective, via an international lens, by conducting a longitudinal analysis of the Australian Household, Income and Labour Dynamics dataset to determine the temporal scale that limits one's ability to escape poverty.

## 1.4 Place Based Satisfaction and Happiness

The volume proceeds with a grouping of three chapters focused on place-based satisfaction and happiness. The Seventh chapter, *What Is More Important: City's Attractiveness or Citizens' Residential Satisfaction? An Analysis of the Explanatory Attributes in Shrinking Cities of Portugal*, starts the section with an international focus on migration issues. The author provides a timely chapter focused on outcomes of migration choices and how both objective and subjective happiness measures of happiness are affected. In our eighth chapter, *Happiness Insights into Migration Policy and Choice Behavior of Immigrants*, the authors consider how inhabitants in shrinking Portuguese cities assess their level of residential satisfaction and the features that make their city attractive. The volume continues with Chap. 9, *Chapter House: Vision for a Sustainable Future*, in which the authors detail a project on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona, United States. The chapter describes technical ecological knowledge (TEK) as a tool to broaden opportunities for happiness in community development projects.

The tenth and eleventh chapters explore the concepts of well-being and quality of life in the more corporate realms. *Socioonomers: New Organizational Actors In Hybrid Corporations* introduces readers to a new type of actor in the United States (and likely worldwide). This actor, "the Socioonomer" is likely to be found in hybrid organizations, those with social missions such as benefit corporations (B corps) or low profit liability companies (L3C). These socially minded businesspersons may be keys to co-creating better organizations and communities, specifically through increasing financial and social well-being. Socioonomers are motivated for change. They embody the concept of "flow" recognizing the challenge of the task and the required corresponding skill set. Flow allows Socioonomers to achieve the optimal work experience through meaningful or purposeful work. Our eleventh chapter, *The Intersection of Positive Organizational Scholarship And Organizational Change*, emphasizes the dynamic role of change in quality of life and well-being. The emerging movement of positive organizational scholarship is presented as a foundation for discussion. The chapter concludes by highlighting the intersection of change in positive organizational scholarship and how understanding this intersection can help improve quality of life and well-being.

The common thread throughout the chapters is the alignment of multiple disciplines aimed towards addressing large social issues and questions surrounding quality of life and well-being. We conclude this volume letter that synthesizes the chapters present, so that we may better understand how to enhance quality of life and well-being across the globe. Our letter moves between individual to institutional perspectives. Larger issues such as employment, migration, poverty, culture, and well-being are highlighted as exemplars of the good work that is being done today the work and the great work needing to be conducted in the future. In the final chapter, we strive to find both commonalities and differences in the insights presented in this volume, so that a preliminary framework for quality of life and

well-being by scholars, new and old alike, can be utilized in future research and applied projects in our communities around the world.

We would like to thank all our authors for their contributions to the growing field of quality of life and well-being studies. We are grateful to organizations like the *International Society of Quality of Life Studies* (ISQOLS) for their support of new scholars. We would also like to offer special thanks to Dr. Rhonda Phillips for her mentorship in compiling and publishing this volume.

A lot of work went into making this volume rigorous in its scientific quality. Drawing on the inspiring volumes derived from ISQOLS conferences and networks, we hope, as Maggino (2015) writes, to “testify how this research field is not only lively in the present but also promising for the future” (p. vi). We wish you the best in your own endeavors around quality of life and well-being, and hope you find this collection inspiring and useful in your own good work. We would also like to acknowledge, Dr. Rhonda Phillips, President of ISQOLS during the 2014 and 2015 conference in Berlin, Germany and Phoenix, Arizona for encouraging this scholarship from both conferences to be presented in this publication.

## Reference

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**Part I**  
**Community Well-Being:**  
**General Considerations**

## Chapter 2

# Rethinking Diversity, Inclusion, and Inclusiveness: The Quest to Better Understand Indicators of Community Enrichment and Well-Being

Craig Talmage and Richard C. Knopf

**Abstract** Communities thrive on diversity in the long-run. Our communities are filled with diverse individuals and diverse groups of residents who, though they share a common place, may not experience their communities exactly the same as their fellow residents. Broad strokes are needed in our quests to better understand diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness indicators in our communities. These three concepts are the building-blocks to high levels of community well-being. This chapter synthesizes recent conceptualizations and research on these three concepts. Diversity is described as a community resource. Inclusion is highlighted as a community process, and inclusiveness is described as a community outcome. Three tools are proposed to leverage these building-blocks to increase community well-being. The three tools are policy, development, and enrichment in communities. This chapter proposes that community policy is best suited to address changes regarding indicators of diversity. Community development is best suited for inclusion, and community enrichment is best concentrated on inclusiveness.

**Keywords** Diversity · Inclusion · Inclusiveness · Community indicators · Community enrichment · Community development · Public policy

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## 2.1 The Community Well-Being Questions

*What do people want from their communities?* This question remains timeless. Ideally, individuals and communities alike desire to be at their best and want to transform their community systems into the best possible iterations of those systems (Bilu 1988). Likely, community members share the goal of establishing communities of high well-being that they want to reside in. Community well-being is often construed as an outcome state. For instance, Lee et al. (2016) conceptualize community well-being in terms of fulfillment; community well-being is achieved through the fulfillment of needs and desires. More likely, fulfillment of needs and desires, as an outcome, is only the beginning. For example, Rath and Harter (2010) contend that community well-being is both an outcome and a process that reinforces and enriches community well-being (see also, Talmage 2014, 2015). Ultimately, this chapter aims to convince the reader that inclusiveness in regards to human diversity is an essential dimension of community well-being.

In regards to community well-being, this chapter focuses on addressing the question, *what resources and processes are needed to achieve, reinforce, and amplify inclusiveness in communities?* Inclusive public spheres are established through policy, cooperation, and psychological enhancement, which underlie community engagement (Tibaldeo 2014). The resources and processes that move community members from disengaged to not yet engaged are distinctly different than those that move members to become engaged in communities (Grillo et al. 2010). That is, satisfaction with social processes in communities appear more pivotal increasing involvement, while satisfaction with physical resources and community services seem only protective against decreases in involvement. Their findings are consistent with previous studies (e.g., Brackertz and Kenley 2002; Orthner et al. 1990). Satisfaction with social and community experiences must be enriched psychologically to sustain engagement (Grillo et al. 2010; Talmage 2015). Specifically, this chapter addresses the previous question by discussing various indicators of community resources, processes, and outcomes that may influence policy, development, and enrichment (Phillips and Pittman 2009; Talmage 2014).

Policy, development, and enrichment are three tools that can be used to build a community capacity's to increase their own well-being. Policy frees community resources, development betters community processes, and enrichment amplifies community outcomes. Diversity is seen as a community resource, inclusion is seen as a community process, and inclusiveness is seen as a community outcome. All three are building-blocks of a community's capacity to increase their own well-being. Based on these sets of tools and building-blocks, this chapter thus argues that community capacity may be increased through the following:

- (1) Community policy focused on diversity;
- (2) Community development focused on inclusion; and,
- (3) Community enrichment focused on inclusiveness.

To create a fuller picture, academic, civic, and practice-based resources are used to in our elucidation of definitions, themes, and indicators of diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness.

## 2.2 Three Building-Blocks: Diversity, Inclusion, and Inclusiveness

### 2.2.1 *Defining Diversity, Inclusion, and Inclusiveness*

Any assessment of diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness in a community context should begin with the primary question: *What is diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness?* A solid understanding of these building-blocks is crucial at the outset, so that there is not an excessive or distracting amount of conceptual fuzziness. With the dearth of research, perfect definitions are unreasonable to expect; however, basic framing remains possible. This chapter in particular focuses on these building-blocks in the human and social capital domains of the community capitals framework (Emery and Flora 2006); however, other forms of diversity that relate to physical and natural capital like biodiversity and spatial diversity exist as well (e.g., Black and Hughes 2001; Mohanty and Tanton 2012). Each section, hereafter, will connect the three building-blocks (i.e., diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness) of community capacity to community well-being and highlight the main themes explored through theory and measurement.

**Resources** are supplies that are present that can be raised up in communities. *Diversity* is heralded as a resource that is already present within communities that can be sourced to increase a community's capacity to improve their own well-being. The community resource called diversity refers to the composition of a community, which encompasses a wide range of differences within and between both individuals and groups (DECC 2012; Roberson 2006; The City of Edmonton, n.d.; U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011). Individuals vary in their own layers of diversity, such as variations in identities, attitudes, behaviors, and perspectives (Roberson 2006; The City of Edmonton, n.d.). Thus, diversity covers observable and hidden differences in perspectives, backgrounds, personalities, cultures, identities, and experiences (Jackson et al. 1995; Kochan et al. 1996; Milliken and Martins 1996; Thomas and Ely 1996; Tsui et al. 1992).

**Processes** are methods and actions that carry or move communities forward. *Inclusion* is put forth as a process that leverages human diversity to increase a community's capacity to improve their own well-being. The community process called inclusion encompasses approaches by community persons and groups to include, involve, and value differences between individuals and groups (DECC 2012; The City of Edmonton, n.d.). Inclusion views differences between individuals and groups in communities as strengths (The City of Edmonton, n.d.). Viewing differences as strengths in some ways shows honor for an individual's experience,

so that he or she may feel valued and included (DECC 2012; Roberson 2006). Inclusion creates a culture that connects and empowers individuals, so that they are able to fully contribute and participate (Miller 1998; Mor-Barak and Cherin 1998; Roberson 2006; U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011). To do so, they must be able to access the necessary information and resources to participate (Mor-Barak and Cherin 1998); thus, inclusion uses diversity as a resource to promulgate inclusiveness.

**Outcomes** are the results of actions undertaken in communities. *Inclusiveness* is a community outcome that results from methods of inclusion that utilize diversity as a resource. The community outcome called inclusiveness has been defined as the inclusion of all individuals and groups, specifically individuals or groups who were previously not included or excluded (Bicchi 2006; Ibarra 1993; Pettigrew and Martin 1989). Inclusiveness is also the ability of a community to include all its members and avoid excluding any of them (Reynal-Querol 2005). Lockwood (2010) defines inclusiveness as “the opportunities available for all stakeholders to participate in and influence decision-making processes and actions” (760). In their review, Smith et al. (2012) describe inclusiveness as the integration of all members in systems (see also Roberson 2006). To be integrated, all members must be able to share and not compete for power and resources (Bicchi 2006; Lloyd et al. 2006; Townsend 1997). Therefore, inclusiveness is the result of the inclusion of diversity in communities; however, it still needs enhancement (Tibaldeo 2014).

### 2.2.2 *Diversity Defined as a Resource*

Human diversity continues to be linked in the literature to community health, resilience, strength, and well-being (Black and Hughes 2001; Watts et al. 1994). Famously, Putnam (2007) has been *misquoted for noting that* diversity could be harmful to civic life, but he actually has contended that diversity is a long-run game. Putnam (2007) has emphasized that societies that work to overcome fragmentation between heterogeneous persons and groups and work to increase social solidarity are likely to benefit culturally, developmentally, economically, and fiscally. Diversity and tolerance of diversity have become recognized indicators of social progress and democratic success (Salvaris and Woolcock 2010). For example, stable, stable, racially and ethnically diverse communities are more likely to have a larger middle-class and larger stocks of affordable housing (Nyden et al. 1997).

Hereafter, we present an overview of the key themes derived from indicators research surrounding diversity as a community resource, so that the reader may be aware of what avenues can be explored in the future work towards community well-being. Key themes of the overview, and affiliated indicator variables are summarized in Table 2.1.

Diversity is commonly viewed in terms of *demographics*, which are features that describe the composition of a population (Roberson 2006). Going back to the English and Greek linguistic roots of the word, “demography” literally means “map

**Table 2.1** Key themes and indicators of diversity as a community resource

Themes	Common indicators	Source
Demographics	National origin, language, race, color, disability, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, socioeconomic status, veteran status, and family structures	Roberson (2006), SHRM (2009), The City of Edmonton (n.d.), U.S. Office of Personnel Management (2011)
Tolerance and acceptance	Social capital, norms, habits, respect, cooperation, attitudes, and values	Black and Hughes (2001), Foote (2005), Mohanty and Tanton (2012), Thomson (2010)
Cultural	Plurality, awareness, visibility, languages, celebrations, policies, acknowledgment, promotion, artistic expression, storytelling, and multiculturalism	Black and Hughes (2001), Foote (2005), Mohanty and Tanton (2012), Palich and Edmonds (2013), Pstross et al. 2014, Salvaris (2007), Talmage et al. 2016, Thomson (2010)
Cohesion	Cognitions—trust, sense of community, and collective efficacy/empowerment; Behaviors—cooperation, neighboring, and participation; and, Social conditions—independence, autonomy, and recognition	Black and Hughes (2001), Falk, Golding, and Balatti (2000), Foote (2005), Perkins et al. (2002); Royal and Rossi (1996); Thomson (2010)
Activities and actors	Leaders, organizations, events, projects, programs, services, leisure, sport, recreation, dialogue	Foote (2005), Johanson et al. (2014), Mulligan et al. (2008), Palich and Edmonds (2013), The City of Edmonton (n.d.), Salvaris (2007), Schulkorf (2012), Thomson (2010)

of the people.” In modern vernacular, demographic measurements “include, but are not limited to, characteristics such as national origin, language, race, color, disability, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, socioeconomic status, veteran status, and family structures” (U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011: 3). These demographics may include those who emigrate/immigrate or who are born and raised in a particular area (SHRM 2009; U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011). More importantly, these demographics cannot only be seen as differences among people based on origin or residence (U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011). Notably, there are unseen layers to identity and indicators of diversity that are less apparent, such as sexual orientation (see Milliken and Martins 1996). Florida (2005) has emphasized the importance of indicators such as LGBTQ, bohemian, and creative class indexes in measuring cities’ potential to attract creativity and talent (see also Kanai 2014). He notes, “Talented people are attracted to locations that have a high degree of demographic diversity and are distinguished by a high degree of openness and relatively low barriers to entry” (100). As noted earlier, these layers and indicators

can be extended to differences in thought and life experience (U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011: 4). Today, many assessments focus on how well communities tolerate and accept diversity (e.g., Black and Hughes 2001; Mohanty and Tanton 2012).

*Tolerance and acceptance* of diversity have been linked to community well-being. The social strength of heterogeneous communities appears to depend upon a high degree of tolerance and acceptance of diversity (Black and Hughes 2001). Black and Hughes (2001) note, "Some communities have a much greater diversity of composition than others. Where the diversity is greater, the issue of tolerance becomes more important. There is a particular strength in non-homogeneous communities that have a high degree of tolerance" (104). Thus, tolerance and acceptance can serve as an indicator of how well social capital functions in diverse communities (Foote 2005; Mohanty and Tanton 2012). Congruently, social capital's characteristics include value and respect from others (Black and Hughes 2001; Cox and Caldwell 2000; Thomson 2010). Measurements of acceptance and tolerance may involve attitudes as well (Black and Hughes 2001; Thomson 2010). Black and Hughes (2001) write, "Tolerance involves respect for those who have different ways of life, different norms and habits from oneself. It does not necessarily mean agreeing with such people, but means that the differences are not seen as a barrier to cooperation" (104). Respect can be extended to cultural differences (Thomson 2010).

*Cultural diversity*, which goes deeper than demography, has also been identified as an indicator of community well-being, specifically social capital (Mohanty and Tanton 2012). Cultural diversity refers essentially to pluralities of cultures and their respective composite parts (Foote 2005). Measurements of such pluralities include awareness and visibility of other cultures (Salvaris 2007; Thomson 2010). Many have looked at the number of minority community groups and the amount of equality and rights awarded to those particular groups (e.g., Foote 2005). Others have honed in on the multiplicity of languages spoken in communities and groups (Foote 2005; Mohanty and Tanton 2012). Specifically, celebrations of cultural diversity have been suggested to indicate cultural policy success (Salvaris 2007). Therefore, the acknowledgement and promotion of multiculturalism remain important indicators of social capital and tools in community development efforts (Black and Hughes 2001; Thomson 2010).

Diversity is related to the strengthening of community *cohesion* when the aim is to include diverse persons and cultures (Falk et al. 2000). For example, how individuals in communities view multiculturalism, a thought-process (i.e., cognition), has been identified as an indicator of diversity and community cohesion (Black and Hughes 2001). Congruently, social capital cognitions such as sense of community and collective efficacy appear relevant. For instance, Black and Hughes (2001) write, "Community strength is enhanced by a sense of community. It is weakened when sections of a community feel that they are marginalized or excluded from its activities and benefits, and particularly from its decision-making processes" (Black and Hughes 2001: 5, see also Royal and Rossi 1996). Feelings of belonging and connectedness, components of sense of community, are important to

building social capital, which can strengthen communities (Perkins et al. 2002; Royal and Rossi 1996; Thomson 2010).

The *activities and actors* (i.e., those who lead and plan activities) in communities are important indicators of diversity. The amount and variety of community activities and actors must be included in assessments of diversity (Mulligan et al. 2008; Salvaris 2007). Both the informal and formal participation of persons from different backgrounds must be recognized, dignified, and cultivated by creating favorable conditions for participation (Foote 2005). Assessments should consider how well diversity is reflected in the community decision-making and leadership (Black and Hughes 2001; Thomson 2010). Additionally, effective community engagement projects appear to require awareness and visibility to the vast variety of individuals and groups in communities (Palich and Edmonds 2013; Thomson 2010). Particular vantage points for surveying diversity might include leisure, recreation, sport, art showcases, and other community events (Johanson et al. 2014; Salvaris 2007; Schulenkorf 2012).

### 2.2.3 *Inclusion Defined as a Process*

Diversity alone does not guarantee inclusion, inclusiveness, or high community well-being (Laurence 2011); it requires the process of inclusion to promulgate well-being (Atkinson et al. 2004). Inclusion relates to a community's capacity to develop sustainably (Scerri and James 2010). It is objective-based and is aimed toward leveraging diversity to improve communities (Roberson 2006). Inclusion has been linked to social quality and strength (Berman and Phillips 2000). In particular, Correa-Velez et al. (2010) have linked the well-being of community members to indicators of belonging, where individuals and their differences feel valued and understood.

A number of large-scale performance indicators, if not scoreboards, of social inclusion have emerged (Atkinson et al. 2004; Cherchye et al. 2004). This chapter gives an overview of the key themes surrounding inclusion as seen in indicators research as a community process. This overview is illustrated in Table 2.2. A short synopsis is provided along with the table, so that the reader may be aware of what avenues can be explored in the future work towards community well-being.

Inclusion is aimed toward providing greater *access and pathways* to community resources (Azmat et al. 2014; Babacan 2005). Access is a key indicator of social exclusion and inequality (Atkinson et al. 2004; Berman and Phillips 2000). Inclusion gives individuals and groups, who may be currently excluded, greater influence on and access to social goods and services (Babacan 2005). The many targets for inclusion consist of social security and welfare systems, labor markets, housing markets, health services, educational systems and services, political systems, and community services (Atkinson et al. 2004; Berman and Phillips 2000). Often, researchers and policy-makers looking to foster inclusion look at indicators of poverty and low-income status of individuals, families, and minority groups

**Table 2.2** Key themes and indicators of inclusion as a community process

Themes	Common indicators	Source
Access and pathways	Exclusion, barriers inequality, goods, services, markets, social systems, poverty, income, (un)employment, status, life expectancy and health	Atkinson et al. (2004), Azmat et al. (2014), Babacan (2005), Oxoby (2009), Ponc and Frisby (2010), Shortall (2004)
Organizational and civic participation	Voices, decision-making, democratic processes, volunteering, voting, collaborations, self-expression values, elite-challenging actions, emancipative social capital	Azmat et al. (2014), Babacan (2005), Gonzalez and Tyler (2008), Ponc and Frisby (2010), Prilleltensky and Gonick (1994), SHRM (2009), Thomson (2010), Welzel et al. (2005), Welzel and Deutsch (2012)
Perceptions of justice and fairness	Distributive justice, fairness, equity, equality, confidence in leadership, expressions of prejudice, design, institutional management and leadership, social interactions and communication	Brooke and Tyler (2010), Gonzalez and Tyler (2008), Plaut (2014), U.S. Office of Personnel Management (2011), Watts et al. (1994), Welzel et al. (2005)
Relationships	Welcoming, respect, support, social cohesion, social capital, social solidarity, belonging, frequency, amount, quality, friendships, interactions	Atkinson et al. (2004), Berman and Phillips (2000), Correa-Velez et al. (2010), Oxoby (2009), Paolini et al. (2004), Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), Ponc and Frisby (2010), Shortall (2004), Silver (1994), Tausch et al. (2007), Wilson (2006)
Psychosocial	Meaning, individuation, acceptance, safety, trust, recognition, sense of inclusion, sense of exclusion, social isolation, empathy, social processes	Anderson and Sabatelli (1990), Azmat et al. (2014), Brewer (2007), Gonzalez and Tyler (2008), O'Brien (2009), Oxoby (2009), Pagani and Robustelli (2010), Ponc and Frisby (2010), Reutter et al. (2009), Smart Richman and Leary (2009), Wirth and Williams (2009)

(Atkinson et al. 2004; Oxoby 2009). These indicators strongly relate to health care access and life expectancy, educational attainment, unemployment and employment, and the overall economic development of communities (Atkinson et al. 2004; Oxoby 2009; Shortall 2004). Moreover, the number and performance of organizations and other community-based structures in addressing barriers to access, increasing access to resources, and increasing social statuses are important indicators of inclusion (Ponc and Frisby 2010).

Organizations and individuals that seek inclusion to increase community well-being often do so through empowering those previously excluded to be included in *organizational and civic participation* (Babacan 2005). Civic participation benefits, if not depends on, the inclusion of all its citizens and their voices in

decision-making (Ponic and Frisby 2010; Prilleltensky and Gonick 1994; Thomson 2010) and in voting and democratic processes (Gonzalez and Tyler 2008; Ponic and Frisby 2010). Thus, the involvement and participation of previously uninvolved persons and groups in civic activities (e.g., decision-making, voicing, volunteering, voting, etc.) should be considered as indicators of inclusion (Azmat et al. 2014; Gonzalez and Tyler 2008; Ponic and Frisby 2010; SHRM 2009). Recently, researchers have begun to focus on elite challenging-actions and self-expression values, together termed emancipative social capital, which may serve as indicators of inclusion (Talmage et al. 2017; Welzel et al. 2005; Welzel and Deutsch 2012).

These more emancipative values and behaviors may push against injustice and unfairness in the social order (Welzel et al. 2005). *Perceptions of fairness and justice*, which include confidence in leadership, are important dimensions of inclusion to be measured in communities (Brooke and Tyler 2010; Gonzalez and Tyler 2008). These perceptions can be based on the freedom to voice diverse perspectives, perceptions of safety, perceptions of agency, and prevalence of expressions of prejudice (Brooke and Tyler 2010; Christens and Speer 2015). Inclusion can also be observed in institutional design (Plaut 2014; Roberson 2006), in particular, institutional missions, goals, objectives, staffing and budgets (U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011). These institutions can purpose themselves to be diversity-conscious in promoting fairness, justice, and positive interactions in communities (Watts et al. 1994).

*Relationships* that are welcoming and show respect and support have been suggested to be components of inclusion in communities (Ponic and Frisby 2010). Past research has demonstrated the relevance of social cohesion, social capital, and social solidarity (Atkinson et al. 2004; Oxoby 2009; Shortall 2004; Silver 1994; Wilson 2006) as reflective of inclusion. Other researchers have suggested that relationship-based indicators of inclusion might include levels of identification with, participation in, and belonging felt within families, groups, and communities (Berman and Phillips 2000; Correa-Velez, Gifford, and Barnett 2010). When working to decrease prejudice, researchers have focused on the frequency and quality of interactions between individuals from different backgrounds and cross-group friendships (Paolini et al. 2004; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Tausch et al. 2007). Thus, the amount and quality of relationships can indicate inclusion (Ponic and Frisby 2010).

In addition to the measuring relationships on a primarily social level, researchers have called for an understanding of *psychosocial* indicators as well (Ponic and Frisby 2010). O'Brien (2009) writes of the need for, and benefits of, "a richer comprehension of the psychology of inclusion in the significant cultural systems that imbue our lives with meaning" (18). Feelings of, and actions toward, promoting acceptance, safety and trust, and recognition are posited to be important psychosocial indicators (Ponic and Frisby 2010). It is important to measure individuals' senses of inclusion, exclusion, and isolation in all aspects of the community system (Azmat et al. 2014; Gonzalez and Tyler 2008; Reutter et al. 2009; Smart Richman and Leary 2009; Wirth and Williams 2009). Additional psychosocial dimensions of inclusion have been suggested to include empathy towards

others (Pagani and Robustelli 2010) and individuation (Anderson and Sabatelli 1990; Brewer 2007). These components of inclusion can help create and establish inclusive communities with high well-being (Oxoby 2009), but now we address *what does inclusiveness look like?*

### 2.2.4 *Inclusiveness Defined as an Outcome*

Inclusiveness is a critical aim related to the democratic strength and well-being of communities (Reynal-Querol 2005). Social inclusiveness has been emphasized to be a moral imperative in modern communities (Britz 2008). Strong indicators of inclusiveness characterize communities with high social quality (Abbott and Wallace 2012). Specifically, inclusiveness has been tied to community empowerment (Laverack 2006), voluntary association and civic participation (Jackson 2007), and sustainable community and economic development (Jackson 2007). More dramatically and specifically, Reynal-Querol (2005) indicated that a country's level of inclusiveness in its political system can predict potential for civil war, such that a negative relationship existed between the two variables.

This chapter provides an overview of how the community outcome that is inclusiveness is conceptualized and measured in indicators research. The overview is summarized in Table 2.3. A short synopsis is provided along with the table, so that the reader may be aware of what avenues can be explored in the future work toward community well-being.

**Table 2.3** Key themes and indicators of inclusiveness as a community outcome

Themes	Common indicators	Source
Decision-making and participation	Eligibility, opportunity, equity, equality, poverty, (un)employment, income, wealth, recreation, geography, health, education	Babacan (2005), Barsh (1993), Dewhurst et al. (2014), Lloyd et al. (2006), Townsend (1997)
Leadership	Representation, decision-making, governance, accountability	DECC (2012), Reynal-Querol (2005), Scarrow (2005), Sindre (2014)
Structure	Political, organizational, institutional, environments, cultures, workplaces, communication, policies	DECC (2012), SHRM (2009), Thomson (2010), U.S. Office of Personnel Management (2011)
Functions	Cooperation, satisfaction, services, programs, involvement, volunteering, associations, civic participation	Jackson (2007), Marschall and Shah (2007), The City of Edmonton (n.d.)

Inclusiveness has been defined and measured in terms of eligibility, opportunities, and involvement in community *decision-making and participation* (Barsh 1993; Dewhurst et al. 2014; Reynal-Querol 2005; Scarrow 2005; Sindre 2014). Indicators of inclusiveness have included looking at the proportion of eligible individuals or subgroups that actually participate in a community process (Barsh 1993; Dewhurst et al. 2014). For example, if a community was seeking a greater inclusion of young adults in voting processes, they could quantify the number of young adults in the community and how many turned out to vote. Inclusiveness as an aim then would be to provide opportunities for the participation of all “eligible” persons (Barsh 1993; Dewhurst et al. 2014). Other indicators of inclusiveness would include equality and equity in opportunities for participation in society (Lloyd et al. 2006; Townsend 1997). Therefore, indicators of inclusiveness might include poverty, unemployment, income, wealth, recreation, geography, health, and education trends of individuals and groups (Babacan 2005; Lloyd et al. 2006).

Inclusiveness extends beyond eligibility, opportunity, and involvement. Inclusiveness indicators often concern heterogeneity in community *leadership*. Scarrow (2005) and Sindre (2014) note that it is important to examine the width of the circle of decision makers. Reynal-Querol (2005) writes that, “Democratic governments with multiparty decision-makers are more inclusive than democratic governments with just one decision-maker” (446). Therefore, it is also important to investigate trends and changes in leadership, governance, and accountability as indicators of inclusiveness (DECC 2012).

For there to be inclusive community leadership, there likely needs to be inclusive political and organizational *structures* in communities. Indicators of such structures may include the presence and promotion of inclusiveness within missions, goals, objectives, staffing and budgets (DECC 2012; Thomson 2010; U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011), legal frameworks (SHRM 2009), and political and organizational cultures (U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011). Here again, it is important to look at changes and trends in workplaces, work environments, policies, communication, and cultures (DECC 2012; SHRM 2009; Thomson 2010; U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011).

*Functions*, that is, how well community members work together to be inclusive, must be considered as well. Community program and service satisfaction by different individuals and groups has been noted as important to assess (Grillo et al. 2010; The City of Edmonton, n.d.). Additionally, the involvement of diverse persons and groups as both recipients and providers of quality community services should be measured (Marschall and Shah 2007). The amount of cooperation and success of cooperation in community development efforts are also essential indicators. Even more so, Jackson (2007) highlights that the degree of heterogeneity in the voluntary sector is a crucial foundation of civic participation. Inclusiveness, therefore, stands a key foundation of civil society, which cannot be ignored.

## 2.3 Rethinking Diversity, Inclusion, and Inclusiveness: A Framework and Implications

For psychological research to be able to usefully theorize and study diversity in everyday lives, it needs to find new ways to incorporate the impact on individual lives of both large and small sociocultural, and sometimes political, contexts into research (Magnusson 2011: 88).

To conclude our discourse on indicators, we weave together diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness with the community well-being approaches. Diversity is paired with policy, inclusion is paired with development, and inclusiveness is paired with enrichment. The inclinations of each of the three approaches with the three building-blocks are discussed (Table 2.4).

### 2.3.1 Policy's Diversity Inclination

**Community policy** is both the result of decisions made by governing bodies (Dye 1992) and reflection and discovery of what should ought to be done or ought not to be done (Simon 2015). These decisions and actions of policy-makers are put forth with the intentions of promoting and improving the well-being of community members (Alcock 1997); thus, it is important that policy-makers understand what might promote or deflate well-being in communities. Policy focuses on balancing and managing risks to community members (Esping-Andersen 1999: 36). With knowledge of such risks, policy is hopefully made and enacted through comprehensive strategies directed towards improving quality-of-life and well-being (Rodgers et al. 1968). Hall (2007) highlights that policy-making, by definition, is intended to be positive. Ideally, policy-making aims to promote economic growth and promote social justice through providing equal opportunities, institutional reform and equality of agency, and social integration vertically, so that all of society benefits (see review by Hall 2007). Policy-making appears then, at least in some normative circles or in some forms of political discourse, to be intended to benefit all.

**Table 2.4** Summarizing diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness in the community system

Diversity policy	Inclusive development	Enriched inclusiveness
Demographics	Access and pathways	Participation
Tolerance and acceptance	Organizational and civic participation	Leadership
Cultural	Perceptions of justice and fairness	Structure
Cohesion	Relationships	Functions
Activities and actors	Psychosocial	Experiences

Policy likely has much to leverage in utilizing diversity indicators in promoting community well-being (see Table 2.4). Policy works well to remove barriers to community development, enrichment, and overall well-being. Policy-makers at the community level can enact policies that exclude particular individuals and groups based on demographics, identity, and culture. And, they can enact policies that particularly welcome inclusion of such previously excluded or overshadowed individuals and groups as well. Still there is a debate to be had on whether such policies achieve inclusion or address the social mechanisms of exclusion. Policies can be enacted to ensure the broad inclusion of previously excluded or underrepresented individuals and groups in decision-making and leadership. Community-level policies that promote activities and organizations that foster bridging and inter-group relationships also may help increase tolerance and acceptance as well as community well-being (see Pettigrew 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

Community groups (i.e., organizations, associations, or clubs) can enact policies within themselves to honor and utilize diversity. These policies may mirror those enacted by the larger community. Groups, however, have the unique advantage of being more targeted, inviting, and inclusive to outsiders likely because they are not bogged down in as large of bureaucratic processes (Hirst 1994; 2002). These groups can enact policies that ensure the broad representation in decision-making and leadership as well. Community groups also have the potential to challenge the status quo of the larger community through inclusive policies and advocacy (e.g., Welzel et al. 2005). They also might host events or activities whose policies and communication intentionally, promote social cohesion and inclusiveness as well (Fabiansson 2006).

### 2.3.2 *Development's Inclusion Inclination*

**Community development** has been defined as “an effective change process aimed towards positive impact that is facilitated through the efficient use of resources” (Talmage 2014: 1601). The best use of resources, the best processes, or the best outcomes are ideally determined by community members, themselves (Rogers and Ryan 2001). Ideally, development is a process aimed towards producing positive community outcomes like increased community well-being (Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan 2012; Phillips and Pittman 2009; Robinson and Green 2011; Talmage 2014). Therefore, development in this chapter is focused on bettering *community processes*. Inclusion in this chapter is a community process, which can be undertaken in development to increase a community's capacity to improve community well-being.

Development likely has much to leverage in utilizing inclusion indicators in promoting community well-being (see Table 2.4). At the community level, agencies and organizations may try to connect previously excluded or overlooked individuals with greater access and pathways to community resources and opportunities for participation. This kind of work may also be tied to greater perceptions

of justice and fairness as well as confidence in leadership. Community development efforts may also focus on fostering cross-group friendships and providing cross-group interactions, such that relationships based on trust and reciprocity may form. In general, community development efforts can aim to: create safe spaces and foster a sense of inclusion; show acceptance, empathy, and recognition; and, inspire meaning in living life (e.g., Azmat et al. 2014; Gonzalez and Tyler 2008; Pagani and Robustelli 2010).

Community groups are likely the primary actors in community development efforts aside from government entities. These groups can seek to provide similar opportunities for individuals inside their own organizations and associations as well. These groups can also work around barriers impeding access of community resources and act as models of inclusion and/or inclusiveness to others. They can foster positive social interactions between different groups and individuals from differing backgrounds and experiences. They can also provide experiences in which individuals can learn more about their backgrounds and learn to appreciate themselves for who they are.

These experiences can be created at community events. Individuals can interact with different individuals and groups at events whether through informal interactions or formal participation and leadership at these events. It appears that community events have the potential to promote welcoming, respectful, and supportive behaviors, such that attendees or participants will feel like they belong. These events might also serve as places for protest of exclusion, prejudice, or injustice in policy and process for individuals and groups as well.

Individuals can daily enact thought-processes and behaviors that are inclusive of others and/or that promote inclusion. They can seek out opportunities to interact with individuals or groups who have different backgrounds from their own. They can act as models to others in how they approach and interact with those who may be different from themselves. These connections with others different from themselves can likely help them psychologically grow as individuals.

### ***2.3.3 Enrichment's Inclusiveness Inclination***

**Community enrichment** serves as an add-on process to community development; it can be seen as the amplification or enhancement of already positive community outcomes that are tied to quality-of-life and well-being (Greenhaus and Powell 2006; Morris and Madsen 2007; Talmage 2015; Thompson and Bunderson 2001). Essentially, enrichment works to endow current experiences with deeper meaning and pleasure (Schumacher et al. 1998) and expand the range of or opportunities for positive experiences in social situations (Farnworth and Muñoz 2009; Herzberg 1966, 1987). More specifically, expansion of roles, ranges, and opportunities as part of enrichment have been tied to improved health and well-being (Gareis et al. 2009). In fact, Greenhaus and Powell (2006) have noted that positive experiences in one role (e.g., community leadership) can positively influence, that is overflow or

spill over, to other elements of well-being (e.g., family interactions). Overall, community enrichment's main purpose is the amplification of *community outcomes*.

For communities who wish to amplify inclusiveness, there may be many entry points in the community system to amplify or enrich community outcomes. At the community level, fun, meaningful, and interesting (i.e., enriching) experiences should be cultivated in community participation and leadership experiences (Schumacher et al. 1998; Talmage 2015). Community structures and functions can be positioned so that they can recognize and celebrate diversity, inclusion, and any milestones achieved towards inclusiveness. These enriching experiences can occur through community groups or at community events.

Community groups can host activities and events where inclusiveness can be recognized and celebrated. These groups can foster a sense of ownership and responsibility regarding inspiring others to be more inclusive in their policies and processes. Their events can serve as moments for enrichment. Individuals are often motivated to attend events where they can explore new cultures, meet new people, learn new things, and experience something new in general (Crompton and McKay 1997; Mohr et al. 1993). Surrounding themes of diversity and inclusiveness, these events may act as moments where intense physical or emotional experiences, learning and interactions, sharing cultural values, and temporary feelings of closeness occur with others. Events can also serve as mechanisms for individuals to fulfill their higher-order needs, such as recognition, achievement, autonomy, responsibility, fun and interesting tasks, and positive social interactions and relationships like mentorships and friendships from their social experiences and contexts (see review by Talmage 2015).

## 2.4 Conclusion

Diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness span a wide range of normative discourses and institutional structures, policies, and practices (Vertovec 2012); thus, this chapter should not serve as defining piece on the matter. It is our hope that readers of this chapter have felt invited to consider the many complex elements of diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness that characterize communities and that help build community capacity to foster well-being. This chapter presented a framework for understanding indicators of diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness; however, many additional indicators, sources of knowledge and wisdom, and methods for elucidating knowledge and wisdom surrounding diversity must be accessed and explored. Ideally, readers of this chapter will also feel inspired to explore such directions in their own community well-being work.

Far too often, research, assessment, and evaluation stop at indicators, but what is more important is that change comes after such endeavors. Communities that assess diversity can discover the amazing resources available to them for inclusion in their communities. The process of inclusion of those diverse resources can create communities that demonstrate inclusiveness. This chapter has highlighted

inclusiveness as an essential element of community well-being, which should not be forgotten in future research and practice.

Community policy, development, and enrichment are the tools by which the building-blocks of diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness can be leveraged in communities to foster increased well-being. We outlined in this chapter that policy is best focused on diversity, development is best concentrated on inclusion, and enrichment is best suited for inclusiveness. These notions need further empirical investigation, and likely all three tools overlap regarding the indicators they incorporate, not just the linear presentation featured in this chapter. We hope readers feel compelled to continue to infuse diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness in both indicators and community well-being work, so that we can create communities of high well-being that we all would like to reside in.

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# Chapter 3

## Community Well-Being or Quality of Place? A Few Notes and Their Application in Czech Republic

František Murgaš and Michal Klobučník

**Abstract** Community well-being is an umbrella term for different ways of describing community development. The combination of words community and well-being is a result of the application of the psychological term well-being to territorial planning, or generally, to a geographical context. This paper includes an analysis of the concept of well-being in its original psychological context, and an assessment of the suitability of its application in the form of community well-being. Quality of life, in our understanding, is based on the examination of a good life. In psychology and other sciences oriented towards the subjective dimension of quality of life, the attention is focused on ‘how’ a person lives his/her life; on the other hand, in geography and other sciences oriented towards the objective dimension of quality of life, the attention is focused on ‘where’ a person lives his/her life, i.e. the ‘place’. The key element of the geography of quality of life is the phenomenon of a ‘good place’ as a place, where a good life is lived. The described approach provides a framework for the analysis of different-size groups of municipalities and small towns, using self-reported evaluations of the quality of life of their inhabitants.

**Keywords** Quality of life · Community well-being · Good place · Quality of place

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### 3.1 Introduction

One of the tools of describing and processing the complexity of the world of today is the conceptualization of its phenomena, which includes quality of life. This notion is already ubiquitous in public discourse, and the research on quality of life is increasing in academia (Murgaš and Klobučník 2016). The observation of quality of life originally meant 'life as a whole' and in 'space as a whole'. The development in social sciences, however, has brought a specialization in both of these 'wholes', into different age and social groups, and also into different hierarchical spatial levels, varying from city districts or villages, through municipalities and regions to states. Phillips (2006) considers a major theme of quality of life to be the shift from the individual to the group; a similar statement regarding well-being is presented by Wiseman and Brasher (2008).

Quality of life does not have a settled methodology or terminology; one of the few agreements is that there is one, it concerns a human person and, at the same time, includes two dimensions—subjective, known by psychologists as well-being, and objective, known by geographers as quality of place (Murgaš and Klobučník 2016). The methodological development in the research on quality of life is divergent, characterized by the taking of terms from one scientific discipline to another. A necessary prerequisite for the validity of any analysis of community well-being is its definition. The explosion of articles about individual and societal quality of life, personal, psychological, economic, environmental, etc. well-being, focused on a solution of partial problems does not enrich the research due to the terminological chaos. We wonder whether a more appropriate term would be well-being or quality of place, and we look for the answer methodologically. The procedure is documented in small municipalities in the Czech Republic.

The research into quality of life and related concepts in the former Czechoslovakia or its successor countries, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, has not been not given sufficient attention, but in the past decade, the situation has been changing for the better (Džuka and Dalbert 2006; Ira and Andráško 2008; Murgaš 2009; Heřmanová 2012, Murgaš 2012; Džuka 2014; Murgaš and Klobučník 2016; Hamplová 2015; Jakubcová et al. 2016).

### 3.2 Theoretical Background

Currently, there is a shift of focus in the social sciences from the individual to the societal. In connection with the new research agenda for improving quality of life, Maggino (2015: 6) notes that scholars raise a *“new orientation which includes identifying and studying subpopulations and subgroups disentangling the difficult task of identifying determinants of quality of life, refining the capacity of measuring conceptual dimensions, defining new indicators able to measure and monitor particular social conditions and show that these are not separated fields of studies*

*but intersect each other and produce different outcomes which can be difficult classifiable, consistent with the idea of complexity our reality”.*

The research on quality of life, specifically well-being, has been increasing since the last decade of the last century. This is documented not only by the extent of the individual numbers of journals dedicated to quality of life, but also the number of monographs. Are the hundreds of articles published per year bringing thousands of correlations also the evidence that scholars bring humanity the answers to the key questions: *what does it mean to have a good life? When do we have a good life? Where do the people who have a good life live?* Is it not true that the ‘non-scientific’ bestseller of an Australian songwriter, *The Top Five Regrets of the Dying: A Life Transformed by the Dearly Departing* (Ware 2012), brings more knowledge about these issues? In research supported by National Geographic, five cities with the longest life expectancy and healthiest lifestyle on the globe: The Greek island of Ikaria, the Italian island of Sardinia, the small Californian town of Loma Linda, Costa Rica’s peninsula Nicoya and Japan’s Okinawa (Buettner 2015) are all observed. Is long life in health a sensible or objective indicator of quality of life, well-being, and happiness? In their research of municipalities and regions in the Czech Republic as places good for life and their quantification in a form of Quality of Life Index, Murgaš and Klobučník (2016) constructed a ‘golden standard of quality of life’. Variables of life expectancy and health were included among its indicators. The criteria of the good life in the golden standard of quality of life creates a reference value of a good life. This reference value is known in economic terms as a benchmark, or etalon. The proposal of a golden standard of quality is based on the principle of eudaimonia as the highest level of well-being achievable in a human life (Aristotle 2009), the phenomenon of the common good of the representatives of the positive psychology, especially Csikszentmihalyi and Seligman. The essence of a golden standard of quality of life is “*the basic, quantifiable signs of age-old archetypal human desire, common to all people in human history: to live long in health, in a family, surrounded by children and grandchildren, to be educated, to have a meaningful fulfilling work and to be considered a good person, respectively, to have a good reputation in the society*” (Murgaš 2012: 33).

Monographs and articles of many authors are currently oriented towards a value-free understanding of quality of life. It can be said that this quality of life is the ‘sunny part of quality of life’, where life is joyous and beautiful. Of course, in many parts of the world, life is often like that. But the focus *solely* on such life that may only be *enjoyed*, but not lived heads into value-free living. The individualized society (Bauman 2001) of mutually alienated people leads to value-free living in the era which Lipovetsky (1983) called the era of emptiness. In the currently affluent and wasteful Western society, the desire for good, quality life is substituted by the desire for happiness, which, for a significant part of this society, has shrunk into shopping, not the purchase. “*The idea of happiness is unnoticeably shifting from the expected bliss after buying to the actual act of shopping—which is an activity full of joyful expectation, joyful for the original, immaculate and enduring hope*” (Bauman 2008: 19).

The only phenomena that increase with the increase of well-being are the phenomena of social pathology together with “*the feeling of unspecified insecurity,*

*the pervasive, and the more daunting and depressing”* (Bauman 2008: 12). According to Juvin and Lipovetsky (2010: 54) *“In the last 30 years, the purchasing power of the French middle class nearly doubled; however, would anyone dare to claim that its members are also twice as happy? The symptoms of anxiety and depression, suicide attempts and existential problems are on the rise. In Western countries, the number of cases of admitted depression has risen sevenfold in the last thirty years. In France, 11% of sixteen-year-olds have even attempted suicide”*. Jacyno (2012: 11) adds that *“Suffering, pain, worries, illnesses, incapacity and death in the rationalized world have become disruptive events with which ‘something’ needs to be finally done: hospitalize, push away, correct... While happiness, youth and health represent salvation, suffering, ageing and death are meaningless”*.

The growing possibilities for an empty existence is evident also in the Czech society. In the generalization of the development of value orientations in the Czech society, Potůček et al. (2002: 227) observes the *“(i) diminishing role of value orientations in general (the decrease of the importance of questions regarding quality, content or the meaning of life), (ii) growth of the importance of hedonistic, individualistic, or even selfishly oriented value orientations, (iii) a significant decrease of the importance of altruistically oriented value orientations and value orientations associated with solidarity”*. The contemporary society and the dark side of its life can be described not only sociologically, but can also be quantified. According to a 3-year project in all European Union countries, 32% of the population suffers from mental disorders. The costs of their treatment and indirect losses due to sick leave represent 797.7 billion euros per year for the European economy, more than for cancer, heart disease and diabetes combined. This represents 1550 euro per capita in the EU. The costliest, at 113 billion euro, are affective disorders (depression and mania), followed by dementia (105 billion). The costs for mental disorders are accounted for, on one hand, by increasing life expectancy, and also by the fact that they are not terminal (Smith 2011).

The answer to the question in the title of the article firstly requires defining and describing the key concepts and context. This scholarly book is focused on community well-being; the key terms are *community* and *well-being*. Quality of life is considered to be semantically superior to well-being, and thus we consider the key concepts to be community, quality of life, well-being, community well-being, quality of community life and quality of place.

### 3.2.1 *Community*

According to Janzen and Kelly (2014), the term community is typically defined by a geographic region (neighborhood, city, province, country). At first, it should be noted that hereafter, the term community will only be understood as the spatial community, not social or virtual. Thus we will not be dealing with the phenomenon of social networks, professional or interest communities and so on.

What is a community? Etymologically, the word is derived from the Latin *communio*—association, however, community is not synonymous with association. Community and its place in a system of social relationships can be understood through the scheme developed by Eyles and Williams (2008): individual—family—community—sector/system—society. Community thus represents a level between the individual and society. Every community is a group, but not every group is a community. In order to create a community from a group, bonds have to be formed between its members. The term community itself is value-neutral, such as, for example, a scientific, ethnic, minority community or a community of a small village or district. Community may be associated with both positive and negative values. The former may be represented by a community of volunteers, the latter, based on negative values, are, for example, criminal ethnic organizations. Phillips (2006) considers the features of a community affecting the quality of life of its inhabitants to be social capital and social cohesion.

Gregory (2009: 103–104) defines community as “*a group of people who share common culture, values and/or interests, based on social identity and/or territory, and who have some means of recognizing, and (inter) acting upon, these commonalities.*” Similarly, Porter and Cantarero (2014: 1094) define community as “*the local unity of a group of human beings who live their social economic, and cultural lives together and jointly recognize and accept certain obligations and hold certain standards of value in common*”.

### 3.2.2 *Quality of Life*

Quality of life<sup>1</sup> is a multidimensional concept with a complex causality of the mutual bonds of its components (variables) that enables us to grasp, describe and measure the complexity of social and economic reality in the current period of late modernity. Rapley (2003: 32) notes that “*major driving force in human activity is improving quality of life*”.

Despite the fact that in the public discourse quality of life has become a shibboleth and in the academic sphere it is referred to as catchword (Veenhoven 2014a, b) or generally as an umbrella term, it is meaningful to address it, as studying it gives us the key questions regarding the meaning and purpose of human existence. Quality of life is neither a biological nor an economic phenomenon; it can neither increase nor be planned. It can only grow better or worse. This term is inherently associated with the evaluation of human life, when we evaluate our own life, we implicitly assess how good it is. Quality of life is associated with the notion of a good life (Ferriss 2010; Michalos and Robinson 2012; Veenhoven 2013; Murgaš and Klobučník (2016). According to Phillips (2006: 5), when people assess the quality of their lives, they consider four factors to be the most important:

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<sup>1</sup>Some authors (Michalos 2014; Veenhoven 2014a) use the term ‘qualities of life’.

(i) “their relationship with family and friends, (ii) their own health, (iii) the health of their family and friends, (iv) their finances and standard of living”.

An important characteristic of quality of life is its integrity; it is holistic. At the same time, however, and it is paradoxical, it is dichotomous. We talk differently about quality of life in relation to an individual on one hand and society on the other. Rapley (2003) calls this dichotomy ‘*quality of life as a population-level construct*’ and ‘*quality of life as an individual-level construct*’, Phillips (2006) calls the quality of life related to the society *collective quality of life*, where he differentiates between community, societal and global levels. Other manifestations of the dichotomy are hedonism and eudaimonia, well-being and ill-being (Pacione 2003), and opportunities and outcomes of quality of life (Veenhoven 2014a, b). The most important manifestation of the dichotomy of quality of life is its subjectivity on one hand, and objectivity, on the other, leading to its separation into two dimensions. (Pacione 2003; Piedmont and Friedman 2012). This formal division is used only rarely. Psychologists understand the subjective dimension of quality of life as *contentment*; geographers Murgaš and Klobučník (2016) understand the objective dimension as *quality of place*. Some authors (Rapley 2003; John and Wright 2005; D’Acci 2014) consider quality of life to be synonymous with well-being, but this is a methodological mistake. Quality of life cannot be identified with one of its dimensions because that would mean denying its integrity. Quality of life is more than well-being (Cummins 2000; Phillips 2006). What is important is the fact that in both the subjective and objective contexts, quality of life does not emerge, it *is*. The ability to evaluate one’s own life is created in the process of personality development. Quality of life, society, or generally, societal quality of life also *is*; it is created with the development of social relationships in society and with the development of its capitals—social, cultural, political and symbolic. The fact that its problem is a problem of values is equally true for the quality of human lives as it is for the societal quality of life.

There are two most important variables of the models of quality of life according to the Four Qualities of Life developed by Rapley (2003)—Veenhoven’s and the model Being, Belonging, and Becoming (Raphael et al. 1997). The Veenhoven’s model is a matrix of spatial (outer qualities) and personal (inner qualities) dimension in the vertical direction and life chances with life results in the horizontal direction (Table 3.1).

According to Sandøe (1999), from the philosophical point of view, we can distinguish three approaches to quality of life: *Perfectionism* focusing on the assumptions of people in terms of creativity, knowledge, friendship, etc. Quality of life lies in the development and use of these assumptions. *Preference theory* focuses

**Table 3.1** Four qualities of life

	Outer qualities	Inner qualities
Life chance	Livability of environment	Life-ability of the person
Life results	Utility of life	Enjoyment of life

Source Veenhoven (2014a, b)

**Table 3.2** Structure of dimensions, domain of quality of life indicators

Hierarchy	Characteristic	Examples
Dimensions	Groups of domains	Well-being, quality of place
Domains	Groups of indicators	Demographic, education, equipment, environment
Indicators	Individual variables	Life expectancy, emissions, divorce rate, education

Source Authors

on the satisfaction of preferences or desires that improve quality of life. *Hedonism* as the third approach perceives quality of life as taking pleasures and avoiding pain.

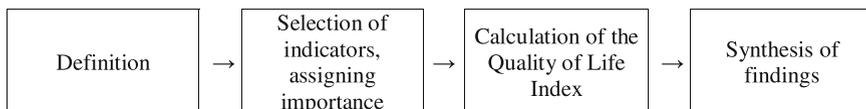
Quality of life, along with other current concepts, is difficult to define; there is no generally accepted definition. The reason is the complexity and multidimensionality of quality of life, complicated by the contradiction of its hedonistic or eudaimonic foundations. According to Fayers and Machin (2007: 4) “*In the absence of universally accepted definitions, some researchers argue that the majority of people, at least in the West, are familiar with the term ‘quality of life’ and intuitively understand what it consists of*”. Murgaš (2009: 124) notes that the “*quality of life of an individual consists of somatic, psychological, religious, social and economic goods, leading into the subjective feeling of satisfaction or happiness—confronted with health, socio-pathological, economic and environmental evils, while this confrontation takes place in a spatially differentiated outside environment*”.

Veenhoven (2014a: 5265) defines it as “the degree to which a life meets various standards of good life”. These definitions are related to quality of life at the level of an individual. The quality of life of society is the societal quality of life. Phillips (2006: 238) also inherently associates societal quality with the attribute ‘good’, when he states: “*quality of life is about the good life, and collectively it is about good society*”. He defines this collective quality of life in such a way: “*Quality of life requires that people’s basic and social needs are met and that they have the autonomy to choose to enjoy life, to flourish and to participate as citizens in a society with high levels of civic integration, social connectivity, trust and other integrative norms including at least fairness and equity, all within a physically and socially sustainable global environment*” Phillips (2006: 242).

Quality of life, like other contemporary socio-economic concepts cannot be measured. What is measurable are its individual variables—indicators. Their structure is reflected in Table 3.2.

Murgaš (2009) suggests examining and measuring quality of life using the following sequence of four steps (Table 3.3). In the first step, the scholar defines

**Table 3.3** The sequence of steps in examining and measuring the quality of life



Source Adapted from Murgaš (2009)

quality of life resulting from its axiology. The value foundation is the result of preferring a hedonistic or eudemonic understanding of quality of life. It can be said that the current prevailing understanding, philosophically emerging from the paradigm of postmodernism, is the hedonism of the 21st century.

### 3.2.3 *Well-Being*

Well-being is originally a psychological concept; when it is evaluated, then as with quality of life, we assess how good it is. In psychology there are many terms for emotions, Glatzer and Gulyas (2014) state thirty-three expressions in English for positive, and thirty-four for negative emotions and feelings. The most common are 'joy' and 'happy'. Phillips (2006) considers well-being to be a starting point of the subjective dimension of quality of life. In literature, it is usually listed as a single term or with an attribute—personal, psychological, individual, physical, health, leisure, social, economic or community. These attributes are a manifestation of the already alleged unjustified and illogical taking of terms from one scientific discipline to another, which can only result in terminological chaos. In this paper we understand well-being in its psychological sense.

Some authors divide well-being only into objective and subjective categories (Phillips 2006; Wiseman and Brasher 2008; D'Acci 2014). Subjective well-being reflects psychological experience and, according to Diener and Lucas (1999), it has three components (i) pleasant affect, (ii) unpleasant affect, (iii) satisfaction. D'Acci (2014) assigns to this the objective health, tangible goods and material wealth. From the philosophical point of view, Tiberius (2014: 7110) defines well-being in this way: "*well-being is what is achieved by someone living a life that is good for him or her. A life replete with well-being is a prudentially good life, but not necessarily a morally good life*". The author considers the basic components necessary for well-being to be health, psychological happiness and friendship. Veenhoven (2012) goes even further and states that not only well-being and quality of life, but also happiness are interchangeable, while all of them convey something that is good. However, a question to be asked is what is the purpose of using more and more terms for the same thing? This chapter, as well as this monograph, is essentially about the good life. The phenomenon of the good life is dealt with in the concept of quality of life and its two dimensions—subjective, the one that is more important, and objective. Psychologists express the subjective dimension as well-being. Well-being is inherently a psychological term, and assigning it any non-psychological attributes like economic, group, and so on, is confusing because these describe something that is the objective dimension of quality of life. Expressions such as personal, individual or psychological well-being are redundant. The term *happiness* has a special position in this context. Scholars agree that happiness represents very intensive positive emotions, it can be shown through joy, but they do not agree on whether it is short- or long-term. At the same time, there is not a consensus as to whether happiness is a part of subjective well-being or its

**Table 3.4** Four kinds of well-being

	External	Internal
Chances	Favorable environment	Good functioning
Outcomes	Positive external effects	Continuance

Source Veenhoven (2014b)

**Table 3.5** Four kinds of societal well-being

	External	Internal
Chances	Ecological conditions, Geo-political position	Functioning
Outcomes	Burden to eco-system, Contribution to civilization	Continuity, Morale

Source Veenhoven (2014b)

synonym. According to Cummins (2013), the predominant opinion is that subjective well-being contains at the same time cognitive and affective elements and that happiness is one of the key affective components. When we summarize the previous statements, happiness is a part of well-being. Well-being assessment is an affective evaluation of life satisfaction.

Veenhoven (2014b) analyzes well-being at the national level; he identifies it with social well-being.

According to his definition, national well-being is “*how well a society functions*” (Veenhoven 2014b: 7096). We believe that this definition is not precise, as more than well-being, it evaluates good governance. Like quality of life (Table 3.1), Veenhoven (2014b) also expresses well-being in two variants (Tables 3.4 and 3.5) in a form of a matrix. Societal well-being (Table 3.5) can be a good starting point for the outline of conceptualization of societal quality of life.

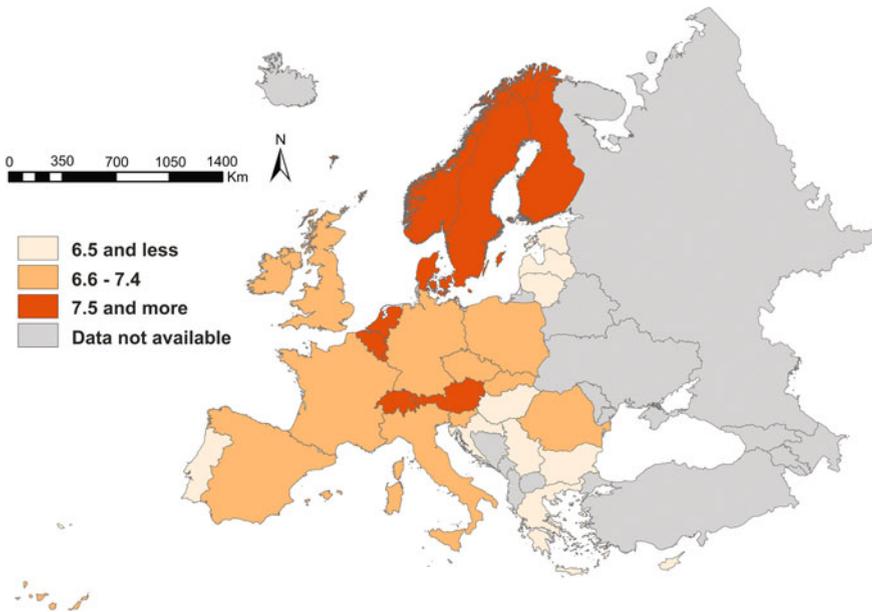
Well-being is paid much attention in Australia. The International Wellbeing Group constructed a Personal Wellbeing Index (and also a National Wellbeing Index) based on measuring the satisfaction of residents in eleven domains: health, achievement in life, personal relationships, safety, community, future security, control over life, happiness, depression, physical pain, emotional pain (Cummins and Weinberg 2014). In the past, these also included the domain of spirituality (Wiseman and Brasher 2008).

An important question enabling the understanding of the meaning of well-being is: When do we have well-being? (We inherently assume that good well-being which is not good is ill-being). The answer is, when our expectations become true, in other words, when we are satisfied with our lives. This well-being can be identified with the subjective dimension of quality of life; this is the way we understand it in the chapter. *Life satisfaction* is thus the key element in our evaluation. In his matrix (Table 3.6), Veenhoven (2012) divides it into the passing and the enduring. As is clear from Fig. 3.1, life satisfaction in Europe is high. On the most frequently used scale, 0–10, the highest is in Scandinavia, Benelux, Switzerland and Austria. The lowest is in Portugal, Greece and some new member states of the EU. In the Czech Republic, it is in the range of 6.6–7.5.

**Table 3.6** Four kinds of satisfaction

	Passing	Enduring
Part of life	Pleasure	Domain satisfaction
Life as a whole	Top experience	Happiness Life satisfaction Subjective well-being

Source Veenhoven (2012)



**Fig. 3.1** Life satisfaction in Europe 2013. Source Authors according to Eurostat

### 3.2.4 Community Well-Being

The growing interest in community well-being is a result of efforts to plan local and regional development in order to improve the well-being of inhabitants (Tomaney 2015). Lee et al. (2015) report thirteen definitions of community well-being, almost all of which include social, cultural, economic or political domains/indicators. “All of these terms (community well-being, happiness, quality of life, community development, and well-being) have been used interchangeably and certainly share similar goals of ‘making society better’” (Lee et al. 2015: 17). The fact that the interchangeability of terms is not so easy, as these authors state, is documented in Fig. 3.2.

According to research by the BBC in 2005, the factors affecting happiness are dominated by the relationship with one’s lifetime partner and close family before health. Community and friends, together with religiosity and spiritual life, have a share of just 6% each.

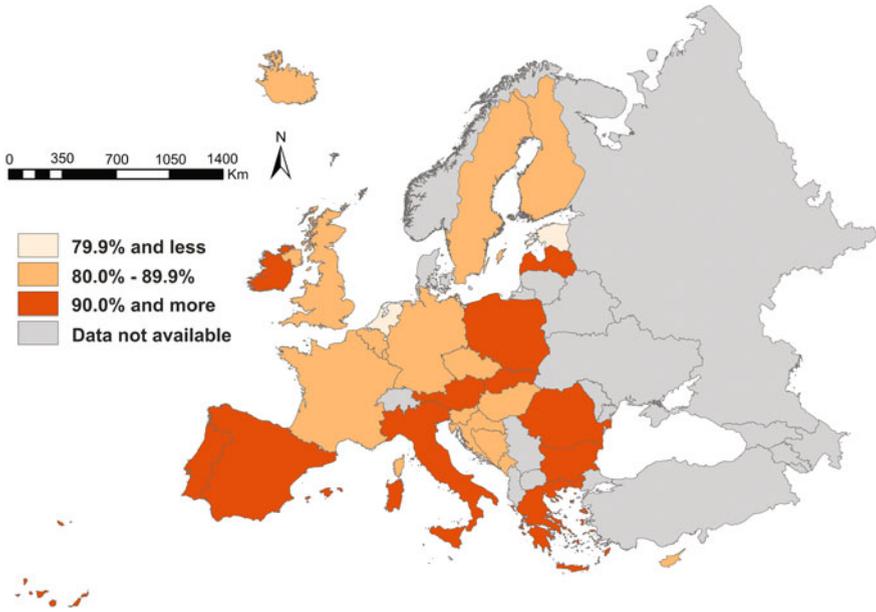


Fig. 3.2 Identification with municipality in Europe. *Source* Authors according to Eurostat

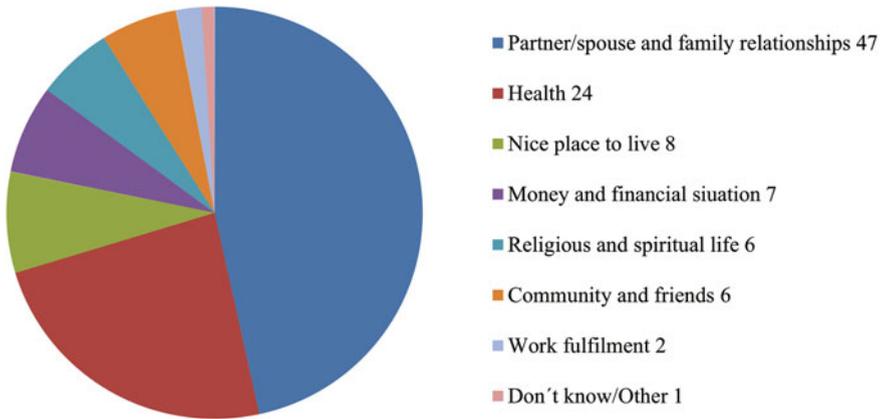


Fig. 3.3 Factors that influence happiness in %: results of a poll conducted for the BBC (2005). *Source* Adapted from Mulgan (2013)

Figure 3.3 shows that municipalities, in which European citizens live, are important to them and to a large extent, they identify with them. It is noteworthy that in the identification rate, the west–east geographic gradient, or the distribution old member EU states—new ones are not applicable. The highest rate of

identification stretches in the direction southwest—northeast, beginning with Spain and Portugal to the Baltic Latvia together with Ireland and the Balkan countries.

Wiseman and Brasher (2008: 354) assign community well-being a high importance when they describe “*community wellbeing as a more holistic and accurate measure of societal progress than the dominant paradigm of economic growth*”. These authors see the key importance of community well-being in two factors: improving individual mental health and the redefinition and anchorage of the new meaning of progresses in the development of society and its measuring. This statement was ahead of the proposal of the commission appointed by the former French president Sarkozy, to use quality of life as a general scale of social and economic development, which has until now been GDP (Stiglitz et al. 2010). The proposal received general acceptance and the British government’s reaction was positive.

Community well-being is considered important in projects of worldwide organizations, as the reports *Society at a Glance* (Organization for Economic Cooperation) and *Development or Millennium EcoSystem Assessment Report* (the World Health Organization) show. In its report *Measuring Australia’s Progress*, the Australian Bureau of Statistics identifies the measurement of progress with measurement of well-being (Wiseman and Brasher 2008). Lee et al. (2015: 2) define community well-being “*as a state in which the needs and desires of a community are fulfilled*”. According to Wiseman and Brasher (2008: 358) “*Community well-being is the combination of social, economic, environmental, cultural, and political conditions identified by individuals and their communities as essential for them to flourish and fulfill their potential*”. Lee et al. (2015) state thirteen definitions of community well-being, from which almost all include social, cultural, economic or politic domains/indicators. “*All of these terms (community well-being, happiness, quality of life, community development, and well-being) have been used interchangeably and certainly share similar goals of ‘making society better’*” (Lee et al. 2015:17).

Community well-being can be divided into two categories: in the first, community development is associated with economic development, especially local and business (Phillips 2014a), sustainability (Cloutier et al. 2014; Cloutier and Pfeiffer 2015) or organizational structures (Kraeger and Dahlstrom 2014). Therefore, communities are associated with the idea of globalization as a local answer to global processes in the spirit of the slogan Think globally, act locally. Local economic development, based on the support of local producers, especially of food, but also service providers, is considered an important part of the community development (Phillips 2014b). In Central and Eastern Europe, popular farmers’ markets or local Christmas markets, some of which have a centuries-old tradition, became its concrete expression. The idea of fair-trade is also based on building communities in the countries of the global South, under conditions that are fair to local farmers and craftsmen. In this approach, it is not clear, what is being evaluated. The goals of ‘making society better’ (Lee et al. 2015) or ‘the new meaning of progress in society development’ (Wiseman and Brasher 2008) in connection with well-being as a psychological expression of quality of life have little in common.

The second approach is associated with perceiving community well-being as a part of quality of life; we evaluate satisfaction with the community. According to Talmage (2015: 62) “the main philosophical question asked is, ‘What do people want from their communities?’”. In this case, a community creates “quality of place as a geographic representation of an objective dimension of quality of life” (Murgaš and Klobučník 2016).

The problem of communities is closely linked with measurement of their development and thus also the problem of indicators. Measurement can bring results with the desired informative value only when the study includes a definition of community. The necessity of this condition can be illustrated by two examples, which are also examples of the ‘top down’ (the Australian state of Victoria) and bottom up approaches (the Canadian city of Brandon). Davern (2014) lists seventy-four indicators, grouped into five domains: (i) Healthy, safe, and inclusive communities, (ii) Dynamic, resilient local economies, (iii) Sustainably built and natural environments, (iv) Culturally rich and vibrant communities, and (v) Democratic and engaged communities. These were used for measurements in the Australian state of Victoria. Data are a secondary source. On the other hand, Michalos et al. (2012) used the Community Health Index, in which “community health” is expressed by phenomena of social pathology: (i) alcoholism, (ii) drugs, (iii) domestic violence, (iv) unemployment, (v) sexual abuse, and (vi) racial discrimination. This index was used for the Canadian municipality Brandon; primary data are obtained from the answers of respondents, who marked for each indicator its severity on a 5-point Likert scale. It should be noted that three of the indicators of community health are also indicators used in the Australian Victoria. Another approach to community is the bottom up approach based on an individual and his satisfaction with the community.

### 3.2.5 *Quality of Community Life*

Quality of community life represents a level between the quality of life of an individual and the societal quality of life (Phillips 2006); its important characteristic is that it is a societal quality of life. Scholars use different names for it: Quality of life in community, Quality of community life, the series Community Quality-of-Life Indicators: Best Cases II to VI, edited by Sirgy et al. (2006, 2009a, b, 2011, 2013), has in its name the term *Community Quality-of-Life*. If, in the search for a correct term for quality of life in a community, we use as an aid a similar expression, which is quality of urban life, then the correct term is *quality of community life*. Community life and its quality are a part of the objective dimension of quality of life focused on place, which Murgaš and Klobučník (2016) express as quality of place. We define it as ‘*the evaluation of external, spatially differentiated conditions in which a person lives his life*’. The concept of quality of place means that the psychological term well-being is not transmitted into the objective reality (and then there are no confusing expressions such as objective well-being,

**Table 3.7** Comparison of community well-being and related concepts

	Community well-being	Quality of life	Quality of place
Individual/collective	Collective	<i>Both</i>	<i>Both</i>
Domain	Cultural, economic, environmental, social, psycholog., political	<i>Psychological, health, economic, social, environmental</i>	<i>Social, environmental, life expect., economic, educational, health</i>
Quantity/quality	Both	Quality	<i>Both</i>
Objective/subjective	Both	<i>Both</i>	<i>Objective</i>
Static/dynamic	Dynamic	<i>Both</i>	<i>Both</i>
Approach	Asset	<i>Holistic</i>	<i>Asset</i>
Goal	Production; accumulation; flourishing	<i>Good life</i>	<i>Good place</i>
Value judgment	Value-driven	<i>Value-driven</i>	<i>Value-driven</i>

Source Adapted from Lee et al. (2015). The text in italics is modified

**Table 3.8** Matrix of relationships between quality of place and well-being

	Quality of Place	Well-being	
		Good	Bad
Good		<i>Happiness, satisfaction</i>	Dissonance
Bad		Adaptation	<i>Ill-being</i>

Source Adapted from Rapley 2003. The text in italics is modified

economic well-being, etc.), but is expressed by tools of a science that deals with place sui generis, and that is geography. Well-being with quality of place makes up a quality of life that is holistic. This is the axiom of creating its methodology.

Lee et al. (2015) compared community well-being with other related concepts: community well-being, happiness, quality of life, (individual) well-being and community development.

Their comparison implies that community well-being and community development are almost the same (they differ in their goal and value judgment). We can argue with the evaluation of concepts according to the given criteria, especially concerning the characteristic of quality of life. This is not only individual but also societal and it certainly is predominantly subjective, not objective. The table by Lee et al. (2015) was modified (Table 3.7) into a form which represents our understanding of community well-being, quality of life, and quality of place.

Rapley (2003) expressed the relationship between the alternatives of objective living conditions and subjective well-being in the form of a matrix. We have adjusted this matrix in Table 3.8 Good well-being and good quality of place in a short time period appear as happiness, and in a long time period as life satisfaction. Bad well-being and bad quality of place manifest as ill-being. This term is more appropriate than a mechanical opposing of the terms unhappiness and dissatisfaction. In the matrix, Rapley used the term ‘deprivation’.

### 3.3 Data

We are dealing with community well-being at the hierarchical level of municipalities in the Czech Republic with a population of up to five thousand. It is due to the fact that this number is the legal limit between cities and villages. There are several villages with a population over five thousand that are not cities, and, similarly, there are cities with a population of less than five thousand. Reasons for this are historical. The second criterion for determining this limit is that villages do not have districts, as cities do.

The Czech Republic (former Czechoslovakia) is administratively divided into 77 districts and fourteen regions. At the end of 2015, it had a population of ten and a half million living in 6251 municipalities. From these, 5692 are villages with a total population of two million six hundred thousand. (The 25% urbanization rate has not changed since the turn of the millennia.) A special feature of the development is, that since 1990, when Central and Eastern Europe went through a change of regime, the number of villages had increased by two thousand one hundred fifty-one, but the growth of the number of villages was stopped by a law issued in 2000. In real life, this meant that there were no new villages built from scratch, but a renewal of the independence of the formerly independent villages that had lost their independence due to the centralizing interventions of the ruling communist regime. The desire to restore the independence of their villages was a particularly strong manifestation of community life; its champions were generally a few individuals who were able to motivate other people with this idea.

Villages and cities (hereinafter municipalities) in the Czech Republic were analyzed as good places to live. Municipalities were denoted in this way by Murgaš and Klobučník (2016) in terms of spatial differentiation of the objective dimension of quality of life. This dimension was quantified by the Quality of Life Index consisting of ten indicators, which the authors denoted as the ‘Golden Standard of Quality of Life’ and those that were secondary data. The indicators were: (1) suicides, (2) life expectancy at birth—men, (3) life expectancy at birth—women, (4) mortality, (5) birth rate, (6) divorce rate, (7) population with university education, (8) unemployment, (9) emission balance and (10) generativity. The value of each indicator was transformed into the scale <0–1>. The average value of Quality of Life Index in the Czech Republic is 5.2921, while 5.1404 is the value for cities and 5.3081 for villages.

The municipality with the highest value of Quality of Life Index reached the value of 8.4690 (Table 3.9), and the municipality with the lowest value reached 1.8800 (Table 3.10). Both of these are small villages. We will henceforth consider the average value of Quality of Life Index to be 100%, the range of values of municipalities with the highest and the lowest value of quality of life are 160–24.7% of the average. The difference between the values is 135.3%.

Tables 3.9 and 3.10 imply that the highest and the lowest values of Index of Quality of Life were achieved by municipalities of a different size; the size of the municipality is thus not a function of quality of place. At the same, it is true that

**Table 3.9** Municipalities with the highest value of Index of quality of life in Czech Republic

Municipality	District <sup>a</sup>	Region <sup>b</sup>	Index of quality of life	Population
Hvozdnice	Hradec Králové	Hradec Králové	8.4690	202
Zadní Vydří	Jihlava	Vysočina	8.2520	57
Libníkovice	Hradec Králové	Hradec Králové	8.2064	149
Dubovice	Pelhřimov	Vysočina	8.0794	74
Všestary	Hradec Králové	Hradec Králové	7.9436	1642
Libčany	Hradec Králové	Hradec Králové	7.9313	872
Bílý Kámen	Jihlava	Vysočina	7.8314	231
Předměřice nad Labem	Hradec Králové	Hradec Králové	7.7951	1874
Vysoká nad Labem	Hradec Králové	Hradec Králové	7.7909	1255
Divec	Hradec Králové	Hradec Králové	7.7789	218

Source Authors' research

<sup>a</sup>Hierarchical level District (Okres in Czech) are municipalities

<sup>b</sup>Hierarchical level Region (Kraj in Czech) are districts

**Table 3.10** Municipalities with the lowest value of index of quality of life in Czech Republic

Municipality	District	Region	Index of quality of life	Population
Černiv	Litoměřice	Ústí nad Labem	2.0659	157
Vrskmaň	Chomutov	Ústí nad Labem	2.0583	242
Podbořanský Rohozec	Louny	Ústí nad Labem	2.0244	129
Žiželice	Louny	Ústí nad Labem	2.0020	440
Bystřany	Teplice	Ústí nad Labem	1.9877	1880
Vranov	Tachov	Plzeňský	1.9644	156
Přebuz	Sokolov	Karlovarský	1.9577	74
Meziboří	Most	Ústí nad Labem	1.9367	4824
Libořice	Louny	Ústí nad Labem	1.9336	336
Vrbno nad Lesy	Louny	Ústí nad Labem	1.8800	167

Source Authors' research

municipalities with the highest and the lowest values of Index are geographically concentrated.

Table 3.11 implies that villages have a bit higher (5.3081) value of Index of Quality of Life than cities (5.1404), however, according to the size category of municipalities, the lowest is in the cities with a population of under two thousand

**Table 3.11** Values of the index of quality of life in towns and villages in Czech Republic

Municipalities	Sum	%	Index of quality of life
Towns	594	9.5	5.1404
<2000	110		4.6063
2001–5000	218		5.1544
5001–10,000	134		5.4433
10,001–20,000	69		5.1886
20,000–50,000	42		5.2602
50,000–100,000	16		5.1735
100,000>	5		6.3877
Villages	5657	90.5	5.3081
Sum	6251	100	5.2921

Source Authors' research

**Table 3.12** Size structure of the observed municipalities

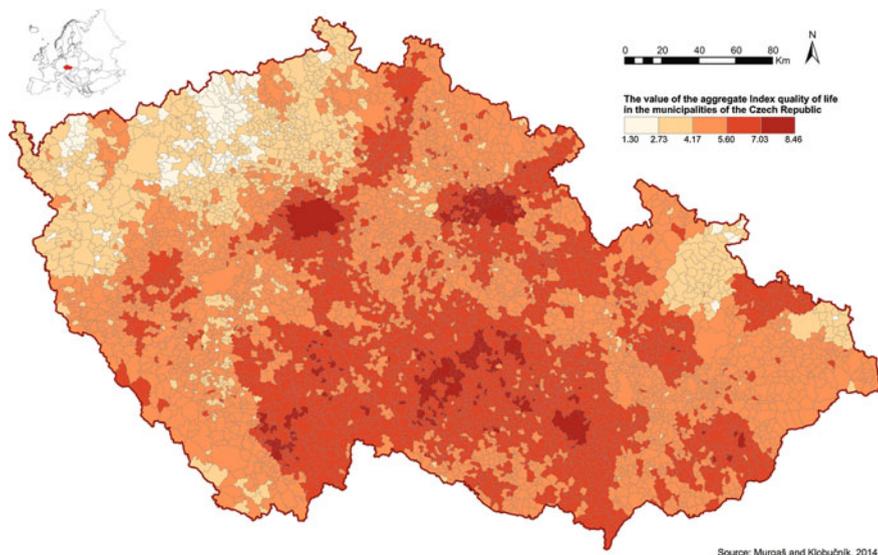
Size category	Number of municipalities	% of the Czech Republic	% of selected categories
<100	474	7.58	7.93
101–250	1519	24.30	25.40
251–500	1515	24.24	25.33
501–1000	1349	21.58	22.55
1001–2000	725	11.60	12.12
2001–3000	222	3.55	3.71
3001–4000	114	1.82	1.91
4001–5000	63	1.01	1.05
Total in selected categories	5981	95.68	100.00
Total in CR	6251	100.00	–

Source Authors' research

(4.6063); values slightly lower values than in those villages are also shown in the cities with a population of 2001–5000.

### 3.4 Results

The observed units, i.e. municipalities with a population under 5000, are distributed variably in terms of size categories (Table 3.12). The Czech Republic is characterized by a heavily fragmented territorial structure; there is a significant presence of the smallest settlement units. The number of municipalities with a population under 5000 in the whole country represents more than 95% of all municipalities, which is enough for us to subject these units to an analysis regarding quality of life.

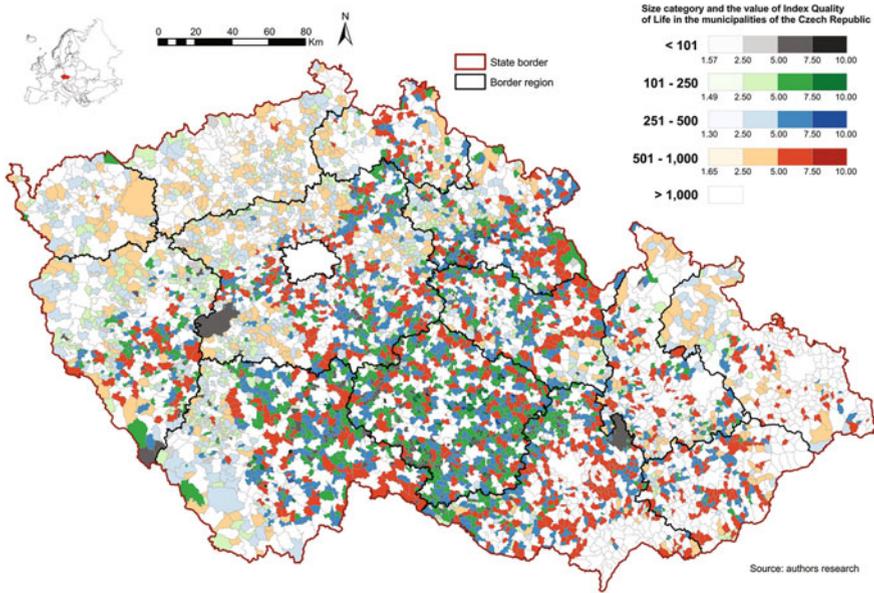


**Fig. 3.4** Spatial differentiation of the index of quality of life in municipalities of the Czech Republic

In the analysis of municipalities as good places to live, we have formulated two hypotheses: (i) their quality of life depends on the size of the municipality, and (ii) the geographical position of the municipality in the landscape plays an important role. In other research all municipalities in the Czech Republic, whose spatial distribution can be seen in Fig. 3.4, were taken into account (Murgaš and Klobučník 2016).

If the first hypothesis is confirmed, then municipalities with the same population should also have a similar value of Quality of Life Index, regardless of the geographical area they lie in. Spatial distribution of municipalities with the same size and value of quality of life is shown in Fig. 3.5 For clarity's sake, we took into account the first four size intervals, i.e. municipalities with a population of up to 100, 101–250, 251–500 and 501–1000. These groups of settlements represent more than 77% of all settlements in the Czech Republic, and more than 81% of all settlements from the category we selected, with a population of up to 5000. These municipalities of four different size categories were quantified according to the summary value of Quality of Life Index they achieved from ten indicators of the golden standard of quality of life (Murgaš and Klobučník 2016).

From the spatial point of view, it is clear that the hypothesis that municipalities of the same size should show approximately the same value of quality of life was not confirmed. Conversely, from the map the significant dependence of Quality of Life Index value in these units on locality is evident. From a regional perspective, the average value of Quality of Life Index according to the size categories is considerably differentiated (Table 3.13).



**Fig. 3.5** Quality of life index in municipalities in the Czech Republic by size categories

When we consider all municipalities according to the regions of the Czech Republic (Fig. 3.6) and compare them with the values in Table 3.13, we get an image that corresponds with the spatial differentiation of Quality of Life Index (Fig. 3.5). The Vysočina, South Moravian and Hradec Králové regions are regions with the highest value of Quality of Life Index in municipalities with a population of up to 5000. On the other hand, the lowest average values are in the Ústí nad Labem, Karlovy Vary and Moravia-Silesia regions. Figure 3.5 implies the fact that some regions are partly covered by municipalities of different size categories with high and also low values of Quality of Life Index; this is the case in the Plzeň, South Bohemian, Central Bohemia and Liberec regions. A possible explanation is that the county town as a center of the region also creates the conditions for a better quality of life compared with towns in the surrounding municipalities with a smaller population; however, this would require a detailed review and analysis.

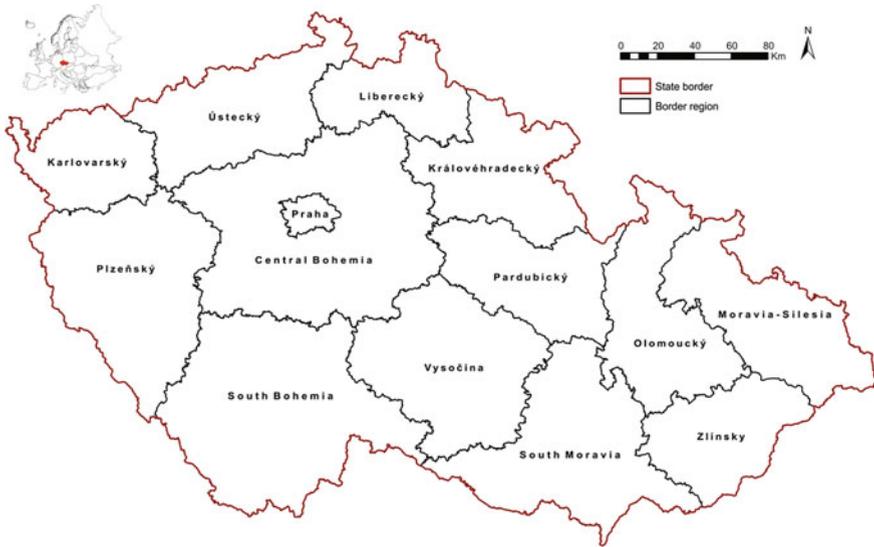
The significant differentiation of municipalities in the regions can be seen also in Fig. 3.7. It does not include the Prague region, as it is an urban region. In the vertical direction, the difference of values of Quality of Life Index in the regions based on the size categories of their municipalities is expressed. In the horizontal direction, we see municipalities in the regions according to size groups. The analysis according to the size categories implies several important outcomes:

- From all the regions, the lowest values of the Quality of Life Index were achieved by the smallest municipalities with a population of up to 100. The exceptions are the Hradec Králové and Liberec regions, where the lowest values

**Table 3.13** Quality of Life Index according in the size categories of municipalities

Region/category	<100	101–250	251–500	501–1000	1001–2000	2001–3000	3001–4000	4001–5000	All units
South Bohemia	5.22	5.52	5.68	5.82	5.63	6.04	5.84	6.09	5.59
South Moravia	5.43	5.67	5.79	5.93	6.06	6.02	6.08	5.93	5.85
Karlovy Vary	3.02	3.66	3.48	3.91	3.55	3.51	3.50	3.38	3.63
Hradec Králové	5.34	5.58	5.80	5.72	5.66	5.54	4.95	5.49	5.66
Liberec	4.99	4.98	5.14	5.09	5.07	5.14	5.14	4.13	5.06
Moravia-Silesia	3.98	4.19	4.19	4.86	5.15	4.99	5.02	4.84	4.79
Olomouc	4.88	5.10	5.10	5.22	5.52	5.54	5.73	5.29	5.25
Pardubice	5.13	5.37	5.56	5.72	5.60	5.82	5.68	5.52	5.52
Plzeň	4.65	4.71	4.75	5.09	4.95	5.16	5.27	5.02	4.82
Central Bohemia	4.81	4.93	5.02	5.15	5.26	5.48	5.79	5.77	5.08
Ústí nad Labem	2.42	2.98	3.14	3.15	3.17	3.14	3.08	3.03	3.09
Vysočina	6.10	6.22	6.48	6.39	6.48	6.41	6.46	6.21	6.30
Zlín	4.72	5.43	5.61	5.63	5.77	5.29	5.89	6.05	5.60
Total average	5.22	5.28	5.24	5.32	5.37	5.32	5.39	5.28	5.29

Source Authors' research

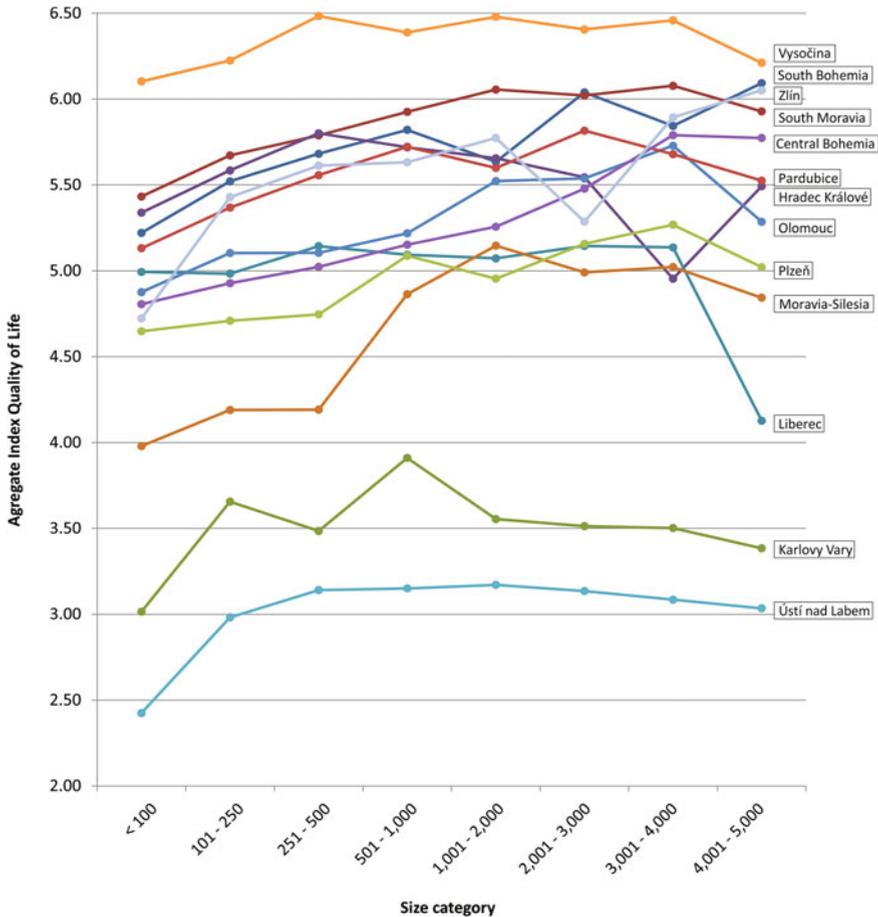


**Fig. 3.6** Regions in the Czech Republic

were reached by municipalities of the size category 3001–4000 in the former and 4001–5000 the latter.

- The highest average quality of life was shown in municipalities in different size categories except for the two smallest. This is in contrast to the fact that in the ten municipalities with the highest values of the Quality of Life Index (Table 3.9), municipalities from this category are in the second, third and fourth places.
- Population growth in the individual region does not correlate positively or negatively with the growth of value of the Quality of Life Index. The Vysočina region with the highest values of Quality of Life Index and the Ústí nad Labem region with the lowest Index values have the smallest differences in the individual size categories.

These findings imply that quality of life in Czech municipalities is also spatially differentiated according to the size categories. To utter a universally valid statement, specifically recommendations for the decision-making sphere, is complicated. In the next part of the research, we focused on the correlation analysis and looked at the relationship between the individual ten indicators and the resulting Quality of Life Index according to the size categories (Table 3.14). These results were then graphically visualized according to each indicator and we observed the trend in the size categories of the indicator itself (Fig. 3.8). For comparison we added a correlation coefficient, i.e. the relationship or dependence of an indicator for all selected size categories with the total value of Quality of Life Index acquired by the given municipality, to each graph. From these graphical representations,



**Fig. 3.7** Quality of life index in regions of the Czech Republic according to the size categories of municipalities. *Source* Authors' research

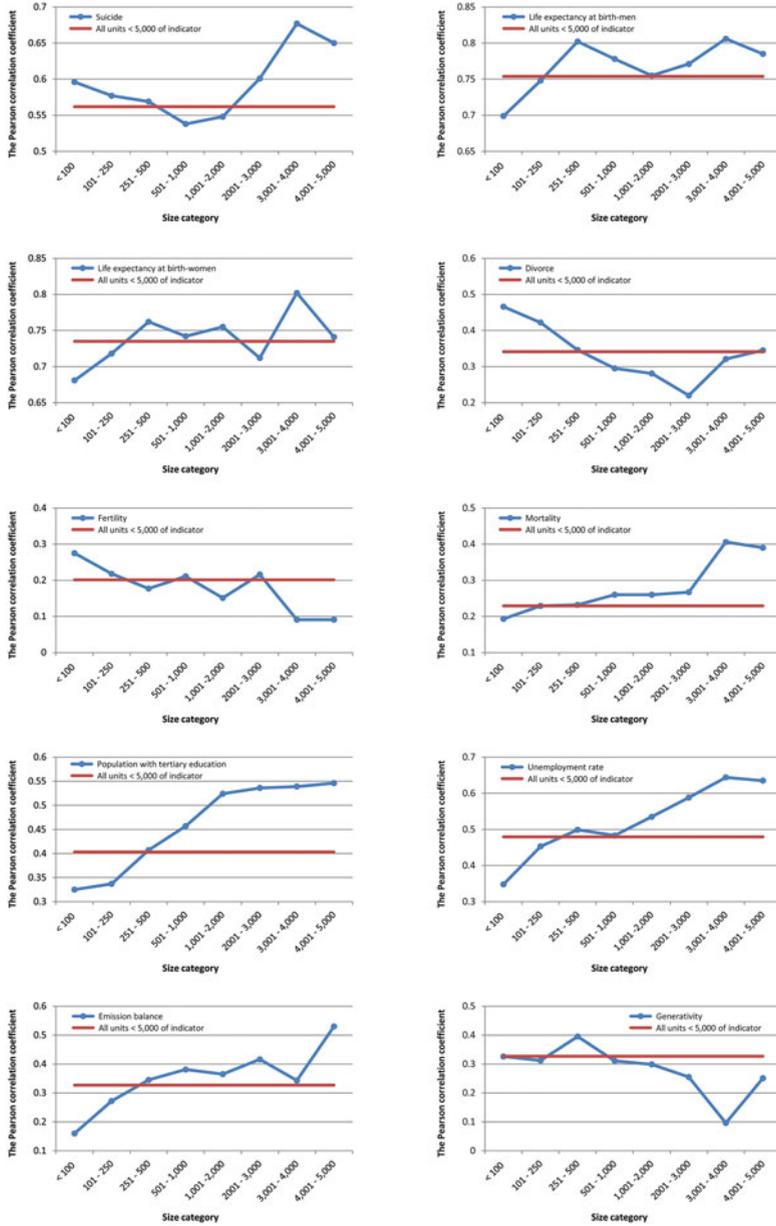
a dependency showing how each indicator contributes or correlates with the total value of Quality of Life Index in the studied municipalities can be observed. Some indicators (Life expectancy at birth—men, Life expectancy at birth—women) have a strong impact and dependency on the final value of Quality of Life Index, for other indicators, this influence is relatively smaller, but when broken down into size categories, this situation changes.

Examples are the indicators Population with tertiary education and Unemployment rate, for which we see a mild dependence (0.403 and 0.479) in all municipalities. However, for some size categories, this correlation coefficient is substantially increasing. For example, the indicator Population with tertiary education has the value of 0.546 and the indicator Unemployment rate even has the

**Table 3.14** Correlation coefficients of Quality of Life Index indicators according to size categories

Indicator/size category	Size category of municipalities											All units
	<100	101–250	251–500	501–1000	1001–2000	2001–3000	3001–4000	4001–5000				
Suicide	0.596	0.577	0.569	0.538	0.548	0.601	0.677	0.65			0.562	
Life expectancy at birth—men	0.699	0.748	0.802	0.778	0.755	0.771	0.806	0.785			0.754	
Life expectancy at birth—women	0.681	0.718	0.762	0.742	0.755	0.712	0.802	0.741			0.735	
Divorce	0.466	0.422	0.346	0.295	0.281	0.22	0.321	0.345			0.341	
Fertility	0.275	0.218	0.177	0.211	0.151	0.216	0.091	0.091			0.201	
Mortality	0.193	0.229	0.232	0.26	0.26	0.267	0.406	0.39			0.229	
Population with tertiary education	0.325	0.337	0.407	0.457	0.524	0.536	0.539	0.546			0.403	
Unemployment rate	0.348	0.453	0.499	0.483	0.535	0.588	0.644	0.635			0.479	
Emission balance	0.160	0.272	0.345	0.381	0.365	0.416	0.343	0.53			0.327	
Generativity	0.326	0.312	0.395	0.311	0.299	0.255	0.096	0.251			0.327	
Number of units in the analysis	474	1519	1515	1349	725	222	114	63			5981	

Source Authors' research



**Fig. 3.8** Trends of correlation coefficients of quality of life indicators according to size categories.  
*Source* Authors' research

value of 0.635. It is also interesting to watch the individual trends of increasing, decreasing, or a combining of these trends for specific indicators, depending on the size category. The increase, i.e. strength of the dependency with the increasing size category, is evident for the indicators Mortality, Population with tertiary education, Unemployment rate and Emission balance, while the decrease of Pearson correlation coefficients is present for indicators Divorce rate, Fertility and Generativity. The combined process with an increase and decrease of the correlation coefficient depending on the size category can be seen in Suicide, Life expectancy at birth—men and Life expectancy at birth—women. For trends of correlation coefficients, it is also necessary to take the value of this increase or decrease into account. For some indicators, this trend with regards to the average value of the Pearson correlation coefficient is negligible (e.g. for both Life expectancies or Suicide). The biggest difference of correlation coefficient regarding indicators and between size categories of this indicator is present for the indicators Divorce, Population with tertiary education, Unemployment rate, Emission balance or Generativity. The first three mentioned indicators are also important as they concern and were calculated at a local level, the last two from the aggregate data for larger units—districts.

### 3.5 Discussion

We consider the term *well-being* and its application to community to be the central issue of this monograph. The aim of this chapter is to search for the answer to the question posed in its title; the criterion of the validity of the answer is considered to be the life satisfaction of residents of the community. The answer to the question whether it is better to examine the community well-being as a part, accompanying the phenomenon of community economic development or quality of place as a geographical representation of an objective spatial dimension of quality of life has to be based on the conceptualization of these terms. Some authors associate community with well-being, which leads to the currently common, illogical combination of words from different disciplines. This and similar vague, confusing combinations are a manifestation of the engineering approach to society. Wiseman and Brasher (2008) consider community well-being to be something important, contrary to the BBC survey from 2005 reporting that happiness is affected by community and friends only in 6% of cases, as well as religiosity and spiritual life at the same rate. We believe that the term well-being cannot be conceptualized. The term well-being, in its original psychological sense—the way we understand it—is inherently associated with a positive assessment of quality of life. If our positive assessment is at the top (there is a consensus that on Cantrill's scale 0–10 these are the levels 8, 9 and 10), then we experience happiness. Quality of life is one; the condition of its integrity adds a complementary component, which is the second dimension—objective or spatial. Murgáš and Klobučník (2016) have expressed it as quality of place. The key argument of the approach is the fact that not only quality of place, but also community (non-virtual) is typically defined by geographic region

(Janzen and Kelly 2014). This approach has been verified on municipalities' combinations with vague content meaning anything is a manifestation of the engineering approach to society. This approach has been verified on municipalities with a population of less than 5000, which are rural settlements. These municipalities were identified with communities and we rated them according to the achieved values of Quality of Life index. This was established through quantification of the ten indicators making up the golden standard of quality of life. The average value of Quality of Life Index in the Czech Republic is 5.2921, from which 5.1404 in cities and 5.3081 in rural settlements. The highest (8.4690) and the lowest (1.3070) values of Quality of Life Index were achieved by rural municipalities of different sizes.

In the analysis of municipalities as good places to live, two hypotheses were formulated: (i) their quality of life depends on the size of the municipality, and (ii) geographical position of the municipality in the landscape plays an important role. From the obtained values (Table 3.13), we see that that hypothesis 1 was not confirmed; the differences between municipalities in one size group are more than 100%. The second hypothesis was confirmed, as is apparent from Table 3.13 and Figs. 3.5 and 3.8. In all size categories, the lowest values of Quality of Life Index were reached by municipalities in the Ústí nad Labem and Karlovy Vary regions, with the highest in Vysočina region. The research of municipalities of the Czech Republic as good places to live implies that they are significantly spatially differentiated, which is a supporting argument for the conceptualization of quality of place. If we accept the premise that the aim of community well-being is *societal progress* (Wiseman and Brasher 2008), then we use different terminology, not psychological, to measure community development, and different tools other than quality of life for its measurement.

### 3.6 Summary

The research on quality of life, specifically well-being, has been increasing in the last two decades; part of this process is also the increase of frequency of interest in community well-being. This process is part of the re-balancing from the individual to the social in social sciences, which is occurring at present. The aim of this chapter is to search for the answer to the question posed in its title; the criterion of the validity of the answer is considered to be the life satisfaction of residents of the community. Some authors associate community with well-being, which leads to the currently common, illogical combination of words from different disciplines. This and similar vague and confusing combinations is a manifestation of the engineering approach to society. We believe that the term well-being cannot be conceptualized. We understand that the term well-being, in its original psychological sense, is inherently associated with positive assessment of quality of life. Quality of life is

one; the condition of its integrity is adding a complementary component, which is the second dimension - objective or spatial. Murgaš and Klobučnik (2016) have expressed it as quality of place. Conceptualization of quality of place is being verified in municipalities with a population of up to five thousand in the Czech Republic that were identified with communities and we rated them according to the achieved values of Quality of Life index. This was established through quantification of the ten indicators making up the golden standard of quality of life. The average value of Quality of Life Index in the Czech Republic is 5.2921, from which 5.1404 in cities and 5.3081 in rural settlements. The highest (8.4690) and the lowest (1.3070) value of Quality of Life Index were achieved by rural municipalities of different sizes.

In the analysis of municipalities as good places to live, we have formulated two hypotheses: (i) their quality of life depends on the size of the municipality, and (ii) the geographical position of the municipality in the landscape plays an important role. From the obtained values (Table 3.13) it is evident that hypothesis 1 was not confirmed, the differences between municipalities in one size group are more than 100%. The second hypothesis was confirmed, as is apparent from Table 3.13 and Figs. 3.5 and 3.8. In all size categories, the lowest values of Quality of Life Index were reached by municipalities in the Ústí nad Labem and Karlovy Vary regions, the highest in Vysočina region. The research on municipalities of the Czech Republic as good places to live implies that they are significantly spatially differentiated, which is a supporting argument for the conceptualization of quality of place. If we accept the premise that the aim of community well-being is *societal progress* (Wiseman and Brasher 2008), then we use different terminology (not psychological) to measure community development and different tools, not quality of life, for measurement. Quality of life is neither an economic nor biological category and this cannot increase, it can only get better or worse. This is not an appropriate tool for the decision-making and planning sphere with its economic view of social and financial reality.

### 3.7 Conclusion

This scholarly book is focused on community well-being; the key terms are community and well-being. The reason we are interested in community well-being from a geographical point of view is the fact that the non-virtual community is typically defined by geographic region (Janzen and Kelly 2014).

The term 'well-being' is psychological, and contains an assumption that is good. Bad well-being is ill-being. Adding a sociological term to the psychological term is possible, but the result is confusing. Reducing confusion is possible by implementing the following structure: the superior term of 'well-being' is 'quality of life'. Well-being cannot be equated with quality of life, because this is holistic. While the

condition of integrity is met, the quality of life—in addition to the subjective dimension—must also be objective, spatial. This condition applies for the reason that none of us live in an abstract space, but in a particular world. In our paper, the word community is strongly associated with space. When we talk about community well-being, we are talking about the quality of place relating to the street, rural village, district or small town. In terms of planning and sustainability of communities, it is important to realize their limits. A BBC survey (2005) shows that amongst the factors influencing happiness, a ‘nice place to live’ counts for 8% and ‘community and friends’ has a 6% share. According to Lyubomirsky et al. (2005), 50% of well-being is determined genetically, forty percent of resources are intentional activity, formed by a large variety of everyday activities, and only 10% of well-being is influenced by circumstances, formed on the one hand by geographic, demographic and social characteristics in the regions people live, and on the other hand by their personal history. Both of the examples show that the impact of external factors on well-being, specifically happiness, is weak. Naturally, this means that it makes sense to improve the quality of place. Conversely, improving the quality of place is one of the key public policy objectives at a micro, meso and macro level. In countries with high population mobility, such as the USA, a good quality of life in the targeted city or region is one of the main reasons for migration (Rappaport 2009). A key element in the process of improving the quality of a place is the municipality (Burrett 2009). This way, it converges public interest, use of facilities, municipality planning and sustainability, which together form the common good. Good quality of life on a regional meso level is manifested as a pleasant life, involving a socially and culturally rich environment with low criminality. This creates a competitive advantage in regions that seek to attract and retain highly skilled professionals (Blažek and Uhlíř 2011).

The title of the paper asks if it makes sense to deal with community well-being or quality of place. The answer from a geographical point of view is that the quality of the place is a part of the quality of life as its objective dimension. The quality of place can be conceptualized. Community well-being is already a customary term, which in our opinion is not a part of the quality of life, but the output can be misinterpreted as condemning of community planning. If community planning should bring improvement to the quality of life of the community, it is necessary to improve input into this planning, that being the quality of place. We note that the impact of the physical environment on well-being is small (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005), but it is not negligible, and therefore it needs to be given attention as an important public policy objective.

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# Chapter 4

## Nurturing the Nurturing Mother: A Method to Assess the Interdependence of Human and Planetary Health Through Community Well-Being

Neda Yousefi Movahed

*We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used  
when we created them.*

—Albert Einstein

**Abstract** Current metrics of human well-being, such as those proposed by the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment seek to measure the interconnections of the human-nature relationship. However, the interaction between human health and planetary health is typically depicted as one-sided, neglecting a synergistic relationship. The primary goal of sustainability is to maximize human well-being for present and future generations while remaining safely within ecological boundaries. To decide what type of livelihood is worth sustaining, we require a more complete understanding of community well-being and alternative ways of characterizing it. In this paper, I concentrate on health, an important aspect of community and subjective well-being, and describe its interdependence, where human health and planetary health are mutually reliant on one another in the age of the anthropocene. I overview shortcomings with current indicators of well-being, propose a conceptual framework to understand this interdependence of human and planetary health. Three salient concepts for integrating the interdependence of human and planetary health are sense of responsibility, internal sense of balance, and sense of interconnectedness. I provide evaluative methods to assess these qualities based on preliminary exploratory research with two communities in the Phoenix metropolitan area. I propose a method to operationalize this understanding of interdependent health, using community-based participatory research to elicit meaningful indicators from the bottom-up. Objective indicators and subjective interpretations of the human-nature relationship help further efforts toward evaluating the role of human agency in building sustainable and resilient communities.

**Keywords** Community well-being · Planetary health · Sustainability · Participatory research

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## 4.1 Introduction

As the Earth's systems are degrading, we are becoming more aware of the vital role of ecosystems in promoting human health (Rockström et al. 2009; Whitmee et al. 2015). To achieve the level of economic and population growth we are experiencing today, humanity has bargained with the planet's regulating and provisioning services (Bennett et al. 2009). Interconnections within and amongst social-ecological systems are indisputable, as the health of society depends on the provisioning, supporting, regulating, and cultural services guaranteed by healthy ecosystems (MEA 2005). Unfortunately, the interconnections have manifested primarily through negative health impacts such as the higher risk of zoonotic diseases in degraded habitats (CBD-WHO 2015). However, it is possible to imagine a mutually beneficial relationship, where a healthier planet can nurture healthier humans who in turn continue to nurture the health of their planet.

While the concept of health has commonly remained exclusive to conversations about physical health in human society, there is a movement toward an understanding of planetary health that recognizes the interdependence between human health and natural systems (Horton et al. 2014). This understanding of interdependent health has been shaped through concepts like landscape sustainability science (Wu 2013), sense of place (Basso 1996), the noosphere (Vernadsky 1945), and our "co-evolution" with the environment where moral attachments to nature are likely intertwined within our genes, neural, and endocrine responses (Norgaard 2002; Wilson 1998). Harmonizing this scientific knowledge with alternative knowledge systems (e.g., traditional ecological knowledge, see Ross et al. 2011; Usher 2000) that conceptualize human-nature relationships in holistic ways is essential for livelihood resilience and ecosystem stewardship (Berkes et al. 2000; Kofinas and Chapin 2009). Subjective assessments of well-being enable culturally inclusive dialogue that can provide complementary perspectives to mainstream Western quality of life studies (e.g., Diener et al. 2003).

To operationalize this recognition of planetary health, I propose the concept of *multi-dimensional community well-being*, which urges the co-creation of complementary and alternative indicators for assessing wellness. Community participants identified the particular importance of sense of responsibility, internal sense of balance, and sense of interconnectedness for promoting an understanding of interdependent health. Introducing radically different ways of conceptualizing and measuring well-being causes a shift in societal institutions' responsibilities toward guaranteeing meaningful progress and fulfillment for all citizens.

### 4.1.1 Sustainability Transformations

In their response to rapid material growth, our human-dominated ecosystems are urging us to slow down. In contrast, if sustainable quality of life becomes as a primary goal for humanity, we must rethink the worldviews, institutions, and technologies that

have bound us in an unlimited cycle of modern overconsumption (Beddoe et al. 2009). Meeting the needs of the present, requires transforming our systems to responsibly meet economic, environmental, social, cultural, health, and political needs without compromising future generations' ability to meet their own needs (McGranahan and Satterthwaite 2003). Sustainable development calls for minimizing use or waste of nonrenewable resources, sustainably using finite renewable resources, supporting future social capital, without overtaxing capacities of renewable and finite sinks (McGranahan and Satterthwaite 2003). Paradigm shifts in how we conceptualize human-earth relationships must take place in order to reach a consensus on collective sustainable action (e.g., Edwards 2005). Some urge the rebirthing of ecosystem stewardship, a place-based environmental ethic that recognizes connections between humans and ecosystems going beyond (but still including) utilitarian values (Chapin et al. 2009; Raymond et al. 2013). Transforming how personal and planetary well-being is understood and measured can help spark a paradigm shift.

#### ***4.1.2 Situating the Conversation of Community Well-Being***

The concept of quality of life emerged as a method of understanding what makes a life “good” in the broadest sense (e.g., Scott 2012). Historically, scholars have pondered these types of questions, notably Aristotle’s call for focus on human flourishing or *eudaimoniai* (see O’Neill (1993, Chap. 6). Quality of life currently acts as an umbrella term that encompasses other descriptive terms such as life satisfaction, multi-dimensional well-being (both objective and subjective), capabilities, self-determination, social inclusion, rights, and welfare (Schalock and Verdugo 2002; Sen 1993; Morreim 1986; Ysander 1993; Erikson 1993; Estes 1984; Kacapyr 1996).

Under the umbrella term “quality of life”, I focus in the remainder of this chapter on the concept of multi-dimensional well-being, which includes sub-components such as basic needs, health, physical environment, natural resources, personal development, social connectedness, and security (e.g., Mitchell et al. 2001; Doyal and Gough, 1991). I focus primarily on health under the concept of well-being, which includes biological/physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional health (e.g., Veenhoven 1996). Specifically, I concentrate on subjective perceptions through qualitative indicators since much existing effort has been on objective and quantitative evaluations (e.g., Rojas 2006). Subjective data collection units can be individual, familial, community, city, national, or cross-national comparison. For the purposes of this paper, I will discuss well-being at the community scale.

There are multiple possibilities to develop and prioritize the types of indicators chosen when assessing overall quality of life. Methods include personal utility focusing on subjective perceptions; opulence that prioritizes economic development; social justice orientations; a foci on human needs satisfaction; and sustainability indicators, which pairs indicators of human and ecosystem well-being (Sirgy 2014). I draw from both the personal utility and sustainability approach in the proposed assessment of community well-being.

### ***4.1.3 Conceptual Representation: An Example***

Figure 4.1 conceptualizes the interdependence of human and planetary health through three components: space and place, being and accessing, and visioning and connecting. A brief example for how this interdependent relationship can manifest appears in italics. Apache communities native to the Southwestern region of the United States have historically lost vast amounts of land and been forcibly displaced, destroying their sense of place (Basso 1996). According to Basso (1996, p. 63), “Apaches view landscape as a repository of distilled wisdom, a stern but benevolent keeper of tradition, an ever-vigilant ally in the efforts of individual and whole community to maintain a set of standards for social living that is uniquely and distinctly their own,” demonstrating the profound role of place in the continuation of traditions. As a result of historical removal, the Apache’s ability to farm and consume traditional foods and perform cultural activities is greatly diminished. This has a direct negative health impact on community members as the loss of traditional food systems and replacement with junk foods causes a severely higher risk of diabetes and obesity in native peoples overall (e.g., Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996; Gittelsohn et al. 1998). Subsequently, planetary health is negatively impacted since the conversion of traditional farmlands into monoculture to produce corn for processed food and ethanol greatly degrades ecosystem vitality (Altieri 2009). Further, commercial agriculture has raised grave concerns of food sovereignty and cultural survival (e.g., Adamson 2012), preventing communities’ ability to be interdependent with their lands. Above all, physical separation from the land and subsequent threats to culture hinders communities’ maintenance of ancestral spiritual connections to the land and Cosmos. High rates of toxicants on tribal lands have also raised great concern and have urged holistic risk-based environmental decision-making (Arquette et al. 2002). A reduced ability to maintain traditional environmental knowledge and a spiritual ethic can dramatically alter a people’s relationship with the land, potentially decreasing both human and planetary health.

### ***4.1.4 Shortcomings of Current Indicators***

There is an emerging consensus that well-being involves more than reductionist economic gains (Sen 1993; Schatan 1990; McGillivray and Clarke 2006; Stiglitz et al. 2009). The conversation has subsequently moved to understanding the multi-dimensionality and complexity inherent in the term (Clarke 2006; Gahine et al. 2003; Larsen et al. 2010; Rojas 2006; Sumner 2006; Nussbaum 2011). A commonly cited composite indicator is the Human Development Index (HDI), which arose in response to an early call for multi-dimensional well-being measurements (Anand and Sen 1994). The HDI adds health (measured by life expectancy at birth) and education (captured by expected and mean years of schooling) to income-based measurements (through Gross National Income (GNI) per capita adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP)). However, the HDI has been thoroughly criticized from multiple

perspectives, such as the redundancy and colinearity of indicators (McGillivray 2006) and for failing to capture the extent to which the provisions of health and education are benefiting people (Veenhoven 1996). Additionally, the HDI fails to include the importance of ecosystems in supporting human development. Alternative indicators such as the Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI, e.g., Talberth et al. 2007) and the Happy Planet Index (HPI, e.g., Abdallah et al. 2009) attempt to account for the role of the environment in well-being by including the cost of environmental degradation in GPI, or estimating the size of ecological footprints in HPI. While this demonstrates a positive evolution in mainstream paradigms surrounding well-being, existing indicators could be enhanced by integrating more nuanced complexities characterizing human-nature relationship.

Another problem is the scale at which the data for aforementioned indicators has been collected and applied. The HDI, GPI, and HPI have each been applied at the national scale, failing to capture the complexities of inter-scalar heterogeneity (e.g., Ysander 1993). Taylor (1993) and Walzer (1993) critique this approach as application of a reductionist scientific vision that yields an objective “neutral universe”. Top-down, universal indicators allow for cross-country comparison and harness readily available data, yet they miss diversity and inequality at lower scales (e.g., McGillivray and Clarke 2006; Gray and Moseley 2005). Occasionally, poor correlation between objective indicators and self-assessments of individual and community well-being is observed, urging further examination (Beckley and Burkosky 1999). Communities are not stable homogenous units, and unequal power dynamics and structural inequity are downplayed in large-scale data collection (Guijt and Shah 1998; Mohan and Stokke 2000).

## 4.2 Ongoing Challenges

### 4.2.1 *Current Health Indicators Are Physical*

Objective quantitative indicators of health have provided a significant data that is useful for policy assessment and cross-comparisons between diverse peoples and places. Common health indicators include: life expectancy at birth; low birth weight children per capita; mortality rate/infant mortality; welfare case loads per capita; access to primary health care; occurrence of disease; characteristics of health care system; obesity and malnutrition in adults and children; caloric intake and proportion acquired from local, national, and foreign foods (Walter 1996; Crabbe et al. 1995; Hart 1995; NRTEE 1995). However, while these indicators allow for an understanding of the baseline situation, they overlook the nuances inherent in the more complex areas of human health. Additionally, these indicators have primarily been selected for universal comparison, failing to include culturally relevant understandings of health. Supplementing this type of data with subjective evaluations of “fuzzier” aspects of multi-dimensional well-being can provide a more complete picture. The mainstream conversation around health has focused primarily on objective and quantitative indicators, missing interconnections between emotional, relational, and

spiritual health. These are “fuzzy” because of the complexity of measuring more abstract concepts like “social connectedness” and the inherent subjectivity inherent in well-being (e.g., Lutz-Baliamoune 2006). Complementary subjective qualitative indicators can provide a more complete picture (e.g., Brock 1993).

There seems to be a paradox in how human health has been increasing as environmental degradation is increasing when using health indicators that rely on life expectancy (Whitmee et al. 2015). While this seems to contradict the argument for the interdependence of human and planetary health, Whitmee et al. (2015) offer three explanations for why this may be the case: (1) greater productivity of food systems overshadows negative impacts from environmental deterioration; (2) technology and man-made infrastructure have increased the efficiency of resource exploitation, decoupling wellbeing with nature; (3) and possible time lags exist between deterioration of ecosystem functioning and reduced human well-being. I offer a supplementary explanation for this paradox—we need complementary indicators that qualitatively assess the “fuzzy” aspects of our well-being. By integrating this understanding of interdependence with planetary health into conversations around monitoring quality of life, a more complete picture emerges. When using indicators that assess the relationship between humans and their natural environment, we are likely to find many limitations in mainstream notions of health.

#### 4.2.2 *Challenges to Understanding Planetary Health*

Whitmee et al. (2015) identify three major challenges that must be overcome in order to promote human and planetary health: *imagination challenges* of limited empathy and conceptual failures (e.g. historical dependence on economic indicators of well-being); *research and information challenges* due to limited knowledge (e.g., shortage of transdisciplinary work); and *governance challenges* evident in implementation failures (e.g., inability of institutions to respond to threats and manage uncertainty). We can begin to address the three challenges by empowering communities to become involved in the process of conceptualizing interdependencies in their own well-being through the promotion of multi-dimensional well-being indicators.

Modern lifestyles have removed us from the tangible interconnections between our health and our planet’s health as accessibility to resources has increased while exposure to waste has shifted, making it less tangible to those responsible for producing it (e.g., Baggs 2009). Consequently, more attention has been paid to environmental ethics that can find greater harmony between humans and the natural world (e.g., Taylor 2011). Bringing in alternative forms of knowledge is essential to this process (Ross et al. 2011).

#### 4.2.3 *Need for Transdisciplinary Learning*

Conversations surrounding well-being have also been predominantly amongst the ‘Northern’ academic community. They have largely ignored the importance of

including local and indigenous knowledge, risking promoting “politics of imperialism” (Naples and Gurr 2014) and epistemicide (Santos 2014). There is a need to include alternative voices in academic and on-the-ground activities focused on increasing well-being. There is a risk of remaining trapped in conversations amongst the same privileged circles of decision-makers, policies, and academics, unable to engage with and potentially synthesize alternative perspectives. Enabling diverse communities across cultures and economic strata to self-define and offer culturally significant conceptualizations of well-being can begin to bridge this gap.

Transdisciplinary methodologies that integrate knowledge from inside and outside academia further the social process of co-learning (Max-Neef 2005; Hadorn et al. 2008; Reyers et al. 2010). O’Brien et al. (2013) echo the need for co-designed, co-produced knowledge that integrates multiple perspectives and brings together scholarship and practice in order to address global challenges. Individuals in different roles carry unique perspectives that can be discussed, allowing tradeoffs to be discussed and potentially harmonized into a collective understanding. Especially important are the minority perspectives that have been silenced by mainstream voices on a given subject. In the context of well-being, the mainstream conversation has historically focused on material accumulation as opposed to more intangible indicators of landscape linkages, emotional balance and spiritual enlightenment, which are crucial to overall well-being (e.g., Allardt 1993).

Many alternative conceptions of well-being exist, including understandings of mind-body-spirit healing that give a central position to the role of the Earth (e.g., Rain 1992; Ruether 1996). For example, holistic health paradigms have not made their ways into mainstream Western conversations on well-being. They may seem to be too “feel good”, “new agey” or abstract and difficult to apply or evaluate in the context of health problems. Given the complex sustainability challenges we face today, these types of knowing are especially important. Complexity emphasizes the need for more inclusive research and transdisciplinary practice (e.g., Ross et al. 2011). Such an approach for assessing community well-being would convene diverse community members as equals. Their perspective would thicken the process of identifying key components of their well-being. Potential outcomes could be dialogues and co-created indicators of well-being that are more culturally inclusive and have greater relevance for policymaking.

Healing the broken bond between our young and nature is in our self-interest, not only because aesthetics or justice demand it, but also because our mental, physical, and spiritual health depend upon it.

—Richard Louv (2005)

### 4.3 Multi-dimensional Community Well-Being

I offer some initial suggestions for how communities can explore their relationship with their environment in collaboration with researchers and practitioners. I provide a basic template of indicators and ideas that can be used to spark discussion.

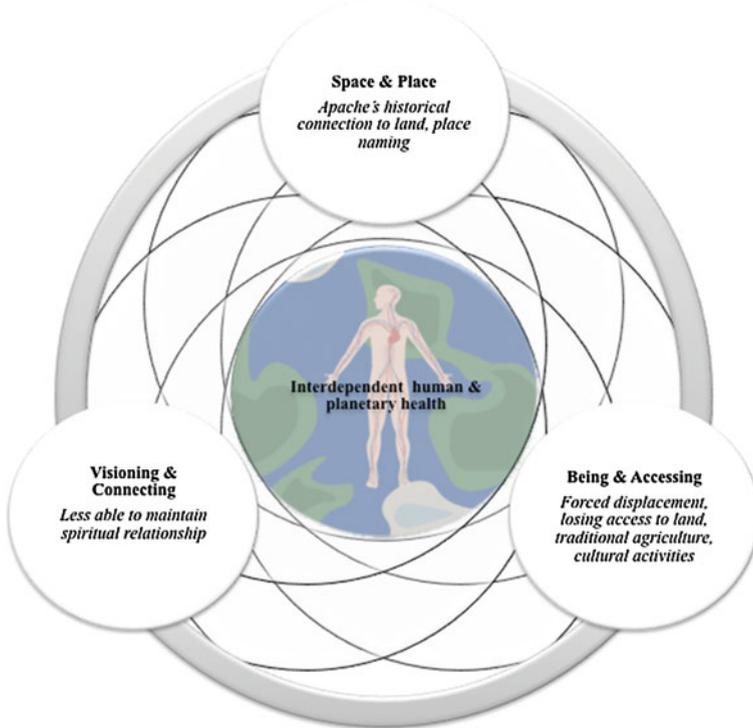
Indicators are tools that can increase the amount of information people have access to, inspiring action and encouraging better decision-making (Gahine et al. 2003). Well-being is an inherently subjective concept, suggesting that community members should be at the heart of the process in co-creating their own measures of well-being. Based on the previous discussion, I start from the assumptions that indicators should integrate both subjective and objective components of well-being in order to study the human-environment relationship (Van Kamp et al. 2003). Similarly, the process for identifying indicators should be transdisciplinary. In a balanced partnership, researchers, practitioners and community members can work to explore both contextually specific and universally transferable indicators for understanding and improving the human-nature relationship.

There have been diffuse attempts at conceptualizing the human-nature relationship and creating indicators. In the conceptual representation (see Fig. 4.1), I bring together previously disconnected concepts under the lens of human and planetary health. I highlight three key that human and planetary interconnectedness is discussed in the literature: (1) space and place; (2) being and accessing; and (3) visualizing and connecting (see Fig. 4.1). In concert, these concepts act as a baseline for community members, researchers, and practitioners to use when initiating dialogues surrounding well-being.

### 4.3.1 *Space and Place*

Central to creating well-being is an understanding of the core connection that individuals and communities feel to their natural surroundings. Basso (1996) conceptualizes this as of *sense of place*. While studying the place-wisdom of the Cibecue Apache, Basso articulated the complex “universal tool of the historical imagination” of *place making* (1995, p. 5). A crucial element determining a particular community’s potential for sustainability is their *sense of place* as “what people make of their places is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of society and inhabitants of the earth...deeply joined in practice (Basso 1996, p. 7).” Symbolic properties and relationships with environmental phenomena should be elevated to receive the same attention that material properties (i.e., natural resources) receive (Basso 1996). A recognition of this *interanimation* process, where place brings meaning to people and people give places meaning, creates an awareness of the interdependent and mutually beneficial relationships between people and places, and perhaps people and Earth. Additionally, *sense of place* has implications for communal traditions and the passing of morals, which further impact well-being.

Similarly important to understand is the concept of *healing spaces* described by Sternberg (2009), which focuses on the mind-body connection and the impact our surroundings can have on this relationship. Sternberg (2009) highlights studies such as Ulrich (1984) showing that views of nature can help hospital patients heal quicker and Thayer and Levenson (1983) illustrating the effect of soundscapes on



**Fig. 4.1** Conceptualization of the interdependence of human and planetary health using an example described in the text above. Three *circles* represent three different categories of multi-dimensional community well-being that depict how human health is interwoven with planetary health: space and place; being and accessing; visioning and connecting

people's emotions and heart rhythms. It is evident that we react to space in different ways, opening the potential for designing places that encourage good health, positive energy, and creative thought and expression (Sternberg 2009). *Green design* that provides healing spaces for humans is thus equally beneficial to the planet's health (Sternberg 2009). The relationship between human and spaces are bi-directional. These interlinkages are another way in which the interdependencies of health manifest. Potential indicators of connectedness for Space and Place are ancestral connection to land (e.g., number of generations lived), presence of sacred sites, place naming and places bearing stories.

### 4.3.2 *Being and Accessing*

Allardt (1993) uses the concept of *being* to describe the need for integration into society and to live in harmony with nature, one of the three fundamental aspects of

his conception of welfare as *having, loving, being*. The second aspect of this concept is “accessing.” Do people have the ability to engage with nature, both through mental and emotional contemplation and physical activities such as walking, gardening, and fishing? The concept of opportunities is key as it can identify structural barriers preventing individuals from experiencing their natural environment.

Louv (2005) describes *nature deficit disorder*, which is emerging because societies have concentrated on material progress to the detriment of physical, emotional, and spiritual interactions with natural surroundings. Identification of indicators to assess contact with nature is one way to understand the human-nature relationship and begin to pave the way for healthy connections with the environment (Larsen et al. 2010). This can be done through questions such as the amount of time spent outdoors, length of school recess, local harvest per capita, consumption of local foods, income spent on nature-related activities, local control of resources, proportion of economy dependent on natural resources, and percentage of youth in traditional subsistence activities (Larsen et al. 2010).

### 4.3.3 *Visioning and Connecting*

Moving beyond the material, aesthetic, and recreational benefits of the natural environment, there is widespread recognition of the cultural significance and spiritual enlightenment that our Earth can enable through sacred spaces (e.g., De Groot et al. 2002; Verschuuren 2006). Some religious scholars emphasize the importance of maintaining a harmonious relationship with the environment as one of the paths to enlightenment (see Pedersen 1995). This type of relationship necessitates a non-hierarchical understanding of the human-nature relationship as co-existing and co-creating meaningful experiences. Spiritual experiences are one way that individuals can awaken and recognize the sense of oneness (or nonduality) with nature, which is essential for both human and planetary health (Roszak et al. 1995; Davis 1998). Some use metaphors to discuss the human-nature relationship non-dualistically. Raymond et al. (2013) for example, applies the *web of life* and *ecocultural community* modes of understanding. Recognizing our relationship in the context of the *web of life* urges humans to take responsibility in understanding our impacts on the various components of the broader system, where success is monitored through indicators of species interactions and levels of ecosystem function (Raymond et al. 2013). Taking it one step further is the *ecocultural community* metaphor that urges ecological mindfulness on the basis of deep connections among the spiritual, physical, and social worlds (Raymond et al. 2013). Success in this case is more abstract and difficult to measure as it is the integrity of the connections among the spiritual, physical and social worlds (Raymond et al. 2013).

Gould et al.'s (2014) work in Hawai'i provides an example of conceptualizing human-ecosystem relationships without monetary valuation. Emergent themes included: the importance of kinship with nonhuman entities, perspective (reorienting to life's important concerns or comprehending nonhuman temporal and spatial scales), and social relationships (Gould et al. 2014). Qualitative indicators assessing the extent to which individuals feel kinship with nonhuman living entities is another option for understanding the interdependence of human and planetary health. The concept of perspective is crucial here as it brings to light the awareness and importance of the wider cosmic vision, or a *cosmopolitan* relationship with space and time (e.g., Szerszynski and Urry 2006). A mode of visioning, *Cosmovision* unites alternative ways of knowing and can enable a transcendence of Western notions of separations between humans and nonhumans, transforming the underlying structures that exacerbate socio-environmental injustices (Adamson 2013). This *cosmovision* is deeply connected to the role of spirituality, which is fundamental to psychological, emotional, and mental well-being (e.g., Brown and Ryan 2003; Emmons et al. 1998).

Indicators of spiritual well-being have been developed and operationalized in a variety of contexts (e.g., Gomez and Fisher 2003; Hungelmann et al. 1996). Many questions tested for inclusion in spiritual well-being questionnaires focus on nature-based concepts. These include: positive attitude to environment; unity with environment; awe in nature; environmental harmony (Gomez and Fisher 2003). These types of beliefs have been central to different traditional indigenous knowledge systems. However, processes of globalization and the dominance of western cultures have led to their marginalization in many cases (e.g., Ross et al. 2011; Pickering and Jewell 2008). This reiterates the urgency of transdisciplinary conversations that can reawaken environmental ethics, further supporting equitable natural resource governance (Rist and Dahdouh-Guebas 2006).

#### 4.4 Operationalizing Interdependence

So far in this chapter I have discussed the need for complementary qualitative and subjective well-being indicators that can deepen current measures of physical health and the importance of integrating understandings of human and planetary health. In this final section, the focus shifts to operationalizing this understanding of interdependent human and planetary health. Most research has assessed the material and physical interdependence of humans and non-human nature, so my research attempts to gauge the spiritual, psychological, and social aspects of our relationship with the biosphere.

I propose doing so through community level workshops focused on multi-dimensional well-being. Community-level work is crucial to meeting global sustainability, noting that complexity and diversity increase at higher scales (Berkes 2006). Crabbe et al. (1995) identify three key stages in determining community sustainability: (1) Community engagement where the focus is on defining

community conception of sustainability; (2) Assessment of where the community stands relative to where wants to be and examining current sources of instability; and (3) Assessing resiliency and adaptive capacity of community to change. It is important for communities to continue iteratively reflecting back and learning through their monitoring and evaluation process, as adaptive management is crucial for more resilient and sustainable development (Folke et al. 2002).

Communal level focus allows a deeper look into smaller-scale heterogeneity that is missed from city-level, or national-level data, identifying different and locally relevant indicators and preferred outcomes. Many determinants of well-being (e.g., access to fresh and local food) are enabled at the community scale. First, it is important to establish a working understanding of community. According to Kusel and Fortmann's (1991, p. 17) a community is that which has a "locality-based shared identity...both as a specific place and as a sense of belonging and a shared identification among individuals who live in that place" evident through "practices of commitment which make up patterns of individual allegiance and responsibility directed toward community."

Workshops will be a mechanism to discuss well-being, articulate goals, understand tradeoffs, and create action plans with locally relevant indicators. Smaller focus group type discussions can bring forth the communal perspective while maintaining opportunities for individuality to emerge (Hacker et al. 2011). Exploring the interdependence of human and planetary health is necessary for communities in the global 'North' and 'South' alike. These workshops can be facilitated with the help of researchers and practitioners working in various fields such as community health, urban planning, sustainability, urban ecology, and landscape science. Those involved should maintain a solid understanding of the community context at hand and be well-versed in both subject matter and local culture (e.g., West 2006). Using a community-based participatory approach (Hacker 2013) is crucial, as community members should directly and equally involved throughout the entire process. These workshops can be conducted as stand-alone initiatives driven out of interest by community members, or as a part of socio-environmental impact assessments. Community introspection throughout the entire process is needed as the strength of community-level indicators is based on the involvement of citizens (Sirgy et al. 2011).

Not only can community-level indicators integrate local knowledge, but they facilitate more meaningful policy and governance by providing locally and internationally relevant information to decision makers (Beckley and Burkosky 1999; Valentin and Spangenberg 2000). When selecting indicators, communities will collaborate with researchers and/or practitioners to ensure data is locally meaningful and can be operationalized at higher scales. Some factors to consider when prioritizing which indicators to use are comprehensiveness, data availability, understandability and accessibility, sensitivity to changes over time, capability for use at different levels of aggregation, validity (external and internal), and reliability (BCRTEE 1994).

I will now provide examples of three qualities and respective indicators that have emerged from exploratory research done with two communities in the Phoenix

Metropolitan area. Both communities hold rich experiential expertise on this subject as their practice incorporates deep respect for the interdependence of human and planetary health. Data collection methods included participant-observation, focus group discussions, and informal interviews. Community participants identified the qualities of sense of responsibility, internal sense of balance, and sense of interconnectedness as foundational to multi-dimensional community well-being. These qualities emerged in well-being workshops held with both communities, indicating that there is a shared sense of their importance for sustainability. These qualities fit best within the visioning and connecting category (see Sect. 4.3 and Fig. 4.1) that accounts for the more abstract psychological, social, and spiritual ways our health is interdependent with the biosphere.

#### ***4.4.1 Sense of Responsibility***

Sense of responsibility is an essential quality to community well-being to ensure a healthy level of contribution to the collective good. In the focus group discussions about the interdependence of human and planetary health, sense of responsibility was identified as one of the qualities essential to ensuring a more balanced relationship with the biosphere. Participants noted that this could be assessed by examining how individuals contribute to communal efforts through volunteer hours and their level of personal commitment to collective goals. Additionally, the importance of individual sense of impact and agency was emphasized as fundamental to having an overall sense of responsibility. If individuals do not feel their actions will make a difference, they will be less likely to contribute to the community (Table 4.1).

#### ***4.4.2 Internal Balance***

The quality of internal balance was brought up in the context of discussing how flexible one can be in the context of external change and uncertainty. Given that the socio-environmental challenges we face today place us in situations of immense uncertainty and discomfort, maintaining an internal sense of balance can be deemed important. Participants emphasized how a recognition of the larger picture can be found by tapping into an internal sense of joy that transcends satisfaction of sensual desires. Living in gratitude is one method to cultivate this internal balance. When this internal balance is well nourished, individuals are more able to handle uncertainty and feel comfortable in the face of conflict. Additionally, having a balance the type of activities we do during our day can promote a greater sense of internal balance. Inward gestures are activities such as doing artwork alone, working on a difficult problem, reflection in a journal. In contrast outward gestures are activities like playing sports on a team, giving a public talk, and brainstorming an issue with a

**Table 4.1** This table provides a breakdown of how the community partners identify the quality of sense of responsibility

SR	<b>Sense of responsibility</b>
SR1	<i>Contributions to community</i>
	# of volunteer hours
	Level of commitment (role, type of service)
	Scale—I feel an interdependent relationship with my community. When I help the community, I feel the benefit to myself as well
SR2	<i>Communal land</i>
	Scale—I can leave my belongings laying around without worrying about them being stolen
	Do you pick up trash if see you it?
SR3	<i>Impact</i>
	Scale—When needed, I take initiative in situations (e.g. transforming conflict)
	Scale—I feel like I can make a significant impact on my surroundings
	Scale—My community holds the space/provides opportunities for self-enactment/manifestation
SR4	<i>Agency</i>
	Scale—I am confident that my actions can make a difference

In bold is the overarching quality, underneath in italics are the sub-traits that comprise sense of responsibility, and lastly in normal font are the potential ways to assess. The scale could be Likert-type, ranging from fully agree to fully disagree

group. Individuals who feel more balanced internally are more able to co-create communities with healthier inter-personal and inter-species relationships (Table 4.2).

### 4.4.3 Sense of Interconnectedness

The quality of sense of interconnectedness attempts to better understand how an individual relates to other beings, both human and non-human. This quality is fundamental to sustainability efforts, where we are asking individuals to extend their sense of compassion to current and future generations of humans and the biosphere. In assessing this, participants identified the importance of believing in an energetic thread that connects all forms of life. One’s level of empathy or sensitivity can allow them to tap into this energetic connection. Although abstract, an individual’s level of consciousness or awareness can be used to gauge how capable they are of sensing this interconnectedness. Methods of assessing level of awareness include muscle testing developed by Hawkins (2012), activities such as eye-gazing meditation where individuals are pressed to maintain eye contact with another to allow their individual ego to temporarily dissolve, and prior “mystical” experiences according to the characteristics developed by Shrader (2008). According to

**Table 4.2** This is a breakdown of how the community partners identify the quality of internal balance

<b>B</b>	<b>Internal balance</b>
B1	<i>Tapping into “internal spark”/joy</i>
	Scale—When I am triggered by a situation, I am able to find an internal sense of joy. I am able to see the bigger picture
B2	<i>Handling uncertainty</i>
	Scale—I am comfortable in the face of conflict and uncertainty
	Scale—I am able to be present without needing to control the situations around me.
B3	<i>Living in gratitude</i>
	What are you grateful for? Can you find this space in any moment?
	Scale—Fully agree-fully disagree—I eat my food with intention and gratitude
B4	<i>Ebb and flow in activities</i>
	Do you honor the changing seasons by holding festivals? Does the community hold space for individuals to recognize the transformations happening both internally and externally?
	Evaluate a day—is there a balance between outward and inward gestures?

In bold is the overarching quality, underneath in italics are the sub-traits that comprise sense of responsibility, and lastly in normal font are the potential ways to assess. The scale could be Likert-type, ranging from fully agree to fully disagree

participants, a strong sense of service reflects experience of interconnectedness and vice versa. Both community partners emphasized the need to enrich a sense of interconnectedness in the process of promoting sustainability transformations toward equitable well-being for humans and non-human nature (Table 4.3).

Every living being is connected intimately... Now is the time to share with all life on our maltreated earth through the deepening identification with life forms and the greater units, the ecosystems, and Gaia, the fabulous, old planet of ours.

—Arne Næss (1974)

## 4.5 Transcending the Current Paradigm

We are well aware of the need for policy and governance strategies to secure planetary health (e.g., Whitmee et al. 2015), and recognize that these interventions often deliver co-benefits by increasing human health (Bauch et al. 2015). While there are institutional barriers hindering these necessary changes, a more fundamental paradigm shift surrounding notions of progress and health are required. Beyond a certain threshold, material progress no longer contributes, but rather creates roadblocks to well-being (Beddoe et al. 2009). We must prioritize sustainable quality of life. This cultural evolution could enable the necessary institutional changes to come to fruition. Behavior change interventions operate by encouraging individuals to reflect on their decision-making structures (e.g., Marteau

**Table 4.3** This table demonstrates how the community partners conceptualize the quality of sense of interconnectedness

SI	<b>Sense of interconnectedness</b>
SI1	<i>Energetic connection</i>
	Scale—I believe in some form of electromagnetic wave or energy (e.g. aura, chi, prana) that exists in all forms of life
	Scale—I feel a sense of kinship for other humans and nonhuman nature
SI2	<i>Empathy/Sensitivity</i>
	Scale—I feel that I am affected by others’ emotions. (Especially when changing into different settings)
	Activity—Close eyes, have someone walk near you and you say when you feel it
SI3	<i>Level of Consciousness/Awareness</i>
	Muscle Testing—Scale developed by Hawkins (2012) in “Power v. Force”
	Activity—Eye-gazing meditation with another person
	I have had “mystical experiences” (see Shrader 2008) where I have been aware of the whole/collective
SI4	<i>Sense of Service</i>
	Scale—Contributing to my community is important to my personal well-being
	# hours/month spend volunteering (Inside and outside community)

In bold is the overarching quality, underneath in italics are the sub-traits that comprise sense of responsibility, and lastly in normal font are the potential ways to assess. The scale could be Likert-type, ranging from fully agree to fully disagree

et al. 2012). To achieve desired sustainability transformations, it is crucial to involve people in reflecting on both their decisions, but also the underlying factors that impact personal and planetary health, as these have broader implications on how decisions are made. A concerted effort to support communities through the process of re-conceptualizing their relationship with the Earth and re-defining notions of progress can bring us closer towards achieving the visionary goals of healthy, sustainable, and resilient neighborhoods.

The interconnections between humans and the rest of nature are ever-present and clear. Norgaard (2002) suggests that we intuitively have this deep attachment our Earth as we have co-evolved to have certain genetic, neural, and endocrine responses (e.g., Wilson 1998). Although the current state of our changing, globalized world seems to paint a different picture, it is only a question of enabling individuals to remember this inherent connection. Modern lifestyles have seemingly removed many people from this direct relationship as we have become distanced from ecosystems and detached from the consequences of consumption. However, when given the opportunity and space for experiencing nature, whether in isolated settings or in our everyday lives, we can be reminded of this intimate connection (e.g., Davis 1998). We must begin to address the root problem- our separation from Mother Earth. In re-harmonizing ourselves with the graceful cooperation and coexistence of all living creatures on earth, we will understand what it truly means to be well.

### 4.5.1 Conclusion and Further Research

As we strive toward normatively defined sustainability transformations, it is crucial to cultivate communally shared understandings of what type of life it is that we wish to sustain. Modern levels of material consumption have resulted in the current state of imbalanced personal and planetary health. Much research has focused on the material and physical ways that our health is interrelated with the planets. However, much less work has embraced the psychological, social, and spiritual dimensions of our well-being in the context of sustainability. This paper promotes an understanding of multi-dimensional community well-being that recognizes an inherent interdependence between human and planetary health. To operationalize this vision, I propose the use of community level workshops where participatory research methods embrace the expertise of local community members. Since well-being is a nuanced, subjective, context-dependent concept, it is imperative to have bottom-up analyses of community well-being that complement national level top-down efforts (see Sect. 1.4).

By offering initial findings from a research project with two local communities in the Phoenix Metropolitan area, this paper has provided potential indicators on three critical aspects of multi-dimensional community well-being: sense of responsibility, internal sense of balance, and sense of interconnectedness. Further research is needed in this area to continue working with different communities to develop an evaluative framework that can be used as a starting point in the proposed community well-being workshops. Once this process is replicated with multiple diverse communities, cross-cutting emerging themes can be used to develop an evaluative framework that is adaptable to local needs.

Research on community well-being is fundamental during this era where we are seeing a mushrooming of efforts toward greater local resilience. Of particular importance is recognition of the “critical self” (Kondrat 1999) as co-creators of society. We are both insiders and creators of society, placing a new level of responsibility on us as individuals to embody the changes we promote in sustainability. Meanwhile, the role of the community is foundational to holding space for and promoting important qualities such as sense of responsibility, internal balance, and sense of interconnectedness. Developing indicators for these qualities enable us to better assess and gauge where our communities stand in promoting a healthy appreciation for our interdependence with the biosphere.

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**Part II**  
**Comparisons in Community Well-Being:**  
**Australia, Mexico and South Africa**

## Chapter 5

# Subjective National Wellbeing and Xenophobia in Sub-Saharan Africa: Results and Lessons from South Africa

Steven Lawrence Gordon

**Abstract** In Sub-Saharan Africa, political leaders tend to link the presence of immigrants with dangers to the national community and accuse foreigners of seeking to take jobs, power and land from true *autochthons*. Emphasising their autochthonous status, such leaders blame immigrant communities for a decline in national wellbeing and rationalise discriminatory action against them as a defence of the collective community. This chapter aims to analyse subjective national wellbeing using public opinion data and to map the linkages between national wellbeing and xenophobia. The chapter will explore this hypothesis within each of Hadley Cantril's classic three subjective wellbeing ladder groups. Using South Africa as a case study, this is the first time that such tests will be conducted in a Sub-Saharan African environment. The chapter used data from the 2012 South African Social Attitudes Survey, a nationally representative opinion poll of 2521 respondents. Standard linear multivariate regression is used to test the relationship between subjective national wellbeing and xenophobia. Among each of the Cantril subgroups, there were similar predictors of pro-immigrant sentiment: intergroup contact, perceived consequences of immigration and subjective national wellbeing. Improving levels of subjective national wellbeing in the country will, therefore, have a negative impact on xenophobia in the country. This chapter will conclude by discussing future areas of research to explore and present recommendations on how quality of life research can be used to better understand prejudice in countries like Sub-Saharan Africa and beyond.

**Keywords** South Africa · Xenophobia · National wellbeing index · Cantril Ladder · Intergroup threat

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## 5.1 Introduction

The “nation” is a central component of what Appiah (1994) called the “collective dimension” of individual identity, and, therefore, important to studies of community wellbeing. In Sub-Saharan Africa, political leaders tend to link the presence of immigrants to dangers to the national community and accuse foreigners of seeking to damage that community. Emphasising their autochthonous status, such leaders blame immigrant communities for a decline in national wellbeing. Discriminatory action against foreigners can, therefore, be justified as a defence of the collective national community. A recent example of this phenomenon occurred in South Africa in April 2015 when anti-migrant riots in the cities of eThekweni and Johannesburg broke out. The violence left a number dead and saw the displacement of thousands into makeshift refugee camps. Pictures of the violence (particularly the death of Mozambican national Emmanuel Sithole) made international headlines and provoked reflection and commentary on, and concern about, the character of South African society.

The recent and recurrent anti-immigrant violence showcases the need for further attitudinal academic research into xenophobia in the country. South African President Jacob Zuma denounced the April 2015 attacks. During his condemnation, he indicated that he was sensitive to the frustrations of the poor in the country, which he identified as one of the root causes of xenophobia. Mmusi Maimane, the leader of the main opposition party in the South African parliament, also condemned the attacks. He likewise said that he understood the frustration being felt by South Africans, especially unemployed youth, who struggle to access opportunities to improve their lives. The April 2015 violence was reminiscent of large-scale anti-immigrant riots which affected foreign communities throughout the country in 2008.<sup>1</sup> During the 2008 riots, the frustrations of the poor were also put forward as an explanation for the violence.

The implicit assumption in the statements made by Jacob Zuma and Mmusi Maimane is that there is a relationship between quality of life and xenophobia in South Africa. Indeed, the country seems divided by those who are dissatisfied with their lives (and future prospects) and the more satisfied, optimistic and hopeful in society. I believe that quality of life research can shed new light on what is driving xenophobia in a Sub-Saharan African environment. Quality of life researchers, like Cummins et al. (2003), have tended to distinguish between subjective personal and

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<sup>1</sup>The May 2008 riots were the most striking examples of collective anti-immigrant violence in South Africa. Over a hundred thousand displaced were displaced during anti-immigrant riots that last about two weeks. These riots saw the deaths of more than 60 and left roughly 700 people wounded. A report by the Human Sciences Research Council (2008) provides a detailed description of the attacks.

national wellbeing. Given the rhetoric surrounding recent anti-immigrant violence in South Africa, subjective *national* wellbeing may be significantly correlated with attitudes towards immigrants in the country. This correlation may hold, regardless of the personal wellbeing of the individual. This chapter aims to analyse the validity of this proposition and map any linkages between national wellbeing and xenophobia.

Since the early 20th century, social psychology research has postulated an association between negative experiences and increased prejudice toward outgroups, known as Frustration-Aggression Theory. According to this theorem, individuals transfer the frustrations they experience in daily life onto members of outgroups (Dollard et al. 1939). Scholars have used Frustration-Aggression Theory to link aggression towards with individual feelings of deprivation (also see Brown 2011). Cognisant of Frustration-Aggression Theory, this chapter explores the relationship between subjective national wellbeing and attitudes towards immigrants in South Africa. Standard quantitative techniques will be used to test the thesis that there is a relationship between national wellbeing and xenophobia. The chapter will first place the study within the context of the existing literature on immigration and xenophobia in South Africa. Then, the bivariate and multivariate analysis will be presented and the results of this analysis discussed.

The April 2015 attacks seem to showcase deep divisions in South African society, highlighting the existence of a disillusioned and frustrated minority. The determinants of anti-immigrant sentiment may be different amongst this minority than amongst those who are more content and optimistic about life. It may be that those who are frustrated with their lives will be more likely to view immigrants as hostile if they perceive their national community to be in danger. In order to explore this assumption, the relationship between subjective national wellbeing and anti-immigrant sentiment will be tested within each of Hadley Cantril's classic three subjective wellbeing<sup>2</sup> ladder groups. This is the first time that such tests will be conducted in a Sub-Saharan African environment. The aim of the chapter is to contribute meaningfully to the quality of life literature and seek to better understand how quality of life may be driving prejudicial attitudes in a developing country.

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<sup>2</sup>Wellbeing is generally viewed as a description of an individual's quality of life as a whole. In general, wellbeing can be measured using objective and subjective approaches. The first understand wellbeing through certain observable 'facts' such as economic, social and environmental statistics. For example, we could measure wellbeing using personal annual income per capita. The second considers an individual's wellbeing to be best understood using self-reported survey measures. Subjective measures of an individual's use an individual's self-reported evaluations of their life's quality (Diener and Suh 1997). Scholars studying subjective wellbeing contend that such evaluations involve a multidimensional process which includes cognitive judgements of life satisfaction and affective evaluations of emotions and moods (also see Diener 2009; Cummins et al. 2009; Gulyas 2015). Subjective wellbeing is thought to be a more holistic indicator of quality of life than objective indicators like income or consumption.

## 5.2 Literature Review

Economic competition theory points to self-interests over limited resources —such as jobs and social welfare benefits—as driving conflict between groups. Consequently, this theory suggests that attitudes vary according to an individual’s position in a society’s hierarchy (Hardin 1995). For example, the poor, the unemployed and the uneducated are expected to feel insecure about their position and, therefore, be unwelcoming of outsiders (see, for example, Sides and Citrin 2007; Hainmueller and Hiscox 2007; Citrin and Sides 2008 who discuss and test this hypothesis). The existing public opinion research on attitudes towards immigration has also found that group concerns will have a relationship with anti-immigration attitudes.<sup>3</sup> In other words, individuals’ evaluations of their collective environment are related to their perceptions of outgroups. This scholarship suggests that the more negatively an individual evaluates the health of the collective (in this case the nation), the more hostile that individual will be towards immigrants. The multidimensional character of evaluations of the group collective—frequently termed “sociotropic” evaluations in social psychology—is often ignored in most studies on public attitudes towards immigrants. As a result, their relationship with anti-immigrant sentiment has been inadequately investigated.

The brief description above of the existing literature on the economic competition theory suggests the need to test how evaluations of the group collective affect attitudes towards international migrants. This chapter, as aforementioned, will conduct this test by focusing on subjective *national* wellbeing. In order to put subjective national wellbeing in South Africa in context, the following literature review will present a comprehensive picture of South African society. The first part of the review will present a discussion on emerging patterns of quality of life in the country since the early 1990s. I will then provide a concise description of immigration into South Africa and then in subsequent section expound on the problem of xenophobia in South Africa. This last section will touch briefly on the relevant quantitative literature on intergroup relations.

## 5.3 Subjective Wellbeing in South Africa

Since the early 1990s, the democratic governments in South Africa have promised “a better future” for all those living in the country. This slogan captured the optimism and euphoria of a nation transitioning out of authoritarianism towards

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<sup>3</sup>Individual assessments of national economic performance have been shown to be influential in attitudinal research on immigration. A recent review of the existing literature on immigration attitudinal research by Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) noted that when examining and analysing attitudes toward immigrants, individual assessments of the economic state of the nation have proved influential, often more so than the effect attributed to personal economic circumstances.

democracy. Evidence of this heightened jubilation was found in the South African Quality of Life (SAQoL) trend study which had been monitoring life satisfaction in the country since the 1980s. The academic output from this study noted elevated euphoria in the transition period (e.g., Møller 2004, 2007, 2013). However, following an upswing in life satisfaction in the early 1990s, a considerable decline was noted in the mid-1990s (also see Møller and Roberts 2014a, b). During the period 1995–2007, average subjective wellbeing in South Africa remained relatively flat. This period of stagnation was followed by an (albeit mild) upswing in subjective wellbeing in the 2008–2012 period. Placing these trends in context, this study will now briefly discuss the progress made in securing a better life for all in South Africa.

In 1994, the new democratically elected government faced significant challenges, particularly widespread racial inequality and poverty. The Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (1994) was one of the nation's earliest inclusive household income and living standards surveys. This project was started by the World Bank at the request of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the ANC in 1992. The project's final report, published in 1994, showcased the harsh reality of the country's history of racial separation, contrasting the impoverishment of 'black' rural South Africa against the wealth of 'white' urban areas, giving rise to the infamous phrase: "plenty amidst poverty". Under post-1994 democratic governments, South Africa has made significant economic and social progress in redressing these problems. There has been a significant increase in access to basic services for the black majority (particularly access to electrical connections and piped water) under well-funded public works programmes. The country's social welfare system now provides social grants and free municipal services to registered indigents.<sup>4</sup> In the last decade, the proportion of South Africans living in poverty and hunger has dropped considerably according to a recent Statistics South Africa (2014b) report.

Living standards for most South Africans have improved significantly since the democratic transition but the country still faces many serious challenges. A good mechanism to identify the most critical of these problems is by asking ordinary South Africans themselves. In a 2010 SAQoL survey, respondents, once they had rated their own happiness, were asked what would make them happier. Most respondents identified jobs and income that would provide financial security (Møller 2013). These concerns reflect the stark realities of the South African labour market which has failed to absorb increasing numbers of young entrants.

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<sup>4</sup>Since 1994 there has been considerable expansion of the South African social welfare system to include millions of poor Black Africans. Government efforts to assist the poor gain access to basic services has seen the provision, under the Free Basic Services policies, of free water, electricity, sanitation and waste removal to millions of people (Statistics South Africa 2014a). The government has made cash transfers to millions of households through the social grants system. Through the Child Support Grant, the national pension scheme and other social grants, some 16 million South Africans were beneficiaries of government cash transfers in 2014 (Statistics South Africa 2014b: 20).

Unemployment (particularly amongst the youth) in the country has remained high during the period 1995–2014.<sup>5</sup> The second most identified item was, unsurprisingly, better access to services. At the municipal level, poor financial management and corruption have hindered the delivery of basic services to the public. Community protests demanding greater access to services and better governance at the municipal level have escalated since 2010. Protests have become increasingly violent in the last five years.<sup>6</sup>

## 5.4 The Context: South Africa and Immigration

As with many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, immigration has played an extremely important role in the history of modern South Africa. The chapter will now discuss the immigration context in the country from a historical perspective. Colonial era dispossession of land and restrictions on land ownership forced large numbers of Black Africans into the colonial labour market as migrant workers (Wolpe 1972). Between 1921 and 1951, for example, the number of Black Africans making a living as small-scale farmers declined drastically from 2.38 million to 447,653 (Union of South Africa 1960). Land ownership for Black Africans was confined to designated ‘homelands’ or native reserves, and migration in and out of these ‘homelands’ was severely restricted (also see Lipton 1986). The reproduction of this migrant labour system hinged on the inability of the migrants (as individuals or as a group) to influence the political institutions that governed them. Political repression was essential to the system and Black Africans were subject to a political order that deprived them of multiple essential freedoms in social, political and economic terms.

In the 19th century, migrants were brought into South Africa from elsewhere in the region to work in the country’s mineral and (to a lesser extent) agricultural sectors. Significant numbers of workers were also recruited from Asia, Europe and

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<sup>5</sup>A World Employment and Social Outlook and Trends report by the International Labour Organisation (2015) documents how unfavourably the South African labour market compares with other countries. Out of the 107 nations included in the report, South Africa was estimated to have the 8th highest unemployment rate in 2015. Unemployment rates amongst the adult youth (36.1% in 2014) were substantially higher than those of other adults (15.6% in 2014). The adult youth account for less than two-fifths (39.9%) of total employment. The considerable disparity in the absorption rate noted between adult youth and other adults further reflects the scarcity of job opportunities for the adult youth in the national labour market. Cross-national comparative data presented in the International Labour Organisation (2015) report estimates that South Africa will have the 6th highest level of youth unemployment out of 107 countries in 2015.

<sup>6</sup>The Civic Protest Barometer (CPB) report by Powell et al. (2015) provides data on trends on recorded protest action in South Africa’s municipalities. Since 2010 the number of civic protests has grown, standing at 218 in 2014. The CPB measures the percentage of protests that involve an element of violence. It would appear that incidences of violence are growing and in 2014 more than four-fifths (83%) of recorded protests were considered violent.

North America. Some of these immigrants settled permanently, of which one of the most interesting examples is South Africa's Indian minority. Originally brought in by colonial authorities to work on sugar plantations, many settled permanently and currently the country has one of the largest Indian diaspora populations outside South Asia (Klotz 2013). Many immigrants from Southern Africa engaged in cyclical migration, moving between South Africa and their home country. Acting as "labour reserves", nations in Southern Africa became sources of cheap labour for the development of the capital economy in South Africa (Wolpe 1972). By the mid-20th century, the country was the main receiving centre (and beneficiary) of a transnational system of labour migration that stretched across the macro-region.

Between 1910 and 1990, the white minority government in South Africa maintained a strict racial hierarchy. Coercive social engineering programmes were used to enforce a system of economic and social favouritism based on racial demarcations (see Lipton 1986 for a comprehensive discussion of this system). In the 20th century, the main opposition to this system within South Africa was the African National Congress (ANC) formed in 1923. As opposition to settler colonialism (known from the 1950s on as the apartheid system) gained momentum in the 1960s, the ANC sought the assistance from newly independent neighbours on the African continent. Many ANC leaders received asylum (as well as military training and logistical support) in countries like Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique (Neocosmos 2010). The ANC, working with trade unions and social movements, was eventually able to force the white minority government of the late 1980s to allow democratic elections. These were held in April 1994.

There have been five (largely) peaceful national elections in South Africa between 1994 and 2014, all of which have been won by the ANC. The post-1994 governments sought to dismantle the old system of migrant labour (which had already begun to decline in the 1980s, see Crush and Dodson 2007), amending old immigration legislation and eventually passing new laws making the recruitment of foreign workers more difficult (Segatti 2011). As a consequence of this shift in direction, immigration patterns into the country began to change, becoming more informal (McDonald et al. 2000). Many international migrants have, for example, settled in South African cities as entrepreneurs, establishing small-scale businesses in poor urban communities. An extensive post-apartheid literature covering this process has accrued, primarily from the prominent research institutions, the African Centre for Migration Studies and the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP). Due to the poor data collection, it is difficult to accurately track these patterns or even the exact size of the international migration population in the country.

## 5.5 Blaming Outsiders in South Africa

Foreigners in South Africa are often blamed for many of the problems facing the country. Disparagingly called '*makwerekwere*', an unfair reference to their cultural backwardness, international migrants are often unjustly vilified as deceitful and

immoral. Under the direction of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), negative anti-immigrant sentiment was first documented in a national survey of 2200 South Africans in October 1994 (De Minnaar et al. 1996). The HSRC study found considerable levels of negative sentiment, noting that South Africans blame undocumented immigrants for national problems such as crime and unemployment. Similarly, high levels of xenophobia were recorded in nationally representative surveys undertaken by SAMP in 1997, 1999, 2006 and, most recently, 2010 (e.g., Mattes et al. 1999; McDonald et al. 2000; Crush et al. 2013). Chapter 4, using an alternative public opinion dataset for the period 2003–2012, substantiated these SAMP findings. Following a growing escalation in anti-immigrant violence in the late 2000s, the South African government has pledged to reduce xenophobia amongst the public.

A crucial catalyst for the formation of prejudice is a perception that a group presents a threat (whether explicit or not) to the position of an individual (or their group). The perception can rationalise hostility towards an outgroup and adoption of hostile attitudes towards members of that outgroup (Hardin 1995). Public opinion research in North America and Europe has demonstrated a clear link between negative outgroup evaluations and perceptions that an outgroup is a threat (see, for example, Citrin and Sides 2008). The types of threat under discussion often relate to the negative impact that immigration will have on the social protection system, the quality of education or the cultural unity of the nation. Mattes et al. (1999), using SAMP data, found a clear link between anti-immigration sentiment and negative perceptions about the consequences of immigration in South Africa. Dodson (2010) notes an interesting gender dimension to this sense of threat: foreign nationals identified as “stealing” women from local men. It will be important, therefore, to examine perceived consequences of immigration among the South African public when studying the determinants of anti-immigrant attitudes.

Academics in South Africa have made a concerted effort to understand anti-immigrant sentiment in the country. When examining negative attitudes towards foreign nationals, a number of scholars have cited public frustrations over poverty, unemployment and inadequate infrastructure as primary factors (see Dodson 2010 who provides an interesting overview of the academic discourse on xenophobia in South Africa). Scholars such as Neocosmos (2010) opposed this discourse, arguing that the formation of an exclusivist South African nationalism can better explain the formation of xenophobia in the country. Neocosmos also places ample blame on the country’s political elite including senior government ministers. He claims that their public statements on immigration contributed to the legitimisation of an anti-foreigner discourse in the country (also see Klotz 2013). Almost all scholars writing about xenophobia in the country identify the origins of anti-immigrant sentiment in the racism, nationalism and isolation of the apartheid era.

A strong national identity and national pride can be an empowering, affirming mechanism in the face of the old discrimination and chauvinism of the colonial and apartheid periods. Certainly, individuals can hold positive attitudes towards both

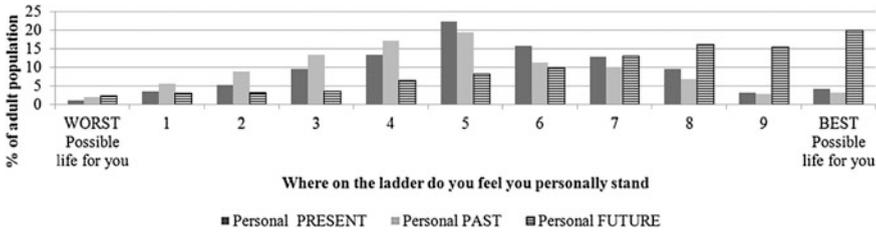
their ingroup as well as outgroups. For example, a study by Brewer and Campbell (1976) found that of 30 ethnic groups in East Africa, individuals who demonstrated in-group favouritism were not particularly hostile towards the other ethnic groups (also see de Figueiredo and Elkins 2003). National context may play a significant role in understanding anti-immigrant sentiment and may explain why such sentiments seem to vary so considerably over time. The most convincing example of this effect is the upsurge of xenophobia in Europe and North America which followed international economic and military conflict (see Brown 2011 for a history of the public opinion studies related to this phenomenon). Examining the period 1860–2010, Klotz (2013) notes that xenophobia in South Africa seems most prominent during periods when the South African ‘nation’ was perceived to be in crisis.

## 5.6 Data and Methods

In order to examine anti-immigrant sentiment among the South African public, data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2012 wave was used. SASAS is a nationally representative public opinion survey and uses a multi-stage sampling method based on census enumerator areas. The sample consists of adults (aged 16 years and older) living in private residences and the survey has been conducted annually by the HSRC since 2003. A total of 2521 persons were interviewed by trained fieldworkers between October and November 2012. The questionnaire was translated into the country’s major languages, and each interview was conducted in the respondent’s home language. I will now present three descriptive sections on how I constructed measures for (i) Cantril’s life satisfaction subgroups; (ii) subjective national wellbeing; and (iii) attitudes towards international migrants.

## 5.7 The Cantril Ladder as a Measure

In 2012, SASAS replicated a life satisfaction module designed by Hadley Cantril and published in 1965. The exact phrasing of Cantril’s module was used, with the English-language cues translated into the numerous official languages spoken in South Africa. Fieldworkers asked respondents to consider their wishes and hopes, and then their fears and frustrations exemplified in the best and worst possible life they could imagine. Following this, respondents were shown an illustration of a symbolic 11-point ‘ladder of life’ with the bottom being the worst life as they had defined it, and the top being the best. Respondents were then asked where they stood on the ‘ladder of life’ at (i) five years ago; (ii) at present; and (iii) in five years’ time. Results to these questions are showcased in Fig. 5.1. Responses tended to be clustered at the mid-point when individuals in the country rated their past and present. There was a greater distribution of ratings for the future, with the distribution skewing towards the right.



**Fig. 5.1** Personal ratings on the Cantril Ladder. *Source* South African Social Attitudes Survey (2012)

It is interesting to consider individual wellbeing evaluations in South Africa by population group. The Black African majority tend to report lower levels of subjective wellbeing in comparison to other groups, particularly the white minority. This is a finding that has been noted in every SAQoL wave between 1995 and 2012 (Møller 2007, 2013). The SASAS 2012 data on past and future life evaluations were analysed in a recent working paper by Møller and Roberts (2014a, b). Their research noted that Cantril ratings for the future go in opposite directions for black and white respondents. Black South Africans tended to evaluate their future prospects favourably, while White South Africans, in contrast, were more doubtful about the future. Pessimism among the white population in South Africa has been well-documented by researchers, such as Møller (2004, 2007, 2013), using SAQoL data. This disparity between population groups probably reflects the expectations and aspirations for a ‘better life’ promised to the black majority by the ANC-led governments during the last twenty years.

A good life situation overshadowed by fears for the future is very different from a bad present situation accompanied by hope according to Gulyas (2015). Cognisant of this distinction, researchers (most notably those working for the Gallup World Poll) have combined present and future evaluations of personal wellbeing to create composite subgroups of subjective wellbeing. Based on this delineation, three Cantril subgroups were created for this study by combining the personal ratings on the Cantril for PRESENT and FUTURE to create a composite 0–10 measure. Testing confirmed the reliability and validity of this measure (Cronbach alpha 0.68) which then used to create a categorical variable based on the Gallup grouping. The distinct groups (independent) groups are: High (8–10); Medium (5–7) and Low (0–4).

### 5.8 Measuring Subjective National Wellbeing

In order to test whether a relationship between subjective national and the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index exists, this chapter needs to construct a measure of subjective national wellbeing. Six items on national wellbeing were included in

SASAS 2012 and these six were used to construct the National Wellbeing Index (NWI). These items measured public evaluations of the country's economic, natural, governmental, social and security environment.<sup>7</sup> The NWI was designed as a domain-level representation of subjective national wellbeing (Cummins et al. 2003). The NWI is a composite score that provides a more precise measurement of sociotropic concerns. In order to construct each index, the relevant items are converted into a 0–100 score and then combined. The final range on each index is 0–100 with the higher the value, the higher the self-reported level of satisfaction (Table 5.1). The discriminant validity of NWI was investigated using Principal Component Analysis with varimax rotation and multivariate regression analysis.<sup>8</sup>

Responses on the NWI will reflect the individual perceptions about external conditions for the national population as a whole according to Cummins et al. (2003). The public evaluated South Africa's economic situation ( $M = 46.8$ ) and security ( $M = 49.7$ ) negatively on average (Table 5.1). This probably reflects their concerns about the level of unemployment, law and order issues (e.g., the prevalence of crime and poor policing) and poverty which have featured in studies by Møller (2013) and others. Overall the NWI was 49.6 and this score can be compared with a reported Australian NWI of 61.1 in 2007 (Cummins et al. 2009: 149). The results on the NWI suggest that many in the country are concerned about the current wellbeing of South Africa.

## 5.9 Attitudes Towards International Migrants

In order to understand attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa, two items on attitudes towards foreigners living in the country were included in the SASAS 2012. These two items asked respondents to use a scale 0–10 (where 10 was positive and 0 was negative) and to “Please describe how you feel about foreigners living in South Africa in general. Are they (i) negative or positive?; (ii) hostile or friendly?” Responses to these two items (depicted in Fig. 5.2) were combined and

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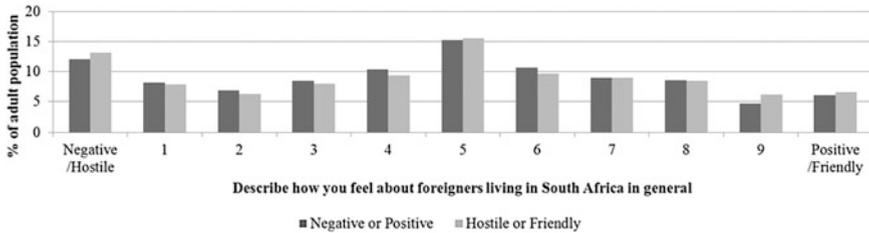
<sup>7</sup>Six questions were asked: “How satisfied are you with: (i) the economic situation?; (ii) the state of the natural environment?; (iii) the social conditions?; (iv) how the country's affairs are managed?; (v) business?; and (vi) national security?” In line with the standard methodology on the NWI (Cummins et al. 2003), each item was measured on a single 11-point scale ranging from ‘completely dissatisfied’ to ‘completely satisfied’.

<sup>8</sup>The different NWI dimensions were loaded onto a clearly defined factor which explained 58.3% of variance. The factorability of the correlation matrix also met the other assumptions for such an analysis. Therefore expectations, based on previous research, regarding the measurement of this latent concept are confirmed.

**Table 5.1** Mean scores and principal component analysis on the national wellbeing index

	Mean	Principal component analysis	Average interitem covariance	$\alpha$
Economic situation in South Africa	46.61	0.776	254.5	0.845
State of the natural environment in South Africa	52.00	0.754	261.4	0.848
Social conditions in South Africa	50.33	0.786	260.3	0.844
Country’s affairs are managed in South Africa	46.95	0.826	244.8	0.834
Business in South Africa	50.51	0.746	258.7	0.850
National security in South Africa	49.76	0.686	272.3	0.862

Notes (1) The data is weighted; and (2) A higher mean (ranged 0–100) indicates a higher level of satisfaction with the relevant item



**Fig. 5.2** Public attitudes towards foreigners living in South Africa. *Source* South African Social Attitudes Survey (2012)

averaged to create a composite 0–10 index (called the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index). A high value on this index indicates a favourable evaluation of foreigners living in South Africa. I computed Cronbach’s alpha statistic (0.91) for the scale formed and noted that its reliability proved to be satisfactory. Mean responses on this index were low ( $M = 4.7$ ;  $SD = 2.8$ ), indicating that many in the country do not view immigrants in a favourable light.

Since the 2008 anti-immigrant riots, the South African government has sponsored initiatives in recent years to combat xenophobia, build social cohesion and create spaces for positive societal integration. Given these efforts, the results presented in Fig. 5.2 are disquieting. South African leaders in government and civil society should be commended for their denunciation of anti-immigrant violence in South Africa. However, the results of this study suggest that most people in South Africa have an unfavourable opinion of foreigners and view this group as a threat. Furthermore, these findings provoke serious questions about the efficiency of current efforts to combat intolerance and xenophobia in South African society.

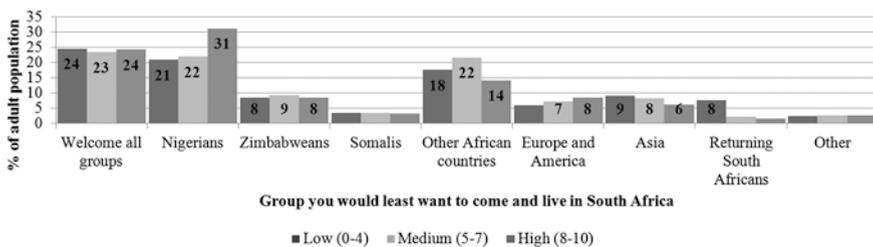
### 5.10 Results

The first part of this section will test whether subjective national wellbeing has a significant correlation with attitudes towards immigrants in the country at bivariate level. The second section aims to analyse the validity of this proposition at a multivariate level and chart any associations between national wellbeing and xenophobia. Both sections are interested if the proposed relationship between subjective national wellbeing and attitudes towards international migrants holds regardless of the personal wellbeing of the individual.

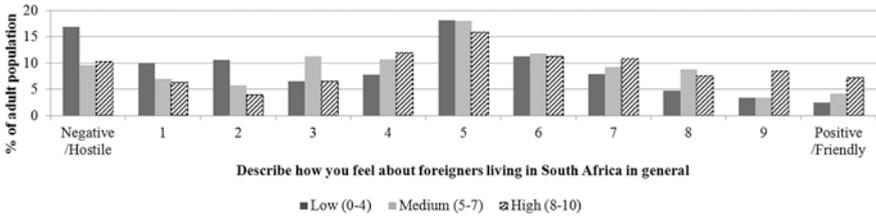
### 5.11 Bivariate Analysis by Cantril Subgroup

In SASAS 2012, respondents were asked: “Which, if any, group would you least want to come and live in South Africa?” Responses to this question were open-ended and respondents were not read a list of predetermined answers. Responses to this question were later recoded into nine subcategories. Weighted responses to this question are considered across the three Cantril subgroups designed for this study (Fig. 5.2). The results show that no one Cantril subgroup was significantly more likely to select ‘cannot choose’ than the other. Respondents were more likely to select groups from Sub-Saharan Africa as their least tolerated foreign group in comparison to groups from Asia, North America or Australia. The most mentioned foreign African groups were Nigerians, Zimbabweans and Somalians. Certain differences were noted between Cantril subgroup in Fig. 5.3. Those in the High group were more likely to select Nigerians compared with the Low and Medium. Perhaps surprisingly, ‘returning South Africans’ were selected by larger share (8%) of the Low than was expected.

The results in Fig. 5.3 suggest a particular aversion to certain types of immigrants among many South Africans. The distribution of public sentiment towards immigrants *in general* across the three Cantril subgroups is shown in Fig. 5.4. As can be observed, responses on the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index are similar for the



**Fig. 5.3** Most disliked foreign groups in South Africa. *Source* South African Social Attitudes Survey (2012)



**Fig. 5.4** Pro-immigrant attitude index by Cantril Subgroups. *Source* South African Social Attitudes Survey (2012)

High and Medium groups. The Low group is different from these two other groups, with a somewhat larger share of this group reporting negative attitudes towards immigrants. However, variations in responses between the three Cantril groups were relatively minor, and it would appear that, regardless of life satisfaction, individuals in South Africa hold negative attitudes towards foreigners living in the country.

Tables 5.2 and 5.3 give sample characteristics by Cantril subgroup. The result suggests a progression on the Cantril Ladder from lower to higher ratings by observed socio-economic status, and between population groups. Respondents more likely to be in the Low group are Black African, undereducated, unemployed and from the rural areas. Those groups with higher levels of material wellbeing (e.g., the better educated, the employed, urban dwellers) tend to be located in the High and Medium groups. Both Tables 5.2 and 5.3 also give mean responses on the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index broken down by a range of socio-economic attributes. Although minor variations between some subgroups were noted, on the whole, the evidence in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 challenges the popular tendency to identify xenophobia as the ‘problem’ of one particular group (such as the youth or the unemployed) in South Africa.

One interesting trend that was apparent was that educated people tended to be more positive in their assessment of foreigners although the size of the observed difference was marginal (Table 5.3). This suggests that educational attainment will have a statistically significant but minor effect on attitudes towards international migrants. But on the whole, the results suggest that people across the country’s socio-economic spectrum tend to hold anti-immigrant opinions. The same patterning was observed, regardless of the Cantril subgroup under investigation. In other words, even hopeful and contented individuals in South Africa view foreigners living in the country in a negative light. What can explain the lack of variation between the Cantril subgroups? It may be that the factors that are driving pro-immigrant sentiment differ by Cantril subgroup. Alternatively, life satisfaction could have a weak (albeit negative) relationship with prejudice towards international immigrants, and other factors might better explain the formation of pro-immigrant sentiment in the country.

**Table 5.2** Mean responses to the pro-immigrant attitude index by selected socio-demographic subgroups

	Total			Low (0-4)			Medium (5-7)			High (8-10)		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
<i>Gender</i>												
Male	946	4.71	2.77	195	3.83	2.85	483	4.80	2.64	246	5.43	2.82
Female	1489	4.58	2.78	391	4.24	2.75	736	4.68	2.67	334	5.00	2.97
<i>Population group</i>												
Black African	1437	4.56	2.89	424	3.99	2.82	722	4.68	2.79	271	5.16	3.10
Coloured	445	4.97	2.41	84	4.57	2.37	232	4.82	2.37	115	5.78	2.44
Indian	210	4.31	2.59	26	3.45	2.75	97	4.62	2.30	85	4.23	2.83
White	342	4.89	2.40	52	4.47	2.91	168	5.02	2.05	108	5.38	2.36
<i>Age groups</i>												
16-19 years	207	4.78	2.82	24	3.96	2.88	98	4.55	2.55	83	5.36	3.09
20-29 years	519	4.85	2.69	107	4.25	2.77	278	4.86	2.61	125	5.61	2.60
30-39 years	459	4.53	2.87	97	3.85	2.82	247	4.55	2.81	107	5.25	2.91
40-49 years	442	4.45	2.86	132	4.06	2.93	197	4.60	2.66	100	5.00	3.04
50-59 years	365	4.78	2.61	94	4.47	2.76	189	4.94	2.60	76	4.69	2.75
60-69 years	266	4.38	2.70	77	3.56	2.83	129	4.78	2.40	54	4.96	2.92
70 years+	175	4.19	2.96	54	4.11	2.36	81	5.03	2.98	33	3.58	3.28

Notes (1) The data is weighted. (2) High mean scores indicate positive sentiments towards immigrants while low mean scores indicate negative sentiments. (3) All individuals who reported they were not citizens of South Africa were excluded

**Table 5.3** Mean responses to the pro-immigrant attitude index by selected socio-economic subgroups

	Total			Low (0-4)			Medium (5-7)			High (8-10)		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
<i>Labour market status</i>												
Unemployed	726	4.48	2.86	251	4.03	2.97	364	4.66	2.73	108	4.84	3.07
Employed	611	4.86	2.65	87	4.62	2.52	314	4.77	2.57	203	5.26	2.79
Part-time employed	182	4.91	2.87	47	3.64	3.11	95	5.01	2.46	36	6.16	3.18
Labour inactive	865	4.67	2.75	196	3.79	2.56	435	4.75	2.69	224	5.17	2.85
<i>Educational attainment</i>												
Primary and below	504	4.41	2.87	174	4.42	3.05	241	4.33	2.75	81	4.68	2.92
Incomplete secondary	881	4.55	2.72	214	3.84	2.68	442	4.79	2.62	216	4.82	2.84
Completed secondary	610	4.79	2.85	115	3.84	2.70	330	4.77	2.68	160	5.85	3.06
Tertiary education	284	5.20	2.64	33	4.53	2.62	146	5.05	2.54	102	5.77	2.68
<i>Geographic type</i>												
Urban, formal	1482	4.70	2.62	265	4.21	2.65	751	4.74	2.48	428	5.17	2.76
Urban, informal	213	4.53	2.62	61	3.89	2.68	111	4.94	2.40	38	4.50	2.88
Trad. Auth. Areas	537	4.48	3.16	215	3.87	3.01	251	4.57	3.10	65	5.58	3.46
Rural, formal	206	4.96	2.54	46	4.53	2.61	106	5.20	2.35	49	5.65	2.53

Notes (1) The data is weighted. (2) High mean scores indicate positive sentiments towards immigrants while low mean scores indicate negative sentiments. (3) All individuals who reported they were not citizens of South Africa were excluded

## 5.12 Multivariate Analysis by Cantril Subgroup

In order to adequately test the relationship between subjective national wellbeing and xenophobia, I turn to multivariate modelling and employ a standard Ordinary Least Squares regression. The dependent is the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index, and a positive coefficient represents a positive evaluation of foreigners living in South Africa. A number of different control variables were created for the multivariate analysis; these are introduced and discussed below.

## 5.13 Constructing Independent Variables for the Model

Age was measured using a continuous variable coded as the age of the respondent in years at the time of interview. Education is coded as a continuous variable using years of educational attainment (0–16). Provincial location, population group, marital status, gender and labour market participation were controlled for using dummy variables. Political affiliation was captured using a survey question on which political party an individual would vote for if there was a hypothetical general election tomorrow. Responses were coded onto a categorical variable, for which the categories were: ruling party (African National Congress), main opposition (Democratic Alliance), other opposition and undeclared/refused. I included a measure of personal life evaluations in the past five years (Past Five Years Evaluation) measured on a 0–10 scale with 10 representing the best possible life. I control for the relationship between the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index and negative stereotypes about immigrants by using the Perceived Foreign Threat Index.

For social identity theorists studying anti-immigration sentiment, nationalism has been a dominant factor in explaining attitudes towards immigrants (see, for example, de Figueiredo and Elkins 2003; Sides and Citrin 2007; Citrin and Sides 2008). Group identity theory posits that an individual's sense of group belonging and pride can result in a simultaneous process of outgroup hostility, without any perceived or real competition (Tajfel 1981). Supporters of this position argue that individuals' general need for cultural socialisation and identity can result in fear of unfamiliar culture and cultural change. Fear of this kind can produce prejudice (also see Brown 2011). Nationalism is controlled by using a 1–5 measure which combined two items<sup>9</sup> on how proud an individual was to be a South African, with the high score indicating pride in the country. It must also be noted that national pride is a multidimensional concept and the measure constructed here may not adequately

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<sup>9</sup>Respondents in the survey were asked comparative questions on national pride, asking if they agreed or disagreed that: (i) "I would rather be a citizen of South Africa than of any other country in the world"; and (ii) "Generally speaking, South Africa is a better country than most other countries". Responses were reversed and coded onto a five-point Likert scale which was then reversed (1 strongly disagree, 5 strongly agree).

**Table 5.4** Mean scores and principal component analysis on the perceived foreign threat index

	M	SD	Principal component analysis	Average interitem covariance	$\alpha$
Immigrants increase crime rates	3.82	1.14	0.793	0.632	0.709
Immigrants take jobs away	3.76	1.22	0.804	0.597	0.702
Immigrants bring disease to South Africa	3.44	1.26	0.782	0.611	0.719
Immigrants use up our country's resources	3.77	1.09	0.712	0.737	0.756

Notes (1) The data is weighted; (2) A higher mean (ranged 1–5) indicates a higher level of agreement with the relevant item; and (3) All individuals who reported they were not citizens of South Africa were excluded

capture the different facets of South African nationalism. Due to data limitations, I was unable to construct a multidimensional measure of a national sentiment to distinguish between different components of national pride.

In intergroup relations research, a popular theorem is that regular social interaction can overcome antagonisms between different groups. According to this hypothesis, which was first formulated in Allport's (1954) seminal work *The Nature of Prejudice*, intergroup contact has a positive impact on reducing prejudice between groups. The nature of this contact is, however, also highly influential and Allport argued that contact could only reduce prejudice if that contact occurred under certain conditions of friendship (e.g., contact had to be 'intimate', cooperative, and equal). Many surveys on intergroup relations often fail to include measures that address the nature of contact between individuals, resulting in an inability to test whether the preconditions suggested by Allport have been met (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). Cognisant of this conditionality, contact with immigrants in this study is accounted for using a categorical variable: no contact; casual contact (foreign acquaintances but no foreign friends); and friendship with foreigners living in South Africa.<sup>10</sup>

In 2012, SASAS respondents were asked to specify the extent to which they agreed or disagreed that immigrants (i) increased crime rates; (ii) took jobs away from people who were born in South Africa; (iii) spread disease; and (iv) drained resources from the country. Respondents were coded onto a standard 1–5 agreement scale and then reversed (1 = disagree strongly, 5 = agree strongly). The majority of the adult population was found to agree with these statements (Table 5.4). The results on each individual item correspond with what has been found by SAMP surveys on public attitudes towards immigrants (e.g., Mattes et al. 1999; Crush et al.

<sup>10</sup>Two questions are employed to create this categorical variable: (i) "How many acquaintances do you know who have come to live in South Africa from another country?"; and (ii) "Of the people you know who have come to live in South Africa from another country, how many would you consider to be your friends?".

2013). To produce a Perceived Foreign Threat Index, responses to these SASAS questions were then combined and averaged which ranged from 1–5, with the higher value representing the higher level of perceived threat from foreigners. The validity of the measure was confirmed using reliability testing (which produced a Cronbach alpha of 0.77) and via factor analysis. The distribution on the index is skewed towards the right, indicating that most in South Africa believe that foreign immigrants are a threat to material livelihoods in their communities.

## 5.14 Multivariate Findings

The primary goal of the chapter is to show the relationship between subjective national wellbeing and attitudes towards immigrants amongst the different Cantril subgroups. But it would be instructive to look at how the independent variables describe in the previous section correlate with the dependent variable amongst the *entire* citizen adult population. For this test, three models were produced. The first includes only the standard socio-demographic and economic background variables while the second introduces the Past Five Years Evaluation indicator as well as the NWI. The final model introduces the Perceived Foreign Threat Index as well as the contact variable and is the fully specified model. No variance inflation value exceeded ten. By testing the variance inflation values on each model, multicollinearity among the independent variables was assessed. The results of the multivariate analysis are represented in Table 5.5.

In Model III, even after controlling for a range of socio-economic, behavioural and attitudinal variables, the NWI remained a significant determinant of the dependent. It is notable that the size of the correlation between the NWI and the dependent declined (from  $\beta = 0.22$  in Model II to  $\beta = 0.18$  in Model III) when the Perceived Foreign Threat Index and the contact variable were introduced. However, the NWI was the second most salient of all independent variables in the final model. As may be expected, the Perceived Foreign Threat Index was the most salient correlate in Table 5.5. Individuals' evaluations of the past five years also had a statistically significant affect at the 0.1% level in Model III. Although the size of the observed coefficient ( $\beta = -0.08$ ) was small in comparison to the NWI, it indicates that positive evaluations of life tend to lead to more positive attitudes towards international migrants.

In the final model, population group was found to be a weak but significant predictor of attitudes towards immigrants in South Africa. The Coloured ( $\beta = 0.05$ ) and white racial minorities ( $\beta = 0.06$ ) were found to be significantly different from the Black African majority although the scale of this difference was slight. This result is unsurprising given the findings showcased in Table 5.2. The effect of education on attitudes towards outgroups has been investigated by a number of scholars. Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007), for example, found a significant effect of education on attitudes towards immigrants using European Social Survey data (also see Coenders and Scheepers 2003). The results depicted in Table 5.5 suggest a

**Table 5.5** Multivariate on the pro-immigrant attitude index amongst the entire adult citizen population

	Model I			Model II			Model III					
	CoEff.	Std. Err.	$\beta$	Sig.	CoEff.	Std. Err.	$\beta$	Sig.	CoEff.	Std. Err.	$\beta$	Sig.
Female (ref. male)	-0.08	0.12	-0.01		-0.02	0.12	0.00		-0.02	0.11	0.00	
Age	-0.01	0.00	-0.05	*	0.00	0.00	-0.03		0.00	0.00	-0.01	
Married (ref. not married)	-0.16	0.15	-0.03		-0.21	0.15	-0.03		-0.27	0.14	-0.04	
Population group (ref. Black Africans)												
Coloured	0.56	0.22	0.06	*	0.43	0.22	0.05		0.44	0.21	0.05	*
Indian	0.41	0.35	0.03		0.32	0.35	0.02		0.28	0.34	0.02	
White	0.50	0.24	0.06	*	0.57	0.24	0.07	*	0.51	0.23	0.06	*
Labour market status (ref. employed)												
Unemployed	-0.28	0.17	-0.05		-0.31	0.17	-0.05		-0.17	0.16	-0.03	
Part-time employed	0.28	0.25	0.03		0.21	0.25	0.02		0.16	0.24	0.02	
Labour inactive	-0.03	0.17	0.00		-0.23	0.17	-0.04		-0.17	0.16	-0.03	
Years of education	0.06	0.02	0.07	**	0.05	0.02	0.07	**	0.04	0.02	0.05	*
National pride	-0.05	0.07	-0.01		-0.15	0.08	-0.04		-0.05	0.07	-0.02	
Past five years evaluation					0.09	0.03	0.08	**	0.09	0.03	0.08	***
National wellbeing index					0.04	0.00	0.22	***	0.03	0.00	0.18	***
Foreign contact (ref. no contact)												
Acquaintances									0.23	0.16	0.03	
Friends									0.66	0.13	0.11	**
Foreign Threat									-0.82	0.06	-0.26	***
N			2254				2123				2123	
Adj R-squared			0.04				0.09				0.17	
Root MSE			2.72				2.64				2.51	

\*\*\*p < 0.001, \*\*p < 0.01, \*p < 0.05

Notes (1) The regressions also control for the province of residence, political affiliation and geographic location, (2) The data is weighted, (3) Positive coefficients indicate positive sentiments towards immigrants while negative coefficients indicate negative sentiments, and (4). All individuals who reported they were not citizens of South Africa were excluded

weak but positive relationship between education and the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index.

As expected, confirmatory evidence was found for Allport's contact hypothesis in Table 5.5. The results clearly corroborate the pattern observed in other studies concerning the nature of contact (see, for instance, Pettigrew 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006), namely that those who had contact with immigrants were more likely to demonstrate higher levels of pro-immigrant sentiment than those with no foreigner contact. Those with foreign acquaintances but no foreign friends were not significantly more tolerant than those with no contact, confirming the thesis that the type of contact matters. The role played by national pride is also tested and it is clear that, as can be observed in Table 5.5, the nationalism variable did not behave as expected. In none of the three models was national pride a significant predictor of attitudes.

Now I examine how the independent variables describe in the previous section correlate with the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index amongst the different Cantril subgroups. Three linear regression models were conducted, one for each of the three subgroups. The results of this modelling are represented in Table 5.6. In all Cantril subgroups, public concerns about the welfare of the nation had a salient relationship with the dependent in other words. It was interesting to note that in Model II ( $\beta = 0.20$ ) the size of the  $\beta$  coefficient on the NWI was notably larger than the coefficient observed in Models I ( $\beta = 0.14$ ) and III ( $\beta = 0.10$ ). The remainder of this subsection will discuss other findings that emerged from the multivariate testing in Table 5.6, noting differences between the models.

Individuals' assessments of their lives in the past five years did not have a statistically significant effect on the dependent in Model I and III. This measure of personal life appraisals was, however, correlated ( $\beta = 0.08$ ) with the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index in Model II. Given the findings in Table 5.5, it was unsurprising to note that the Perceived Foreign Threat Index had a robust relationship with the dependent in all three models, although the size of the  $\beta$  coefficient was larger in Model III ( $\beta = -0.31$ ) than in Model I ( $\beta = -0.21$ ) and II ( $\beta = -0.24$ ).

Friendship was also statistically associated with the dependent in all three models. The correlation between friendship and the dependent was, however, weaker in Model II ( $\beta = 0.07$ ) when compared to what was observed in Model I ( $\beta = 0.15$ ) and III ( $\beta = 0.10$ ). Another noteworthy observation from Table 5.6 concerned educational attainment. This independent variable had a significant and positive correlation with the dependent in Model II ( $\beta = 0.09$ ) and III ( $\beta = 0.17$ ). However, the correlation between educational attainment and pro-immigrant sentiment was negative in Model I ( $\beta = -0.16$ ). It is not clear why educational attainment should have a negative relationship with the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index among the Low group.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>It could be argued that the observed effect here is due to the low numbers of tertiary educated respondents in the Low Cantril subgroup. This supposition is based on the thesis that there are significant nonlinearities in the association between education and pro-immigrant attitudes. Using

**Table 5.6** Multivariate on the pro-immigrant attitude index amongst the different Cantril subgroups

	Model I: Low(0-4)			Model II: Medium (5-7)			Model III: High (8-10)					
	CoEff.	Std. Err.	$\beta$	Sig.	CoEff.	Std. Err.	$\beta$	Sig.	CoEff.	Std. Err.	$\beta$	Sig.
Female (ref. male)	0.44	0.24	0.08		-0.03	0.15	-0.01		-0.35	0.24	-0.06	
Age	-0.01	0.01	-0.07		0.01	0.01	0.04		0.00	0.01	-0.02	
Married (ref. not married)	0.40	0.32	0.06		-0.10	0.19	-0.02		-1.27	0.31	-0.21	***
Population group (ref. Black Africans)												
Coloured	0.44	0.53	0.05		0.32	0.28	0.04		0.51	0.45	0.05	
Indian	0.78	1.03	0.03		0.53	0.46	0.03		-0.12	0.57	-0.01	
White	0.22	0.55	0.02		0.56	0.32	0.07		0.43	0.44	0.06	
Labour market status (ref. employed)												
Unemployed	-0.18	0.36	-0.03		0.05	0.22	0.01		-0.23	0.36	-0.03	
Part-time employed	-0.60	0.53	-0.06		0.26	0.31	0.03		0.99	0.50	0.09	
Labour inactive	-0.64	0.40	-0.10		-0.04	0.22	-0.01		-0.04	0.31	-0.01	
Years of education	-0.12	0.04	-0.16	**	0.07	0.02	0.09	**	0.14	0.04	0.17	***
National pride	-0.05	0.16	-0.01		-0.10	0.10	-0.03		-0.02	0.15	-0.01	
Past five years evaluation	0.12	0.05	0.11	*	0.11	0.04	0.08	**	-0.04	0.05	-0.03	
National wellbeing index	0.02	0.01	0.14	**	0.04	0.01	0.20	***	0.02	0.01	0.10	*
Foreign contact (ref. no contact)												
Acquaintances	0.30	0.34	0.04		0.37	0.20			-0.42	0.38	-0.05	
Friends	0.89	0.29	0.15	**	0.38	0.17	0.07	*	0.58	0.26	0.10	*
Foreign threat	-0.69	0.15	-0.21		-0.72	0.09	-0.24	***	-0.98	0.13	-0.31	***
N			499				1100				524	
Adj R-squared			0.17				0.17				0.23	
Root MSE			2.52				2.41				2.55	

\*\*\*p < 0.001, \*\*p < 0.01, \*p < 0.05

Notes (1) The regressions also control for the province of residence, political affiliation and geographic location, (2) The data is weighted, (3) Positive coefficients indicate positive sentiments towards immigrants while negative coefficients indicate negative sentiments, and (4) All individuals who reported they were not citizens of South Africa were excluded

An intriguing finding was observed when considering the influence of marital status on attitudes towards international migrants. Marital status has generally been found to be a weak and inconsistent predictor of attitudes towards foreigners (see, for example, de Figueiredo and Elkins 2003; Sides and Citrin 2007). Marital status did not seem to have a statistically significant correlation for those in the Medium and High Cantril subgroups. In Model III, however, those who were married were found to be much more negative ( $\beta = -0.21$ ) in their assessment of foreigners than the unmarried. Foreign nationals are often accused of breaking up ‘local’ marriages and the prevalence of this stereotype may explain this observation. It is not clear why this finding only holds for those who are in the High group. Perhaps married individuals who are satisfied with life may be afraid of losing what they have.

## 5.15 Discussion

In South Africa, the government faces substantial pressure to deliver on the personal hopes of the electorate for a better life. There already exists in South Africa a substantial block—roughly 24% of the total adult population—of discontented and disillusioned individuals. It is possible to imagine a scenario where unmet expectations lead to an expansion of this block, a growing population of individuals who are stressed, worried, depressed and angry. Although avoiding this outcome is a worthwhile goal, such a change may not alter the level of xenophobic sentiment in the country by a considerable margin. The evidence presented in this study showed that even among those who are in the ‘High’ Cantril subgroup, anti-immigrant sentiment is strong. While there were some interesting differentiations between the different Cantril subgroups, on the whole, the factors that are driving pro-immigrant sentiment did not differ by Cantril subgroup. Among each of the three Cantril subgroups, there were similar predictors of pro-immigrant sentiment.

One of the main aims of this study was to discern whether subjective national wellbeing had a relationship with pro-immigrant sentiment. Multivariate testing showed that public concerns about the welfare of the nation have a salient relationship with attitudes towards foreign nationals regardless of Cantril subgroup. Immigration policy in South Africa may have played a role in constructing this link. According to Klotz (2013), post-1994 immigration policy in South Africa has certainly tended to promote the notion of immigrants as the ‘other’ (also see Segatti 2011). Reviewing the history of immigration policies in the country, he argues that anti-immigration policies have been used as a mechanism to reassure the boundaries of national ‘identity’. Neocosmos (2010) contends that the post-1994 state’s nation-building policy encouraged divisions between ‘citizens’

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(Footnote 11 continued)

European data, scholars like Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007), have argued that such nonlinearities exist.

and ‘foreigners’. Regardless of the cause, it seems apparent that individual identification with the collective dimension in South Africa has resulted in a relatively robust correlation between subjective national wellbeing and anti-immigrant sentiment.

Given the relationship between anti-immigrant sentiment and subjective national wellbeing, it would seem important to present data on individual’s past and future evaluations of national wellbeing. In SASAS 2012, respondents were asked to indicate how they would rate the country on a symbolic 11-point ladder in which the top rungs represented their greatest hopes for South Africa and the bottom their worst fears. Respondents were asked where the country stood on the ladder (i) five years ago; (ii) at present; and (iii) in five years’ time.<sup>12</sup> The results (Fig. 5.5) show that national ratings of the country’s future tended to be, on average, positive. Mean evaluations of the past five years in the country, by contrast, were more negative. Investigating this data further, Møller and Roberts (2014a, b) found that past national rating tended to be higher for the economically better-off in society. The poor tended to be more positive about the future, indicating their expectations for further socio-economic development. Black Africans tended to rate the immediate past quite negatively in comparison to the white minority but were on average much more positive in their assessment of the future.

Evidence of negative evaluations of subjective national wellbeing among many South Africans suggests the importance of better understanding the public’s hopes for a better nation. Looking at hopes for the future of the South African nation among the public using the Cantril Method, Møller and Roberts (2014a, b) found that South Africans were very inward-looking and raised almost no concerns concerning issues beyond the nation. The majority of national hopes are ‘precarious’ economic and political ones (i.e. hopes paired with fears or hopes defined by deprivation, see Gulyas 2015). The most common hopes for the future included: employment, protection from crime, honest government, adequate standard of living, good governance and leadership, a strong economy and a good public health service. Addressing many of the negative trends (in terms of unemployment, poverty and crime etc.) that the public feels are damaging the nation should improve subjective national wellbeing in the country.

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<sup>12</sup>Pairwise correlations between the composite subjective National Wellbeing Index constructed for this study (i.e. the NWI) and these three measures showed that five year future evaluations (0.405) had a higher correlation coefficient with the NWI than past five year evaluations (0.115). Also using pairwise correlations, future evaluations of the state of the nation (0.146) were found to have a higher correlation coefficient with the Pro-Immigrant Attitude Index than past evaluations (0.067).

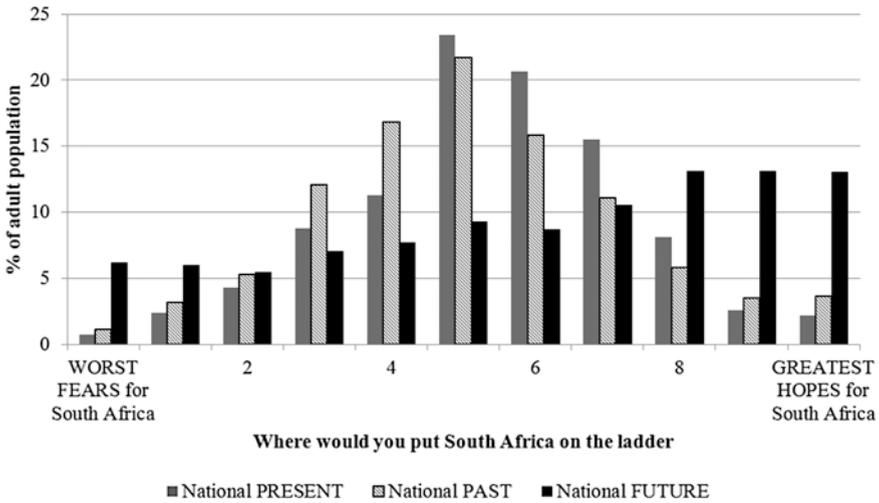


Fig. 5.5 National ratings on the Cantril Ladder. Source South African Social Attitudes Survey (2012)

In many industrial countries, education has been seen as an antidote to racism and xenophobia. But educational attainment had a negative relationship with pro-immigrant sentiment among South Africans who were in the Low Cantril subgroup. The direction of relationship here could help explain why many better-educated South Africans tend to exhibit similar levels of anti-immigrant sentiment in public opinion surveys (e.g., De Minnaar et al. 1996; Mattes et al. 1999; Crush et al. 2013). It is not immediately clear, however, why educational attainment should have such a different relationship for those in the Low Cantril subgroup compared to the other two subgroups. Education systems often make use of national symbols and mythos (Brown 2011). Exposure to the education system (under certain circumstances) could heighten the perceived differences division between insiders (i.e. citizens) and outsiders (i.e. foreigners). More research is clearly needed to better understand this finding, focusing on the past and present education systems in South Africa.

One of the limitations of this study was that it was unable to identify those characteristics associated with xenophobic violence. This study has not investigated the relationship between subjective national wellbeing and intergroup violence and there is no evidence, currently, that links the NWI with intergroup violence in a linear fashion. Although evidence was found for a relationship between pro-immigrant sentiment and subjective national wellbeing, the relationship between outgroup hostility and violence is complex. Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti (2012), in their study of the 2008 anti-immigrant riots, identify those characteristics associated with the areas where the violence occurred: male dominated, linguistically diverse, highly unequal, and a high proportion of black informal urban dwellers. This research has been unable to speak to which characteristics are

associated with violent behaviour towards immigrants. More scholarly work (like that conducted by Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti) should be conducted investigating the determinants of anti-immigrant violence in South Africa.

## 5.16 Recommendations and Conclusions

The ongoing refugee influx into Europe, North America and parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, highlights the need to better comprehend the determinants of xenophobic prejudice in a fast changing world. The central goal of this chapter is to show that a better understanding of quality of life can help us better understand social tolerance towards diverse groups. Although this goal is somewhat outside the remit of the discipline, quality of life scholars have often pushed beyond the boundaries of their own discipline to explore broader issues and make new connections (see, for instance, Michalos 2013). Quality of life indicators can act as vital measures of a nation's health and their relationship to prejudice should become an important site of study alongside other macroeconomic indicators. The chapter has followed this tradition and shown that quality of life data can be employed to better comprehend prejudice by utilising a multidisciplinary lens. In this way, the chapter has contributed meaningfully to the quality of life academic field.

The chapter has added to our understanding of quality of life in South Africa. But the findings of this chapter, and their significance, go beyond the confines of South Africa and suggest a new mechanism to understand prejudice in Sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere. Two of the three main predictors identified in this chapter (i.e. intergroup contact and perceived consequences of immigration) are well-known predictors of anti-immigrant sentiment. The other predictor was subjective national wellbeing, which is an indicator often ignored by scholars studying intergroup relations. In this study, subjective national wellbeing acted as a determinant of pro-immigrant sentiment, regardless of whether we look at the frustrated and disillusioned or the satisfied and sanguine. Quality of life researchers should be cognisant of this relationship and should consider how the results of this study may impact on their own work. For quality of life researchers interested in understanding prejudice, there is a need to identify and monitor subjective national wellbeing. Efforts must be made to field the National Wellbeing Index in nationally representative surveys at regular intervals in Sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere in order to gather the appropriate data for future studies.

The chapter has shown that there may be a link between individuals' sense of a national 'self' and anti-immigrant prejudice. The focus of this study was national subjective wellbeing, but subjective community wellbeing may have an equally robust relationship with anti-immigrant sentiment in developing countries like South Africa. As quality of life research expands further into Sub-Saharan Africa, a priority should be placed on measuring and understanding subjective collective wellbeing at different levels (e.g., neighbourhood, village, town, region etc.). Future research should advance our knowledge on the link between subjective collective

wellbeing at different geographies and prejudice. The classic measures designed by Hadley Cantril on subjective individual and national wellbeing performed well in heterogeneous South Africa. These Cantril measures should be considered as part of future quality of life studies that look at the relationship between prejudice and different kinds of subjective community wellbeing. In conclusion, I feel confident in predicting that community wellbeing studies will have a particularly important role to play in future investigations of xenophobia and prejudice in a diverse array of geographic settings.

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## Chapter 6

# A Closing Window of Opportunity—When Does Multidimensional Poverty Become Chronic? A Longitudinal Study of Australians

Emily J. Callander and Deborah J. Schofield

**Abstract** Those in chronic poverty are defined as having a low chance of improving their situation. However, there is currently no consensus on what the critical time period for being labelled as ‘chronically poor’ is for multidimensional poverty. Longitudinal analysis of Waves 1–12 (2001–2012) of the nationally representative Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia dataset was undertaken to determine the length of time an individual had to be in multidimensional poverty between Waves 1 (2001) and 11 (2011) for to have a significantly higher chance of still being in poverty in Wave 12 (2012). Multidimensional poverty was defined as having low income and poor health status (measured by the SF-36 Physical and Mental Component Summary Scores), or low income and an insufficient level of education attainment. This study has demonstrated that being in poverty for four consecutive years is the threshold for being chronically poor; being in poverty for four or more consecutive years significantly increases an individual’s chance of remaining in poverty.

**Keywords** Multidimensional poverty · Chronic poverty · SF-36 · Longitudinal analysis

Internationally, there has been a surge in the measurement of multidimensional poverty, as opposed to one-dimensional income poverty (Alkire and Santos 2013; Stiglitz et al. 2009). This has meant that other aspects of people’s lives—not just their income—are assessed when determining a person’s poverty status. Health and education are now common inclusions in poverty measures—for example, the UNDP’s Human Poverty Index measures health, education and income (United

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Nations Development Programme 2010a, b), the English Indices of Deprivation measure health, disability, education, skills and training, alongside other dimensions such as income and housing (Noble et al. 2010), and Australia's Freedom Poverty Measure measures health, education and economic resources (Callander et al. 2012a, b, c, d, e, 2013).

As multidimensional measures have become somewhat the norm, attention is now being turned to measuring multidimensional poverty over the long-term (Addison et al. 2009), with researchers acknowledging that there is much variation in the length of time people experience poverty for (Hulme et al. 2001; Hulme and Shepherd 2003; Mehta and Shah 2003). Calvo and Dercon (2009) discuss the merits of distinguishing between the transiently poor and the chronically poor when looking at poverty dynamics, with those who are chronically poor warranting the attention of policy makers for assistance in overcoming poverty. The transiently poor and chronically poor can be distinguished by their probability of improving their position (Hulme and Shepherd 2003).

To identify those in chronic poverty, Foster (2009) advocates the use of a “dual cut-off point spells approach”—first selecting the poverty line then selecting the amount of time a person has to be poor for to be considered chronically poor. However, there is little consensus as to what the critical time period for being labelled as chronically poor is. This paper aims to determine what period of time an individual has to be multidimensionally poor for to be labelled as being chronically poor, with the chronically poor being defined as those who have a high probability of remaining in poverty. Focusing on the Australian population in 2012, this chapter will identify what the critical time period, or window of opportunity, for people to escape multidimensional poverty is after which their likelihood of remaining in poverty is increased. It will then explore what demographic and personal factors—such as age, gender, marital status, rurality and chronic health conditions—are associated with chronic poverty.

## 6.1 HILDA Dataset Sampling and Weighting

To determine the length of time an individual must be in poverty for to be labelled as being ‘chronically poor’ the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey was utilised, focusing on the Australian adult population aged 25 years and over in 2011, and tracking their poverty status between 2001 and 2012. The HILDA survey is a longitudinal survey of private Australian households conducted annually since 2001. The data are nationally representative of the Australian population living in private dwellings and aged 15 years and over (Summerfield et al. 2010). The survey sampling unit for Wave 1 was the household, with all members of the household being part of the sample that would be followed over the life of the survey—however, only those aged 15 and over had detailed individual information recorded. The reference population for Wave 1 was all members of private dwellings in Australia, except overseas residents and diplomatic personnel; residents of institutions such as hospitals, military and police barracks,

correctional institutions and monasteries and non-private dwellings such as hotels; and people living in very remote, sparsely populated areas. Household sampling was conducted in a three-stage approach. Initially 488 Census Collection Districts (each containing 200–250 households) were selected, then within each district 22–34 dwellings were selected, finally up to three households within each dwelling were selected to be part of the sample. An additional top-up sample, which was selected using the same methodology, was included in wave 11 to maintain cross-sectional representativeness.

The initial household cross-sectional weights in Wave 1 (upon which the cross-sectional weights in subsequent waves are dependant) were derived from the probability of selecting the household and were calibrated so that the weighted estimates match known benchmarks for number of adults by number of children and state by part of state. The person-level weights were based on the household weights and then calibrated so that person weights matched known benchmarks for sex by age, state by part of state, state by labour force status, marital status and household composition. Longitudinal weights adjusted for attrition and benchmark against the characteristics of Wave 1. For a detailed description of HILDA weighting see Watson (2012).

There were 6991 records of people aged 25 and over on Wave 11 of the HILDA dataset. Once weighted, these records represented 12,683,000 individuals aged 25 and over in the Australian population in 2011. The mean age was 51.7 years (SD = 16.2) and 51% were female.

## 6.2 Poverty, Income, Health and Education Variables

To determine an individual's multidimensional poverty status the Freedom Poverty Measure was used. This is a multidimensional measure of poverty developed specifically for the Australian population, and has been extensively utilised to assess the multidimensional poverty status of different sub-populations within this country (Callander and Schofield 2013; Callander et al. 2011, 2012a, b, c, d, e, 2013). Within Australia poverty measurement has traditionally focused upon income poverty (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1998; Harding and Szukalska 2000; Henderson 1975; Saunders 1998; Saunders et al. 2007). However, Nobel prize winning economist Amartya Sen, has pioneered a now widely accepted view that people in poverty are the ones who do not have the capability to participate in society (Nussbaum 2003; Nussbaum and Sen 1993; Sen 1999; United Nations Development Programme 2008) and due to this lower capability have a lack of freedom, and hence poor living standards. The Freedom Poverty Measure—named in reference to this lack of freedom—includes income, health and education attainment as the key capability indicators to identify whether an individual is in multidimensional poverty or not. These three factors were selected as they were seen to be key capabilities that influence an individual's ability to participate fully within modern Australian society (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2006; Callander et al. 2012a, b, c, d, e; Dreze and Sen 1989; Harding and Szukalska 2000; Harding et al. 2001; Saunders et al. 2007; UN

Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2008; United Nations Development Programme 2008, 1995; World bank 2016). See Callander et al. (2012a, b, c, d, e) for more details.

Although developed specifically for the Australian population, the Freedom Poverty Measure uses the same indicators as the United Nations' Development Program (UNDP)'s Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme 2010a, b) and Multidimensional Poverty Index (United Nations Development Programme 2010b), and the English Indices of Deprivation (Noble et al. 2010), and was developed using a similar methodology [the Alkire Foster Method (Alkire and Foster 2011)] as Bhutan's Gross National Happiness Index (Oxford Human Poverty Initiative (OPHI) 2010a, b) and Mexico's National Poverty Measure (Oxford Human Poverty Initiative (OPHI) 2010b).

Using the Freedom Poverty Measure, those who are in multidimensional poverty are considered to be in income poverty and have at least one other form of disadvantage, falling into one of the following three groups:

1. Those who had poor health and were in income poverty,
2. Those with an insufficient level of education attainment and were in income poverty,
3. Those who had poor health, an insufficient level of education and were in income poverty.

Income poverty was based upon total regular household income, which was composed of regular private income (wages and salary, business income, investment income, and private pensions and transfers), Australian government public transfers (government income support payments and other government payments, such as family or career payments), other public payments such as scholarships, and foreign pensions. This total income was then equivalised for the number and age of household members using the OECD-modified equivalence scale (De Vos and Zaidi 1997). The cut-off point for being in income poverty was having an equivalised income less than 50% of the median equivalised income for the Australian population of all ages. The 50% of the median equivalised income figure that became the cut-off point for income poverty was recalculated every year. In 2009 this figure was AU\$19 955, in 2010 it was AU\$19 964, in 2011 it was AU\$20 602, and in 2012 it was AU\$21 606.

Health status was measured using the Physical Component Summary (PCS) and Mental Component Summary (MCS) scores from the SF-36 health scale (IQOLA 2009), which was available from the HILDA dataset. The PCS was used to measure physical health and MCS was used to measure mental health. Those with poor health had a PCS or MCS less than 75% of the average for their age group.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A very small proportion of the sample (<4%) had missing responses to the SF-36 questionnaire. For these records the variable 'General self-assessed health' was used, with the response 'poor' based upon the five point scale (excellent, very good, good, fair, poor) considered to be equivalent to having a PCS or MCS less than 75% of the average for their age group.

Education attainment was measured based upon a person's highest level of education attainment. Those aged under 65 years who had achieved lower than Year 12 (Year 11, Year 10 or below, Certificate I, Certificate II, or certificate undefined) or those aged over 65 years who had achieved lower than Year 10 were considered to be disadvantaged in terms of education attainment (Callander et al. 2012a, b, c, d, e; COAG Reform Council 2009; Council of Australian Governments 2006; Council of Australian Governments National Reform Initiative Working Group 2006).

In 2011, 1,206,300 people were in multidimensional poverty, or 10% of the adult population. The mean age of those in multidimensional poverty was 64.1 years (SD = 15.0), with 65% of this group being female; whereas the mean age of those not in multidimensional poverty was 50.3 (SD = 15.7), and 50% of this group were female.

### 6.2.1 *Defining Chronic Poverty*

Of those who were in multidimensional poverty in 2011, 40% had only been in poverty for one year, 15% had been in poverty for the previous two consecutive years, 6% had been in poverty for the previous three consecutive years, 7% had been in poverty for the previous four consecutive years, 5% had been in poverty for the last five consecutive years, and 18% had been in poverty for the past nine years or more (Table 6.1). Table 6.1 also shows the average age and proportion of females in multidimensional poverty for different periods of time—age loosely increased with increasing time period in poverty, and there was a higher proportion of females in poverty regardless of time in poverty.

Table 6.2 shows the proportion of people who left multidimensional poverty in 2012, stratified by the length of time in multidimensional poverty. The proportion of people who were still in multidimensional poverty in 2012 generally increased with increasing time in poverty.

In order to determine what length of time an individual needed to be in poverty for to have an increased chance of remaining in poverty, a logistic regression model was constructed to assess the difference in the odds ratio of being in multidimensional poverty in 2012 based upon length of time in poverty in 2011. The model was adjusted for age and sex, with those who had been in multidimensional poverty for one year being used as the reference group. The results are shown in Table 6.2.

After adjusting for age and sex there was no significant difference in the odds ratio of leaving multidimensional poverty in 2012 for those who had been in multidimensional poverty for two years ( $p = 0.2084$ ) or the last three years ( $p = 0.7531$ ) compared to those who had been in multidimensional poverty for one year. Those who had been in multidimensional poverty for the last four years were 3.29 times more likely to be in multidimensional poverty in 2012 than those who had only been in multidimensional poverty for one year (95% CI: 1.52–7.08). Those who had been in multidimensional poverty for the last five years were 9.13

**Table 6.1** Length of time in multidimensional, Australian adult population 2011

Time in poverty	Mean age	Proportion female	Number	Proportion of those in multidimensional poverty in 2011 (%)
One year	60.4	65	480,800	40
Two years	60.7	69	178,000	15
Three years	63.4	62	69,600	6
Four years	64.0	54	78,400	7
Five years	65.7	57	61,800	5
Six years	63.4	63	45,700	4
Seven years	74.5	63	34,000	3
Eight years	73.3	66	35,400	3
Nine years or more	71.9	67	150,100	18

**Table 6.2** Multidimensional poverty in 2012 by length of time in poverty, Australian adult population in multidimensional poverty in 2011

Time in multidimensional poverty in 2011	Proportion in multidimensional poverty again in 2012 (%)	OR of leaving multidimensional poverty in 2012 <sup>a</sup>	95% CI	p-value
One year	46	Reference		
Two years	55	1.40	0.83–2.35	0.2084
Three years	50	1.14	0.52–2.50	0.7531
Four years	75	3.29	1.52–7.08	0.0024
Five years	89	9.13	2.80–29.71	0.0002
Six years	70	2.63	1.13–6.14	0.0254
Seven years	90	9.23	2.56–33.97	0.0007
Eight years	90	9.34	2.57–33.97	0.0007
Nine years or more	86	6.77	3.10–14.82	<0.0001

<sup>a</sup>Adjusted for age and sex

times more likely to be in multidimensional poverty in 2012 than those who had only been in multidimensional poverty for one year (95% CI: 2.80–29.7).

Those in chronic poverty are defined as those who have a lower probability of improving their situation (Hulme and Shepherd 2003). These results indicate that being in multidimensional poverty for four consecutive years is the threshold for being chronically poor. Seventy-five percent of those who were in poverty for four years were still in poverty the following year, whereas only 50% of those in poverty for three years, 55% of those who had been in poverty for two years, and 46% of those who had been in poverty for one year were still in poverty the following year. After adjusting for age and sex, those who had been in poverty for four years had over three times the odds of still being in poverty the following year, compared to those who had only been in poverty for one year.

While there has been extensive research on multidimensional poverty measurement, few studies have looked at chronic multidimensional poverty. Those that have used a variety of cut off points for the time an individual must be poor in order to be labelled as being ‘chronically poor’. Hulme and Shephard (2003) and Hulme et al. (2001) use a five year time threshold to identify those in chronic poverty, although they acknowledge this to be somewhat arbitrary and based upon five years being perceived to be a ‘long time period’, five years being a common time spacing between surveys, and five years being associated with a lower chance of individual’s changing income quintiles (Yaqub 2000). Other studies (Baulch and Masset 2003; Gaiha 1989; Gaiha and Deolaiker 1993; Gunther and Klasen 2009) classify people as being chronically poor if they were poor in every time point of the dataset being used. Despite those in chronic poverty being acknowledged as those who have a low probability of improving their position (Hulme and Shepherd 2003), none of these studies have set their time threshold based upon the likelihood of leaving poverty—as was done in this study.

While other studies have reported on changes in income poverty rates over time (Australian Council of Social Service 2012; Harding et al. 2001), to date there have been no studies of multidimensional poverty dynamics in Australia. The Australian Productivity Commission has recently released a study of disadvantage from 2001 to 2010, but it uses a measure of social exclusion, which takes a broader social approach than poverty measures, by including factors such as social connection and community as part of its seven domains for measuring exclusion. The authors found that ‘deep social exclusion’ declined slightly between 2001 and 2010, but ‘very deep social exclusion’ remained stable (McLachlan et al. 2012). While the results are not directly comparable due to the different measures used, labelling the chronically poor as those in multidimensional poverty for four years or more, is consistent with the time period selected by the Productivity Commission for identifying the long term disadvantaged (five years) (McLachlan et al. 2012).

If those in chronic poverty are defined as those who have been in multidimensional poverty for the previous four years or more due to their higher likelihood of remaining in multidimensional poverty into the future, in 2012 there were 434,600 people in chronic poverty, or 3.4% of the population. Of those in multidimensional poverty in 2012, 34% were chronically poor.

### 6.3 Characteristics of Those in Chronic Poverty

Of those in multidimensional poverty in 2009, the proportion of people who were in chronic multidimensional poverty or went on to be in chronic multidimensional poverty by 2012 varied by the types of disadvantage they had (Table 6.3). Of those who were in income poverty and had an insufficient level of education attainment, 37% were chronically poor; whereas for those who were in income poverty and had

**Table 6.3** Multidimensional poverty status in 2009 and odds ratio of being in chronic poverty by 2012, adjusted for age and sex

Multidimensional poverty status in 2009	Number in population	Proportion of population in multidimensional poverty 2009 (%)	Proportion in chronic poverty by 2012 (%)	OR of being in chronic poverty by 2012 <sup>a</sup>	95% CI	p-value
Income poverty and poor health	340,900	26	15	Reference		
Income poverty and insufficient education attainment	573,300	44	37	2.45	1.50–4.02	0.0004
Income poverty, poor health, and an insufficient education attainment	403 000	31	40	3.21	1.91–5.40	<0.0001

<sup>a</sup> Adjusted for age and sex

poor health, 15% were chronically poor. Of those with all three form of disadvantage in 2009, 40% were chronically poor.

A logistic regression model was constructed to determine the odds ratio of being in chronic multidimensional poverty by combination of disadvantage. Those who were in income poverty and had poor health were used as the reference group and the model was adjusted for age and sex. Those who were in income poverty and had an insufficient level of education attainment were 2.45 times more likely to be in chronic poverty compared to those who were in income poverty, and had poor health (95% CI: 1.50–4.02). Those in income poverty who had an insufficient level of education attainment and had poor health were 3.21 times more likely to be in chronic poverty, compared to those who were in income poverty, and had poor health but not an insufficient level of education attainment (95% CI: 1.91–5.40).

This indicates that type of disadvantage does influence the likelihood of being in poverty over the long term, and the importance of education attainment. Having an insufficient education attainment may act as a barrier for people with low income improving their economic status and leaving poverty. It is well documented that those with higher levels of education are more likely to be employed and more likely to have higher incomes than those with lower levels of education (Breusch and Gray 2004; Callander et al. 2012a, b, c, d, e; Kennedy and Hedley 2003; Laplagne et al. 2007; Wilkins 2004; Zhang et al. 2006). Similarly, having poor health may act as a further barrier to improving income, with numerous studies also linking ill health to low income and poor labour force participation outcomes (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2004, 2010; Marmont 2005; Schofield et al. 2011a, b, 2012). The compounding influence of poor health and low levels of education attainment on reducing the likelihood of obtaining employment or higher paid employment may explain why nearly half of the individuals who are in income poverty and have both poor health and an insufficient level of education attainment remain chronically poor.

In order to assess the influence of chronic health conditions and other demographic and personal characteristics, a logistic regression model was created for the likelihood of being in chronic poverty in 2012, as shown in Table 6.4. Those with arthritis, after adjusting for confounding factors, were 1.72 (95% CI: 1.20–2.49) times more likely to be in chronic poverty than those without arthritis. Similarly, those with high or very high psychological distress, as measured by the Kessler (K10) Psychological Distress Scale, were 2.24 (95% CI: 1.26–3.99) times more likely to be in chronic poverty than those with low or moderate psychological distress. While not statistically significant at the 0.05 level, those with COPD (1.82, 95% CI: 0.99–3.35) and those with Type 2 Diabetes (1.57, 95% CI: 0.96–2.59) may have higher odds of being in chronic poverty than those without COPD and diabetes respectively, after adjusting for other factors shown in Table 6.4.

Other studies have shown the strong influence of arthritis, depression and diabetes on income through their negative influence on labour force participation (Hunter et al. 2014; Schofield et al. 2011a, b, 2013a, b, 2014a, b). A previous study of Australians aged 45–64 has shown that 50% of people with arthritis, 57% of

**Table 6.4** Model of the likelihood of being in chronic poverty, adult population 2011

Variable	OR of being in chronic poverty	95% CI	p-value
Age-continuous	1.01	1.02–1.04	<0.0001
Male	0.99	0.70–1.40	0.9454
Arthritis	1.73	1.20–2.49	0.0035
Asthma	1.05	0.63–1.74	0.8501
Cancer	1.17	0.71–1.93	0.5361
COPD	1.83	0.99–3.60	0.0539
Type 2 diabetes	1.57	0.96–2.59	0.0750
Heart disease	0.68	0.41–1.13	0.1349
Other circulatory conditions	1.08	0.62–1.89	0.7784
High or very high psychological distress	2.24	1.26–3.99	0.0058
Lives in inner or outer regional area	1.97	1.39–2.81	0.0002
Lives in remote area	1.70	1.08–2.68	0.0228
Unemployed	4.44	1.41–13.96	0.0108
Not in the labour force	9.98	5.15–19.35	<0.0001
Married	0.40	0.29–0.56	<0.0001
Owens own home	0.67	0.47–0.96	0.0290

people with depression, 38% of people with diabetes and 57% of people with diseases of the respiratory system (such as COPD) were not in the labour force (Schofield et al. 2008). Follow-on studies have shown that people with arthritis (Schofield et al. 2015), depression (Schofield et al. 2013a, b) and diabetes (Schofield et al. 2014a, b) arthritis all have significantly higher odds of being in income poverty, however this is the first study to look at multidimensional poverty and length of time in poverty.

Other characteristics associated with higher odds of being in chronic poverty was living in inner or out regional areas or in remote areas, compared to those living in cities; and being unemployed or being not in the labour force, compared to those who were employed (Table 6.4). Being married or in a defacto relationship reduced the odds of being in chronic poverty compared to single individuals (0.40, 95% CI: 0.29–0.56), as did owning your own home, as opposed to renting (0.67, 95% CI: 0.47–0.96).

Living in rural areas within Australia has been demonstrated to be linked with poorer health, education and economic outcomes (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2014; National Rural Health Alliance Inc. 2013). Similarly, as has being part of a couple and being in employment has also been shown to reduce risk of income poverty (Australian Council of Social Service 2012). However, to date none of these studies have looked at multidimensional aspects of poverty, nor looked at poverty over time.

## 6.4 Conclusions

This study has indicated that a window of opportunity of less than four years exists after which people have a much higher chance of remaining in multidimensional poverty. What the results of this study implies for policy makers is that those with chronic health conditions such as arthritis, depression, COPD, or type 2 diabetes, those who live in rural areas or those who are unemployed or not in the labour force should be the target of interventions to improve health status, education attainment or employment prospects, and hence avoid becoming chronically poor. This study has also demonstrated the influence of education attainment on the likelihood of being chronically poor, and shown that nearly half of those with three forms of disadvantage—poor health, insufficient education attainment and income poverty—will not improve their position and will fall into chronic poverty.

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## Chapter 7

# What Is More Important to Residents: A City's Attractiveness or Citizens' Residential Satisfaction? An Analysis of the Explanatory Attributes in Shrinking Cities of Portugal

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**Abstract** Research into shrinking cities (population decline) has captured the attention of scholars as the phenomenon spreads in Europe. Empirical studies have shown that residents in shrinking cities experience satisfaction from living in cities with declining populations. This paper examines how inhabitants in shrinking cities assess their level of residential satisfaction and the features that make their city attractive, using a face-to-face questionnaire survey (N = 701) conducted in four Portuguese cities that have been experiencing population decline over the last two decades (1991–2011). The results show that individuals' levels of residential satisfaction are high in shrinking cities. Inhabitants' expressed level of residential satisfaction does not mean that they are not confronted with residential issues that may impel them to move out of the cities. As such, assessing residential satisfaction may be different from measuring the attractive and unattractive features of a city as a place to live. The attributes of the cities that gave higher levels of residential satisfaction varied substantially between cities, but the most important attributes for making cities attractive places in which to live varied only slightly. When respondents were asked about the existing attributes that may impel individuals to move out, economic attributes emerged as the most important, but in only a few cases were those attributes related to residential dissatisfaction. Accordingly, no

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single answer can be provided to the question of whether a city's attractiveness or citizens' residential satisfaction matters more. Either the former or the latter may be considered more important depending on whether shrinkage reversion or shrinkage acceptance, respectively, is the strategy adopted by a particular city.

**Keywords** Residential satisfaction · City attractiveness · Residents' attachment · Shrinking cities · Correlation analysis · Portugal

## 7.1 Introduction

Until recently, the dominant view of researchers, planners, and politicians was that urban success required urban growth because growth was a guarantee of individuals' well-being and standard of living (International Organization for Migration (IOM) 2011). Currently, urban growth is no longer viewed as having only positive effects on the assessment of quality of life, and such growth is being increasingly regarded as becoming detrimental to it.

Contrary to some predictions, empirical studies have shown that residents in shrinking cities experience satisfaction from living in cities with declining populations (Delken 2008; Hollander 2011). The attachment of residents to their city, allied to improvements in the quality of life resulting from a city becoming smaller (Pallagst et al. 2009), may explain why they have high levels of satisfaction with their city. Nevertheless, studies that investigate how the attributes of cities influence both residents' satisfaction and their assessment of cities' attractiveness are scarce (McCrea et al. 2014).

Despite recent empirical studies having demonstrated that inhabitants of shrinking cities report high levels of residential satisfaction, population decline often tends to become aggravated in such cities. The results of those studies highlight the need to jointly assess residential satisfaction and the attractive/unattractive features of the city as a place to live. Identifying the attributes that explain both residential satisfaction and the attractiveness of the place where individuals live provides crucial information for defining policy tools and planning strategies for achieving sustainable development. When individuals are asked about the liveability of the cities and the satisfaction obtained from their experience, thereby appraising the cognitive and affective experiences of living in a particular city, valuable feedback can be obtained for planning and policy purposes.

Research into shrinking cities has captured the attention of scholars as the phenomenon spreads in Europe. Only very recently has urban population decline begun to be analysed in Portugal (Panagopoulos and Barreira 2012). Accordingly, little is known about the gains and losses that occur when such cities become smaller, or about the main attributes that either help to secure individuals or force them to leave, or about the level of residential satisfaction that individuals obtain from these cities.

This paper aims to contribute to developing a deeper understanding of these issues by examining how inhabitants in shrinking cities assess their level of residential satisfaction and the features that make their city attractive, using a face-to-face questionnaire survey conducted in four Portuguese cities that have been experiencing population decline over the last two decades. The main goal of the present work is to understand, for the Portuguese context, whether asking individuals about the attributes that give them residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction is substantially different from asking about the attractive/unattractive attributes of a city. Moreover, the paper examines whether demographic, socio-economic, and civic engagement characteristics of inhabitants affect their assessment of residential satisfaction.

Accordingly, the survey was conducted to answer six research questions:

- (1) To what extent are the inhabitants of shrinking cities satisfied with their city of residence?
- (2) Are there any common inhabitant demographic characteristics influencing the assessment of residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction?
- (3) Are there any common socio-economic and civic engagement characteristics of residents influencing the assessment of residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction?
- (4) Do the attributes that provide residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction differ when the reasons for city shrinkage are different?
- (5) Do the attributes that are considered to make a city attractive/unattractive differ when the causes of city shrinkage are different?
- (6) Are the attributes selected by citizens the same when assessing residential satisfaction and city attractiveness?

The remainder of the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 presents the literature review, which addresses the assessment of inhabitants' residential satisfaction and the particularities of cities that are declining in inhabitants ("shrinking cities"). Section 3 describes four shrinking cities of Portugal as case studies, and Sect. 4 presents the method used in the study. The results are presented and discussed in Sect. 5. Section 6 concludes the paper.

## 7.2 Literature Review

### 7.2.1 *Predictors of Residential Satisfaction*

The ways in which individuals in a society obtain satisfaction is a topic of interest in several research areas, including economics, sociology, and psychology (Lambiri et al. 2007). As proposed by Diener and Lucas (2004), satisfaction relies on an individual's cognitive and affective evaluations of the various aspects of life. One such aspect is an individual's satisfaction with the place of residence (McCrea et al. 2005; Sirgy et al. 2000). Residential satisfaction is a multi-dimensional construct (Francescato 2002) that involves assessment of the spatial, human, and functional aspects of a place (Amérigo 2002), and is defined as the level of pleasure or

gratification that individuals obtain from the place in which they live (Bonaiuto et al. 2003). Amérgo and Aragonés (1997) proposed a methodology for assessing residential satisfaction that relies on social components (including home owner/renter, time living in the place, age, the presence of relatives, safety, friendship and relationships with neighbours, and attachment to place) and on physical components (e.g., type of family, noise, and visual appearance of the place).

The usual predictors of residential satisfaction are: resident age and length of residence (Aiello et al. 2010; Speare 1974); home ownership, which is usually related to higher income (Brown et al. 2003; Grinstein-Weiss et al. 2011); education level, which can show either a positive (Lee 2008) or a negative relationship (Hur and Morrow-Jones 2008); aesthetic aspects (Hur and Morrow-Jones 2008; Parkes et al. 2002); and social networking (Crowe 2010). Residential satisfaction is also positively related to the attributes of people's homes (McCrea et al. 2005; Perez et al. 2001).

Residential satisfaction can be assessed at different spatial scales. However, the most common approach is to examine such satisfaction at either the neighbourhood or community scales. These small spatial scales open several opportunities for improving residential satisfaction through the involvement of inhabitants in activities conducted by associations or local organisations. The building of networks among different groups and people reinforces residents' positive appraisal of living in a particular place, sustaining the idea of community enrichment (Talmage 2015).

Residential satisfaction has an ambiguous relevance in the literature in explaining individuals' decisions to stay in or move out from a certain location. Early studies found that residential dissatisfaction was a driver for individuals changing residence (Speare 1974; Stapleton 1980). However, recent empirical evidence shows that even when individuals are dissatisfied with the place in which they live, this does not often extend to an actual move. In many cases, the reason lies in the absence of available alternatives, which makes individuals feel trapped in undesirable locations (Jeffres et al. 2009; Longino et al. 2002). This is why some authors distinguish between residential satisfaction and residential attachment (Aiello et al. 2010; Ringel and Finkelstein 1991).

### ***7.2.2 The Phenomenon of Shrinking Cities***

The issue of shrinking environments has been steadily gaining interest from researchers during the spread of the phenomenon to a larger number of countries, regions, and cities (Oswalt and Rienitz 2006, 2007; Turok and Mykhnenko 2007). In some areas showing population decline, and in which reports of high levels of residential dissatisfaction may be expected, individuals reveal that they are in fact satisfied with their place of residence (Delken 2008; Hollander 2011). Accordingly, and given the early literature, a willingness to change residence should not be found in shrinking cities because inhabitants report satisfaction with their city of residence; however, data show decreasing numbers of inhabitants in such cities. Several reasons may help to explain the unexpected result of residential satisfaction in

shrinking cities, including an unawareness of better alternatives or unenlightened assessments (Ogu 2002), low expectations regarding the places (Das 2008), and an accommodation of feelings whereby inhabitants become used to the degraded surrounding (Andersen 2002). In contrast, reasons such as individuals' positive feelings and strong social connections (Coulton et al. 2012), as well as place attachment (Brown et al. 2003), may explain the reported residential satisfaction and restrain residential mobility. However, when individuals are asked to assess the relevance of certain attributes representing the attractiveness of their city, results show that residential satisfaction may not be enough to prevent a move to other city.

As the promotion of urban growth is the dominant paradigm because of the greater wealth and better job opportunities generated (IOM 2011), growing cities were regarded until recently as providing a high quality of life and thus high levels of residential satisfaction. Recent studies show that shrinking cities may provide an improvement in the quality of life by reducing the cities' stressors (van Dalen and Henkens 2011; Hollander 2011; Hollander and Németh 2011). As such, the prevalent position today is that community sustainability is completely different from urban growth, which might actually reduce the quality of life (McCrea et al. 2005). Accordingly, two strategies to deal with the shrinkage phenomenon can be adopted: to accept population decline but ensure an acceptable level of quality of life for the residents who stay, or to take actions aimed at reversing the population loss (Haase et al. 2012; Hospers 2014).

By examining four urban different environments, including disadvantaged urban areas, McCrea et al. (2014) found using survey data that inhabitants in those environments reported similar levels of residential satisfaction but that their evaluations of the attributes making these areas attractive places in which to live differed between environments. The work of McCrea et al. (2014) emphasizes that asking individuals to measure the importance of attributes that explain the attractiveness of a place is different from asking for evaluations of residential satisfaction. In this sense, the measurement of the importance given to the attributes explaining a city's attractiveness, rather than the measurement of residential satisfaction, might better characterise the subjective quality of life.

Accordingly, in a context of population decline, although assessments of residential satisfaction may provide some insights, it is probably more critical to understand what makes individuals attached to a place, in which a sense of community is crucial, in order to identify the internal forces that may bring renewal to declining spaces. Place attachment promotes bonds between people and places (Giuliani 2003; Low and Altman 1992), which translates into feelings of pride about the place of residence (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996), as well as into a sense of stability and security (Brown et al. 2003). Thus, place attachment covers physical and social settings that help define the identity of a place and provide psychological benefits to inhabitants (Brown et al. 2003; Scannell and Gifford 2010), which in turn reduces residents' incentives to move out (Grzeskowiak et al. 2003; Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001).

Recent research has found that individuals' engagement in a place that is dealing with social or physical problems is necessary to identify and reinforce the strengths

of the place and therefore to deal with such problems (Chavis and Wandersman 1990; Hospers 2014). Grillo et al. (2010) argue that the degree of civic engagement is a manifestation of the amount of social capital of a place. The literature shows predominantly a positive relationship between residential satisfaction and civic engagement (Manturuk et al. 2010; Perez et al. 2001). Social capital encompasses the set of factors that impel inhabitants into action and activity (Coleman 1998). The involvement of inhabitants in such action and activity depends on the level of social trust that has been built up in the community (Alesina and La Ferrara 2002; Green and Brock 1998), and is positively influenced by inhabitants' socioeconomic status (Collier 2002; Costa and Kahn 2004; Knack 2002).

In shrinking cities, where the exodus of people is also accompanied by the abandonment of buildings (Haubermann and Glock 2004; Metzer 2000), which may lead to the remaining inhabitants feeling a psychological sense of low worth, it is crucial to capitalize on the cities' strengths. Moreover, new trends in tackling urban problems promote the empowerment of citizens as a way of discovering alternative approaches to such problems (Andersen and van Kempen 2003). However, individuals are typically excluded from the proposed solutions to shrinking cities (van Dalen and Henkens 2011), as top-down approaches are predominantly adopted by decision-makers (Elzerman and Bontje 2015; Hollander and Németh 2011).

### 7.3 Case Study: The Shrinking Cities of Portugal

Portugal has 158 cities, which in 2011 contained 44% of the national resident population. When records from 1991 to 2011 are compared, 31 cities showed population loss, with 8 of them losing more than 10% of their inhabitants and a further 6 showing a persistent decline, corresponding to an overall reduction in the number of inhabitants in these 31 cities of 13.2% since 1991 (census data—National Statistics [INE]). Several overlapping causes (see details in Guimarães et al. 2015) have contributed to the reduction in the number of inhabitants in these cities. In conjunction with negative rates of natural population change, cases of city shrinkage due to suburbanisation, economic transformation, climatic drivers, or the satellite effect have been identified. Because the different causes of shrinkage may influence the assessments of residential satisfaction and of a city's attractiveness, four case-study cities were selected, namely, Oporto, Barreiro, Moura, and Peso da Régua, as cases typifying suburbanisation, economic transformation, climate drivers, and the satellite effect, respectively.

Oporto, the second most populous city in the country, is located in north-western Portugal and was the city that registered the greatest relative population loss (21.5%) between 1991 and 2011 (from 302,500 to 237,600 inhabitants; INE). In contrast, the population of the surrounding cities that compose the Metropolitan Area of Oporto increased by 22% (more than 118,000 inhabitants) during the same period, and therefore the main cause of population decline has been suburbanisation. Oporto is known worldwide for its wine and for its historical centre classified as World Heritage by UNESCO, which constitutes an appealing aspect of the city.

Barreiro, located on the southern bank of the Tejo River and facing Lisbon (the capital city), showed the second-largest population loss in relative terms between 1991 and 2011 (21.2%, from 47,900 to 37,700 inhabitants; INE). Until 1950, the city contained 27 factories related to the chemical industry and had a well-developed railway sector, which ensured the majority of the employment in the city. The main cause of the subsequent population decline was the abrupt closure of factories. Barreiro municipality, in which the city of Barreiro is located, shows several signs of social deprivation, including the crime rate, the unemployment rate, and the dependency rate on the minimum income/social inclusion grants, which were all above the national average in 2011.

Moura, which is located in the country's interior, in the Alentejo region, is subject to intense heat waves. Moura has exhibited recent city shrinkage, with a decrease in the number of inhabitants of 9% (from 9200 to 8400 inhabitants; INE) between 2001 and 2011. Given the inland and isolated location of the city, and with most of the nation's employment opportunities and well-paid jobs being found in the coastal cities, the unemployment rate was above the national average in 2011 (17% versus 10.4%; INE). In addition, the city lacks some essential public services and amenities, which reduces its appeal as a place to live.

Peso da Régua, located in the Douro region in northern-central Portugal, showed a persistent, although slight, population decline between 1991 and 2011 (from 10,300 to 10,000 inhabitants; INE). The city is located in a very rugged part of the country, which may reduce the city's attractiveness as a place to live, despite the landscape being recognised as one of considerable natural beauty. The nearest town (25 km away) is Vila Real, whose population increased by 33% between 1991 and 2011 (INE). The purchasing power of residents in Peso da Régua is below the national average, whereas in Vila Real it is above. Moreover, Peso da Régua does not offer higher-education opportunities, whereas Vila Real does. These various differences have attracted young people (<24 years old) to Vila Real, and therefore Peso da Régua is considered to be a satellite city of Vila Real.

## 7.4 Method

To provide answers to the presented research questions, a questionnaire survey entitled "How to deal with population loss in your city" was conceived and conducted face-to-face in the four selected shrinking cities during July 2014. A total of 701 completed questionnaires were obtained from individuals aged 18 years or over. A random stratified sampling scheme was used, with the stratification variable being the number of inhabitants in each case-study city: Oporto, Barreiro, Peso da Régua, and Moura, according to data from the 2011 national census. The sample size ensured a maximum margin of error of 7.45% for a 95% confidence interval on the population proportion. All parishes that composed each city were sampled according to their proportion of the city's population. In a second step, respondents

were systematically selected to ensure a random sample, stratified according to the typology of households existing in each city, again using 2011 national census data.

As referred to above, several previous studies have addressed residential satisfaction, residential attachment, and residents' assessment of existing attributes in cities. However, to our knowledge, no instrument has been specifically constructed to measure both residential satisfaction and the attributes that make a city attractive/unattractive, and in particular to make such assessments in urban shrinkage environments. Therefore, although use was made of the literature, a specific questionnaire was developed to answer the research questions posed here.

The questionnaire was composed of three parts. The first part identified the demographic characteristics of each respondent, including questions regarding age, gender, education level, and household composition. In this part, respondents were also asked to assess their degree of residential satisfaction as scored from 1 (very dissatisfied) to 5 (very satisfied). The first part also included three other questions, regarding the respondent's perception of the evolution of the population (declining, stable, or increasing), the respondent's intention of leaving the city of residence within one year, and the respondent's willingness to be involved in activities to deal with the shrinkage phenomenon.

The second part listed the main attributes to be assessed by the respondent concerning their relevance to the attractiveness or unattractiveness of the city. The selection of the listed attributes was based on the literature and on the specific characteristics of the studied cities. This part was composed of 24 attributes that may attract inhabitants (pull factors) and 24 attributes that may repel inhabitants (push factors). Respondents were asked to assess the importance of each attribute according to the following 5-point Likert scale: 5—crucial, 4—very important, 3—moderately important, 2—weakly important, and 1—irrelevant.

The third part asked for the socio-economic characteristics of the respondent, namely homeownership, type and era of construction of his/her house, years of residence in the city, income, and the number of employed in family.

Table 7.1 summarises the sample distribution and the statistics of the responses to the first and third parts of the questionnaire. Subsequent data analysis involved an examination of the reported relevance of the city's attributes and bivariate correlations between residential satisfaction and each assessed attribute using Spearman's coefficient (owing to the categorical nature of the variables).

## 7.5 Results and Discussion

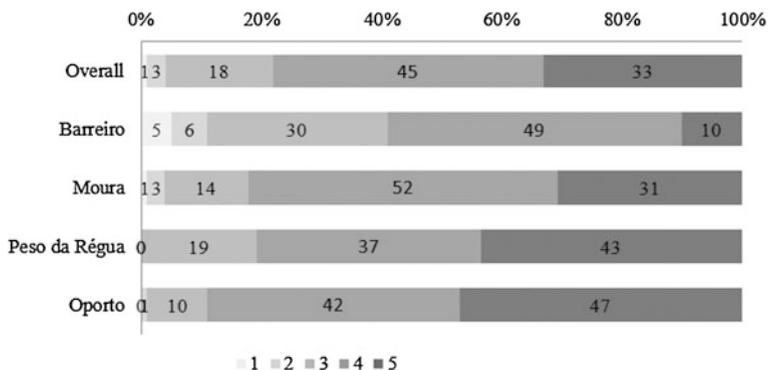
### 7.5.1 *Assessment of Residential Satisfaction*

The results show that individuals' levels of residential satisfaction are high in shrinking cities (Fig. 7.1). The findings of previous studies are therefore supported (Delken 2008; McCrea et al. 2014).

**Table 7.1** Statistics of the questionnaire respondents

Statistics	Overall	Oporto	Barreiro	Peso da Régua	Moura
Sample (N)	701	180	179	171	171
<b>Age</b> (continuous variable)					
Mean	54	57	54	53	52
Maximum	96		87		
<b>Gender</b> (nominal variable: 1—Feminine, 0—Masculine)					
Frequency of men (%)	38.8	29.4	48.6	37.4	39.8
<b>Educational level</b> (ordinal variable: 1—illiterate, 2—primary school, 3—secondary school (2 years), 4—secondary school (5 year), 5—secondary school (8 years), 6—higher education)					
Mean	3.34	3.37	3.55	3.37	3.07
<b>Household</b> (ordinal variable: 1—one person to 5—>4)					
Mean	2.26	2.13	2.08	2.49	2.33
<b>Household income</b> (ordinal variable: 1—<500, 2—500–1000, 3—1000–1500, 4—1500–2000, 5—2000)					
Mean	1.93	1.78	2.25	1.80	
Maximum	5			4	
<b>Number of employed in the family</b> (continuous variable)					
Mean	1	0.8	0.9	1.3	0.9
Maximum	4	3	4	3	3
Minimum	0				
<b>Homeownership</b> (Nominal variable: 0—owner, 1—renting)					
Frequency of homeowners (%)	59.1	29.4	69.8	60.8	77.2
<b>Era of construction</b> (Ordinal variable: 1—after the 1970s, 2—before the 1970s)					
Frequency of houses before the 1970 s (%)	47.6	42.2	54.2	36.3	41.5
<b>Type of building</b> (nominal variable: 0—apartment, 1—house)					
Frequency of apartments (%)	64	68	82	64	40
<b>Years of residence</b> (ordinal variable: 1—<10 years, 2—10–20 years, 3—>20 years)					
Mean	2.44	2.42	2.61	2.28	2.43
<b>Perception</b> of population change (ordinal variable: 1—diminishing, 2—stable, 3—growing)					
Mean	1.41	1.38	1.58	1.44	1.22
<b>Residential satisfaction</b> (ordinal variable: 1—very dissatisfied to 5—very satisfied)					
Mean	4.05	4.34	3.54	4.24	4.10
Minimum	1	2	1	3	1
<b>Intention of leaving the city</b> within a year (nominal variable: 1—yes, 2—no)					
Frequency of intention of leaving (%)	6	3	16	6	10
<b>Willingness to participate in urban regeneration programs</b> (nominal variable: 1—yes, 2—no)					
Frequency of WTP (%)	43.2	47.2	53.1	46.2	25.7

Note Maximum and minimum values are reported only when values differ from the extreme points



**Fig. 7.1** Assessment of residential satisfaction: overall and by city. *Note* Respondents assessed residential satisfaction using the following scale: 1 very dissatisfied; 2 moderately dissatisfied; 3 neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4 moderately satisfied; 5 very satisfied

Almost all of the respondents of Oporto, the city with the greatest population loss in relative terms, reported that they were satisfied living there: 89% revealed themselves to be satisfied (scores of 4 or 5) (Fig. 7.1). Oporto is a world heritage city, which is likely to instil in inhabitants a sense of pride in or identity with the city (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). The attachment of inhabitants to a particular place is an outcome of the combination of physical and social settings that provide psychological benefits to inhabitants (Brown et al. 2003; Scannell and Gifford 2010). Therefore, the perceived impressive and unique characteristics of a city such as Oporto give rise to the high level of place attachment reported by the city's inhabitants. This is further supported by the fact that 67% of the respondents were aware of the population decline occurring but still reported high satisfaction levels. Residents of Peso da Régua were also found to be satisfied with their city, with 80% scoring 4 or 5 for residential satisfaction (Fig. 7.1).

In contrast, Barreiro, the city with the second-largest decline in population in relative terms, showed the lowest level of residential satisfaction of the four cities, with only 59% of respondents providing a score of 4 or 5 (Fig. 7.1). The intrinsic characteristics of Barreiro as an old industrial city might explain the below-average result. International evidence shows that landscape surroundings have an effect on the perceived quality of life (e.g., Costanzo and Ferrara 2015) by impacting on inhabitants' appreciation of daily life, influencing the assessment of residential satisfaction. In addition, the proximity to other cities, including Lisbon, suggests that some residents of Barreiro spend much of their time in other urban areas, which might reduce their level of place attachment to the city. The respondents of Barreiro, compared with those of the other studied cities, also revealed a lower awareness of the fact that their city was losing inhabitants. For the question regarding perception of population change, the average response value for Barreiro inhabitants was the highest of the four cities (Table 7.1). This result means that

many inhabitants of Barreiro regard their city's population as stable or increasing, when in fact it is decreasing.

Residents of Moura presented the highest level of awareness of population decline, despite the fact that this phenomenon has been detected in population statistics only during the last 10 years. This level of awareness may be a result of the location of Moura in the most depopulated region of the country, the Alentejo, where there is an over-riding sense of population decline and ageing. Also, most of the city's houses are villas, making property abandonment a more visible phenomenon.

Considering the full sample, the survey results showed that 78% of the respondents were satisfied or very satisfied with their city of residence. Accordingly, in response to the first research question, satisfaction levels appear to be high and therefore city shrinkage is not detrimental to residential satisfaction.

### ***7.5.2 The Influence of Individuals' Demographic, Socioeconomic, and Civic Engagement Characteristics on the Assessment of Residential Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction***

Given the high levels of residential satisfaction measured in the four shrinking cities, the next step was to identify whether these results were affected by respondents' profiles (Table 7.2). Age was a predictor of residential satisfaction in both Moura and Peso da Régua but was irrelevant for the remaining cities. This finding offers partial support to previous findings (Aiello et al. 2010; Amérigo and Aragonés 1997). The length of residence was significant only for Peso da Régua, again offering only partial support for previous studies (Aiello et al. 2010; Speare 1974). The predictors of residential satisfaction in Barreiro and Oporto were income and residence in apartments, respectively, confirming previous findings (Grinstein-Weiss et al. 2011; Perez et al. 2001). Surprisingly, other previously established predictors of residential satisfaction such as homeownership and type of family (Amérigo and Aragonés 1997; Grinstein-Weiss et al. 2011) were not significant in the present study.

The emergence of education level as a common predictor of residential dissatisfaction in shrinking cities supports the earlier finding of Hur and Morrow-Jones (2008), and affirms the second research question concerning the influence of any common demographic characteristics on the assessment of residential dissatisfaction. In the present case, more highly educated individuals show higher levels of dissatisfaction living in a city facing population decline. The reasons for this may be a large gap between expectations and achievements (Das 2008) or a greater awareness by such individuals of the implications of population decline (Ogu 2002). This result has potential political implications because more highly

**Table 7.2** Respondents' characteristics as variables for explaining residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction

Respondents' characteristics affecting satisfaction		Typology	Correlation	Significance
<i>Barreiro</i>				
1	Income	Socioeconomic	0.196	***
<i>Moura</i>				
1	Age	Demographic	0.347	***
<i>Peso da Régua</i>				
1	Age	Demographic	0.271	***
2	Number of years residing in the city	Socioeconomic	0.184	**
3	Era of construction of housing before the 1970s	Socioeconomic	0.148	*
<i>Oporto</i>				
1	Residence in an apartment	Socioeconomic	0.194	***
Respondents' characteristics affecting dissatisfaction		Typology	Correlation	Significance
<i>Barreiro</i>				
1	Educational level	Demographic	-0.128	*
<i>Moura</i>				
1	Educational level	Demographic	-0.353	***
2	Residents who have no intention of leaving the city in the next year	Purpose	-0.210	***
3	Lack of willingness to help implement policies	Purpose	-0.143	*
4	Number of employed people in the family	Socioeconomic	-0.136	*
<i>Peso da Régua</i>				
1	Educational level	Demographic	-0.323	***
2	Residents who have no intention of leaving the city in the next year	Purpose	-0.270	***
3	Household size	Socioeconomic	-0.188	**
4	Lack of willingness to help implement policies	Purpose	-0.149	*
5	Era of construction of housing after the 1970s	Socioeconomic	-0.144	*
<i>Oporto</i>				
1	Number of employed people in the family	Socioeconomic	-0.202	***
2	Educational level	Demographic	-0.197	***
3	Residence in a villa	Socioeconomic	-0.194	***
4	Lack of willingness to help implement policies	Purpose	-0.182	**
5	Income	Socioeconomic	-0.166	**

\*\*\*Spearman rho correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

\*\*Significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

\*Significant at the 0.10 level (2-tailed)

educated residents are usually those who can easily move out, given their greater mobility with respect to job opportunities (Delken 2008).

Respondents in three cities (Barreiro, Peso da Régua, and Moura) who indicated greater dissatisfaction (lower scores for the residential satisfaction question) with their city of residence also showed lower willingness to help with implementing policies for dealing with shrinkage, indicating that the more dissatisfied residents are also those with lower levels of civic engagement (Manturuk et al. 2010; Perez et al. 2001). This finding carries a political implication: cities whose populations are shrinking need to bring those inhabitants reporting high levels of satisfaction into a collaborative decision-making process to find ways of dealing with the issues associated with shrinkage. The empowerment of the most engaged, who are also the most satisfied with their city of residence, is a requirement for the success of the policies chosen to be implemented, as these inhabitants represent the major part of the social capital of shrinking cities (Andersen and van Kempen 2003; Hospers 2014). This result supports earlier studies that found the more satisfied inhabitants to be more politically active (Manturuk et al. 2010; Perez et al. 2001).

The responses of inhabitants in Moura and Peso da Régua reporting no intention of leaving the city within one year are correlated with their level of residential dissatisfaction (see Table 7.2). This suggests that these inhabitants lack viable residential alternatives and may thus feel trapped in these declining cities (Jeffres et al. 2009; Longino et al. 2002). Both Moura and Peso da Régua are located in the interior of the country, reinforcing the idea that the inhabitants who remain are those less able to move out, typically older residents or those unable to find employment opportunities elsewhere (e.g., in the coastal cities). The results also suggest that the absence of intention to leave a city is distinct from place attachment, as suggested by the literature (Aiello et al. 2010; Ringel and Finkelstein 1991). The reason for remaining in a city may be the lack of better alternatives rather than an outcome of a feeling of pride and connection with the place.

A further factor explaining residential dissatisfaction, which was of greatest importance in Oporto and also important in Moura, is the number of individuals in the household who have a job, with lower levels of residential satisfaction being associated with higher numbers of employed family members. This may be because of a disparity between employment aspirations and achieved outcomes, showing a differentiation between the characteristics of the supplied employment and individuals' preferences.

A set of other predictors, such as household size and living in a more recent house (for Peso da Régua) and residence in a villa and income (for Oporto), impacted residential satisfaction negatively (see Table 7.2). Of the four cities, Peso da Régua had the highest average household size (2.49 persons, see Table 7.1), with 36% of the sampled households in the city containing three or more individuals, which may explain the relevance of household size to residential satisfaction. In the case of Oporto, income was positively correlated with education level ( $\rho = 0.23$ ;  $p$ -value  $< 0.01$ ), and was therefore also negatively associated with residential satisfaction. Living in a villa in Oporto is spatially associated with the so-called "Traditional Centre" of the city. According to 2011 Census data, 65% of

the houses in the Traditional Centre have up to two rooms. Residential dissatisfaction was reported primarily by homeowners (cf. tenants) and may be a result of urban degradation being translated into property value depreciation. This is further supported by the fact that half of the houses in the Traditional Centre of Oporto are rented and more than 50% of the tenants pay very low rents (100–150 euros per month), whereas 23.4% of the remaining housing stock in this area of the city are vacant flats.

In accordance with the above results, the level of residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction in each city is affected by different inhabitant socioeconomic characteristics, and the lack of willingness to participate in helping implement policies affects the level of residential dissatisfaction in the cities of Oporto, Peso da Régua, and Moura, but not in Barreiro (Table 7.2). Therefore, in response to the third research question, residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction is not influenced by common socio-economic and civic engagement profiles.

### ***7.5.3 Attributes of the Cities Influencing the Assessment of Residential Satisfaction/ Dissatisfaction***

The high levels of residential satisfaction in shrinking cities reported here imply the need to identify the attributes of each city that influence the assessment of satisfaction and to check if such attributes are the same for the different cities. Table 7.3 shows the relevant attractive (pull) attributes of each city that are correlated with residential satisfaction. Interestingly, Barreiro registered the lowest assessment of residential satisfaction but had the highest number of significant attributes explaining it (17 of 24). This implies that inhabitants of Barreiro are more heterogeneous than those of other cities regarding the attributes from which they obtain residential satisfaction, which may explain its lower value. However, those respondents in Barreiro that reported to be more satisfied with their city also revealed a strong sense of community, despite the lowest number of such reports compared with other cities.

In contrast, only the availability of high-quality centres for the elderly appeared to explain residential satisfaction in Moura. Being a city in the interior of the country, the guarantee that the elderly are being properly cared for helps to ensure residential satisfaction. In Oporto, residential satisfaction was dependent on the proximity of shopping areas and on the feeling of a sense of community. The sense of community reported in both Barreiro and Oporto is encouraging for the development of policies to deal with shrinkage built on social networks (Andersen and van Kempen 2003; Grillo et al. 2010).

For Peso da Régua, none of the city's pull attributes was correlated with residential satisfaction. This result deserves some reflection, particularly in light of the fact that no respondents reported themselves to be very dissatisfied or moderately dissatisfied (the lowest reported value was 3 or "neither dissatisfied nor satisfied").

**Table 7.3** Correlations between residential satisfaction and attractive attributes of cities

Attractive attributes		Typology	Correlation	Significance
<i>Barreiro</i>				
1	The city is safe (low crime rate)	Social	0.31	***
2	Reside in a zone with affordable houses	Economic	0.27	***
3	Availability of high-quality centres for the elderly	Social	0.23	***
4	There is a sense of community	Social	0.23	***
5	There is good environmental quality	Physical	0.23	***
6	A good place to meet people	Social	0.21	***
7	Live close to family and friends	Social	0.20	***
8	Proximity to green areas or the sea	Physical	0.19	***
9	Proximity to good schools	Social	0.19	***
10	Coverage of public transportation	Physical	0.18	**
11	A good place for children to grow up	Social	0.18	**
12	Existence of areas that allow outdoor sports	Physical	0.17	**
13	There are areas for pedestrian walks	Physical	0.17	**
14	Quiet city	Physical	0.15	**
15	Have a vibrant nightlife	Physical	0.13	*
16	Proximity to places of leisure	Physical	0.13	*
17	Nice weather	Physical	0.13	*
<i>Moura</i>				
1	Availability of high-quality centres for the elderly	Social	0.16	**
<i>Oporto</i>				
1	Proximity to shopping areas	Physical	0.16	**
2	There is a sense of community	Social	0.16	**

\*\*\*Spearman rho correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

\*\*Significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

\*Significant at the 0.10 level (2-tailed)

Therefore, one possible explanation of this result is that the high concentration of very satisfied inhabitants (43% reported a value of 5) made it statistically more difficult to extract significant predictors.

With regard to the unattractive (push) attributes of the cities that may bring about low scores for residential satisfaction (i.e., generate residential dissatisfaction), differences were again found between the cities. Table 7.4 presents the correlations, all of which are negative, found between residential satisfaction and the cities' unattractive attributes.

Whereas respondents in Oporto reported 21 out of 24 attributes to be relevant in explaining residential dissatisfaction, in Moura only the presence of large numbers of vagrants and beggars caused dissatisfaction for the inhabitants. Respondents of Barreiro reported that social aspects, mostly related to the city's surroundings,

**Table 7.4** Correlations between residential satisfaction and unattractive attributes of cities

Unattractive attributes		Typology	Correlation	Significance
<i>Barreiro</i>				
1	Sense of ageing	Social	-0.33	***
2	Awareness of population decline	Social	-0.22	***
3	Presence of vagrants and beggars	Social	-0.18	**
4	Feeling of constriction caused by size and distribution of buildings	Physical	-0.15	*
<i>Moura</i>				
1	Presence of vagrants and beggars	Social	-0.13	*
<i>Peso da Régua</i>				
1	Poor employment opportunities	Economic	-0.26	***
2	Better wages elsewhere	Economic	-0.25	***
3	Being away from work	Economic	-0.23	***
4	Sense of ageing	Social	-0.20	***
5	Difficult accessibility by road	Physical	-0.15	**
6	Poor environmental quality	Physical	-0.14	*
<i>Oporto</i>				
1	Feeling of constriction caused by size and distribution of buildings	Physical	-0.25	***
2	Living far from the workplace	Economic	-0.25	***
3	Better wages elsewhere	Economic	-0.24	***
4	Degraded buildings (e.g., dirty, graffiti)	Physical	-0.23	***
5	Presence of vagrants and beggars	Social	-0.22	***
6	Poor employment opportunities	Economic	-0.22	***
7	Poor environmental quality	Physical	-0.22	***
8	The city has evolved without planning	Physical	-0.21	***
9	Awareness of population decline	Social	-0.20	***
10	Number of vacant or abandoned dwellings	Physical	-0.19	***
11	Expensive housing	Economic	-0.19	***
12	Difficult accessibility by road	Physical	-0.19	**
13	Undesirable neighbours	Social	-0.19	**
14	Need for larger homes	Economic	-0.18	**
15	Sense of ageing	Social	-0.18	**
16	Risk of floods, heat waves, and frost	Economic	-0.17	**
17	Unsafe city	Social	-0.17	**
18	Lack of accessibility adapted for people with special needs	Social	-0.15	**
19	Lack of commercial areas	Physical	-0.14	*
20	Lack of green areas	Physical	-0.14	*
21	Lack of high-quality schools	Social	-0.13	*

\*\*\*Spearman rho correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

\*\*Significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

\*Significant at the 0.10 level (2-tailed)

lowered residential satisfaction. Barreiro's former function as an industrial city, but now containing various abandoned buildings and sites, may explain this assessment. The awareness of population decline, despite its below-average value in Barreiro, also caused residential dissatisfaction. Economic aspects caused residential dissatisfaction only in Peso da Régua and Oporto. In Peso da Régua, economic attributes such as a lack of employment opportunities, lower income, and living far from the workplace reduced residential satisfaction, indicating that this city's inhabitants' assessment of satisfaction is more sensitive to economic aspects, despite an overall positive assessment of residential satisfaction. Because there were relevant unappealing attributes but no appealing attributes in explaining residential satisfaction in Peso da Régua, it is possible that the observed population decline will continue. Inhabitants' awareness of the city having many aged residents was also reported as reducing residential satisfaction in Peso da Régua.

Although a large number of unattractive attributes affected the satisfaction levels of respondents in Oporto, economic and physical aspects were the attributes most correlated with residential dissatisfaction. Four economic attributes emerged as more relevant: living far from the workplace, finding higher income elsewhere, a lack of employment opportunities, and high house prices. This suggests that inhabitants are being pushed away from the city mainly because of employment-related issues and high house prices. Moreover, the lack of affordable housing is a factor that drives suburbanisation, which is the main reason for Oporto losing inhabitants (Balsas 2007; Heikkilä and Kashinoro 2009). In Oporto, physical aspects were also very important in explaining residential dissatisfaction, including aesthetic aspects such as the constricted feel and look of the city because of the size and distribution of its buildings. Concerns about safety, such as the existence of degraded areas, pockets of poverty, the abandonment of property, and the awareness of depopulation, were also revealed to be significant influences on the level of dissatisfaction.

Overall, the above analysis leads to the conclusion that city specificities and the underlying reasons for shrinkage cause different attributes to assume significance in explaining residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction. Consequently, the fourth research question is supported.

#### ***7.5.4 The Importance of a City's Attributes to Perceptions of Its Attractiveness***

In this section, the attributes that make respondents desire to remain in (attractive attributes) or leave (unattractive attributes) their city of residence were ranked on the basis of the Likert scale scores. This implies the assessment of the importance of the cities' attributes to remaining in or leaving the city rather than whether they explain residential satisfaction. The most valued attractive attributes differed from city to city (Table 7.5). In Barreiro, the proximity to friends and family was ranked

**Table 7.5** Respondents' assessment of the importance of their city's attractive/unattractive attributes

Rank	Attractive attributes	Typology	Average score	Percentage of scores		
				4	5	Sum
<i>Barreiro</i>						
1	Live close to family and friends	Social	4.168	43	40	83
2	Coverage of public transportation	Physical	4.089	46	34	80
<i>Moura</i>						
1	The city is safe (low crime rate)	Social	4.719	23	74	98
2	Quiet city	Physical	4.690	29	70	99
3	Coverage of public transportation	Physical	4.637	30	67	97
4	Live close to family and friends	Social	4.632	29	67	96
5	Proximity to good schools	Social	4.626	31	66	97
<i>Peso da Régua</i>						
1	Avail. high-quality centres for the elderly	Social	4.639	28	68	96
2	The city is safe (low crime rate)	Social	4.594	36	63	99
3	Live close to family and friends	Social	4.564	29	65	94
4	A good place for children to grow up	Social	4.515	36	60	96
5	Proximity to good schools	Social	4.475	39	55	94
<i>Oporto</i>						
1	The city is safe (low crime rate)	Social	4.691	24	73	97
2	Live close to family and friends	Social	4.619	27	68	95
3	Coverage of public transportation	Physical	4.591	38	61	99
4	Reside in a zone with affordable houses	Economic	4.525	32	60	92
5	A good place for children to grow up	Social	4.514	30	62	92
Rank	Unattractive attributes	Typology	Average score	Percentage of scores		
				4	5	Sum
<i>Barreiro</i>						
1	Poor employment opportunities	Economic	4.341	23	60	83
2	Better wages elsewhere	Economic	4.117	32	44	76
<i>Moura</i>						
1	Poor employment opportunities	Economic	4.713	21	75	96
2	Better wages elsewhere	Economic	4.637	30	67	97
3	Lack of public services (e.g., health, courts)	Social	4.596	33	63	96
4	Expensive housing	Economic	4.520	31	58	89
5	Unsafe city	Social	4.450	35	56	91
<i>Peso da Régua</i>						
1	Poor employment opportunities	Economic	4.035	36	46	82
2	Better wages elsewhere	Economic	3.975	37	43	80

(continued)

**Table 7.5** (continued)

<i>Oporto</i>							
1	Unsafe city	Social	3.840	32	37	69	
2	Expensive housing	Economic	3.840	30	38	68	
3	Poor employment opportunities	Economic	3.779	26	43	69	
4	Better wages elsewhere	Economic	3.746	29	40	69	

as the most important attribute, along with public transportation coverage. In Peso da Régua, the social attributes were the most commonly selected, and the safety of the city was scored as 4 or 5 by 99% of respondents. In Moura and Oporto, the most commonly chosen attributes were those pertaining to social aspects, with the most important being the safety of the cities.

Although there was a mix of attributes identified as being appealing in the studied cities, there was a consensus regarding the unattractive attributes that impel inhabitants to consider other places in which to live. Economic attributes were at the top of respondents' reasons for making them leave their cities of residence; however, with the exception of Peso da Régua, these economic attributes were not reported as important influences on residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction. In three of the cities (Barreiro, Moura, and Peso da Régua), the lack of employment opportunities and the chance of finding better paid employment elsewhere were the main drivers for potentially leaving those shrinking cities. In Oporto, the safety of the city and the lack of affordable houses were also important.

The fifth research question, which asked whether distinct attributes explain city attractive/unattractiveness, can therefore be answered in the affirmative for pull attributes and in the negative for push attributes. The appealing attributes were found to be intrinsically connected to the specificities of each city but the unappealing ones were common across the cities. The identified appealing/unappealing attributes were, in the majority of cases, different from those that brought residential satisfaction/dissatisfaction. This implies that the assessment of residential satisfaction is very different from the assessment of attributes that make a city attractive or unattractive. Accordingly, the sixth research question, which considered whether the same attributes would be chosen by individuals when asked about attributes that bring them residential satisfaction and when asked about those that make their city more attractive, can be answered in the negative.

## 7.6 Conclusion

Shrinking cities represent a particular context, one that is generally expected to be associated with less appealing living conditions and low levels of residential satisfaction. When inhabitants of shrinking cities report high residential satisfaction, two implications may be considered. First, this finding can be interpreted as an opportunity to capitalize on such satisfaction when developing actions to tackle the

phenomenon of and problems associated with shrinkage. Second, inhabitants' expressed level of residential satisfaction does not mean that they are not confronted with residential issues that may impel them to move out of the cities. As such, assessing residential satisfaction may be different from measuring the attractive/unattractive features of a city as a place to live.

In the presented case study of four shrinking cities in Portugal, residents indicated overall satisfaction with their particular city. The attributes of the cities that gave higher levels of residential satisfaction varied substantially between cities, but the most important attributes for making cities attractive places in which to live varied only slightly. Moreover, when respondents were asked about the existing attributes that may impel individuals to move out, economic attributes emerged as the most important, but in only a few cases were those attributes related to residential dissatisfaction.

The findings provided by the present study reinforce the argument by McCrea et al. (2014) that there is a need to measure what is most important. This implies for the majority of cases that there is no single answer to the question of whether a city's attractiveness or citizens' residential satisfaction matters more. The answer would depend on the strategy adopted by each city. If shrinkage is a condition accepted by the local government of a city, then attributes that ensure high levels of residential satisfaction should be prioritized. In contrast, if the strategy adopted by decision-makers aims at holding or even reversing shrinkage, then the focus should be placed on the attributes that improve the city's attractiveness.

The empirical findings presented show that education level is positively related to the degree of residential dissatisfaction. This result deserves some concern and attention by politicians because the level of social capital in cities with declining populations will drop drastically if the more educated inhabitants leave the city. Moreover, the ability of cities to adapt to the challenges caused by declining populations will also decrease if these more educated inhabitants move out. This poses great stress on local governments, because they need to ensure that living conditions are sufficiently appealing to retain the more educated inhabitants, even if they are unable to maintain the number of better-paid jobs. This task can be achieved only if the less attractive employment opportunities for the more educated inhabitants of shrinking cities can be compensated by a better quality of life in comparison with growing cities. Changes in employment profiles, particularly for more highly skilled workers, allowing them to work from home by using the internet and without requiring a daily commute, offer an opportunity for shrinking cities to offset the effect of poorer employment opportunities.

Identifying satisfied inhabitants is also crucial for policy purposes. The empowerment of the most engaged citizens reinforces a city's resilience and helps create a favourable environment for the development of innovative solutions to the problems associated with a city's population decline. Citizens' participation in associations or local organisations helps to discover solutions appropriate to the particularities of each city. Such solutions would help generate the conditions that favour inhabitants' desiring to remain rather than staying only because of the absence of better alternatives elsewhere.

The results reinforce the need for further research into how cognitive and affective appraisals influence the assessment of a city as a place to leave or in which to live. In such assessment, it is as yet unclear whether or how the level of inhabitants' happiness [as measured by positive affect, satisfaction, and the absence of distress (Das 2008)] is affected by living in shrinking cities. Further, the rationale behind successfully changing the way in which a shrinking city is regarded by politicians, local entities, and residents is to assure the city's inhabitants that becoming smaller does not mean a loss in the quality of life of its residents. Despite city shrinkage constituting a process that can lead to a better quality of life, studies supporting such a claim are still lacking.

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**Part III**  
**Place Based Satisfaction**  
**and Happiness**

# Chapter 8

## Happiness Insights into Migration Policy and Choice Behavior of Immigrants

Martijn Hendriks

**Abstract** A considerable proportion of immigrants and citizens of their host countries are dissatisfied with the outcomes of migration, even though they have objectively benefited of migration. What is the source of this disappointment and how can we improve this situation? This article provides insights on this long-standing issue by considering the *subjectively* experienced well-being outcomes of migration. Particularly for immigrants, improvements in *subjective* well-being (i.e., happiness) tend to stay behind to improvements in *objective* well-being. This discrepancy is plausible given that migrants, policy-makers, and researchers concentrate on improving the objectively experienced well-being outcomes of migration, particularly material welfare. These orientations are suboptimal because it excludes much of what people deem valuable in life. There is much room for improvement in the happiness outcomes of migration. Taking action to improve the subjectively experienced outcomes of migrants will result in a win-win situation for immigrants and their host society because happier immigrants contribute more to their host society.

**Keywords** Subjective well-being · Migration outcomes · Admission policy · Integration policy · Migration decision

The immigrant population represents over 10% of the total population in Western societies. Societal outcomes depend considerably on the contribution of these immigrants. Concurrently, the individual outcomes of immigrants largely depend on the admission- and integration policies in the receiving society. The more efficient allocation of human resources, through human migration, is generally considered to have great potential in improving the welfare of countries and the well-being of individual immigrants (Borjas 1995; Legrain 2014). However, in this context of interdependence, both immigrants and their receiving societies have raised concerns regarding the disappointing outcomes of international migration. In many European

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countries, these disappointments have led to the rapid rise of parties with an anti-immigrant sentiment, such as Front National in France, the Party for Freedom in The Netherlands, the Freedom Party in Austria, and the Danish People's Party in Denmark. In addition, the parties that are currently in government acknowledge the disappointing, not necessarily negative, outcomes of international migration. German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated in 2010 that "the approach to build a multicultural society and to live side-by-side and to enjoy each other... has failed, utterly failed" (BBC News Online 2010). One year later, British Prime Minister David Cameron made a similar statement: "the doctrine of state multiculturalism ... has failed" (BBC News Online 2011). Social tensions and immigrant protests were caused by dissatisfied feelings in immigrant communities concerning how they are approached and supported by citizens and policy makers. For instance, immigrant riots regularly occur in the suburbs of Paris (Koff and Duprez 2009). Such dissatisfaction has led to an intriguing situation: immigrants and their receiving societies have been struggling for years to capitalize on migration, while migration is believed to offer great potential in improving the lives of immigrants and their host country's residents. Consequently, admission and integration policies are heavily debated in the public discourse and have become leading policy issues.

Considering this debate, prominent questions are (i) how progress can be made to develop better migration policies and (ii) how immigrants can make better migration- and integration decisions. A promising avenue is to consider the subjectively experienced well-being consequences of migration because behavior and attitudes are determined more by *the interpretation of what happens* than by *what truly happens* (see the aspiration level theory and multiple discrepancies theory; Michalos 1985). For immigrants, improvements in subjective well-being (i.e., experienced happiness) tend to stay behind to improvements in objective well-being (i.e., living conditions; Bălătescu 2007; Hendriks et al. 2017; Stillman et al. 2015). Consequently, well-being judgments that are based only on objective well-being can be misleading. A prerequisite to capitalize on migration is that we understand why improvements in subjective well-being lag behind improvements in objective well-being. Subsequently, action is needed to improve the happiness outcomes of migration because people have difficulties in accurately determining what makes them happier (Gilbert 2006). These actions are also desirable from a societal perspective because improvements in the well-being of immigrants will also lead to improvements in the well-being of people in their receiving society (Fredrickson 2001).

The objective of this book chapter is to show how evidence-based insights from happiness research can help to improve migration policies and individual migrant decisions, which eventually result in better outcomes for immigrants and their host societies. Section 8.1 outlines the current orientations of immigrants and migration policy makers. Section 8.2 discusses the value of considering happiness in a migration context. Section 8.3 uses insights from happiness research to explain why immigrants and their receiving society achieve suboptimal happiness outcomes. Section 8.4 summarizes and concludes.

## 8.1 The Current Focus of Immigrants and Policy Makers

To discuss how immigrants and the receiving societies can capitalize on migration, it is a prerequisite to understand what outcomes both groups actually desire. People share two important goals in life: they want to survive and they want to have a good life. The United Nations (2013a) estimates that only approximately 5% of immigrants moves for survival, which is instigated by threats in the economic domain (i.e., insufficient income to meet basic needs), political domain (i.e., war or political persecution), or environmental domain (e.g., natural disasters). The majority of immigrants moves in search of a better life for themselves and their significant others (Cai et al. 2014; Chindarkar 2014). For instance, Graham and Markowitz (2011) indicate that most Latin people want to move to more developed countries because they are “frustrated achievers”, which means that there is no urgent need for migration but they want to move because they cannot meet their desired quality of life in their home country. Likewise, the native inhabitants of Western societies have little concern regarding basic survival needs, such as food, water, and shelter, but they hope for a better life.

A widespread assumption in society and public policy is that the experience of a good life follows from having good living conditions, particularly monetary welfare (Kahneman et al. 2006). Therefore, societal and individual progress has traditionally been defined in economic terms; the principal objective of public policy was to maximize economic growth, while it was assumed that immigrants concentrate on income growth. Since the late 1960s, this approach has faced growing criticism because a good quality of life goes beyond economic welfare (Stiglitz et al. 2009). For instance, in a 1968 speech at the University of Kansas, Robert F. Kennedy stated that “GNP measures neither our wit nor our courage, neither our wisdom nor our learning, neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country, it measures everything in short, except that which makes life worthwhile.” However, many policies are still evaluated based on a monetary cost-benefit analysis as proposed in the classic economic approach (O’Donnell et al. 2014). Amartya Sen’s (2001) capability approach created a paradigm shift in the 1970s to public policies that aim to improve people’s capabilities in addition to economic welfare (Sen 2001). Sen argued that individual and societal progress depends on people’s freedom to develop their capabilities. Therefore, more comprehensive tools were developed that are supposed to provide a good indication of a person’s life-abilities. An example is the Human Development Index, which is a composite statistic of health, education, and life expectancy indicators.

The current approaches to assess well-being, and ultimately to guide individual decisions and public policy, affect migration outcomes in four domains. These domains are presented in a  $2 \times 2$  matrix (see Table 8.1) that includes distinctions for actors (individual migrants and policy makers) and time periods (pre- and post-migration). Sections 8.1.1–8.1.4 will discuss how the orientations (i.e., actions, values, and beliefs) in each of these four domains are influenced by the

**Table 8.1** Decision-making domains in migration

	Individual immigrant	Policy makers
Pre-migration	Migration decision	Admission policy
Post-migration	Orientations in the host country	Integration policy

assumption that a good life is the sum of good living conditions and life-abilities. Section 8.1.5 will discuss whether these orientations actually promote good migration outcomes.

### ***8.1.1 Current Orientations in Migration Decisions***

In migration literature, forced migrants are typically distinguished from voluntary migrants. Forced migrants include those who flee from war, political persecution, natural disasters, and starvation. A paramount motive of voluntary immigrants is better economic prospects (Borjas 1987; Clark et al. 2007). This motive includes better income prospects, job and educational opportunities, and feeling economically deprived in the home country. Accordingly, many voluntary migrants are referred to as “labor migrants” or “economic migrants”. Often, a broader definition of economic migrants is used that also includes people who move for a better environment that includes, for example, less corruption, more safety, a better natural climate, and a better quality of institutions (Bertocchi and Strozzi 2008; Mayda 2010). Another sizeable group of migrants moves for family reunification. These migrants follow an earlier emigrated family member, who often was an economic migrant. Although certainly not all immigrants can be classified in these three categories, these motives have traditionally been the most important. A more satisfactory approach is to recognize that self-selected international migration is generally, not always, driven by the prospect of better living conditions. However, only a selective group of people who live in economically disadvantaged countries wants to move to wealthier countries. Migrants who want to resettle in another country are, compared with non-migrants, more extrinsically oriented (e.g., oriented on progress in achievement and living conditions) and less intrinsically oriented (e.g., oriented on social relations) (Boneva and Frieze 2001).

### ***8.1.2 Current Orientations in the Host Country***

Research shows that immigrants put more value on monetary welfare and status than natives. For instance, the European Social Survey data on human values for the years 2002–2012 indicate that immigrants assign significantly more value than natives to “having money and expensive things” and “being successful and having

one's achievements recognized by others".<sup>1</sup> One reason for this difference is that immigrants are relatively more extrinsically oriented than non-migrants. A second reason may be that improving one's living conditions is a more salient goal for immigrants because experiencing better living conditions originally motivated their life changing decision to move to another country (Bartram 2011). A third reason relates to self-determination theory, which distinguishes intrinsic from extrinsic values (Ryan and Deci 2000; see Maslow 1943 for a general discussion on human values). Extrinsic values relate to human *wants* (e.g., financial success and social status), whereas intrinsic values often relate to human *needs*. Examples of intrinsic values are being emotionally close to one's friends and family (relating to the need for affiliation), feeling valued by others (relating to the need for self-esteem), and doing meaningful things (relating to the need for self-actualization). Sheldon and Kasser (2008) show that people prioritize extrinsic values when they are in psychologically stressful and threatening situations. Immigrants often experience migration as a stressful and threatening experience because they must address conflicting cultural orientations, prejudice/discrimination, and language barriers, amongst other difficulties (Ward et al. 2001). Therefore, immigrants may prioritize tangible aspects, such as monetary welfare, to promote themselves in a relatively threatening environment.

### 8.1.3 *Current Orientations in Admission Policy*

Countries do not have complete control over incoming migration streams (Joppke 1998). Substantial migration flows are allowed to enter countries regardless of their potential contribution to the host society. This movement often occurs through human rights agreements (e.g., humanitarian migrants) and other international agreements (e.g., post-colonial migration, migration for family reunification, and open border areas). Moreover, an important group of "unwanted" immigrants are illegal immigrants. Nevertheless, countries still have significant control over their borders; thus, they largely have the power to either provide or deny the opportunity for migration to people who apply for immigration. The traditional economic approach and Sen's capability approach have been guides for admission policies. Consequently, with the exceptions mentioned above, immigrants are generally allowed to immigrate when they are expected to positively contribute to the receiving society (Borjas 2001). These guides have led to two types of systems that

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<sup>1</sup>These findings are based on the author's calculations. The exact questions were: "Tell me how much each person is or is not like you: It is important to her/him to be rich. She/he wants to have a lot of money and expensive things" and "Tell me how much each person is or is not like you: Being very successful is important to him/her. She/he hopes people will recognise her/his achievements." On a scale from 1 (very much like me) to 6 (not like me at all), natives scored 4.30 and 3.36, first-generation immigrants scored 3.93 and 2.94, and second-generation immigrants scored 3.90 and 2.89, respectively.

are used to evaluate the potential contribution of immigrants, namely, a points-based system and an employer-led selection system. The points-based system is used in countries such as Canada, Australia, Singapore, and Denmark. It focuses on human capital factors that have intrinsic economic value, such as education, work experience, language skills, and age. The employer led-system is used in countries such as the United States, Sweden, Norway, and Spain. This system requires employers to request permits at the immigration authorities on behalf of the foreigners who they wish to hire. In recent years, most countries have shifted their policies to a hybrid model that combines these two types of systems. Thus, although there are different types of admission policies, a common characteristic is that they all concentrate on the economic contribution of the immigrant (Chaloff and Lamaitre 2009; Koslowski 2014; Papademetriou and Sumption 2011; United Nations 2013b). Although countries strive to attract high-skilled migrants, they are generally less interested in enlarging the immigrant stock in their country. In 2011, only 11% of countries were receptive to increasing the immigrant stock in their country (United Nations 2013b). This response implies a suboptimal situation for many of the 700 million people across the world who are willing to move to another country (Gallup 2009).

#### ***8.1.4 Current Orientations in Integration Policy***

Most countries have developed integration policies that attempt to encourage the integration of immigrants in the host society (Bijl and Verweij 2012). Nevertheless, investing in better well-being for immigrants is a sensitive topic for politicians. Castles (2004) notes that many politicians have a hidden agenda: they do not want to invest too much in better lives for immigrants. A key reason is that politicians fear attracting undesirable flows of immigrants, such as illegal immigrants and excessive immigrant flows from open border areas. Considering the content of integration policies, often concerns regarding the social rights of immigrants (e.g., the right to healthcare) and social participation (e.g., the promotion of political participation) are included. However, most integration policies concentrate on promoting better integration by improving the various skills and living conditions of immigrants. Massey et al. (2002) state that we live in an era of policies that focus on economic integration. For instance, in 2010, the European Union countries agreed in the Zaragoza declaration to concentrate on immigrant integration in the following policy areas: employment, education, and economic inclusion. In practice, this attention implies that steps are being taken for more equal income, home ownership, health, and political participation for natives and immigrants. Additionally, the policies in non-European countries remain mainly focused on the integration of immigrants by encouraging their skills. This focus is exemplified by the theme of the OECD's International Migration Outlook (OECD 2014): "Mobilising migrant's skills for economic success".

### 8.1.5 *Are These Orientations Adequate?*

One question that can be derived from this discussion is whether immigrants have accurate orientations to capitalize on migration. The observations that improvements in subjective well-being tend to stay behind to improvements in objective well-being and that a considerable share of immigrants does not become happier through migration implies that their orientations are inaccurate (Hendriks 2015). To psychologists, behavior that is not in our long-term interest is not surprising given that our decisions can be severely influenced by mental and contextual biases (Dolan et al. 2010; Tversky and Kahneman 1981). Decisions are distorted by several factors, such as framing (i.e., people are sensitive to the way that options are presented), priming (i.e., the exposure to certain sights can affect subsequent choices), loss aversion (i.e., people prefer to avoid losses over acquiring gains), and risk-averseness (i.e., the tendency to reduce uncertainty). Consequently, we experience feelings of regret on a daily basis because our predicted outcomes often diverge from our experienced outcomes. When asking people on their deathbeds what they would have done differently if they could live their life over again, the following are the five most common answers: (1) to not have worked so hard to facilitate a luxury lifestyle; (2) to be less influenced by the opinions and expectations of other people; (3) to prioritize family and friends; (4) to listen more to their feelings; and (5) to focus more on being happy (Ware 2011). In relation to self-determination theory, working hard to facilitate a luxury lifestyle and being influenced by other people imply that people have concentrated too much on extrinsic values. Prioritizing family and friends, listening more to one's feelings, and focusing more on being happy imply that people have not sufficiently prioritized intrinsic values. The answers people give on their deathbeds are not surprising; several scientists have argued that people tend to focus too much on their material welfare at a cost to non-material benefits (Frank 1999; Frey and Stutzer 2014; Kahneman et al. 2006; Kasser 2002; Scitovsky 1976). This excessive focus on living conditions is argued to also be present in the individual decisions of migrants (Bartram 2011; Hendriks and Bartram 2016; Olgiati et al. 2013).

Why do people, over time, not (completely) learn from inaccurate choice behavior? The key reason is that people's memories of events do not accurately represent the true experience. This inaccuracy is caused by mechanisms such as the confirmation bias (i.e., people selectively search for and interpret information to confirm their choices and beliefs; Nickerson 1998), hindsight bias (i.e., people rationalize the priority that they gave to improving their living conditions because they believe that they knew the consequences all along; Roese and Vohs 2012), and the short-cuts people use in memorizing, such as focusing on the most memorable parts of an experience (often the peak and the end of the experience; Redelmeier and Kahneman 1996).

A second query is whether policy makers have accurate orientations for immigrants and the host society to capitalize on migration. The current migration policies

have not been recognized as a success because Western countries continue to struggle with topics such as the cultural-, social-, and economic integration of immigrants (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). The introductory section of this chapter has shown that this has led to the acknowledgment of some governments that multiculturalism has failed (and implicitly, the current integration policies). Coming back to people's biggest life regrets, migration policies do not provide a good foundation to avoid these five regrets. Thus, the excessive focus on living conditions and life-abilities does not only relate to individuals but also to the current migration policies. For instance, it is generally easier for migration policy-makers to receive funding by arguing that a certain policy leads to monetary benefits than by arguing that it improves the attitudes of natives and immigrants towards one another. However, this result does not indicate that the economic- and capability approach are not valuable; improved life-abilities have brought many positive items to the world, such as numerous innovations that have helped many people to live an affluent and relatively untroubled life (Sen 2001). A more satisfactory conclusion is that promoting immigrants' capabilities and living conditions is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition to make the most out of migration.

The notion of Castles (2004) regarding a hidden agenda in integration policy implies that policy makers doubt whether investing in the integration of immigrants actually benefits society. Multiple potential advantages of good integration policies may offset the disadvantage of attracting "undesirable" migration flows (Berry 2001). First, integration is an important driver of better outcomes because, for instance, it has a positive effect on productivity. Second, efficient integration policies increase the chance that positively contributing immigrants want to stay longer in the country. Third, better migration policies attract immigrants, giving countries a larger pool of potentially contributing immigrants to choose from (Knabe et al. 2013). Some preliminary evidence from the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) indicates that countries with better integration policies (according to MIPEX-criteria) generate a greater overall economic contribution of immigration (OECD 2013a). Natives in these countries are also more open to the admission of more immigrants to the country (Mayda 2006). Therefore, investing in good integration policies for immigrants can benefit both immigrants and the host society. Given that the current migration orientations have not been a major success-story, a topical query is how to improve the current migration outcomes. The following section will offer an answer to this query.

## **8.2 How Can the Consideration of Happiness Benefit Decisions in the Migration Context?**

A distinction between objective and subjective well-being needs to be made to answer how migration policies and immigrant decisions can be improved. Objective well-being is determined by the quality of a person's living conditions as evaluated

by objective (externally derived) indicators. Objective well-being is measured by material measures (e.g., GDP per capita or individual income) and composite measures (e.g., the Human Development Index). The current migration policies mainly focus on improving objective well-being. Another approach to well-being is to consider one's perceived or experienced well-being, which is generally called subjective well-being. Subjective well-being is measured by surveyed self-reports such as "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?" on a numerical scale ranging from 0 (very dissatisfied) to 10 (very satisfied). The difference between the objective and subjective well-being approaches can be clarified by using income as an example. Objective well-being is only influenced by absolute income and income inequality. In contrast, subjective well-being is also affected by one's income expectations and aspirations, the importance one gives to income, and the manner in which the income is earned (i.e., procedural utility).

In practice, when people discuss their desire for a better life, they hope to experience happiness and have a satisfactory and meaningful life. This goal is recognized by governments; for instance, the US Declaration of Independence identifies "the pursuit of happiness" as an inalienable right of individuals. Happiness and life satisfaction are key elements of subjective well-being. Researchers often use these three constructs interchangeably, although this use is theoretically incorrect because happiness relates more to the hedonic experience of life, life satisfaction relates more to cognitive life evaluations, and subjective well-being also includes additional elements, such as the perception of leading a purposeful life.

Better living conditions are mostly valued to achieve the goal of feeling happier and having a satisfactory life. Then, people generally assume that better objective well-being automatically leads to better subjective well-being. The practical relevance of distinguishing between objective and subjective well-being would be marginal if they correlated perfectly. However, happiness studies show that, on a micro-level, changes in people's orientations affect subjective well-being considerably more than changes in living conditions (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005). On a macro-level, countries rank differently in the ranking of economic-, capability-, and subjective measures. Examples are the US (ranking 5th on the Human Development Index, 11th in GDP per capita, and 15th in life satisfaction in 2014) and Germany (ranking 6th on the Human Development Index, 18th in GDP per capita, and 26th in life satisfaction in 2014).<sup>2</sup> The differences among these three types of well-being measures also hold true in the migration context; migration studies reveal that comprehensive sets of living conditions do not explain more than 25% of happiness (Safi 2010; Stillman et al. 2015). Therefore, objectivist circumstances do not accurately predict how the quality of life is evaluated in the eye of the beholder. Accordingly, focusing only on improvements in living conditions can lead to

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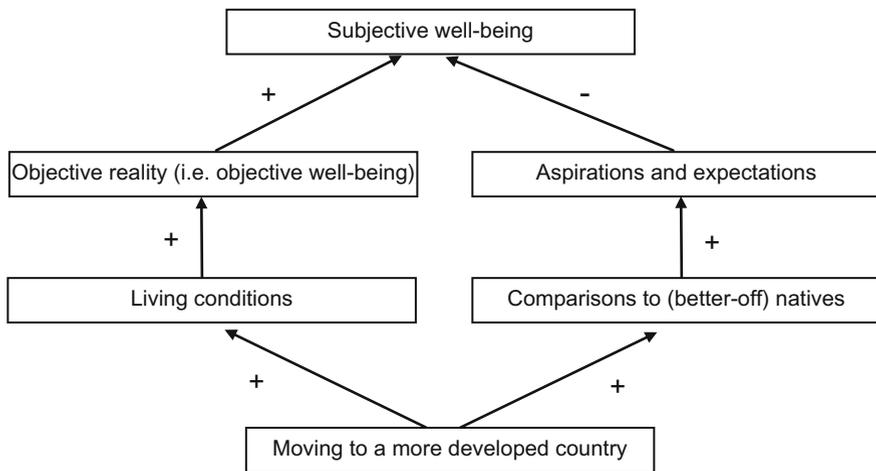
<sup>2</sup>The data come from the United Nations Human Development Report, the World Bank, and the World Happiness Report, respectively.

serious mistakes in well-being judgments. A renowned example is the Easterlin paradox (Easterlin 1974), which shows that great increases in economic growth have not led to greater happiness. Other researchers have found a positive correlation (Stevenson and Wolfers 2008; Veenhoven and Vergunst 2014), but this correlation remains considerably lower than people would expect (Graham 2011). Moreover, on the individual level, absolute income has only a marginal impact on happiness (Frey and Stutzer 2002).

### ***8.2.1 Why Do Discrepancies Exist Between Subjective and Objective Well-Being Outcomes?***

The interpretation of a better life is personal (i.e., some people derive happiness from playing basketball whereas other people derive more happiness from playing baseball) and highly subjective (an extra euro may be worth more to you than to me). Accordingly, a key explanation for the limited correlation between these two forms of well-being is that objective well-being excludes much of what people care about. Objective well-being does not include people's expectations and aspirations in life, their opinions concerning people, places, and institutions, their emotions when considering the past and the future, the joy they get from practicing their hobbies, the changes in their personality and psychological state, their relations to family, friends, and others in society, their self-perception, the worries and sadness that one experiences when becoming unemployed, etc. Migration studies confirm that immigrants' subjective well-being considerably depends on how they perceive their living conditions beyond their objective living conditions (Hendriks et al. 2017).

A second key explanation is that people's feelings and life evaluations are subject to adaptation because of two comparison mechanisms, namely, social comparisons and temporal comparisons. Human beings have a natural drive to assess how well they are doing on a continuum of abilities, experiences, and possessions to arrive at accurate self-evaluations (Festinger 1954). For this purpose, individuals compare their own characteristics to the social information that other people provide. Festinger argues that individuals prefer to compare themselves with similar others, which implies that people compare themselves with their close friends and family, people in their direct physical environment, and people with similar demographic- and socioeconomic characteristics. For immigrants, this tendency implies that, over time, they increasingly compare themselves with natives in the host society (although comparisons with people in their homeland never completely disappear; Gelatt 2013). Figure 8.1 shows how subjective well-being is affected by social comparisons on the one hand and objective well-being on the other hand (for simplicity reasons, it is assumed that a migrant moves to a more developed country; however, this is not always true). The left-side of Fig. 8.1 shows how moving to a more developed country generally results in improved



**Fig. 8.1** Relating social comparisons, objective well-being, and subjective well-being

living conditions. Better living conditions imply that one's objective well-being (also known as one's objective reality) is better. Therefore, having more agreeable living conditions has a positive association with subjective well-being (see the livability theory of Veenhoven and Ehrhardt 1995). The right side of Fig. 8.1 follows Gelatt's (2013) observation that people often start with comparing themselves to the wealthier and better educated native population. These upward comparisons create an upward shift in aspirations and expectations because immigrants hope to achieve similar living conditions to natives. A larger discrepancy between expectations/aspirations and reality is associated with less positive life evaluations among immigrants (Baucells and Sarin 2012). Thus, the derived happiness from better life circumstances (improved reality) in the host country is at least partly offset by the increased aspirations/expectations. On the contrary, immigrant comparisons with people in the country of origin often positively influence happiness because the improved living conditions of emigrants means that they make downward comparisons with people in the home country.

The fact that people compare themselves to *similar others* also limits the happiness gains immigrants can achieve over time in the host country. That is, gradually improving one's living conditions in the host country also implies that the group of similar others changes over time to people who also experience better life circumstances. Thus, one's reference group largely changes in the same direction as one's living conditions and the relative gain is close to zero in the long term. This situation means that subjective well-being gains are not in line with objective well-being gains. Accordingly, immigrants who concentrate on improvements in their living conditions will become disappointed concerning their subjective outcomes.

The other mechanism relates to temporal comparisons. People compare themselves with their own past and the recent past is the dominant reference point (Clark et al. 2008). Therefore, people get used to their new circumstances and appreciate them less over time. Again, people's aspirations keep increasing with objective improvements. For this reason, comparisons with one's own past result in a diminishing (and sometimes even disappearing) impact of improved circumstances on happiness over time.

However, not all domains are similarly affected by adaptation mechanisms. Frey and Stutzer (2014) show that adaptation is substantially stronger for extrinsic *desires* than for intrinsic *needs*. Luxury goods and better circumstances are typical examples of extrinsic desires, whereas experiences often fall in the category of intrinsic values. Although experiences and activities tend to be regularly renewed, a good does not vary over time. People try to understand unexplained events that are relevant to themselves (Wilson and Gilbert 2008). Accordingly, an explanation for the heterogeneity in adaptation is that the memory of experiences is regularly refreshed whereas goods tend to be taken for granted over time (Frederick and Loewenstein 1999; Sheldon and Lyubomirsky 2006). Nevertheless, people often prioritize objective conditions when making a trade-off between objective conditions and experiences. One reason is that the tangible outcome of objective conditions makes it easier for people to justify their choice (Frey and Stutzer 2014). For instance, immigrants undervalue the importance of social and cultural integration in the host society because integration efforts are relatively intangible and only contribute to their well-being in the long term (Phinney et al. 2001). Another reason is the impact bias, which means that we tend to overestimate our emotional reaction to future events because people do not accurately take into account that they will adapt to circumstances and events. Given that people adapt more to extrinsic desires, the insufficient attention to adaptation creates an excessive focus on life circumstances.

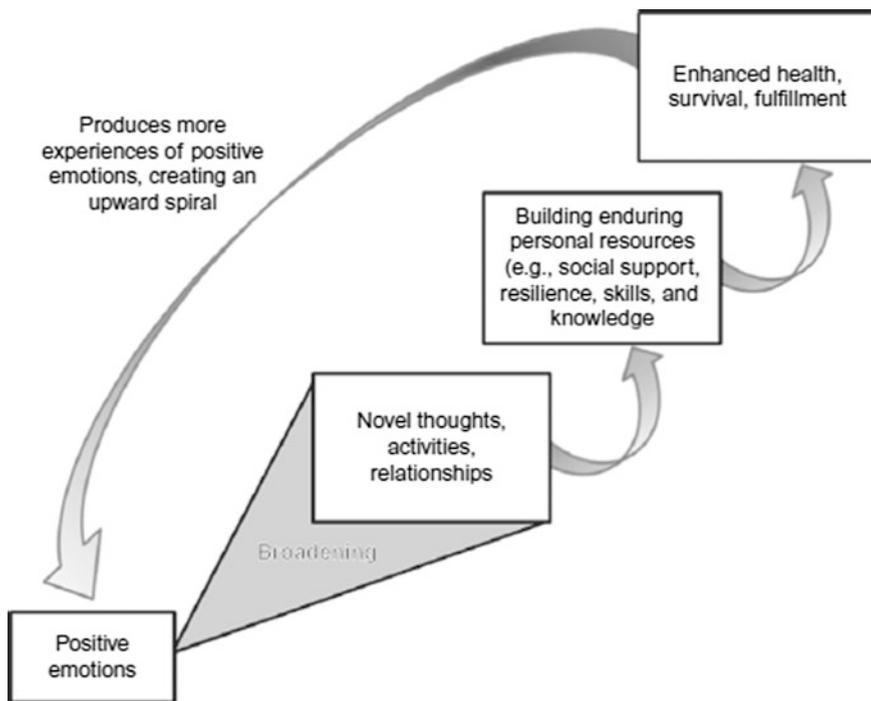
Overall, subjective outcomes can serve as a complementary input for choice behavior. Subjective measures of well-being allow people themselves to decide what aspects they find important for their well-being and allow people to evaluate how well they are doing on these aspects. Accordingly, subjective well-being measures can reveal how certain actions, policies, conditions, and events affect the personally experienced well-being (i.e. happiness) of migrants and natives. However, subjective measures are not perfect because the responses are affected by interpersonal, cultural, and mood biases, among others. Nevertheless, in sufficiently large samples, subjective well-being assessments are shown to produce sufficiently meaningful and reliable responses to provide significant new insights for public policy research (OECD 2013b; O'Donnell et al. 2014; Stiglitz et al. 2009).

### 8.2.2 *Happiness as a Means to an End*

Subjective well-being is not only an ultimate goal in life, but also an important means to gratify goals in specific domains. Higher subjective well-being leads to

better economic performance; happy people become more productive (Oswald et al. 2012), develop better careers (De Neve and Oswald 2012), and are more committed to their job (Erdogan et al. 2012). Happiness also leads to better physical health (Diener and Chan 2011), which can be attributed to a better immune system (Cohen et al. 2003) and healthier behavior (Blanchflower et al. 2013). Greater subjective well-being also boosts prosocial behavior (Aknin et al. 2012) and inclusive behavior towards other ethnicities (Johnson and Fredrickson 2005). Another implication is that happy people make better decisions in their own lives because they have more self-control (Aspinwall 1998) and a more long-term focus (Lerner et al. 2013). Finally, happier people also become more sociable (Cunningham 1988), develop higher-quality social relationships (for instance, because they tend to be more likeable; Boehm and Lyubomirsky 2008), and their happiness spreads to the people around them (Fowler and Christakis 2008). Overall, there is overwhelming evidence that subjective well-being has an important mediating role to achieve better functioning. However, too much happiness has drawbacks in some specific instances (e.g. Forgas 2007; Gruber et al. 2011).

The broaden-and-build theoryBroaden-and-build theory, which is presented in Fig. 8.2, outlines the underlying process for the bidirectional relationship between



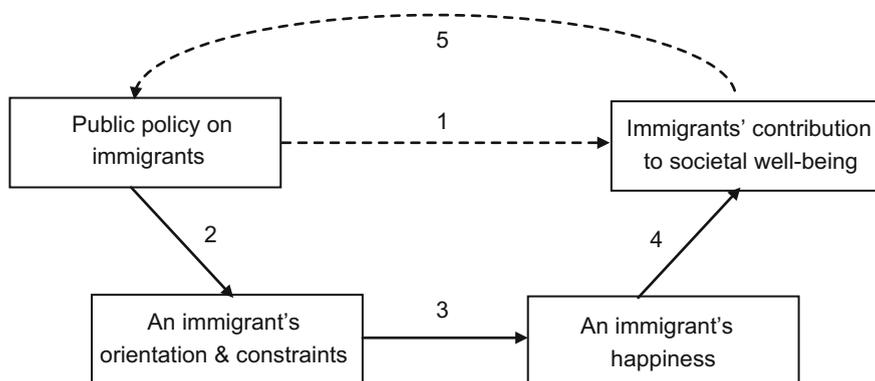
**Fig. 8.2** Schematic overview of the broaden-and-build theory. Adapted from Fredrickson (2013, Fig. 1.1)

happiness and objective benefits (Fredrickson 2001). Positive feelings broaden people’s scope (i.e., increased openness to novel thoughts, actions, and relationships), which results in more enduring resources (e.g., social support, resilience, skills, and knowledge) and eventually, in objective benefits (e.g., greater health and productivity). In turn, the objective benefits create more positive feelings, which implies a continuous loop between objective benefits and happiness. An excellent review of the literature on the mediating role of subjective well-being was written by De Neve et al. (2013). These findings have important implications in the migration context because some of the most important challenges for immigrants are the building of a social network, integrating in the labor market, and relating to natives.

### 8.2.3 *The Causal Mechanism: From Happy Immigrants to a Happy Society*

Figure 8.3 illustrates the causal mechanism from public policy towards a greater contribution of immigrants to societal well-being. The figure is based on the micro-macro linkage scheme of Coleman (1990)—better known as the “Coleman boat” or the “bathtub model” because of its shape. The causal macro-relation between public policy and improved societal well-being can only work through disaggregated effects at the micro level; therefore, arrow 1 in Fig. 8.3 is presented as an indirect effect. Accordingly, to improve immigrants’ contribution to societal well-being, public policy should primarily focus on its basic entities: the individual migrants.

Two key domains of migration policy are (1) the creation of a macro-environment where immigrants can flourish and (2) the provision of accurate



**Fig. 8.3** Macro- and micro-level propositions: Effects of efficient public policies on immigrants’ contribution to society. *Note:* The arrows indicate pathways of causal influence. Arrow 1 and 5 are dotted to clarify that the causal effect is (mostly) indirect

information to potential and existing immigrants so that they can develop better orientations to capitalize on their potential. An example of an environmental constraint is the ethnic penalties that still exist on the labor market. An example of the government's influence on immigrant orientations is the provision of information to immigrants regarding what they can expect of living in the host society. The macro-micro transition is displayed by arrow 2 in Fig. 8.3 and indicates the impact of migration policies on the constraints (in case of inefficient policies) or opportunities (in case of efficient policies) experienced by the individual immigrant.

Migrants' orientations and experienced constraints affect the migrants' deliberate and undeliberate actions to achieve greater happiness and other relevant goals (arrow 3). Assuming that migrants are rational actors, less constraints and the correct orientations can be expected to result in greater personal happiness. As discussed in the broaden-and-build theory, happier people achieve more in life because they engage in more constructive behavior. The aggregation of better functioning individual immigrants creates a greater contribution of the immigrant population to societal well-being (as illustrated by the micro-macro transition; arrow 4).

Finally, a loop is created because immigrants' greater societal contribution can be expected to result in a greater willingness to employ immigrants, a more positive attitude of natives towards immigrants, and ultimately, a more positively oriented immigrant policy and better macro-conditions for immigrants (arrow 5). Overall, Fig. 8.3 illustrates that (1) immigrants are unable to flourish without the support of public policy and (2) greater happiness for immigrants is also a desirable goal for society-as-a-whole. Thus, better policies and better decisions among immigrants can result in a win-win situation for the individual immigrant and the receiving society.

### **8.3 How Can Happiness Insights Explain the Disappointing Outcomes of Migration?**

Sections 8.3.1–8.3.4 provide a more detailed discussion on the factors that cause suboptimal happiness outcomes in each of the four domains in Table 8.1.

#### ***8.3.1 Suboptimal Outcomes of Potential Immigrants***

From a migrant perspective, an initial prerequisite for a successful migration experience is to only migrate when migration offers the potential for a better quality of life (often in terms of happiness). When multiple destinations offer the possibility for migration (e.g., in open border areas), selecting the most favorable destination country is an additional choice that must be made. By “voting with their feet”,

migrants reveal a preference for living in the host country. Therefore, it is generally assumed that immigrants also actually obtain a happier life through migration. However, in practice, a considerable share of immigrants do not achieve greater happiness through migration even though they often obtain a better objective well-being (Hendriks 2015; Stillman et al. 2015).

Happiness studies suggest two main causes for inaccurate migration decisions. First, as discussed before, immigrants are overly driven to improve their (economic) living conditions, whereas non-pecuniary factors affect lasting happiness because they are less susceptible to adaptation (Bartram 2011; Olgiati et al. 2013). Consequently, people tend to overestimate the value of macroeconomic factors in their migration decision and underestimate the importance of the social climate (Hendriks and Bartram 2016). For instance, Chow (2007) demonstrated that non-economically motivated immigration from Hong-Kong to Canada is associated with higher happiness, whereas economically motivated migration is not.

Second, people's outcomes are indirectly affected by inaccurate expectations. Immigrants often have overly high expectations of the move, which commonly results in disappointment. For instance, Bartram (2011) reveals that immigrants in the USA had lower financial satisfaction compared with natives with similar incomes.<sup>3</sup> Several issues cause incongruence between an immigrant's pre-migratory expectations and post-migratory outcomes. First, immigrants must base their expectations on imperfect information regarding the host country. Often, migrants have no personal experiences with residing in the destination country (or any other country than their home country). Therefore, their knowledge of their potential life circumstances in the destination country comes from selective information that is provided by formal channels (e.g., government officials), informal channels (e.g., internet, television, or personal contacts) or personal experiences (e.g., from personal holidays or business trips to the host country). These sources often present an overly favorable image of the host country (Hoxhaj 2015; Mai 2004). Second, people typically have an optimism bias regarding their own capabilities to transform more livable macro-conditions to better personal conditions (Weinstein 1980). Third, misperceptions of what a happy life constitutes play a role. For instance, migrants may become disillusioned when greater objective well-being does not result in greater subjective well-being (Stillman et al. 2015). Ultimately, the inaccurate managing of expectations creates decreased functioning and happiness in immigrants (Benson and O'Reilly 2012; Mähönen and Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013).

These suboptimal outcomes for immigrants also lead to suboptimal outcomes for the host country. Migrants who feel dissatisfied with the move are more likely to be involved in negative behaviors and attitudes, such as lower productivity and higher hostility towards natives (Johnson and Fredrickson 2005). Better informing

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<sup>3</sup>This result does not necessarily mean that people have unrealistic expectations in each domain or context. For instance, McKenzie et al. (2013) do not find evidence of unrealistic income-expectations among the Tongans who have moved to New Zealand, but the authors explain that this finding may depend heavily on the specific culture of Tongans.

potential immigrants regarding how their lives will likely be in the host country can lower the number of disillusioned and non-contributing immigrants.

### ***8.3.2 Suboptimal Orientations in the Host Country***

With the correct orientations, immigrants should become happier over time because they gradually re-build their social network and adapt to life in the host country. In practice, a large body of research has found no clear upward time trend of migrants' happiness in the host country (Obućina 2013; Safi 2010). Consequently, immigrants are consistently shown to remain less happy than natives (Hendriks 2015). The adverse life circumstances of immigrants can only partly explain why they are less happy than natives; other key explanations are that immigrants participate less in the social environment, they are lonelier and receive less support from other people, and they feel less appreciated by other people. These disadvantages are less prominent for people who are better integrated. Immigrants are often criticized for not sufficiently investing in social and cultural integration in the host society. Limited integration is also not in their own interest; a dearth of studies have consistently shown that immigrants are happier when they are culturally integrated (Berry et al. 2006; Virta et al. 2004) and socially integrated (Herrero et al. 2011). Thus, the focus of immigrants on improved living conditions is a valuable orientation in becoming happier, but it is insufficient to reach their aspirational happiness level.

### ***8.3.3 Suboptimal Admission Policies***

An obvious starting point for discussing migration policy is to examine how countries can attract the "best" immigrants (if we can even speak of right and wrong). The restrictive admission policies and hidden agendas of some policy makers raises the question regarding to what degree policy makers should attract and admit immigrants, and subsequently invest in them (although societal benefits should not be the sole criterion for migration policies; normative arguments, such as human rights, should play a significant role in admission- and integration policies). Using a migrant's potential economic contribution as the main criterion for an admission policy generally results only in a slightly positive fiscal outcome for the host country (Dustmann et al. 2010; OECD 2013a) and has a negligible impact on wage rates and unemployment rates (Manacorda et al. 2012; Pischke and Velling 1997). The focus of countries on attracting immigrants who are considered to be highly skilled or who have skills that are in demand implies that there is substantial heterogeneity in the economic contribution of different immigrant groups. "Undesirable" immigration streams, such as illegal immigrants, mainly comprise lower skilled people. Thus, strict admission policies are understandable from an

economic point of view because the economic contribution of some immigrant streams may not be positive. However, the economic and non-economic contribution of an immigrant group is not necessarily similar. Some immigrant groups may have a positive economic contribution but do not constitute a good match with the social and cultural climate in the country; for instance, they may cause social or social tensions in society. Of course, it is also possible that a group does not contribute economically but provides non-economic benefits. An obvious example is a parent who cares for his or her children and teaches them norms and values. Moreover, the happiness economics literature shows that micro- and macroeconomic aspects only have a limited impact on happiness (Clark et al. 2008). This finding indicates that the benefits of immigration may be greater in countries with admission policies that take a more holistic approach (rather than focusing only on immigrants' economic contribution). Current research has not explored this proposition. However, recent attempts have been made to capture the impact of immigration (and the current admission policies) more generally by using happiness as the outcome measure. Betz and Simpson (2013) and Akay et al. (2014) relate the subjective well-being of natives to incoming immigrant flows by using a cross-country analysis of European countries and a regional analysis in Germany, respectively. Both studies find a slightly positive effect of immigration on the subjective well-being of natives, which is consistent with the general economic contribution. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the economic contribution and the contribution in terms of happiness may differ in certain regions and for certain migrant groups. Thus, economic- and happiness *indicators* show similar contributions of immigration but *policies* that take a more holistic approach may perform better (both in terms of material welfare and happiness).

### 8.3.4 *Suboptimal Integration Policies*

After attracting the potentially contributing immigrants, the next step is to facilitate a good functioning of these immigrants. As discussed in Sect. 8.2.3, a better functioning of immigrants results in more positive outcomes for them, which increases their economic contribution to the host society. For instance, Phinney et al. (2001) argue that integration is crucial for building the psychological capabilities to contribute to society, which includes the absence of important stressors that impede one's performance (e.g., loneliness) and the willingness to contribute. Immigrants have difficulties in flourishing because they encounter many obstacles in the host country that they cannot overcome by themselves. A first role of integration policies should be the elimination of the constraints that migrants experience in the macro-environment to reach their happiness goal. A second role of integration policies should be to support immigrants in the development of better orientations. This support requires that we actually identify the crucial inaccurate immigrant orientations and constraints/opportunities in the environment. Happiness insights on orientations were discussed in Sect. 8.3.2. Therefore, the focus here is

on constraints in the environment. The happiness of immigrants is more affected by the adverse effects experienced from the negative attitude in society towards them than by macroeconomic constraints (Hendriks and Bartram 2016). This closely relates to the observation that non-economic worries, such as worries concerning decreased social capital and cultural deprivation, play a considerable role in the societal tension between immigrants and natives (Alesina and La Ferrara 2000; Putnam 2007; Rustenbach 2010). The tension causes more ethnic violence and less willingness among immigrants to integrate (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2009), which ultimately results in the decreased well-being for both immigrants and natives (Knabe et al. 2013). Thus, happiness studies suggest that suboptimal happiness outcomes are not caused by only economic constraints, but there is a particular role for cultural and social constraints. Therefore, the current policies do not adequately cover happiness outcomes because of their focus on the creation of better living conditions and life-abilities.

## 8.4 Conclusion

Immigrants and their receiving societies have been struggling for years to obtain satisfactory migration outcomes, whereas migration is believed to offer great potential in bettering the lives of both immigrants and natives. People generally hope for a happy and satisfactory life and it is thus straightforward to examine their outcomes in terms of happiness. A key reason for suboptimal outcomes is the inaccurate orientations of immigrants and migration policies. It is generally assumed that improvements in one's living conditions (objective well-being) automatically lead to improvements in one's happiness (subjective well-being). Consequently, immigrants mostly base their migration decisions on improvements in living conditions, particularly greater monetary welfare. Immigrants continue to concentrate on achieving better living conditions in the host country. Likewise, migration policies often follow the traditional economic approach and Amartya Sen's (2001) capabilities approach; these approaches imply that admission- and integration policies are mostly focused on improving the livability of the environment and the life-abilities of immigrants. Although these approaches are certainly valuable, they are not sufficient for optimal migration outcomes because it does not fully capture people's happiness determinants. For instance, it excludes the expectations and aspirations that immigrants have when they move, the degree of adaptation to better conditions, and their perceptions regarding themselves and their environment. Consequently, immigrants generally overestimate the importance of extrinsic attributes (e.g., money), whereas they underestimate the impact of intrinsic attributes (e.g., friends and family).

Ultimately, a greater happiness of immigrants will also lead to their greater contribution to society because happier people contribute more to society. Given that immigrants cannot reach their potential subjective well-being by themselves, dedicated policies are needed to improve the subjective well-being of immigrants.

These policies can support immigrants in developing better orientations (i.e., evidence-based choices) and diminish the constraints that obstruct immigrants' happiness. Overall, complementing the current approaches with a consideration of happiness offers significant potential in promoting better outcomes for both immigrants and the native population.

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# Chapter 9

## Chapter House: A Vision for a Sustainable Future

Paul J. Prosser and Scott Cloutier

**Abstract** Since the Long Walks of the 1860s Navajo people have wrestled with the problems of acculturation and assimilation, while simultaneously trying to preserve their spiritual and cultural foundations. Though history has negatively affected Navajo wellbeing (happiness), sustainable Navajo principles and practices act as a positive counterweight. Aspiring to build the most socially and environmentally sustainable chapter house possible, the Navajo Nation's Tonalea Chapter approached our research team for insight and advice on replacement of their existing chapter house. Two visioning sessions were held, with an ASU team facilitating a wide ranging discussion of project context and history as well as some cultural background. During two roundtable discussion with Chapter elders and members, the team began creating a vision that embodies physical, functional and environmental conditions, as well as cultural and spiritual beliefs and values. Initially, Houde's (2007) Six Faces of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) were used to sort commentary. Analysis and review led to expanding the framework from six to eight traditional ecological knowledge categories (TEK8): Culture, Spirituality, Ecosystem, Time, Land, Design, Social Justice and Equity, and Economics. Sorted narratives and discussions revealed traditional ways of life, beliefs, and values as popular topics, along with suggestions about whom to design for, and what functions are most needed. Based on the TEK8 categorized comments, design recommendations were offered. Additional work is needed, but a strong foundation for a framework mapping TEK to sustainable design for indigenous people has been developed. By using the TEK8 to address social justices issues through participatory visioning, culturally appropriate design and broader opportunities for happiness may result.

**Keywords** Indigenous · Knowledge · Happiness · Sustainability · Navajo · Culture · Spirituality · Design

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## 9.1 Project Summary

The Tonalea chapter of the Navajo nation wants to replace their condemned chapter house with a new structure to house community activities, preserve their history, and educate members and visitors. Chapter members desire a sustainable building that respects nature and expresses the beliefs and values of their community. The Navajo term “Hózhó,”—the concept of balance and harmony in all things—being one of the most sacred. The purpose of this project is to assist the chapter in the creation of a vision for a new chapter house that addresses these goals. The final objective was to create a path to that vision, and ultimately a building that fit chapter expectations.

This study details traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) as a tool to broaden opportunities for happiness in community development projects. A brief description of the project engagement process is followed by an overview of the Navajo history and culture. Next, TEK and its applicability to sustainable projects in indigenous communities is discussed, drawing connections with happiness (subjective well-being). Drawing on previous research (Houde 2007), eight TEK dimensions (TEK8) are proposed as critical links to happiness in community development projects: Culture; Spirituality; Ecosystem; Time; Land; Design; Social Justice and Equity; Economics.

Six topics of discussion were presented at a workshop session for the chapter house visioning project in the spring of 2015: Spirituality; Culture and Identity; Time Perspectives; Management of Ecosystems; Land and; Design Interventions. Discussion during the meeting was organic, so comments related to the topic areas were not six separate conversations. After the meeting, comments co-developed with the stakeholders were assigned by the research team to the TEK8 dimensions and then translated into specific directions for the chapter house design and construction teams. The resulting vision is supported by co-developed stakeholder TEK, and “western”, or “conventional” research on Navajo history and culture.

In the process of completing this project it became clear that the conventional design and construction process is driven by existing technology, construction budgets, and project timelines. Local conditions, human factors, ecological context and long-term perspectives are typically considered unimportant to the process. As a result, short-term outcomes that favor expedience and efficiency proliferate, at the expense of contextually appropriate design.

By introducing TEK into the process, long-term social and ecological perspectives are introduced as counterweights to technology-heavy approaches. From an indigenous perspective, a holistic approach can be a return to epistemological roots. Spirituality and culture, long excluded human design factors, might increase design project acceptance and satisfaction rates. From a wellbeing perspective, incorporating the TEK8 as a foundation for sustainable design could make more opportunities for happiness available to the project users.

While interpreting TEK is a promising path for sustainable design, it is important to note that this study is written from the perspective of an outsider—a non-Navajo.

As such, the complete historical and cultural perspective of the Navajo is not represented in this text. The information that follows is based on a brief literature review and conversations with Navajos during the short research period. What follows is only intended to provide a broader context and setting for the project and not a definitive history of the Navajo people. Any shortcomings can be attributed to the cultural limitations of the writer and the time constraints placed on the project.

## 9.2 Project Background

In late spring of 2015, the Navajo Nation Tonalea Chapter approached a faculty member at ASU's School of Sustainability for insight and advice on replacement of the existing Tonalea chapter house. The chapter house, served as the community meeting place from the time it was built in the 1950s. However, structural failures led to building condemnation approximately three years ago. In July of 2015, the building was demolished. The Navajo Nation recently earmarked funds to build a new Chapter house on the same site as the demolished building. Realizing a once in a lifetime opportunity to serve long term community needs, the Chapter looks to build the most socially and environmentally sustainable building possible with the dedicated funds. Additionally, the Chapter requested the building represent Tonalea culture, while fulfilling community needs.

In response, two visioning sessions were developed and held, on March 17, 2015 and April 16, 2015, with small teams of ASU researchers. Chapter elders attended the first meeting—a wide ranging discussion of project context and history as well as some cultural background. A four-person research team and a larger group of Chapter members attended the second visioning workshop. During these meetings, the Chapter embarked on a visioning process that embodies physical, functional and environmental conditions, as well as cultural and spiritual beliefs, and values. Both meetings were free-flowing discussions where memories and ideas were shared in roundtable format. The first discussion was an unstructured conversation, while the second had an agenda to discuss six topic areas loosely based on Houde's (2007) Six Faces of TEK: Spirituality; Culture and Identity; Time Perspectives; Management of Ecosystems; Land, and; Design Interventions. Although they were mentioned at the start of the roundtable, they did not restrict the meeting structure. Following the meetings, the research team reviewed the comments as they related to the agenda topics. After review, four of the six topic titles were altered and two – Social Justice and Equity, and, Economics – were added based on the recorded commentary. Comments were sorted and listed within the TEK8 and are summarized in the "Initial Visioning Feedback for the Tonalea Chapter House" section of this document. Complete, sorted commentary lists appear in Appendix A.

## 9.3 Navajo History and Culture

This section of the study is written from the perspective of an outsider—a non-Navajo. As such the complete historical and cultural perspective of the Navajo is not represented in this text. The information that follows is based on a brief literature review and conversations with Navajos during the short research period. What follows is only intended to provide a broader context and setting for the project and not a definitive history of the Navajo people. Any shortcomings can be attributed to the cultural limitations of the writer and the time constraints placed on the project.

### 9.3.1 *Pre-colonial History*

Most archeological western science investigations (“digs”) were halted in the late 1970s as Navajo people were certified as archeologists and took over all archeological work on the reservation. Furthermore, the record of the Diné pre-colonial history in the southwestern United States is slim because little archeological work has been done in their homelands (Hartman and Doyel 1982). As most historical sites are sacred in Navajo eyes, the vast majority of archeological work has been protection, rather than excavation, since the early 1980s (Two-Bears 2006). Navajo people have a cultural bias to avoid places of the dead and so they view archeology as a cultural invasion (Thompson 2011). Further, the Navajo who lived in structures built from easily decomposable materials, occupied land abandoned by the Anasazi. Therefore, Navajo artifacts are hard to separate from more permanent Anasazi ruins, increasing the difficulty of establishing Navajo settlement timelines (Weisiger 2004). Despite the limited evidence, archeologists believe Athapaskan people, emigrated from the northern plains and settled in the four-corners area of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona between 1000 and 1500 AD (Brugge 1983; Hall 1944). They came as hunter-gatherers and diversified into agriculture and herding after arrival (Brugge 1983).

The first Navajo villages were built along the tributaries of the San Juan River. The area was so remote from colonial settlements that Navajo and Spaniard contact was irregular but violent between 1590 and the 1690 (Brugge 1983). Near the end of that period, the Navajos assisted the Rio Grande Pueblo tribe in a revolt against the Spanish. As the Spaniards pursued reprisals, violent interaction with the Navajo became more frequent (Hartman and Doyel 1982). While the Pueblo were living in community with them, the Navajo assimilated cultural influences from the refugees (Brugge 1983). Pottery and weaving artifacts show Pueblo influences in shapes of pots, and decorative patterns in pots, rugs, and baskets (Hall 1944; Brugge 1983).

### 9.3.2 *Colonial History*

In the early 1700s the Navajo were aggressively appropriating Pueblo territory and taking people into slavery, which led to conflicts with the Pueblo and Spanish colonists. Conflicts continued during the 1720s when Utes and Comanches tried to steal territory from the Navajo. From 1770 until the mid 1800s, American, Mexican and Spanish settler populations increased along with the number of conflicts. Navajo lacked immunity to diseases brought by Europeans to North America but seemed to weather resulting population declines better than other native tribes (Brugge 1983). In the mid-18th century, the increased pastoral lifestyle of farming and sheep herding, plus pressure from the Ute, Comanche, and Spanish, forced the Diné from the Dinétah (the mythic ancestral birthplace) north and west from the San Juan watershed into the Chaco Canyon area in northwestern New Mexico (Weisiger 2004).

The early 1800s brought Mexican Independence and found the Navajo at war with New Mexican inhabitants, backed by Mexico's government. Over time the conflict provoked a schism in the Navajo community. Some wanted peace by assimilation and others favored tribal independence. During this period, the American military acted schizophrenically, sometimes as a peacemaker and other times as antagonist, depending on their interests. At the heart of the problem was the procurement and trading of Navajos as slaves (Hartman and Doyel 1982; Brugge 1983). The conflict continued until the early 1860s when the United States government sent Kit Carson, under the supervision of US Army Brigadier General James H. Carleton, to capture Navajos and forcefully relocate them. In a series of "long walks", Carson marched large groups of Navajos over four hundred miles from Fort Defiance, Arizona. Marches began in late 1863 and culminated in July of 1864 with over 8400 gathered at Bosque Redondo, near Fort Sumner, in southeastern New Mexico (Brugge and Missaghian 2006). By 1868 more than 2000 Navajo had died at Bosque Redondo from disease and lack of food resulting from multiple years of crop failures (Reidhead 2001). In 1868, after the re-assignment of Carleton, Diné leaders Manuelita and Barboncito reached an agreement with General William Tecumseh Sherman allowing Bosque Redondo survivors to return to the Dinétah, as long as Navajos agreed to keep the peace. (Reidhead 2001.)

### 9.3.3 *Modern History*

Following the tribulations of the 1860s, the Diné re-established settlements, in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona. Sheep herding activities were restarted with animal stock provided by the US government (Henderson 1989; Thompson 2011). The Navajo built their sheep herds by moving them seasonally from low pastures in cool months to higher pastures in warm months, a process referred to as transhumance. These herding methods are considered reenactments of

the movements of the Navajo Holy People between sacred mountains and reinforcements of spiritual and family connections (Weisiger 2004). As sheep stocks peaked in the early 1900s, environmental issues such as overgrazing and topsoil erosion increased. In the 30 years following the restoration to ancestral lands, sheep became the main source of income, wealth, and status among the Navajo people (Thompson 2011), but also became a pressing environmental driver.

Fearing sedimentation from erosion would endanger the Boulder Dam project on the Colorado River, the US Federal government looked for ways to reduce erosion on the reservation (Weisiger 2007). In 1928, there were about one million sheep “units” (a calculation that converted goats, cattle, and horses into sheep equivalent units) on the reservation (Fonaroff 1963). By the early 1930s the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) created the Soil Erosion Service (SES), at the behest of the Soil Conservation Advisory Committee, to address soil erosion concerns on Navajo land. The SES’s main recommendation was to reduce the existing sheep units by 50% (Fonaroff 1963). The supporting argument was that herd reductions would restore grazing lands to safer carrying capacities, allowing the natural re-vegetation cycles to slow erosion and the flow of sediment into the Colorado.

The herd reduction policy was not well received on the reservation for several reasons. First, the policy was designed to reduce every herd owner’s stock by 50% regardless of size or composition of the herd. More than two-thirds of Navajo herding families were subsistence herders with 100 or fewer animals, so the inequity inherent in the policy impoverished them in the extreme as compared to the small number of larger herders (Henderson 1989). The policy was later revised to place the largest burdens on the large herd owners, but trust in the USDA had been lost by the time the policy was amended. Second, large-herd owners had land-in-use rights that prevented the use of transhumance grazing patterns and inhibited natural range grass recovery cycles. Third, the policy struck at the very essence of Navajo worldviews. Sheep herd size is not only important to family wealth and status, but quality of life and spiritual relationships are also connected to sheep. Sheep and goats provide food in the form of meat, milk, and cheese. Wool is a saleable commodity used for weaving rugs and other products that can be sold for profit or traded for other goods. Most importantly, sheep herding serves as a vital two-way, spiritual connection to the land and the Holy people.

Finally, the experience of government agents slaughtering livestock triggered highly emotional reactions and active resistance by the Navajo people, who are physically and spiritually connected to the land through their sheep. The reduction program was considered by the Navajo as a psycho-sociological trauma with social impacts similar to the “Long Walk” (McPherson 1998). Government agents forced people to comply without input. Livelihoods were interrupted and death by starvation was the expected result, if not a frequent occurrence. Slaughtered animals—family members to the Navajo—were mourned the same as human kin. By 1946 the herd reduction program destroyed the traditional Navajo economy (McPherson 1998). Navajo families continue to struggle financially with a median annual household income of \$20,005. The tribe estimates 43% of the tribal population lives in poverty today (Navajo Nation 2015).

### 9.3.4 Governance History and Structure

Prior to the colonial era, Navajo governance was a decentralized amalgamation of clan and band leaders within the larger group known as Navajo people or Diné. Each clan leader, a *naat'áanii*, was responsible for the care of the clan members (Lee 2014). Bands governed local clans under an assembly, known as a *naachid*, who addressed internal matters, intertribal affairs, hunting, and food gathering for the region. The last *naachid* meeting is said to have taken place in 1858 (Denetdale 2006). No rules or laws were codified to justify decisions made by the leaders and political leadership did not extend beyond the bands (Denetdale 2006). Persuasion, wisdom and sacred knowledge were the diplomatic tools available to clan leaders and members. Maintaining family and spiritual relationships was the focus in times of conflict (Lee 2014). To resolve disputes, elder men (*hastói*) and medicine men (*hataali*) served as intermediaries between the Diné and the Holy People (Denetdale 2006; Lee 2014).

Leadership was not conferred on men alone. Women also served as *naat'áanii* prior to the colonial period (Denetdale 2006; Lee 2014.) Following the “long walks” to Fort Sumner and Bosque Redondo confinement of the 1860s, colonial intervention disqualified women from leadership positions (Denetdale 2006), and separated the general population from direct interaction with leadership. Federal agents refused to recognize women in leadership positions, and imposed their patriarchal leadership structure on a matriarchal society with a history of gender-neutral leadership (Weisiger 2007). In the early 1920s the federal government reinforced its patriarchal control by appointing an all male Navajo business council to assist resource extraction companies doing business on the reservation. The council was headed by a federally appointed Commissioner who had final say over council decisions, effectively eliminating council autonomy (Denetdale 2006). With colonial governance structures in place, traditional Navajo decision making went from decisions based on deep experience, culture, and courage, to decision-making based on the number of votes for or against an issue (Lee 2014). Interestingly, this governance system has no ratified constitutional authority. In 1936 the “Business Council” attempted to enact a constitution but had it rejected by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). As a concession, the Secretary of the Interior offered a set of bylaws that established a Navajo Tribal Council. In 1938 the Business Council accepted the proposal. However, no tribal vote has ever ratified the creation of the council as a governing body. Subsequently, the Navajo people are governed by an un-sanctioned, federally imposed governance structure (Lee 2007). Currently, the Navajo Tribal Council supervises nine regional agencies that oversee 110 chapters. Chapter governance is similar to US cities and towns. They are semi-autonomous entities subject to oversight by larger regional and national institutions. In 1991 the council took a step further into euro-centric governance structures by adopting a three-branch (executive, judicial, and legislative) form of government, mirroring the United States federal system.

The legitimacy of this system is called into question not only because of its genesis, but also due to its inability to support the Diné spiritual and cultural ways of life (Riley 2007). A legal system based on European origins disintegrated the indigenous governance structures in numerous ways. For example, western property law preventing the movement of herds across multiple parcels is ill suited to transhumance land management practices held sacred by Navajo people. Symbolic sites are often destroyed or compromised because legal management tools gave the dominant society (colonials) privileges that disregard cultural, spiritual, or social traditions of indigenous people (Milholland 2010). The recent, and highly controversial, legal battle over the use of recycled water for snowmaking on the San Francisco Peaks ski areas is a recent example of discounting Navajo religious beliefs in favor of western practices (Dunstan 2010). Alfred (2009) argues that ongoing conflicts re-open social wounds that can only be healed by returning to an indigenous leadership structure.

### ***9.3.5 Spiritual and Cultural Foundations***

For the Diné their way of being is deeply rooted in the four sacred mountains that define the boundaries of the Dine Bikeyah (mythical homeland) and are home to the the Navajo Holy People. These four sites, Blanca Peak, Colorado (Sisnaajini) to the east, Hesperus Mountain, Colorado (Dibe Nitsaa) to the north, Mount Taylor, New Mexico (Tsoodzil) to the south and, San Francisco Peaks, Arizona (Dook'o'osliid) are where the natural and spiritual forces come together (Blake 2001; Lee 2006; Milholland 2010). In the Navajo origin story, the Holy People created the four clans with a man and woman, led them on a journey where they were protected by the four guardians—bear, lion, porcupine, and bull snake. Over time the clans wanted to turn back but Changing woman requested the Holy People to perform the Blessing Way (hózhóójí) at the place of emergence (Hajjinéi) and Gobernador Knob in rural New Mexico (Ch'ool'ii) to learn about the sacredness and power of those places. As the Holy people instructed, they stayed in those places and were taught the power and beauty of Hózhó and Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon (SNBH) (Lee 2006). Hózhó and SNBH are the philosophical tenets that have grounded the Diné in the concepts of balance and beauty in a complex world that is spiritually connected to all things animate and inanimate. The origin story is not based on a written narrative like the Christian Bible, so there is no definitive version. The version presented here is based on several pieces of western research literature and not on narratives shared with the research team by Navajos. By contrast, Navajo's personal interpretations might include variations on the origin story and its mythical beings—a phenomenon of spirituality not confined to Navajos or any other cultural group (Abelson 1979). Since the beliefs belong to the people it is their purview to decide what makes sense to them (Faris and Walters 1990). Cornstassel (2012) claims that, for a Native American, history is not maintained as a temporal timeline but is remembered in ceremonies, stories, and songs, tied to the cyclical rhythms of

nature. The process of remembering, not the accuracy of the story elements, is what brings balance to the community.

The temporal order and specific details of the Navajo origin story are not what is most important. The relationships between the Navajo, the spiritual beings, the Navajo language, and the land underpin Navajo life and the concept of SNBH. According to Lee (2006), SNBH at its simplest, defines a balance between what is good or not good in one's life. SNBH emphasizes harmony and balance, but relationships mediate imbalance. How an individual is oriented within his environment by the values of respect, reverence, kindness and cooperation with regard to the world, of which he is an integrated part, determines whether he is rewarded with the good things in life. Establishing the proper relationships based on these values is the basis for individual healing and wellbeing (Lewton and Bydone 2000).

Without creation stories and ceremonies, the four mountains, the Dinetah, the Holy people, and SNBH, the Navajo have no identity as a people (Lee 2006). Landmarks especially, anchor spiritual and cultural life of the Navajo. The locations of the four mountains as boundaries, the Holy People's creation of the four worlds and the significance of the cardinal compass points are pivotal to the understanding Navajo life (Braithwaite 1997). Their sense of place and kinship is centered on these geographic features, and is the source of community cohesion and energy (Milholland 2010). The four mountains, the four directions, the four seasons, and the four parts of the day are inseparable from the four worlds from which the Navajo emerged.

Equally inseparable from the Navajo worldview is the duality of male in female in every person, place or thing. Summer is male, winter is female, all people have a male "warrior" side and a "gentle" female side, and the Holy People, First Man and First Woman embody that duality (Braithwaite 1997).

### ***9.3.6 Barriers to Happiness on the Navajo Reservation***

After Navajos settled in what is now known as the Four Corners area of the United States, conflicts with neighboring indigenous groups foreshadowed a more violent future with colonials. Spaniards, carrying diseases and guns on horseback, were the initial group of European colonizers. Even so, the San Juan Mountains kept Spanish colonials off Navajo territory until around 1680 but the number of clashes increased over time. Following Mexican Independence, as Spanish power and presence waned, Navajo clashes with the US government increased.

The "Long Walks" initiated by the US Government and organized by Kit Carson, were the straw that broke the back of Navajo sovereignty. Even today the walks are an enduring source of social pain. The dislocation of a majority of the tribe ripped apart long standing human-to-human, human-to-nature, and human-to-spiritual world connections. For the Navajo, the injustice of the walks and subsequent internment fueled a long-standing distrust in the US Federal Government. The resulting quasi-constitutional governance and justice systems,

based the US model, are not reflective of traditional Navajo systems (Riley 2007) and are held in low esteem by Navajo people. The US ran the Navajo homelands as a tribal reserve from the late 1860s until the early 1950s. Midway through that period, the US Secretary of the Interior appointed various Navajo councils (in the 1920s and 1930s) in weak attempts at Navajo “self-governance.” To maintain control, the Secretary had final say in all council decisions (Lee 2007). The ineffectiveness of Navajo self-governance from that time still colors the perceptions of governance today. Those perceptions are evident in Navajo reactions to the EPA’s release of toxic mine waste into the Animas River. The Navajo view is that the EPA shirked its responsibilities of notification and clean up, and wreaked environmental havoc with farmers and herders. The Animas toxic spill episode further erodes a tenuous trust in the government and continues to limit economic opportunities (Paul 2015), and thus happiness opportunities, for the Navajo.

As we were told by several Navajos during this project, the multiple layers of bureaucracy from the Federal level on down through the tribal council, impose a tremendous burden on progress for the Navajo. Allocations of funds for any project must be approved by multiple agencies and can take years. An example is the process to repair homes in the Hopi-Navajo dispute zone. Navajo homes in the zone are subject to the jurisdiction of multiple Federal Agencies mediating the land dispute between Navajo and Hopi tribes. Under that regime, small roof leaks can become unhealthy conditions in homes because repairs require extensive documentation, and approval processes stretch out over multiple years. This lack of agency is a significant barrier to happiness.

A loss of agency came hand in hand with the destruction of the traditional Navajo economic system. The Federal government’s livestock reduction solution to soil erosion destroyed the sheep herding industry and drove a large segment of Navajos into poverty (McPherson 1998). Their loss of livelihood and identity as shepherds built powerful barriers to happiness opportunities.

Another barrier to happiness is the discounting of the Navajo worldview by a Euro-American derived governance system and a nation dominated by Christian believers in leadership positions. A lack of understanding by these dominant groups has led to destructive actions related to spiritually significant geographic features, like the use of reclaimed wastewater for snowmaking on Dook’o’osliid (the San Francisco Peaks), one of the four sacred Navajo mountains (Dunstan 2010). By undermining the spiritual foundations of Navajo society, wellbeing in the tribe is diminished.

Other Navajo cultural foundations have been undermined in the period of colonial dominance. Assimilation regimes, like “Indian” schools, separated Navajo children from families and the reservation to give them western educations. Children were not allowed to speak the Navajo language, dress in traditional Navajo clothing or follow Navajo spiritual principles (McCarty 2004). These education programs severed Navajo social connections, cut holes in cultural continuity, and interrupted the transfer of traditional knowledge between generations.

As a result, Navajo culture, language, and spirituality are disappearing to the chagrin of the people. The ongoing discontent is evident in a recent election conflict related to the requirement that the Tribal President speak fluent Navajo (Lovett 2014).

### ***9.3.7 Sustainable Heritage and Practices***

For the Navajo, sustainability is instinctive and culturally embedded. Their worldview, as we have noted above, is an interwoven system of inseparable connections between man, natural systems and spiritual beings. The complexity of the Navajo model exhibits their prowess as systems thinkers,

An excellent example of how the Navajo manage complexity is their historical methods for sheep herding. Transhumance, the seasonal movement of sheep between pastures, allows summer pastures to regenerate while sheep graze in winter pastures. As precipitation and temperature cycles change through the course of the year sheep are rotated to the alternate pasture, following the seasonal rhythm (Milholland 2010).

Sheep herding, and the use of sheep products, are the foundation of the traditional Navajo economy. The primary reason the Navajo raise sheep is as a protein food, but there are many other economic benefits. Sheepskin can be used as clothing or bedding materials. Sheep manure fertilizes land where crops are grown for human consumption, and pastures that provide food for the sheep. Sheep's wool is a source of income either in raw form or as woven goods that generate income. Herding sheep—using transhumance—on Navajo land is conservative approach to natural resource use in a sparsely vegetated, arid climate. Sheep don't consume nearly as much fodder as cattle, so marginal grazing land is more productive with sheep.

Permaculture, a farming method adapted to take advantage of local climate conditions, is another example of sustainable Navajo practice. Farming in a dry climate can be difficult without adequate water and nutrients. Navajos used micro-catchment basins to capture and manage rainfall for climate adapted corn, bean, and squash crops. In a low precipitation climate, catchment areas are sized to maximize water capture around each plant, and the relatively large area allows each plant to symbiotically draw from a large nutrient base (Fidelibus and Bainbridge 1995).

Finally, the Navajo principle of community harmony, in balance with individual needs, is a sustainable source of social capital. Knowing and believing, as a community, that everything is connected means individuals cannot opt out of community responsibilities. Furthermore, no individual is left to solve problems independently. Consequently, each community member's problems and successes belong to the community, and vice versa. Maintaining these community connections continuously generates social capital (Lemelin and Lickers 2004).

## 9.4 Technical Ecological Knowledge

### 9.4.1 *TEK in Indigenous Communities*

Sustainability research today is quantified, digitized and peer-reviewed before it is considered credible and reproducible by the scientific community. However, conventional science is not the only form of knowledge collection and development relative to sustainability issues (Thaman 2003). Local knowledge, sometimes known as traditional knowledge or indigenous knowledge is a non-scientific knowledge held by local residents that can be as credible as scientific knowledge. Layering traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), provided by long-term residents, over traditional scientific knowledge paints a more nuanced picture of ecosystem health (Brodnig and Mayer-Schonberger 2000; Gagnon and Berteaux 2009; Long et al. 2003). This layered method does not always operate as cleanly as might be hoped. To reconcile disparate South Pacific island epistemologies about marine resources, Calamia (1999) linked TEK data points via Global Information System (GIS) to allow the information to be used more effectively as a marine resource management tool.

GIS linked TEK is most useful when information shared with scientists by indigenous groups who hold, manage and release that information at their discretion. Negligent management, an absence of protection, or insensitive collection of TEK can lead to a multitude of problems. How TEK is collected can be as important as what is collected with regard to health outcomes (Cochran et al. 2008). Too often scientists extract TEK or indigenous knowledge (IK) to advance the body of scientific knowledge and leave indigenous groups without suggestions or pathways to solutions, thereby ruining trust and burning bridges to future sustainable solutions. A lack of shared values between the indigenous and scientific communities can also create trust issues when scientists share findings with peers without the permission or cooperation of the indigenous people from whom the data originated (Calamia 1999; Cochran et al. 2008). More, poorly crafted intellectual property right (IPR) protection can lead to economic exploitation by business, governments, and individuals. Expedience in addressing sustainability challenges, or preservation of TEK, can distort TEK/IK for political ends by portraying indigenous group narratives inaccurately (negatively or positively). Worse yet, TEK has been exploited by non-indigenous groups for financial gain without equitable benefit to the indigenous people (Brosius 1997).

Despite these problems and pitfalls, examples exist where TEK/IK are integrated with conventional science. Indigenous TEK researchers suggest that collaborative methods of gathering TEK must lead to institutions and governance structures supportive of the indigenous community if cross-cultural divides between indigenous knowledge and western science are to be bridged (Hill, et al. 2012; Whyte 2013). For instance, TEK/IK is being collected and integrated by indigenous groups and scientists to manage forest resources in Canada (Ballard, et al. 2008). TEK/IK can be used to verify and confirm scientific data models by providing intelligence

on the ground (Huntington et al. 2004). From these collaborative interactions and integration attempts, a subtler and more integrated understanding of ecosystems and indigenous epistemology, indigenous groups and scientists can provide better information to each other and manage resources collaboratively (Reid et al. 2002; Ruddle 2000). Knowledge integration frameworks, such as those examined by Bohensky, et al. (2013), are necessary if structural power imbalances are present. The success of Walsh et al. (2013) framework highlights the importance of cross-cultural engagement as well as intergenerational teaching and learning.

To better guide inquiry and integration, epistemological TEK frameworks are being developed and tested using participatory methods (Cullen-Unsworth et al. 2012). Though this builds scientific capacity within indigenous groups and wider support for resource management strategies with the indigenous community (Cullen-Unsworth et al. 2012), shifting cultural values, beliefs and practices complicate participatory methods (Cocks 2006). Therefore epistemological frameworks continually evolve. At best, epistemological frameworks are incomplete models of reality, and thus researchers can't claim a complete understanding of indigenous knowledge systems lest they imperil relationships with the indigenous groups they seek to understand (Walsh, et al. 2013).

To better codify and understand the worldviews of native people, Houde (2007) developed a six-dimension framework that considers knowledge systems, values, beliefs, cultural identity and cosmological views that can be applied across a variety of people groups. The universality of this framework may lead to better comparisons cross-culturally and some standardization of results in the preservation, conservation and management of socio-ecological systems (SES). However, Houde's model does not provide a solutions framework that balances the development of human-built structures within the confines of an SES.

Within the enormous body of research on TEK systems, their usefulness in augmenting conventional scientific research and the ethical social responsibility's needed for fully realized sustainable development, there is little mention of portability to small scale development. Projects that leverage "local" knowledge in old, ethnic, urban neighborhoods, or rural towns, using the same methods seem rare or undocumented. This project aims to apply principles and frameworks for understanding and applying TEK/IK to scale down to "local" situations.

### ***9.4.2 Happiness and Technical Ecological Knowledge***

Quality of life and happiness (subjective wellbeing) on the Navajo Reservation, in the American Southwest, seems to be primarily linked to cultural and spiritual identity (Lee 2006). As discussed above, the concept of Hózhó is central to individual and community wellbeing. Living in balance and harmony with the ecosystem (Mother Earth), community members and spiritual ancestors is embedded in every activity of Navajo life. To exclude spiritual and cultural dimensions

from any description of Navajo happiness or wellbeing is anathema to their way of life.

However, western science rarely considers cultural and spiritual dimensions when conducting research. TEK is a series of long-term observations of complex geological, biological, meteorological, and temporal information interpreted through a human cultural and spiritual lens (Snively and Corsiglia 1998). Western science, a much different lens than TEK, typically observes data over shorter time frames with precise measurements of isolated indicators. Socio-ecological knowledge describes complex systems that link physical and spiritual human beings with nature – a series of nested and interlinked natural sub-systems that include human beings. Indigenous groups understand the complex relationship between humans and nature as an indivisible, complex system, while western science, in its precision, tries to understand subsystems, isolating humans as exogenous actors. Whyte (2013) argues both epistemologies are valid but socio-ecological knowledge is most useful when developed collaboratively while allowing room for the legitimacy of both perspectives.

The local knowledge framework for this project, adapted from the “Six Faces of Traditional Ecological Knowledge” (Houde 2007), includes eight dimensions: Culture, Spirituality, Ecosystem, Time, Land, Design, Social Justice and Equity, and Economics (TEK8). Five dimensions connect directly with Layard and Layard’s (2005, cited by Ott 2006) “Big Seven” factors for happiness: family relationships; financial situation; work; community and friends; health; personal freedom, and; personal values. However, given the nature of Layard’s factors and their existence inside every human being, their connections with the TEK8 need clarification. The following discussion of the TEK8 explains the logic behind each of the new categories.

### 9.4.3 *Culture*

Writ large, culture is a way for man to organize thoughts about philosophy, myth and religion, language, art, history and science, When that organization of thought is shared over many generations, within a group of people, it can be defined as a culture (Cassirer 1972.) More pointedly, Hofstede (1984) defines culture as ‘the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another.’

Given that cultures are constructs shared by individuals, personal values, family relationships, community and friends, and work (four of Layard’s “Big Seven”) might influence the definition of culture. From a culture’s organizational framework, values, beliefs, attitudes, customs, and social identities are formed and shared. And for each disparate culture in the world, the forces of nature and nurture create and maintain a common epistemology or worldview. Culture evolves over time as the human experience of the world changes and forces affecting that experience ebb and flow.

To a lay-person, culture might be experienced through artifacts (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952) and other tangible items they can see, hear, touch, taste or smell. However, these may only be representations of culture not the underlying shared behavior cognitive constructs, or shared patterns and behaviors of a distinct social group. Houde (2007), in his dissection of TEK, may separate culture and identity, ethics and values for the purpose of discussion, but they are linked and understood by human beings within a cultural context.

Cultures may be classified along a continuum that has collectivist and individualistic cultures at opposite ends. Collectivist cultures, like the Chinese culture, are often relatively homogenous, predominately populated by people who consider themselves like everyone else, are interdependent with other members of society, and for whom the prototypical social relationship is the family. On the other hand, individualistic societies are commonly pluralistic, with members who see themselves as different from everyone else, value independence for the individual, and have the marketplace as the prototypical social relationship (Triandis 1993). Perceptions and behaviors of collectivist and individualistic cultures differ based on how members of those cultures perceive the world. Collectivist cultures see the environment as something to which flexible people must adapt. Individualist societies see people as stable beings regardless of the environment in which they find themselves (Triandis 2004).

There are other behavioral trends that correlate with collectivist and individualistic cultures. Communication that relies more heavily on context rather than content is a trait of collectivist cultures. Workplace managers in individualistic cultures are not as involved in the personal lives of their employees as those in collectivist societies. That is not to say every individual in a culture hews to the dominant organizational trend. Allocentrics (collectivists) coexist in individualistic cultures, just as minorities of idiocentrics (individualists) do in collectivist societies. To assume a group is strictly homogenous might be erroneous (Triandis 2004). Therefore it is critical to understand the cultural context prior to working with cultures outside of one's direct experience.

In the context of ecosystems, Houde (2007) focuses on cultural land rights and artificially separates underlying cultural epistemologies, from values and identity, as they inform decision-making within a system. Knowing what cultural values or beliefs are locally inviolable is critical to implementing strategies and solutions on indigenous sites and could expose contraindications of success. The more TEK applications make cultural contexts of participating stakeholders apparent, the more likely they are to enhance co-education and uncover solution options more acceptable to indigenous stakeholders.

#### **9.4.4 Spirituality**

For the purposes of this conversation and analysis, shared spirituality by an indigenous group is the realm in which we will explore TEK and its usefulness in

building sustainable solutions and visions. The absence of spirituality in conventional development, much less sustainable development, has failed to alleviate poverty, right inequality, create sustainable solutions, or increase happiness (Ulluwishewa 2014).

As mentioned earlier in discussion of Navajo spirituality, belief systems exist in both the personal and social realms. The spiritual dimension of TEK occupies both these realms, whereas western scientific knowledge systems largely avoid this dimension in the literature, except when specifically focusing on the psychology or sociology of spirituality (Tse et al. 2005).

Though cosmology is a high level framework for understanding spiritual systems, cosmological elements of a belief system may not always be shared by every individual within that shared system (Abelson 1979). A shared system is often referred to as a religion, but that term also limits the definition of spirituality. Religion, because of its association with organized, institutionalized faith systems (Oman 2013) is not broad enough to include spiritual communities that have spurned pedagogical bureaucracies. Indigenous communities often have shared belief systems, not religious institutions per se, but belief systems are fundamental to maintaining a cosmological construct.

Mayans, Aztecs and Incas did build temples and other structures related to spiritual practices but those institutions were embedded in broader governance institutions. Religion has been brought to indigenous communities by outsiders and remained in place with these communities with varying degrees of acceptance.

Though Houde (2007) refers to cosmology as the worldview that ties his other 5 dimensions together, our framework sees spirituality as embedded moral values and beliefs separate from, but strongly linked to, cultural values and beliefs. Culture and spirituality are the team of horses that pull the wagon full of life's goals toward a higher moral plane.

#### **9.4.5 *Ecosystem***

Ecosystem science emerged as field of study after World War II and then developed into a scientific discipline as a result of the environmental movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Scientific theorists defined ecosystems as self-organizing and complex collections of interdependent natural components. As the system components interact, they produce non-linear emergent outcomes, greater than what could be produced by the sum of the parts (Muller 2000). Recently, ecosystems have been studied as complex adaptive systems (CAS) because the large number of ecosystem variables at play defies the reductionist, linear analysis of traditional applied science (Haeussler 2011).

One way to classify ecosystems is through the Biogeoclimatic Ecosystems Classification (BEC) system, which categorizes ecosystems by site, climate, and vegetation variables (Haeussler 2011). BEC identifies and classifies terrestrial settings but is silent about marine systems. The most common way to analyze

ecosystems is through an SES lens using Ostrom's (2009) SES analysis framework. In that framework systems are composed of users, governance systems, resource systems and resource units. This human-in-nature analysis method can be used in either terrestrial or marine settings, and is not reliant on pre-determined classification options. The SES framework focuses on systems dynamics and the significant variables within the system bounds. Interactions between those components determine outcomes and external impacts on related ecosystems and can be used for SES management (Ostrom 2009). Berkes (2009) suggests that TEK in combination with either BEC or CES might provide a better framework for ecosystem analysis and management. The argument is that climate change has fundamentally altered ecosystems in a way that none of the three frameworks can model comprehensively, so the science has to evolve to match the new dynamics.

Many "western" scientists interested in ecosystem management have looked to TEK as a way to increase the volume of ecological knowledge (Simpson 2004) and assist in the development of management solutions for ecological systems (Berkes 2004). Of lesser interest are the cultural and spiritual components of ecological knowledge (Simpson 2004). Interestingly, as western science pushes CAS to a tighter embrace with TEK, indigenous groups are re-asserting their long-held view that ecosystems are complex systems, even though epistemologies, parameters and indicators differ from western science. The emerging openness of western science to accepting TEK as a legitimate knowledge system may be a case of too little, too late. In best-case situations local TEK has been retained and is still used by indigenous groups to manage the health of their ecosystem. Unfortunately, that is not always the case as colonial development activities, indigenous re-education programs, and unsustainable resource extraction reduced the institutional memory and capacity to respond to system health threats (Simpson 2001).

In Houde's use of the "factual knowledge of past and present uses," and "management systems" categories, he intentionally separates ecosystem functions from human use and interaction. Though some pristine ecosystems may exist outside of human contact or interaction, ecosystems of concern are only defined as such when human impact has compromised their function. In these cases the work of western scientists often uses restoration, preservation or conservation of the ecosystem as a defense against further human development. The purpose of the TEK8 framework is to find ways for both human development and nature conservation, or preservation, to coexist within a SES. Preservation, presumes we can return a SES to a previous state and we know which "undisturbed" state of being or function is the "right" one. With the advent of the Anthropocene, it's an inescapable fact that ecosystems and man are enmeshed – the definition of a SES. In that context, the TEK8 framework assumes that man and nature have shared interests, and are capable of a symbiotic relationship that produces mutually beneficial outcomes within SESs.

### 9.4.6 *Time*

In some cultures, like the Navajo (mentioned above), time is less important than connections with people or the physical and spiritual worlds. For western science time plays an important role in generalizing research results from a fixed observation period, and gathered over less than a decade or two. Whereas, TEK works on a generational time scale, where knowledge is accumulated in one place and passed down from mother to daughter or father to son over hundreds of years. Due to its generational time scale, TEK affords a reflexive menu of responses to ecological phenomena (Huntington et al. 2004). For example, Navajos herded sheep in a process referred to as transhumance, whereby sheep were moved to high pastures in summer and back to lower pastures in winter. Decisions to move sheep are based on a reflexive interpretation of seasonal weather patterns. Driving sheep between pastures is not based on a yearly calendar, but a complex assessment of temperature, precipitation, water availability, and fodder regeneration (Hoover 1931; Jett 1978).

Indigenous people did not have clocks or written calendars before colonists arrived on their ancestral lands. Time was marked by solar and lunar cycles. The moon and sun oriented people on a seasonal basis so hunting, gathering and farming was tuned to those cycles. Further, the availability of water, heat and wind, the rise of rivers and streams, and reproduction cycles of flora and fauna were observed in relation to solar and lunar activity. Keen observation of these relationships and the ability of indigenous people to manage local natural resources was dependent on their ability to interpret their temporal situation. Similar to people today, indigenous people likely managed their time to take care of economic, social, and personal business in a way that fits their lifestyle and rhythms of nature, but not by hourly fractions as occurs in western society today. Time is not and was not envisioned by indigenous people as a linear construct. For indigenous people, time is not open to an unknown future (Pinxten 1979). Time is understood as concentric cycles of increased intensity from season, to homeland, to community, and then falling in scale until it reaches the human heartbeat. Time is almost always interdependent with places and events. In the same way, being and belonging is indivisible from place (Muecke 2004). Now, with the theory of relativity conceiving of time and space as inseparable, it seems indigenous temporal concepts are validated (Aveni 2000). As the theory of relativity posits, when in time an event occurs, is dependent on where in space the observer was located with reference to the observed event.

Houde's (2007) work does not address time in this way. He approaches it from a linear basis, a series of events, a timeline with regard to past uses of land or resources. The cultural aspect of time is unmentioned. The TEK8 time dimension intends to fill that gap.

### 9.4.7 *Land*

For many indigenous groups land is not just space to live and grow, but a source of sustenance, identity, and community. Hunting, gathering and growing food on the land is a practical and necessary connection with the land. Knowing that ancestors have lived with the land and maintained it for the use of future generations is part of personal and communal identity. Continuing the traditional food system practices on the land connects indigenous people to past, present and future community members.

Places on the land have spiritual, temporal and communal significance. Geographic features are recognized for spiritual value. Rivers, streams, lakes and oceans are not only resources that sustain physical wellbeing, but are also connections to spiritual beings and worlds beyond. Ritual connects people to place and make places meaningful (Muecke 2004).

Man's dominion over the land and all the beings living on it is a construct not shared by indigenous people, though it has been the dominant Euro-American view. Prior to indigenous awareness of that view, human interconnections with the land and its features drove indigenous interactions with complex ecological systems (Muecke 2004). Knowing when and how to fish in order to encourage spawning activities, is an example of sustainable indigenous behavior connected to knowledge of the land. Other groups may have specific methods for planting that takes best advantage of both annual flooding and rainfall patterns to increase crop yields without fertilization or irrigation.

Understanding these traditional indigenous relationships with the land is critical to developing solutions that fit within that epistemological construct while enhancing the balance between man and nature. Houde (2007) alludes to this need in the "management systems" and "factual knowledge regarding past and present uses of the environment" faces of his framework. However, the "management" face does not address the indigenous view of man embedded in nature but hews to the Judeo-Christian belief that man has dominion over nature. And further, the "factual" face ascribes to the scientific need for quantifiable evidence while omitting reference to complicating factors like spirituality.

### 9.4.8 *Design*

Design is a series of small decisions in service to a large overarching goal. Intent is the human signal that the process of design has begun. Design of structures, especially architecture, is the manifestation of human intent to mediate the technological, environmental, and socio-economic conditions in which humans find themselves (Golany 1992). The relative permanence of any technological creation, or the presence of creature comforts associated with technology (architecture or otherwise), is often a result of lifestyle choices developed over time in response to

local conditions. A pattern of constructed responses to socio-ecological systems, evolved over centuries, underlies TEK about buildings or any other technology developed by indigenous groups.

Locally responsive design, in addition to responding to socio-economic, technical, environmental and cultural challenges, can be a driver of employment opportunities and community renewal (Fien et al. 2008).

Sustainable development, considers a broader, more inclusive design process in which what must be sustained (nature, life support and community) is closely linked but separate from what must be developed (people, economy and society) (National Research Council 1999). To achieve this end Fien et al. (2008) identified six guiding design principles that address indigenous people's needs:

- Cultural appropriateness—Meaning the incorporation of core cultural beliefs and norms through participatory methods;
- Environmental sustainability—ensuring form and design is responsive to the local environment and climate;
- Healthy living practices—making certain that comfort, cleanliness, nutrition and safety of the people are addressed;
- Employment opportunities and economic development —activities that may include skill development, job training and entrepreneurial pathways;
- Life cycle costing—finding ways to balance costs through finding the best value rather than the best price over time; and,
- Innovation in procurement, ownership and construction systems—finding ways to create value, as well as wealth, while innovating.

To include design as a dimension of the TEK8 is to acknowledge that action of any kind within a socio-ecological system is based on intent, and as noted above, intent is the starting point of design. Appropriate design is responsive to the local context. Context can no longer be defined as functional and climatic conditions. Therefore, context must include the epistemological perspectives of the local people.

#### ***9.4.9 Social Justice and Equity***

Houde (2007) presents valid points about how to preserve and manage socio-ecological systems within indigenous homelands. However, the importance of including social equity issues in the preservation and management processes is not addressed. Indigenous groups live in many areas that are “threatened” or “endangered” ecosystems. Conservationists often view their presence as a barrier to preserving and managing “wilderness” areas. However, this approach does not address historical losses of land use rights, maintenance of livelihood opportunities, or the right to participate in decision making processes about the SES (Timko and Satterfield 2008).

The TEK8 framework is designed to be mindful, and inclusive, of indigenous people's right to a dignified existence on the land of their ancestors. Their rights include a fair and just forum to pursue their own dreams for their land and future.

In the context of design projects, social justice and equity are best addressed in a participatory, collaborative process. From conception to operational assessment, space must be given for economic, social, cultural, and spiritual needs to be voiced and considered as design drivers.

When we think about indigenous needs in the context of colonial power a restoration of rights may not be the indigenous people's aim in gaining back their voice. As Corntassel (2012) argues, Native American people see the process as a resurgence or restoration of relationships to the land that drives the need for a voice. To Native Americans an acceptance of rights as defined by the dominant governance (colonial) system, does not remove the state-centric view from the process or allow for the re-establishment of the inseparable connections of man and nature.

“While Indigenous peoples do not tend to seek secession from the state, the restoration of their land-based and water-based cultural relationships and practices is often portrayed as a threat to the territorial integrity of the country(ies) in which they reside, and thus, a threat to state sovereignty. The politics of recognition highlights the shortcomings of pursuing rights-based strategies for Indigenous peoples desiring decolonization and restoration of their relationships with the natural world” (Corntassel 2012).

### **9.4.10 Economics**

When working with TEK toward sustainable outcomes, economic concerns fall into three realms: financial, natural, and social capital investment and growth. Financial capital refers to assets available to invest in enterprises, assets, projects, or ideas. In the financial realm, stewardship of capital and return on investment are of primary concern. Maximizing value, increasing efficiency and managing funds are financial stewardship goals. Of primary concern for natural capital is their ongoing availability. In the natural realm, understanding ecosystems, preserving intrinsic value, and maintaining natural stock levels (renewable and non-renewable) is a sustainable goal (Wackernagel and Rees 1997). Social capital is built on norms and networks enabling collective action, as well as the development of trust and reciprocity (Woolcock and Narayan 2000). For the social realm building community capacity, creating partnerships, and nurturing self-determination are goals to focus on.

If we extend the principle of working toward the best value over time in lieu of the lowest price, noted in the design dimension discourse above, to the natural and social capital realms similar trajectories can be articulated. To increase natural capital we might work toward balancing depletion and regeneration of natural resources. For social capital growth nurturing transparency and connectivity in stakeholder transactions could be the best vector for success.

In any case risks and rewards must be fairly distributed among stakeholder groups for an equitable distribution of capital in the three realms. A collaborative participatory process can only enhance understanding and illuminate motivations of the participants. Simpson (2004) that in addition to a participatory process, recovery of indigenous knowledge must be accompanied by a deconstruction of colonial (western scientific) thinking about TEK.

Outside of the cost/benefit paradigm we must be cognizant of the past tendency of commercially motivated and ethically challenged entities that have profited from the use of TEK without permission. Protecting the intellectual property rights (IPR) of indigenous people must be part of TEK based projects. The undeniable value of TEK as intellectual property may extend beyond the financial realm and into the natural and social arenas. From an historical perspective, knowledge that is valued in a SES is retained for future use because it is useful to the survival of individuals and community from whom it was developed. Once it has status as useful local information it can be said to be proprietary to the people who developed it as well as the SES in which it was developed. Therefore, the benefits of that knowledge must accrue to the proprietors. Furthermore, control of its use beyond the community must be the sole responsibility of those same proprietors. Collaborators and stakeholders from outside the community must take the ethical position that they are responsible for the protection of the indigenous community's IPR (Simpson 2004).

## **9.5 Tonalea Chapter House—Visioning**

The following information was co-developed in two stakeholder meetings held at the chapter administration facility on the Navajo reservation in March and April of 2015. The TEK8 dimensions that follow are listed twice under the headings “Chapter House Visioning Statements” and “Chapter House Design Recommendations”.

The Chapter House Visioning Statements summarize feedback (see Appendix A for all comments) from stakeholders as sorted into the TEK8 dimensions by the research team. Chapter House Recommendations are suggested design solutions that may guide or influence building design decisions or tradeoffs.

### ***9.5.1 Chapter House Visioning Statements***

#### **9.5.1.1 Culture**

One of the most referenced concepts discussed during the stakeholder meetings was the Navajo principle of Hózhó (balance and right relationship) as a way of being. Chapter members emphasized the need for balance in all aspects of life—particularly

relations between humans and nature. Diné (Navajo) traditions of the past represent ways in which balance was achieved before European colonization disrupted their way of life.

One of the many effects of colonization was the suppression of cultural foundations including Navajo language, traditional healing rites, and the recognition that everything comes from Mother Earth in the form of Changing Woman (Weisiger 2004). Participants expressed the desire to reconnect with their history and way of life, since the Navajo culture seems to be fading. Consequently, many comments referred to teaching young Navajos about food, rites of passage, traditions, language, and artistic expressions. Most importantly, chapter members expressed the need to pass along tribal history so that the sacrifices of their members were honored within the new chapter house.

When discussing building design ideas, stakeholders referred to the culturally iconic hogan. Comments referenced the hogan's physical form, building orientation with reference to cardinal compass points, and the interior organization of functional elements. According to Navajo tradition, hogans are entered from the east side. Once inside, people occupy specific parts in relation to cardinal compass points and status as participants. When a visitor enters from the east, they face the council of elders seated against the west wall with advisors to the council arrayed on the north and south sides of the building. Within a family hogan, compass points also dictate the physical arrangement of the space and where specific activities may take place. The chimney is considered the umbilical cord of the home from which life flows and is centered. For the new chapter house, these physical and cultural cues must be embraced and embodied.

Further, a wide variety of cultural topics were discussed including traditional Navajo relationships with flora, fauna, and local geographic features. For example, livestock are considered friends, all animals are sacred, and sagebrush is a representation of Navajo culture. Elephant's Feet, a local rock formation and Wildcat Peak are two features that are considered sacred by the chapter. Therefore the chapter house must connect to the natural world in a manner that respects and embraces these relationships. Using local, natural materials helps the structure become a part of the natural setting instead of an imposition, and indicates a harmonious relationship with the land.

### 9.5.1.2 Spirituality

Colonization challenged and suppressed many traditional Navajo spiritual institutions. As a result, other belief systems—most commonly Christianity—have been adopted. The visioning sessions highlighted varying spiritual beliefs and how they should be represented in the new chapter house. The inclusion of traditional symbols, colors and materials in the chapter house construction were discussed in the context of spiritual representations. White, black, yellow and red represent the four winds associated with cardinal compass points (McPherson 2012.)

For the project to represent the varying beliefs of chapter members, consensus must be reached about appropriate spiritual representations.

### **9.5.1.3 Ecosystem**

The Navajo believe in balance and harmony with nature as a part of their cultural ethos. Channeling rainwater, rotating livestock on pastureland and permaculture are traditional sustainable practices that have been increasingly neglected over time. Restoring those practices in concert with sustainable agricultural methods, as well as educating and training people to use them, is a functional goal for the new chapter house.

### **9.5.1.4 Time Scale**

During discussions with chapter members there were no specific comments that addressed timelines before or beyond the completion of the chapter house project. However, there was an urgency expressed to use currently available fund sources before they were re-allocated. Furthermore, many comments contained latent timescale references. For example, cultural comments often referred to historical events, and economic issues often referred to future economic development options. For vision goals to be measurable and realistic, time horizons must be assigned in order to measure success in the future.

### **9.5.1.5 Land**

Land on the reservation stretches as far as the eye sees. The Diné rely on the land because, as one female chapter member said, “everything comes from Mother Earth”. Throughout history, Navajo people have practiced farming and animal husbandry methods that compliment local carrying capacity. A return to indigenous food production is desirable from both human and ecological health perspectives. From a practical perspective, teaching stakeholders to grow food addresses the lack of fresh food available from retail outlets. The chapter house presents the opportunity to educate chapter members about food production in harmony with the land. The arid local climate makes precipitation, and therefore surface water, scarce. Chapter members want to practice and demonstrate ways to optimize the use of available water. Acreage around and near the chapter house site can be used as hands-on classroom space for learning about permaculture, dry farming and other sustainable agricultural methods. This is especially important given the lack of infrastructure, predicted drought trends caused by climate change, and regional over dependence on underground aquifers.

### 9.5.1.6 Design

Building topics including design, function, identity, organization, cost, and construction were the most common and extensive discussion threads during the two meetings. A topic of frequent commentary was the hogan. Making reference to that form and its component parts in the new building is especially important to the chapter. Chapter members indicated that Navajo decorative arts as well as culturally significant color associations are sources to be tapped for building decoration—interior and exterior. Navajo rug weaving patterns, rock art iconography, basket and pottery patterns or shapes, and sand paintings are inspiration sources for the chapter. To preserve the identity of the Tonalea Chapter, the new chapter house must serve as a repository of culture for both the chapter and visitors. The building and its decoration must tell the people’s story, and represent the culture through historical building forms. Additionally, it should serve to educate chapter members about the Navajo language, customs and history.

Green design was at the top of the agenda for many chapter members, though a chapter leader was the only one using that specific term to describe high performance building concepts. A building that is energy, water and waste efficient is of great value. Conserving these resources is not only an ecological goal but is seen as a way to reduce operational costs.

Functionally, the building is seen as a flexible multi-use facility. At the same time traditional rites and ceremonies must have the proper settings within and around the building. More authentic healing ceremonies, for example, could take place in the building or on the grounds if a traditional herb garden is also on-site. Chapter history and archives must be both on display, and stored in accessible archives. Display spaces dedicated to honoring veterans and ancestors are also needed within the structure.

### 9.5.1.7 Social Justice and Equity

Non-representative governance and social isolation were mentioned as an inheritance of colonial domination over the past three centuries. Though they try to move beyond the structural impediments imposed by governing bodies, many see autonomy as difficult to reach. Creating social and economic opportunities for members to move beyond the pain of the “long marches” is an aspirational goal for the chapter house project. Additionally, intra- and intergenerational differences on what the future might look like were raised during the meetings. How traditions, costs, and environmental impacts are passed on to future generations needs further exploration with the stakeholders to establish priorities. Making the project work for young, old, and in-between chapter members is also a priority. Workshop attendees also mentioned that allowing children’s voices to be heard as stakeholders is needed to increase social cohesion and preserve Navajo tradition.

### **9.5.1.8 Economics**

The project is also seen as a way to narrow the economic equity gap. Training chapter members how to build and maintain “green” buildings during the construction and operation of the building is seen as a way help chapter members begin new professions and adapt the principles to their lifestyles. The building can also be seen as a visitor center and an entrepreneurial incubator. Cultural education and immersion experiences can be hosted on site. Incubation of entrepreneurial business models might be a way to build social and economic equity for chapter members. Further, the building should prioritize lower operating costs over first costs.

## **9.5.2 Chapter House Recommendations**

Although the Tonalea chapter house visioning process is still in progress, enough information was gathered to provide guidance to the building project designers as they move forward. The project team should exercise extreme caution with this information. A complete visioning process (described later in this document) is required to arrive at a relevant, salient and coherent vision for the future chapter house. Therefore our recommendations can only be described as preliminary attribute descriptions that may fulfill the goals as relayed to the research team by the chapter.

### **9.5.2.1 Culture**

Within and on the building, create opportunities for artistic expression. Colors and patterns common to Navajo arts and crafts should be used sensitively and tastefully. Historical murals depicting significant events like the “long walks” or important geographical monuments are one way to tell the story of the Diné. As a supplement, historical archives to store artifacts, documents and archeological relics from the past are recommended. A display space for permanent and rotating exhibitions of items from the archive will help keep history alive in the chapter and a way to attract visitors. To support and promote the continued use of the Navajo language, bi-lingual signs may be installed across the site and within the building. For Navajo people, especially the youth, a language lab or classroom space will provide more opportunities for cultural reconnection within the chapter.

Physical mementos are excellent ways to reference the past while moving into the future. For example, the salvaged support beam from the demolished chapter house is an excellent remembrance of history and can become a catalyst for creating new memories. Architecture that carefully reinterprets the attributes and forms of traditional hogans is another method of celebrating history while moving forward. Eastern entry points to community meeting spaces and octagonal shapes are two possible ways to reference the hogan building form.

New outdoor spaces should be created for important community gatherings and rites of passage. Landscapes and gardens should demonstrate how Navajo people interact with flora, fauna, water, and landscape features. Traditional medicinal herb and vegetable gardens can educate locals and visitors about the health treatments and food ways of the Navajo.

### **9.5.2.2 Spirituality**

Resolving intra-chapter tension about how spiritual beliefs should be represented in the building and on the site is critical before design commences. For more harmonious outcomes, spaces used for worship should be designed using a participatory process to allow for a diversity of belief, and facilities that support the various faith communities—creating spaces that foster spiritual connections.

Generally, chapter members agree that the efficient use of energy, water, land and materials for building is tightly linked to their spiritual beliefs and practices regarding environmental stewardship. Building methods and materials that reflect that tribal heritage are as important as how rites and ceremonies for each of the faith communities are accommodated.

### **9.5.2.3 Ecosystem**

To support the belief that people are part of the landscape, building in harmony with the natural landforms, indigenous plants, surface water flows, wind and sun patterns is important to the chapter. Grading land to direct surface water flows and collect rainwater to support plant life and prevent topsoil erosion supports the integration of man, buildings, and nature. Using wind as a natural cooling force and sun as a natural heating (and energy) source not only integrates man and environment but sets a course toward resilience, away from dependence on costly equipment and infrastructure. Further, by relying on local natural materials for construction, nature becomes the structure as well as the infrastructure. Finally, to educate people about sustainable Navajo practices related to the ecosystems, learning spaces inside and outside are desirable.

### **9.5.2.4 Time Scale**

Timelessness, the feeling that things should go on forever if the traditional social, ecological and economic precepts are to be honored, was a common theme over the span of the meetings. The Diné are intimately connected through time to their numerous ancestors through multi-generational oral histories and were recited when we first met. The new chapter house should represent the timeless nature of the people through its longevity and design features, and not serve current trends. To reflect the long-term Navajo perspective, durable, low maintenance materials must

be employed for construction to reduce negative impacts on the ecosystem and on the finances of future generations. In short, build for the long-term gain not the short-term benefit as much as budgets permit.

#### **9.5.2.5 Land**

A Navajo value is to live harmoniously with the land, yet wastewater lagoons hold untreated water near the site. To match the local water conservation values an alternative treatment system could treat wastewater as resource instead of a disposal challenge. For example, artificial wetlands can treat wastewater to near tertiary treatment standards before reabsorption into the ground or as an aquifer recharge method. A side benefit of a treatment wetland is the development of a supportive habitat for local animal species.

To create additional healthy outlets for younger chapter members, specific play areas like play courts, fire pits and skateboard friendly areas were suggested as ways to use land. Attracting and keeping children on site with modern activities can provide space an opportunity for other longstanding cultural traditions to be passed down. Other benefits may include healthier lifestyles, stronger social affiliations and informal educational opportunities.

Demonstration gardens for traditional herbs, food and permaculture can also be teaching tools for locals and cultural experiences for visitors. Helping chapter members grow indigenous or adapted plants for healthy food in a food desert like Tonalea can improve the wellbeing of its citizens.

#### **9.5.2.6 Design**

Spatial organization of the new chapter house should help users harken back to traditional hogans. The building should have entry from the east, the octagonal Hogan shape, fireplace in the room's center, and orientation of people to the cardinal compass points. More importantly, all spaces must have the flexibility to serve multiple user groups. For example, a space designed to conduct large chapter business meetings can also be used as a space for weddings, memorial services and other rites. Movable or folding partitions are a way to improve flexibility to make smaller or larger spaces by judicious placement.

Cultural design elements noted for inclusion are murals depicting chapter history, colors signifying cardinal compass points, painted Navajo craft patterns on walls, and symbolic representations of the "two worlds" —spiritual and temporal. Historic artifacts, such as an inscribed structural beam salvaged from the demolished chapter house, can be incorporated into the building as historical icons. More contemporary emblems, like the chapter seal, should also be prominently displayed.

Construction of the building must harmonize with available resources. Local, natural materials such as wood, rammed earth, or stone are seen as sustainable choices by the chapter. Using materials like these was mentioned as a way to spread

hope by connecting people with their land and as a possible opportunity for economic development. The use of labor intensive materials creates more local employment opportunities, green building education opportunities, and opportunities for widespread use of these technologies locally. Pre-assembled high-tech materials and methods shipped to the site do not have the potential for triple bottom line benefits to the chapter.

Construction costs are an important area of concern since financial resources are limited for the chapter house. To further defray ongoing costs, building with low maintenance materials and offering leasable space are strategies that may benefit the operational bottom line. In addition to the construction budget, maintenance and operational costs are of concern. Strategies to limit the need for costly mechanical systems include taking advantage of natural heating via passive solar design, cooling with cool towers and cross-ventilation to avoid mechanical heating and cooling. These alternative systems have the added benefit of simple technology that require a lower skill threshold for maintenance and easier sourcing of repair parts.

On-site solar and wind energy generation methods are favored as energy sources, as is sunlight for daytime interior illumination in lieu of electric lights. Water efficient plumbing fixtures, graywater systems, and rainwater capture and storage systems are effective methods for reducing water use.

### **9.5.2.7 Social Justice and Equity**

At the stakeholder meetings it was inferred that young Diné are leaving the reservation because they feel isolated from American society at large, and have limited future prospects on the reservation. An immediate solution is to include young people as stakeholders in decisions related to the chapter house vision. A possible solution to reducing feelings of isolation is to provide broadband connectivity and computer technology that connects young people with their peers on and off the reservation. Connectivity may also foster new educational and entrepreneurial activities as well as development of computer skills. Resources equivalent to off-reservation peers could slow the search for opportunity off the reservation.

Further, connectivity can be used as a way to bridge the political and geographic divides experienced by both young and old chapter members. Tonalea is a 4–5 h drive from Window Rock, the governance center for the reservation. Technology can help bridge the political access barrier. Online conferencing and town halls are potential ways to have more voices heard without driving to meet with tribal leaders. Installing video-conferencing infrastructure within meeting rooms and halls can meet this need.

### **9.5.2.8 Economics**

Unemployment and poverty are ongoing reservation challenges. Economic development through entrepreneurship is seen as one possible path out of poverty. Another is to use the chapter house as a demonstration project and a learning environment to educate Navajo tradesmen. Green building methods used in the building could be educational and vocational opportunities for young people. Exposure to these methods, systems, materials and techniques might inspire future study or work in the discipline. Further, hands on experience in building materials and methods during construction could provide relevant experience opportunities for the unemployed.

Authentic cultural experiences for visitors and historical displays can also be used to create jobs and income for the community. Traditional food preparation classes, craft workshops or other Navajo experiences could be offered to visitors seeking cultural immersion experiences. Those experiences could be hosted or initiated within the chapter house by entrepreneurs. More, partnerships with local businesses who provide services locally and need lease space is another potential source of revenue, as well as an opportunity for real estate management training for chapter members operating the chapter house.

## **9.6 Research and Visioning Next Steps**

The original intent of this project was to create a vision for the future construction of the Tonalea Chapter house on the Navajo reservation, using a collaborative, participatory process to develop TEK and use the resulting TEK as a basis for building design. Due to circumstances beyond the control of the research team, the visioning process was interrupted soon after it began and the impetus to continue was lost.

If the project were to continue, several steps should be taken to develop a clear vision for the chapter house:

1. Develop a comprehensive visioning process, participatory methods, and quantitative and qualitative metrics for success.
2. Execute a comprehensive visioning process.
3. Evaluate the vision against quantitative and qualitative visioning criteria.
4. Conduct comment periods and stakeholder surveys to confirm visions consensus.
5. Document visioning process, methods, and outcomes.
6. Hand off visioning documents to a design team selected by the chapter.
7. Create a collaborative process between the visioning team and the design team to monitor design decisions, provide clarification and mediate tradeoffs that come up in the design process.

8. Review design for compliance with project vision. Revise as needed.

There are two views of a successful visioning that need to be considered. From the Navajo point of view, Lee's (2014) succinct Native American perspective on visioning is an interesting starting point.

Many past leaders had visions and dreams, which they used to guide the people. Dreams also helped them to confront challenges the people were facing. Cajete details the basic principles of visioning: (1) visions are always holistic; (2) visions unfold through symbiotic cooperative activity with others in a complementary give-and-take relationship; (3) visions have an innate pattern characteristic of both the individual and the inherent nature of the vision itself; and (4) visions and their implementation teach us about the nature of learning as a journey toward a greater level of completeness. Visions will be needed to help develop the plans the communities want to follow. (Lee 2014)

Blending the Native American visioning characteristics above with Wiek and Iwaniec's (2014) criteria for sustainable visioning could be a strong foundation for a collaborative and participatory visioning process. The ten quality criteria for sustainability visions are; visionary, sustainable, systemic, coherent, plausible, tangible, relevant, nuanced, motivational, and shared (Wiek and Iwaniec 2014).

To develop outcomes that meet the criteria noted above, a collaborative, participatory process will need to be undertaken. The preliminary meetings described above were the starting point for identifying, organizing and discussing the component parts of a vision for the chapter house. The TEK8 is a proposed framework for ongoing work for the reasons discussed above. It is reasonable to assume that the TEK8 might need modifying as the visioning process progresses but that should naturally fall out of the process of stakeholder engagement.

Some suggested methods to further develop the vision are additional unstructured interviews with stakeholders, in order to add useful information to the TEK8 subject areas that were lightly touched on in earlier efforts. Following the interviews, roundtable workshops to develop vision scenarios, review vision components, and evaluate visualizations against visioning criteria, might be a logical next step. And finally, chapter-wide open comment periods and preference surveys might be used to develop consensus on vision components.

Once the vision components are evaluated and condensed into a single comprehensive vision, and a general consensus has been reached that the vision meets the ten quality criteria, the vision documents can be handed off to the design team. It is recommended that a collaborative process between the chapter, the visioning team, and the chapter house design team continue through the design process. Decisions about design trade-offs, needed to balance competing vision components, should be made in collaboration with the visioning team.

## 9.7 Project Conclusions

When asked to provide a sustainable building, designers often resort to using criteria like Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) Green Building standards that focus on building performance. In the process, the human and cultural dimensions take a backseat to technical solutions. In response to that design bias, this project attempted to create a broader framework for design that uses TEK, including cultural and spiritual dimensions, as an approach to design with indigenous people. Though the project was specific to the Navajo culture, there are wider implications for sustainable design. To that end, the use of TEK is posited as a way to broaden opportunities for wellbeing (happiness) in any context, if the TEK8 framework is used.

The TEK8 framework was developed and tested in response to request from the Tonalea Chapter of the Navajo Nation to help them develop a design vision for a sustainable chapter house (community building). In a participatory setting, two roundtable discussions were held to gather relevant TEK for six topic areas adapted from Houde's (2007) Six Faces of Traditional Ecological Knowledge. After the roundtables, the qualitative data was sorted into the six categories: Spirituality; Culture and Identity; Time Perspectives; Management of Ecosystems; Land, and; Design Interventions. Based on a significant number of comments that did not fit in the six categories, four of the original six categories were modified and two added: Social Justice and Equity, and; Economics. Thus, forming the TEK8. The visioning team, in preparation for presenting visioning scenarios for further stakeholder consideration, developed design recommendations based on the sorted TEK8 data and reported those out. The process has since been interrupted by stakeholder considerations outside the scope of this project.

By working through the TEK8 category development, a framework has emerged to guide design with indigenous communities, as well as many other social units, like urban neighborhoods or rural towns. Although, the visioning process was not completed for this project, and further work must be done to create a comprehensive vision for the project, a rough foundation for a sustainable chapter house has been established. Combining Wiek and Iwaniec's (2014) visioning criteria and Lee's (2014) indigenous visioning approach looks like a viable, and equitable path to completing the vision and design roadmap for the chapter house and other similar endeavors. Ultimately, the goal of the visioning process is to create the best imaginable future possible for people who have struggled with injustice and inequity. By using the TEK8 to address social justices issues through participatory visioning, culturally appropriate design and broader opportunities for happiness may result.

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**Part IV**  
**Work Place Satisfaction,**  
**Happiness and Well-Being**

# Chapter 10

## Socioeconomers: New Organizational Actors in Hybrid Corporations

Patsy Kraeger

**Abstract** Not every actor for social good in structured organizations is seeking to break systems or patterns to create social good. Much of the work of social good has been accepted and institutionalized in the study of social entrepreneurship and microfinance, corporations have incorporated social responsibility as a key component of value for the firm. In fact, recent scholarship has considered corporate social responsibility, “firms of endearment”, firms which enjoy both social and financial profits (Sisodia et al., Wharton School Publishing, Upper Saddle River, 2003). These organizational forms have led to the conceptualization of private firms with a social benefit overlay. Hybrid organizations will meet the dual needs of profit maximization and social good. Perhaps then there is a need to distinguish these organizational actors from social entrepreneurs. In this article, I consider who are the socially minded business people working and co-creating financial and social returns in today’s economy. They may not be social entrepreneurs. They are not necessarily seeking large-scale social change; agents instead they seek to drive the economic engine while co-producing social good and revenue. We might call these organizational actors “socioeconomers” rather than social entrepreneurs. The term “socioeconomist” derives from social and economics. It is a hybrid term just like the actors own, operate and work in social enterprise firms. The paper first discusses who is a “socioeconomist” and where he or she might work. Specifically, the paper posits that a socioeconomist might own, operate or work in a U.S. hybrid corporation (such as a Benefit Corporation or a Low Profit Limited Liability (L3C) company in order to maximize profit as well as personal and societal purpose in the workplace.

**Keywords** Benefit corporation · Public good · Social entrepreneur · Socioeconomist · Subjective well-being

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## 10.1 Introduction

Social enterprises are recent organizational creations in the United States. These organizations are profit-maximizing organizations which seek to include social or societal value in the products or services produced. Social enterprise is a movement that largely grew out of the social entrepreneurship movement. Social entrepreneurs seek to change the equilibrium pattern breaking change. Often, they seek to use market models to change society when there has been government failure in solving complex social problems from gender inequality, poverty or clean water to name a few examples (Dees 1998, 2003). They treat cause of problems not symptoms- this is the catalytic change (Dees 1998, 2003). Much of the work of social entrepreneurs is associated with international aid work (Grenier 2003). Others assume that social entrepreneurs engage in activism similar to social justice activism (Sharra 2005). They have been lionized in the literature as the individual heroes and have particular traits and skills that make them uniquely qualified for this work (Light 2005; Young 1986). Social entrepreneurs are described in the literature as individuals who possess certain traits and skills for success that drive transformational social change through innovation (Martin and Osberg 2007). Innovation is seen as the common denominator in the business literature (Schumpeter 1942) as well as in the social entrepreneurship literature. In both fields it is only in the carrying out or the implementation of the innovation that allows for catalytic changes to occur (Schumpeter 1942; Martin and Osberg 2007; Light 2008).

Much of the ground-breaking work of social good has been accepted and institutionalized organizationally with corporations having corporate social responsibility programs promoting volunteerism and employee giving campaigns and corporate funding programs in the United States (Sisodia and Wolfe 2003). Not every actor for social good in structured organizations is seeking to break patterns to create social good. Some seek to improve quality of life by combining work with purpose to have a more fulfilled profit-maximizing experience that also benefits community initiatives (Hurst 2014).

Perhaps there is a need to distinguish these organizational actors from social entrepreneurs. In this article, I consider who are the socially-minded business people working and co-creating financial and social returns in today's economy? They may not be social entrepreneurs. They are not necessarily seeking large scale change instead they seek to drive the economic engine while co-producing social good and revenue. We might call these organizational actors "socioconomers" as opposed to social entrepreneurs. The term socioconomer is a derivative of social motivation and economic motivation coupled with measures of subjective well-being. Socioconomers seek to contribute to community or societal outcomes while working in profit-maximizing firms. They are hybrid corporate actors seeking double bottom lines (financial and social).

The paper first discusses who is a socioconomer and how they differ from social entrepreneurs. The socioconomer seeks purpose in his or her workplace and works in the "purpose economy" (Hurst 2014). Specifically, the paper posits that a

socioconomer might own, operate or work in a U.S. hybrid corporation such as a Benefit corporation or a Low Profit Limited Liability (L3C) company in order to maximize personal and societal purpose in the workplace. The paper also looks at the trajectory and the shifting paradigm from the nonprofit organization to a socially responsible business by focusing on the firm's value proposition.

## **10.2 A Need for a New Paradigm, New Organizations, and New Actors**

It is important to see why there is potentially a need for new actors and organizations as organizations shift towards including meaningful purpose alongside financial return on investment. Before we consider and explain who the new organizational actor is let us begin by looking at the shift in the environment in which the socioconomer is conducting everyday business. The environment is one in which purpose and commitment to social good is intertwined with business production and revenue. Profit maximization is not the polar opposite of social good. Socially responsible businesses are operated by persons who seek to increase their quality of life in the workplace without making seismic change in the highly disadvantaged populations.

Dees (1998) first saw the social enterprise as an extension of philanthropy with a charitable intention. Social enterprise was seen as operations that work towards the best interest of the public. Martin and Osberg (2007) expanded on the work of social enterprise and suggested that the work of a social entrepreneur was about the value proposition of social change. They focused on value being associated with “[t]he social entrepreneur’s value proposition targets an underserved, neglected or highly disadvantaged population that lacks the financial means, or political clout to achieve the transformative benefit on its own” (p. 35). This is the value proposition associated with the social entrepreneur, which is large catalytic change seeking to change the economic equilibrium. Large social change is not the only value proposition in the shifting model. Organizational value propositions also needed to change to allow for the rise of the socioconomer and the institutionalized of social business as a new form of business.

### ***10.2.1 Socioconomers***

Socioconomers are interested in the co-creation of fiscal and social capital. The term socioconomer derives from the term social and economy. Social here is equated to networks within a community that allow for communities to be strong and resilient.

Community well-being is not separated from market production for shareholders in these firms. Alford and Naughton (2002) asked this same question in a different fashion. They wanted to know if faith mattered to the manager. They suggest that common good may in fact be a central tenet for the manager. “Historically, a common good is considered to be human perfection or fulfillment achievable by community, such that the community’s members all share it, both as a community, and singly in their persons, a common good, then, is neither a mere amalgam of private and particular goods nor is it a good of the whole that disregards the good of its members. While we argue that business is not responsible for the common good, it is like all communities, responsible to the common good” (Alford and Naughton 2002, p. 41).

He or she is someone who is interested in society and entrepreneurship. Socioconomers are similar to small business owners and operators. Socioconomers are not seeking to dominant the market and provide large scale social change solutions to complex problems. Socioconomers seek to incorporate personal meaning into his or her working life. Personal meaning (i.e; subjective well-being) or purpose is no longer siloed from for-profit work and non-profit work or civic engagement. Like the social entrepreneur, the socioconomer is someone who seeks to live a meaningful and purposeful life. Personal meaning and purpose are unique to each actor, indicators of subjective well-being related to purpose are not articulated in this chapter. That would be for future work. The hybrid organizational model then allows for the particularism criticism to be minimized. These social enterprises allow for owners, operators and employees to engage in purposeful work to benefit others, community or society.

### ***10.2.2 Who Is the Socioconomer?***

A conceptual and definitional distinction should then be made between the socioconomer and the social entrepreneur. This definitional need is similar to the conceptual difference between the small business owner and the entrepreneur. It is important to recognize that some social entrepreneurs will use a hybrid format to drive their innovative ideas for social change. It is also important to recognize as in the field of entrepreneurship that two conceptualizations are needed for the social for-profit actor to align with the variation in the organizational models.

Who are the socially minded business people working and co-creating financial and social returns in today’s “purpose economy(Hurst 2014)?” They are not necessarily seeking large scale change; instead they seek to drive the economic engine while co-producing social good and revenue. Socioconomers are business actors who pursue simultaneously their economic and non-economic interests in the production of goods and services. We are embracing a new paradigm with socioconomers—we are embracing the purpose economy. The purpose economy focuses on community quality of life from both a personal lens to community and societal lenses.

### 10.3 A Need for a New Paradigm, New Organizations and New Actors

It is important to see why there is potentially a need for new actors and organizations as organizations shift towards including meaningful purpose alongside financial return on investment. Before we consider and explain who the new organizational actor is let's begin by looking at the shift in the environment in which the socioeconomers are conducting everyday business. The environment is one in which purpose and commitment to social good is intertwined with business production and revenue.

#### 10.3.1 *The Purpose Economy*

The purpose economy is one that is heavily steeped with a commitment to “aspirations of the human soul” (Hurst 2014, p. 41). He allows that both non-profit and for-profit actors have these types of aspirations from the health care industry to solar energy as examples where both types of organizational models are co-located in the profit and non-profit world. The non-profit sector does not have a set cornerstone in the “purpose economy”. To say so, would be like saying that what happens in Silicon Valley is the absolute center of the information economy (Hurst 2014, p. 41).

One trend in the purpose economy is related to volunteerism or what he terms the institutionalization of pro bono work. Non-profit organizations and social entrepreneurs do not hold exclusive rights of ownership toward societal change and aspirational goals. There is room for entry into the market place for both for-profit and non-profit models of varying degrees to capitalize the individual and collective social good purpose goal—small or large. Hybrid organizations can support small scale or large scale social change. They can also claim to be sustainable models with a revenue stream that many non-profit organizations that engage in the delivery of goods and services or entrepreneurial change see drying up. Hurst (2014) explains what he and other practitioners see as the advantage of B Corps<sup>1</sup> over the traditional nonprofit model. More and more we see connections to co-producing collective public goods through corporate social responsibility programs. Hurst (2014) suggests that firms may seek to enter the marketplace to co-produce collective public goods and financial return because firms operate on a different playing field now. “The advantage to the B Corp is that it can promote itself to investors as a solid opportunity for returns while also allowing them to support a social mission” (Hurst 2014, p. 73) (Fig. 10.1).

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<sup>1</sup>A B Corp is a nonprofit organization that certifies companies as producing a “benefit” according to its standards. A Benefit Corporation is a legal charter that is authorized by state legislation.



**Fig. 10.1** B Corporation social value creation (B Corp social value is informed from private, public, social sector and solidarity economy values)

Yvon Chouinard, the founder of Patagonia, Inc., in his book, *Let My People Go Surfing: The Education of a Reluctant Businessman* opens with these words:

I’ve been a businessman for almost fifty years. It’s as difficult for me to say those words as it is for someone to admit to being an alcoholic or a lawyer. I’ve never respected the profession. It’s business that has to take the majority of the blame for being the enemy of nature, for destroying native cultures, for taking from the poor and giving to the rich, and for poisoning the earth with the effluent from its factories.

Yet, business can produce food, cure disease, control population, employ people, and generally enrich our lives. And it can do these good things and make a profit, without losing its soul (2006)

Chouinard arguably is a socioconomer. A socioconomer is an individual who has a personal social mission that he or she would like to incorporate in all activities from his or her personal life extending into a business or professional life. A socioconomer like Chouinard is one who runs a business with a heart and does not see conflicting goals toward producing mission. According to Hurst (2014), purpose can be human centered or community centered while the structure may vary.

Purpose is the antithesis to the “earn, learn and return” model. This model is one where business people should wait until they have earned enough in the for-profit economy in order to participate in the propose economy through philanthropy or volunteering in order

to give back to society. In other words, singularly produce an income stream and later singularly produce social good and public benefit. Personal meaning is no longer siloed from for-profit work and non-profit work or civic engagement. Like the social entrepreneur, the socioconomer is someone who seeks to live a meaningful and purposeful life. The hybrid organizational model then allows for the particularism criticism to be minimized. The firm’s corporate charter as well as the enacted legislation seek to safeguard the public benefit is produced and assessed (Table 10.1).

Of the five attributes that Dees (1998, 2003) and other scholars have identified as being central to the actions of the social entrepreneur, the socioconomer would be interested in:

- Adopting a mission to co-create and sustain social value (not just private value) (Dees 1998, 2003).
- They bring their unique dignity as people to the firm (Fontrodona and Sison 2012).
- Co-create revenue and social good. Organizational models such as hybrid firms to meet stakeholder articulated demands and needs with efficient and effective production of goods and services due to reduced transaction costs.
- Do not see a need to recognize a distinction between instrumental and expressive functions in organizations. Frumkin (2002) addresses the differences between these components in social sector organizations. As owners or shareholders in hybrid corporations they can address causes while producing revenue.
- Blend personal social mission with revenue producing organizations and pathways for employment for other socially minded workers (Fontrodona and Sison 2012; Hurst 2014).
- Recognize that socially minded businesses have a place in the social economy which is more than volunteerism and unpaid work. (Uluorta 2009; Quarter et al. 2003 quantifies the value of unpaid work in the context of the larger social economy).

**Table 10.1** Matrix of differences between entrepreneur/social entrepreneur and small business operator/socioconomer

Dominates the field.  Entrepreneurial/ Large Scale Change.	Traditional Entrepreneur	Economy Small Business Owner	Does not dominate the field.  Not seeking large scale change.
	May or May not be independently owned.  May or may not operate for profit.	Social Entrepreneur	
	Social or Purpose	Economy	Independently owned.  Operates for profit.

- Adopting a corporate organizational form that allows for sustainability through revenue production that is not reliant on government contracts or grants or philanthropic charity (Murray 2012).
- Exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes (Dees 1998, 2003).

## 10.4 The Emergence of Socially Responsible Firms and Social Entrepreneurship

Early examples of large scale transformative change began with the development of socially responsible firms in the 1990s with eBay and Google founders focusing in on corporate social responsibility as integral to the business model. These founders used pre-IPO stock to fund social mission undergirding corporate responsibility programs with a focus on both giving and volunteerism. Social service and non-profit programs have traditionally been supported through philanthropy and government contracts. Since 2009, nonprofit organizations have faced a crisis surrounding day-to-day operational existence and simultaneously have pondered real long-term viability much less sustainability issues. Shrinking funds from both the government and philanthropic sectors and a lack of venture capital in a recession economy have wreaked havoc in the non-profit sector. Social needs continue to grow beyond what philanthropy or government can provide.

The emergence of microfinance and social entrepreneurship has given rise to new ideas about the role of venture capital in the social sector. Corporations connect to community through corporate social responsibility programs through corporate philanthropy and volunteerism. These new models of financial giving and engagement corporate models have shifted the framework for good corporate citizenship.

There are many new organizational models in the social economy from the traditional non-profit organization, private foundations to cooperatives to newer and often less structured organizational models such as peer-to-peer circles, and crowdfunding platforms. In addition to traditional models we have also seen the rise of new organizational (i.e., hybrid corporations) and financial structures (i.e., Social Impact Bonds (SIBs) and Human Capital Performance bonds) for social good. In this paper, the focus is on hybrid corporations (co-creators of profit and social good are being institutionalized as legitimate organizational actors in the purpose economy (Hurst 2014).

## 10.5 New Organizational Models: Hybrid Corporations

In the United States, there has been increasing legislation across the nation where two types of hybrid firms are changing the landscape of business in America. These firms are known as the Benefit Corporation and the Low Profit Limited Liability

company. They are briefly described to give background for the new organizational actor (the socioconomer) introduced in this paper. The socioconomer is the one who chooses these hybrid models to conduct business.

### ***10.5.1 The Benefit Corporation (“B Corp”)***

The Benefit Corporation requires that corporate shareholders agree to some type of social benefit for the corporate overlay (i.e., general or specific purpose). Benefit corporation shareholders are tasked with considering the voice of external community stakeholders in developing a corporate public benefit for the purpose statement. Benefit Corporations may specifically seek to make change in health care dealing with catastrophic health concerns, poverty reduction through service to low income individuals with products and services, provide for economic opportunity through job creation, engaging in the protection and restoration of the environment, promoting arts and sciences and the advancement of knowledge. B Corporation officers/shareholders have an obligation to report on their overall social and environmental purpose (Murray 2012). Legislation for Benefit Corporations has been enacted in 30 states and the District of Columbia

### ***10.5.2 The Low Profit Limited Liability Company***

The Low Profit Limited Liability Company (L3C) is a hybrid between non-profit and for-profit firms. The firm has a double-bottom line. It is a profit seeking but not a profit maximizing firm. The L3C like the Benefit Corporation has a social orientation. This hybrid firm differs from the Benefit Corporation because it allows for reduced return on financial investment. Financial investment is arguably reduced to fund the social investment. The company significantly furthers the accomplishment of charitable or educational purposes because it would not have been formed but for the company's relationship to the accomplishment of charitable or educational purposes. The L3C operates more like the traditional nonprofit because it imposes constraints on profit by diverting some profit toward the social good. Legislation is enacted in over ten states in the United States.

### ***10.5.3 Why Would For-Profit Companies Be Interested in Social Good? Can For-Profit Firms Have Both Expressive and Instrumental Values?***

In the purpose economy, Hurst (2014) suggests that individuals seek to maximize personal meaning and community good through heartfelt or expressive action

embedded in commercial activities. This notion allows for an adaptation of Coase's (1988) theory to institutionalize actors and organizational forms that allow for social and financial returns on investment.

### 10.5.4 *Private Actors Engaging in Social Change*

Light (2008) and others suggest that social entrepreneurs seek to invest in "pattern-breaking change" on a large or small scale through new or radical combinations to capitalize on change invoking the Schumpeterian model for change (Light 2008). Social entrepreneurs seeking catalytic change through new combinations may not be the only actors interested in collective good. While the field of social entrepreneurship has paved the way for the institutionalization of social good as a component of good corporate citizenship it does not have a singular hold on the desire to create a community collective good or sense of well-being.

Frumkin (2002) might suggest that non-profit organizations are the drivers in the purpose economy. Dees and Anderson (2003) argue that social entrepreneurs should be included as important actors of change in the social world. Light (2008) does not seek to categorically challenge Frumkin's (2002) early assumptions. Instead, he seeks to explore the "evidence" between for-profit entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs to counter arguments surrounding particularism.

Light (2008) cites prior work of Shaw and Carter (2007) to highlight the five important differences as follows:

- Business entrepreneurship focuses on profits, while social entrepreneurship addresses unmet social needs.
- Business entrepreneurship engages market forces, while social entrepreneurship draws upon and builds community support.
- Business entrepreneurship involves financial risk, while social entrepreneurship depends on organizational and personal credibility.
- Business entrepreneurship produces individual financial gain, while social entrepreneurship generates collective public goods.
- Business and social entrepreneurship both involve creativity, but business entrepreneurship uses creativity to enter new markets, while social entrepreneurship uses creativity to solve intractable problems.

Even though there has been a move towards inclusivity by scholars studying traditional non-profit organizations there has been exclusivity in nonprofits being considered as *the* organizational models for societal good (Frumkin 2002). Dees and Anderson (2003) also were proponents of the shift that legal form should not matter when it comes to being a social entrepreneurial organization. Martin and Osberg (2007) suggest that in order to be social entrepreneurs there must be catalytic or transformational social change rather than incremental change. Much of the argument about who is a social entrepreneur mirrors the transformational versus

incremental debate in the field of entrepreneurship that is ever-present in the scholarly and practitioner literature in that field (Schumpeter 1942).

Similarly, Sisodia et al. (2003) claim firms may indeed have a heart and pursue a social mission. They argue that there is a humanistic shift in capitalism inspiring companies to not just maximize profit for shareholders; rather, they seek to maximize societal good to stakeholders which includes employee well-being including good wages and retention.

Hurst (2014) suggests that organizations and their actors now exist in what he calls the *Purpose Economy*. The purpose economy embraces Frumkin's (2002) expressive rationale which sits at the heart of non-profit organizations. The expressive rationale recognizes that citizens can be mobilized to engage for a cause through citizen engagement and ultimately build social capital (p. 45). Hurst (2014) suggests that today the *Purpose Economy* allows both for-profit and non-profits to focus on creating value, and defining "the organizing principles for innovation and growth. ... *The Purpose Economy* explains where markets meet movements ..." (pp. 22–23).

### ***10.5.5 First, What Is Entrepreneurship, in Brief?***

Schumpeter (1942) theorized that entrepreneurship required the combinations of tried and true business ideas for big change. Entrepreneurship embodied a process he termed "creative destruction" where old, inferior offerings are destroyed and replaced by new, improved offerings in the market. Entrepreneurship could also be more incremental producing improvements on existing offerings rather than radical replacements of current offerings. In other words, the scope for entrepreneurs to enter the marketplace is wide open and allows for various entry points for large and small scale entrepreneurs.

In terms of social entrepreneurship, both of these for-profit entrepreneurial theoretical models have direct application. Most of the academic and practitioner literature has focused on the Schumpeterian large scale and transformative change (Light 2008; Frumkin 2002).

### ***10.5.6 Who Is the Social Entrepreneur?***

Social Entrepreneurs seek large scale social change through efficient and effective delivery models. They bring private sector business practices to the production of collective public good as they embrace and seek change. They take calculated risks to shift resources from low to high productivity in order to create something new.

Schumpeter (1942) believed that entrepreneurs were worthy of study distinct from small business owners and managers. The academic literature in the social sector has also studied the social entrepreneur as *the* one responsible for driving

social change. The theory of social enterprise and entrepreneurship consider the blending of economic and social value in a venture for large sustainable change. Sustainable change is the key element of the social enterprise venture. In considering whether there is possibility for large scale impact, the social innovator or team of innovators must consider if they can first carry out the innovation. How do you move from idea to actuality? Much of the practitioner and academic literature has pointed to the notion that the Social Entrepreneur is the focal driver. In other words, it is the actor not the choice of organizational model that drives the change.

Dees (1998, 2001) suggests that Schumpeterian theories are and have been applied to social sector research along with other theorists such as Drucker, Sains, and Stevenson (as cited in Dees 1998, 2001). Certain personality traits and/or characteristics have extended into defining who the social entrepreneur is as well.

Social entrepreneurs are described in the literature as individuals who possess certain traits and skills for success that drive transformational social change through innovation (Martin and Osberg 2007). Innovation is seen as the common denominator in the business literature (Schumpeter 1942) as well as in the social entrepreneurship literature. In both fields it is only in the carrying out or the implementation of the innovation that allows for catalytic changes to occur (Schumpeter 1942; Martin and Osberg 2007; Light 2008).

Dees (1998, 2001) suggests that *[s]ocial entrepreneurs play the role of change agents in the social sector, by:*

- Adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value),
- Recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission,
- Engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning,
- Acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand, and
- Exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes.

Dees and Anderson (2003) strictly see the practice of social entrepreneurship in terms of Schumpeterian large scale change. On the other hand, other scholars suggest that organizations may have these same traits for social change (Light 2008; Dees and Anderson 2003). They see the playing fields encompassing both social entrepreneurship and social enterprise.

Hybrids are corporations with an intentional social purpose that may seek large social change or simply a commitment to public good in the production of goods and services. Purpose refers to the general of specific public benefit corporate purpose statement. Corporate bylaws typically include general or specific corporate purpose. It is important to note that a corporate purpose statement may or may not be the organizational mission. It is a requirement for states that have enacted corporate legislation that governs organizational life and activity (Murray 2012).

The inclusive trajectory of various for-profit and non-profit models on the social sector playing field allows for the creation of new norms or social values outside of the traditional philanthropic-nonprofit market. It is in pursuit of new opportunities and there is continuing adaptation and learning. A new accountability is created for

the production of social outcomes. As the concept becomes more institutionalized as a fourth sector, one that was not government, not non-profit and not private, socially minded business people became interested in the co-production of financial return and societal good. These types of enterprises generate their own resources and produce social good to meet organizational mission (Quarter et al. 2003).

## 10.6 Conclusion

This paper seeks to clarify the taxonomy of actors in the social economy rather than cause definitional confusion. Critics might suggest that there is no need for clarification because any actor using business methods to produce social good is a social entrepreneur. The conceptual actor, the socioconomer shows that he or she is not necessarily the same as the social entrepreneur. He or she may share some similar traits but his overarching purpose is to live a meaningful life that may not necessarily call for word change or seismic shifts.

Entrepreneurs are not also small business people. Although a small business owner could be an entrepreneur. Owners and investors in hybrid firms are not necessarily seeking catalytic change but rather to co-create revenue (even if slightly reduced) while simultaneously producing a social good. The key is to really understand and assess from a multidimensional perspective who these new organizational actors are. A socioconomer is not necessarily a social entrepreneur although it is recognized they could be as in the private sector. The field of social entrepreneurship is an emerging field and one that has been characterized by looking at the catalytic actor rather than the shifts in society that institutionalize new ways of being as the everyday norm.

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# Chapter 11

## The Intersection of Positive Organizational Scholarship and Organizational Change

Robbie Waters Robichau

**Abstract** Change is a fundamental part of the individual and organizational lives we lead. Although change remains ever-present in our personal and professional lives, this fact does not reduce the uncertainty and often anxiety produced when changes are introduced into our immediate environment. There are several key factors that impede and encourage the implementation of change in the organizational context; however, by considering some positive organizational scholarship principles managers may be better able to manage and implement change more successfully. And more importantly, by dealing with change in a more open and positive manner, managers can increase the well-being of their employees and organizations overall. The chapter concludes with suggestions for ways in which the intersection of change and positive scholarship could be utilized to inform the practice of management that improves the lives of individuals and society at-large.

**Keywords** Positive change · Positive scholarship · Organizational change · Management

### 11.1 Introduction

Change is one of the “grand themes of the social sciences” (Greenwood and Hinings 2006, 835) and one of the few predictable elements of human and organizational development. But the study of change is marked by paradox and dispute: change is viewed as a necessity, inevitable, or both. At times change is viewed as a friend, at others as a foe (Kanter 1983, 64). Tsoukas and Chia state that “organization must be understood as an emergent property of change” and can be defined as “the reweaving of actors’ webs of beliefs and habits of action as a result of new experiences obtained through interactions (2002, 568–570).” By this they mean that

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change is intrinsic to human actions, and as organizations are composed of individuals they too become centers of change. Organizations seek to stimulate change and in turn the change process shapes them. Change can be described as change in people that can lead to a change in processes or vice versa. However, if an organization is not changing and adapting then it is on the road to dying a slow death (Quinn 1996).

But the process of organizational change produces a variety of reactions from individuals, groups, and the organizations as a whole. Many of these responses are negative and unfavorable such as change produces anxiety, fear, and pain for individuals while at the organizational level it can lead to dysfunction, inefficiencies, and even paralysis (Kotter and Cohen 2002; Daft and Lengel 2000). How individuals and groups experience organizational change can influence their work well-being. As Sirgy (2012, 269) and his colleagues (Sirgy et al. 2008) have argued, an individual's experience of their job can be shaped by a numerous factors like having "meaningful work, an affective response to the work environment, ratio of job uplifts to job hassles, [and] need satisfaction." Given that change is a fundamental part of an organization's life (Quinn 1996), it is upon scholars and organizations to find ways to better assist individuals and groups in dealing with organizational change that will not only improve their workplace lives but has the potential to enhance their overall well-being. As research has demonstrated, there are spillover effects where one's work life experiences can spill over into other life domains and vice versa (Sirgy et al. 2006) creating an impetus to find mechanisms for inducing change while helping individuals have a more positive experience with needed changes. There are connections between the personal, organizational and community that can enhance or diminish well-being that need to be uncovered (Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky 2006).

With this in mind, a newer movement referred to as Positive Organizational Scholarship (hereafter POS) has been developing which offers a fresh and innovative framework for examining change processes and its effects on individuals, groups, and organizations. The emphasis of POS is upon exploring the positive, affirmative elements found in human and organizational life (Cameron et al. 2003). In many ways, this literature relates to and seeks to building upon the quality of life (QOL), quality of work life (QWL), and the human relations or organizational humanism literatures in other disciplines with a focus on the positive, life giving aspects of work and individual well-being. The POS perspective maintains that "individuals, through self-change, can move both themselves and their organizations to positive states that promote flexibility and enable flourishing" (Quinn and Wellman 2012, 751). Research shows that both individual and organizational outcomes are improved when positive approaches to change are employed (Cameron and McNaughtan 2014). The discipline uses a positive orientation to explain and study aspects of life that often go understudied in academia such as positive change. Several constructs within this literature shed light on the effects of organizational change on individuals by studying the positive rather than the negative associations of change.

This chapter examines the dynamic and significant role individuals play in organizational change processes that can be informed through the utilization of management, organizational, and POS literatures. Its emphasis is on finding ways to ultimately improve human and organizational well-being when organizations undergo change. The goal of this chapter is to show how organizations can facilitate positive change processes in the workplace that enhances individuals, groups, and organizations; and ultimately, creates environments and communities that improves individual well-being and quality of life. First, the chapter broadly explores the change literature through discussing the forces that assist and inhibit change at the individual, group, and organizational levels. Secondly, change is analyzed through the lens of POS studies focusing on concepts relevant to organizational change such as positive deviance, appreciative inquiry, coaching, and resiliency and suggests ways organizations can use these concepts to bring about positive change. And finally, a brief discussion will suggest how the literature of change and POS raises interesting issues for organizations; and in the end, can help managers find more open and positive ways for dealing with employees that can enhance the well-being of individuals and organizations. This chapter seeks to contribute to the unique intersection of change and POS that can inform future research and practice.

## 11.2 Analyzing Change Through Levels of Analysis

Any examination of change involves a consideration of the effects it will have on individuals, groups, and the organization as a whole given that these levels of analysis are hierarchically nested within one another (Van de Ven and Poole 1995). Organizations themselves are nested in industries, government, and sectors that are apart of the broader national and global community. At each layer, the implementation, reactions, and understanding of change may differ. Kanter (1983, 64) observes that change is “disturbing when it is done *to* us, exhilarating when it is done *by* us.” In essence, being a change recipient versus a change agent will affect outcomes of the proposed changes. Thus, analyzing organizational change begins with the individual, specifically looking at the dynamic processes that takes place at the individual or group levels, which ultimately drive organizational change. Many scholars explain that organizational change is only initiated and accomplished through individuals in relationships with others (Piderit 2000; Quinn 1996) aligning with a more humanist and POS approach to studying organizations. Managers and their organizations benefit from understanding the individual processes of change since the patterns of resisting and dealing with change are very similar to processes within organizations (Kets de Vries and Balazs 1999). Obtaining a broader picture of the process of change—both impediments and catalysts—entails an examination of individuals, groups, and organizations.

### 11.2.1 *Individuals*

Change in organizations can be driven by a single actor regardless of that person's position, but for true organizational change to take place others must either buy-into or be strongly encouraged to enact proposed changes (Kotter and Cohen 2002). Whether change is bottom-up or top-down, individuals in an organization may experience an array of physiological and psychological effects. Through sophisticated computer analysis of the brain, neuroscience is helping researchers understand that introducing new approaches or requesting people to adapt their current behaviors often produce physiological reactions. The brain may perceive change as "errors" which can further push people into emotional or impulsive states of being (Rock and Schwartz 2006, 4–5). Noting that many have an underlying resistance to change, Kegan and Lahey (2009) refer to this as an "immunity to change" where one's system seeks to protect itself from the uncertainty and potential danger of changing one's perceptions and behaviors which must be overcome. In their view, change itself does not produce anxiety rather it is the feelings of being defenseless in the face of the potential dangers changing could introduce that produces these feelings. Others have noted it is the sense of powerlessness and loss of control that creates anxiety (Senge 1994; Kanter 1983). Several emotions thought to undermine individual change also include "anger, false pride, pessimism, arrogance, cynicism, panic, exhaustion, insecurity, and anxiety (Kotter and Cohen 2002, 180). Combined, the biological and cognitive reactions to change has led to a well-established conclusion that change is pain (Kets de Vries and Balazs 1999; Nadler and Tushman 1989).

Rather than seeing negative reactions to change as something to be overcome, especially from a managerial point of view, alternative approaches such as POS recognize these reactions as natural and vital to an individual's survival in a society full of organizations. These approaches point to a more reflexive and accepting attitude towards explaining and facilitating individual change that in turn affects change at higher levels. Two primary factors that help determine whether organizational change will be successful is an individual's personality style (e.g., people with a higher internal locus of control cope better with change) and whether the organization itself has social support systems and environment (e.g., open and honest communication or emotional support) (Kets de Vries and Balazs 1999). Just as some emotions are demonstrated to threaten an individual's response to change, other emotions are thought to facilitate change such as "faith, trust, optimism, urgency, reality-based pride, passion, excitement, hope, and enthusiasm" (Kotter and Cohen 2002, 180). These feelings have a strong root in the positive and affirmative aspects of dealing with change.

Neurology proposes that the brain is a social organ that only works through neurons connecting with one another (Ratey 2001). Comparable to the human brain being hardwired to make connections, people in organizations may also be more or less hardwired to relate with others in their organizations and accept change. Rock and Schwartz (2006) conclude that each individual's brain has a unique architecture

that responds more positively to change when the brain's neurocircuitry makes the connections for *how* and *why* change is necessary by itself. Facilitating change, from their point of view, should be more focused on helping people in the organization develop and change through self-discovery i.e., paying strict attention to new ideas and cultivating self-insight through solution-focused questioning instead of simple advice-giving. This of course would require a shift in how organizations and their managers currently address change as something to be executed from the top-down.

Schein (2010) emphasizes the value of inducing behavioral changes at the beginning of a change process for it lays the foundations for 'cognitive redefinition.' He warns that coerced change, where individuals are not given the opportunity to deal with typical reactions to change, will not have long-lasting effects. Thus, helping individuals understand that change occurs through a learning process, involving how we behave and think, may lead to more enduring and successful change. As the psychologist Timothy Wilson argues, the "most enduring lessons of social psychology is that behavior change often precedes changes in attitudes and feeling (2002, 212)." Among Wilson's many contribution to helping us understanding the job that the unconscious plays in shaping our thoughts and actions, he argues that not only do we underestimate our ability to change feelings and emotions through actions, but we fail to acknowledge that practice makes perfect. Thus, we can become who we want to be by changing our behaviors and the corresponding emotions and thoughts will follow.

Extrapolating Wilson's lesson regarding the role of actions and behaviors in individual change is highly applicable for individuals facing organizational change. People who are open to change and who are willing to take actions that reflect the direction of change will then experience a change of heart towards accepting that change; however, those who refuse to change their behaviors will likely have more negative thoughts, emotions, and resistance. Given that most people do not respond well to being told what to do; when individuals are given the time and opportunity to conclude for themselves that change is necessary and to see how change is possible, they may be able to respond to it in a more positive manner. Therefore, allowing people the time to be reflexive and recognize the connections between their physiological, emotional, and behavioral states, along with their initial reactions to change, can be transformative.

### ***11.2.2 Groups***

There are many facets of organizational change that can affect groups via the individuals in them. As the intermediary between individuals and their organizations, formal and informal groups must cope with reactions to change from both the ground-up (i.e., individuals) and top-down (i.e., organizational and societal) perspective. Groups will be influenced by a group member's reaction to change as well as be concerned for how change will affect the overall well-being of groups,

sub-groups, and organizations. As extensively noted in the literature, individuals in one group will have multiple and simultaneous memberships in other groups such as their gender, profession, religion, or racio-ethnic status that can and will likely influence their behaviors, emotions, and values (Smith and Berg 1987). Therefore, change at the group level will be examined through the lens of how group's norms and conformity are shaped when change is introduced from outside of the group, which is frequently the case in organizational change.

Norms have similarly been described as the "shared attitudes, sentiments, aspirations, and goals" (Sherif 1958, 350) or as a set of informal expectations or rules steering group member's behaviors (Feldman 1984) that can shape how group members respond and process change. These norms can develop via an organization's culture and social structures (Wheelan 2005) as well as individual's homogenous memberships in other groups (Smith and Berg 1987). Given the parameters of group norms, there is an inherent relationship with individual and group emotions. In their view, Scholtes et al. (2003) argue for developing an action plan for change, based on stakeholder analysis, that takes into considerations communication plans, group loyalties and social norms, emotional responses, and synchronization of activities (1:10–14). Following these procedures may enable groups to respond to change more positively and even be leaders of that change.

Group norms may lead individuals to conformity or deviance. Group norms and cohesion can be two of the main reasons groups resist or induce change (Nahavandi 2009). The paradox of group conformity and deviant behaviors is wrapped-up in an individual's struggle for identity and acceptance in the group setting (Smith and Berg 1987). The literature convincingly supports the idea that groups influence their member's attitudes and behaviors. Some suggest that the influence of conformity may be so strong that individuals are unable to resist group or organizational pressures to tolerate or act in unethically manners (Clegg et al. 2008). Strong group norms may prove to be an impediment to change or serve to facilitate change (Judson 1991), while weak norms may have no effect. Organizational change can bring about group conflict but this does not necessarily need to be viewed negatively. Conflict is a natural component of group life and can produce long-term positive results for a group's performance and cohesion (Smith and Berg 1987). In the end, group norms as well as conformity or deviance may prove to be a mechanism for assisting organizational change if groups are included in the process.

Related to this literature is how democratic processes can shape groups' experiences of change. The work of the democratic process scholar, Follett (1918), argues for the invaluable role of group life and its processes in creating and learning democracy. She proposed a bottom-up, group-centered, social process view of society in which groups represented a place where individuals could develop joint solutions to problems through negotiating differences (i.e., a diversity of ideas and life-experiences help make the group stronger). This would occur organically as people understood themselves to be part of the greater whole whether that be society or organizational. Leaders would naturally rise from within the group, and due to democratic processes, individuals would be more open to their leadership. Extrapolating her perspective to organizations and change, one could

argue for the instrumental role of using groups in facilitating change. Allowing individuals in groups to be co-creators of change initiatives could positively drive organizational change and assist the individual in adapting to changes since they would be a part of change creation and have a place in the greater whole. Rather than organizational change being strictly depicted as top-down or bottom-up, change could also be depicted as a “middle-out approach.”

### 11.2.3 Organizations

Exploring how an organization implements or reacts to change requires a consideration of an organization’s culture, management, and learning abilities. Organizational culture helps predict and explain how an agency will behave and react to various circumstances including change (Shafritz et al. 2005). An organization’s culture may be one of the most critical aspects in change initiatives because it can support and hinder actions taken by leadership, shape the structural composition of an organization, or influence an individual’s ability to learn and make sense of situations. Culture is explained in many ways, but overall it helps define *why* organizations choose to do the things they do (Ostroff et al. 2003). Organizational culture includes the assumptions, values, beliefs and processes of interpreting culture as well the more visible elements of culture such as artifacts, structures, symbols, languages, rituals, myths, and practices (Schein 2010; Hatch 1993). Research indicates that depending on the circumstances, stronger or weaker culture may both inhibit or expedite change (Ouchi and Wilkins 1985; Clark 1980; Kotter and Heskett 1992). In practice, as change initiatives are introduced into an organization, their success or failure will likely be a function of employee’s core assumptions and values as well as the cultural processes instituted during change. Schein (2010) maintains the key to introducing change is taking advantage of an organization’s cultural strengths; so that perhaps, a strong culture may be used to ease rather than hamper change plans. Cultures that are designed and prepared for change can be instrumental in assessing an organization’s overall aptitude for change (Wall 2005).

Organizational change can also be examined through the role managers and leaders play in the change introduction, process, and completion. Researchers have demonstrated that management can introduce and make change happen in their organizations (Kotter and Cohen 2002; Doppelt 2010). Even when managers see change to be in the best interest of their employees and organization, how they go about communicating the need for change can profoundly shape individuals and groups within. The change literature uses the term *change agents* to describe individuals who drive and influence organizational change while those who are responsible for accepting and implementing changes are referred to as *change recipients*. Many scholars have sought to uncover the leadership and managerial characteristics that underlie effective change efforts on the part of change agents.

Some of these characteristics include positive affectivity, tolerance for ambiguity, ability to build trust, and being perceived as honest, open, moral, transformational, credible, and encouraging (Ford et al. 2008; Judge et al. 1999; Kouzes and Posner 2003). This latter perspective shows the benefits for managers who may have a genuine concern or open style towards change recipients.

There is however an alternative side to the organizational change and leadership that considers organizational resistance. In *Fusion Leadership*, Daft and Lengel (2000, 264) make the central argument that “management confusion and organizational resistance will continue until leaders find models that are more congruent with human nature.” An organizational development or humanist approach is needed. Daft and Lengel argue the key to unlocking the ‘subtle forces’ for change involves the fusion of both the organization’s situational needs and desires along with the inner world of their members’ hearts and minds (i.e., the world where human perception can dictate actions and decision-making) in an effort to achieve wholeness between the two. Unlike other models of management, they seek to uncover how a manager’s reliance on objective and rational systems of change as well as the ‘we as managers versus they as employees’ mentality undermines the ability of organizations to change.

Subsequently, one of the strongest critiques currently being made against the management literature is its biased approach in favor of change agents desire to make changes over change recipients tendency towards resistance. Ford et al. (2008) attempt to reframe the ‘one-sided story’ told in the traditional literature of the “change agent-centric” view where agents need to manage change recipient’s responses to change. These recipients are frequently described as lower-level employees that give into their irrational or dysfunctional tendencies in change situations, and thus, demand higher-level guidance. Ford et al. maintain that the change agents’ approach, relationships, and attitudes towards change may induce resistance from change recipients, especially given the problems associated with individual processes of sense-making and expectations of employee resistance. They develop a ‘reconstruction’ of resistance as a dynamic process where recipients can discuss their resistance in a public manner; a recognition that resistance from a change agent’s perspective is not resistance until agent’s sense-making processes label recipient’s reactions as resistance; and lastly, the change agents’ sole function is not to ‘overcome resistance’, rather their responsibility lies in dealing appropriately with the agent-recipient relationship.

Many scholars have been trying to paint a very different picture of the change agent-recipient connection that holistically looks at each individual’s role as equals in the change process. Taking this argument a step further, resistance may even be seen as healthy and positive to the extent that resistance signals change recipient’s willingness to engage and evaluate the change process (Coghlan 1993). In sum, conventional approaches to explaining organizational resistance should not be oversimplified nor overemphasized (Kelman 2005). Weick and Quinn (1999) claim that change agents must carefully focus and evaluate their message and dialogue with others since modeling change is more successful than demanding it. Thus, the

strategic practices of managers during times of change may require a more visionary, transformational, or authentic leadership style (Avolio and Gardner 2005). As Nahavandi (2009) asserts that transformational leadership, and those wishing to be change agents, need to provide intellectual stimulation, charisma and inspiration, and individual consideration if they wish to transform their followers into accepting and even advocating for organizational changes.

Therefore, one could argue that learning and change share a circular relationship where one feeds off the other. Change can lead to learning and learning can lead to change. At a basic level, learning involves adapting old patterns and behaviors, leaving them behind, or completely adopting new ones. Organizational learning indicates “the capacity of an organization to learn how to do what it does, where what it learns is possessed not by individuals members of the organization but by the aggregate itself” (Cook and Yanow 1993, 378). In this regard, learning may come from past organizational experiences, institutional knowledge, and implementing new routines and practices. Comparably, Senge (1994) refers to the aggregate’s ability to learn as system thinking or what he calls the “fifth discipline” of learning organizations. He proposes that learning organizations are constantly learning, creating, changing, and adapting; conversely, organizations that do not adopt system thinking may experience blocks or disabilities. In a change and learning context, organizational members are faced with “learning anxieties” where uncertainty may lead to the fear of learning new practices, adopting new attitudes, losing identities, or changing behaviors (Schein 2010).

Schein’s solution to learning anxiety is to create a psychologically safe environment where learners or change recipients are given: first, a compelling *positive* vision for why changing and learning will create a better organization; second, a formal and informal training about the new techniques and knowledge as well as an understanding of new norms and assumptions; third, positive role models who exemplify desired behaviors; and finally, systems and structures that encourage and align new understandings and behaviors within the organizational setting (305–307). Therefore, organizations and their manager are incentivized to create consistent messages about learning that leads organizational members to develop common sense-making and predictable patterns when possible (Clegg et al. 2008) which can further assist in the organizational change processes and structures. The solution to facilitating organizational learning appears to lie in having an organization’s leadership, culture, learning capabilities, and structures aligned to help provide an easier transition for individuals and groups during change processes.

### 11.3 Positive Organizational Studies

Positive Organizational Studies/Scholarship may prove to have the key ingredients that will help individuals, groups, and organizations better lead and cope with change as well as reduce resistance because it considers the dynamic position of

individuals within organizations. To begin, Positive Organizational Scholarship (POS) stems from the work developed through research in positive and community psychology, positive and prosocial organizational behavior, organizational development, and corporate social performance (Caza and Cameron 2009). The positive psychology movement began in 1999 with a push for psychologists to be equally, if not more, focused on two of its field's neglected missions: helping individuals live more fulfilling and productive lives and recognizing and developing talent (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000). In the discipline's exuberance to study pathologies and mental illnesses, it overlooked fundamental aspects relevant to human flourishing and quality of life (e.g., happiness, well-being and self-determination). POS builds upon the foundational work of positive psychology by specifically examining individuals and groups in organizational contexts.

POS is an interdisciplinary approach that draws scholars with the desire to study the positive elements of individuals and groups in their respective organizational settings. Foundational scholars, Cameron, Dutton, and Quinn, contend that the focus of the discipline is on the "study of especially positive outcomes, processes, and attributes of organizations and their members...it focuses on dynamics that are typically described by words such as *excellence, thriving, flourishing, abundance, resilience, or virtuousness*" (2003, 4). However, this focus does not mean that negative phenomenon in organizations (e.g., selfishness, greed, or manipulation) is ignored or thought not to exist; rather emphasis is placed upon the positive and understudied aspects of organizational life. Cameron et al. (2003) explain two worlds of organizational studies: one where success is based on wealth creation and the other where success is about creating abundance and human well-being. POS is concerned with the latter while most of the change literature seems absorbed in the former.

As the name implies, POS is concerned with the affirmative characteristics of life that often go neglected and ignored in the change literature, and therefore, provides a different lens through which to see and interpret the world of organizations (Cameron and Spreitzer 2012). Developing theories and frameworks under this literature seek to explore the core of creating positive changes in and through individuals, groups, organizations, communities, and societies (Caza and Cameron 2009). POS stresses the importance of assisting individuals in personal development. POS encapsulates both a new approach to organizations while having some familiar underlying assumptions as organizational humanists regarding the ethical and humane treatment of individuals within organizations. While POS literature is developing a wide range of theories from positive emotions and relationships to positive individual attributes and organizational practices (Golden-Biddle and Dutton 2012), this chapter focuses on areas most applicable to the change literature: positive deviance, appreciative inquiry, coaching, and resiliency. It also provides a discussion of typical questions organizations face during change and how POS concepts can be used to provide implementation strategies (see Table 11.1).

**Table 11.1** Organizational change questions and POS implementation strategies

<p>Typical organizational change questions</p>	<p>Organizational implementation strategies based on positive deviance, appreciative inquiry, coaching, and resilience constructs</p>
<p>How can organizations communicate the need for change?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop pre-emptive planning sessions to ask members if they see a need for organizational change</li> <li>• Utilize groups for on-going discussions about needed organizational adaptations that in turn disseminate information to other members</li> <li>• Conduct stakeholder analyses to understand multiple points of view</li> </ul>
<p>What to do when individuals and groups are unclear on why change is needed?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use small groups to discuss and disseminate desired organizational states after the change is complete</li> <li>• Encourage individuals to discover positive paths for personal and professional growth based on future organizational states after change is implemented</li> <li>• Appeal to individual and group norms to develop coalitions around the needed change</li> </ul>
<p>How can organizations implement change?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ask individuals and/or groups how they would introduce change</li> <li>• Find ways to encourage members to be change agents rather than recipients only</li> <li>• Employ active and effective listening</li> <li>• Avoid relying on an overly rational, planned and control system of change implementation</li> <li>• Encourage participants to be change agents within the organization</li> </ul>
<p>What are some ways to address emotional or cognitive barriers to change?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Give people the time and opportunity to absorb change</li> <li>• Develop a public space to discuss the change and any criticisms to it</li> <li>• Focus on positive emotions that help facilitate change</li> <li>• Consider hiring coaches or facilitators to work with members throughout the process</li> <li>• Host reflexive and active listening workshops for members to express themselves</li> <li>• Recognize that resistance can be a positive form of membership engagement in the change process</li> </ul>
<p>How can organizational culture shape the way change is introduced and implemented?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop system thinking and learning through focusing on organizational resiliency and successes</li> <li>• Focus on building a culture that seeks solutions rather than emphasizing problem-focused thinking</li> <li>• Discover and emphasize organization core values to help with the change process and readjust these if necessary</li> <li>• Emphasize what the organization does best and how change will lead to greater successes</li> </ul>
<p>How can strategic planning be used in the change process?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employ the knowledge and advice of stakeholders at all levels in the organization</li> <li>• Engage change agents and recipients at all organizational levels</li> <li>• Use actual ideas generated from members during the process to create buy-in</li> <li>• Make the planning process relational—use individuals and groups dependence on one another to build upon organizational strengths</li> </ul>

### 11.3.1 *Positive Deviance*

Typically deviance is described as negative and unwanted behaviors performed by individuals or groups. However, positive deviance represents one of the core components of the POS movement and provides an alternative view to mainstream studies of deviance. In its most simplistic explanation, deviance is a departure from the norm and positive deviance is those behaviors that deviate from the norm but improve the human condition (Cameron et al. 2003; Spreitzer and Sonenshein 2004). More specifically, Spreitzer and Sonenshein define positive deviance as “intentional behaviors that depart from the norms of a referent group in *honorable* ways (2003, 209).” They use honorable as a term that is interchangeable with ‘virtuous’; however, they employ honorable because they see it as an “evaluative term-it recognizes conduct that a referent group considers ought or ought not to occur” (209). In relation to organizational change, positive deviance will be explored in relation to its uniqueness from negative deviance, its relationship to other forms of positive behaviors and virtuousness.

A distinction between constructive (positive) and destructive (negative) deviant behaviors is made in the management literature. While both forms of behavior share a similar basis in that they represent departures from the norm, deviance does not speak to the value or merit of those actions (Warren 2003). Warren notes how the management literature, to a certain degree, inaccurately assumes that positive and negative deviance requires distinctively different behaviors to overcome pressures to conform to social norms either way. Thus, he develops a united conceptualization for understanding individual deviance based on the reference group norms and other normative standards (e.g., hypernorms or standards for judging the behaviors). The psychological conditions thought to facilitate positive deviance are a strong sense of personal meaning, other-focus, self-determination, personal efficacy, and courage while additional contextual factors that could enable positive deviance is transformational leadership and the context of crisis (Spreitzer and Sonenshein 2003). While Warren’s construct of deviance focuses on the individual level of analysis, others like Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2003) have expanded explanations of deviance to apply to organizational and industry levels of analysis.

Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2004) make a point to distinguish positive deviance from other prosocial behaviors like organizational citizenship, corporate social responsibility, whistle-blowing, and creativity/innovation. Although they hypothesize that positive deviance will be positively related to these prosocial actions, they claim these behaviors are all distinct, and for the most part, do not represent a “substantial departure from norms” like positive deviance does (2004, 836). Some examples they use to illustrate positive deviance include: a plant manager at a Fortune 500 company guaranteeing union member’s lifelong employment during a time of poor work climate and job insecurity and keeping his promise; companies who generously compensated employees and their families who lost loved ones following September 11th; and Tom’s of Maine, acting in corporate socially responsible ways thirty years before most organizations practiced this.

They speculate that some of the positive outcomes of positive deviance at the individual and organizational level include subjective well-being, high-quality relationships, long-term effectiveness, and “the evolution of organizational and common business norms” (Spreitzer and Sonenshein 2003, 221). Similarly, other concepts that appear to be related to honorable positive deviance include principled and courageous actions, meaningfulness in one’s work, and subjective well-being (Worline and Quinn 2003; Pratt and Ashforth 2003; Sirgy 2012). The most important point to take into account in regards to change is that positive deviance along with other positive constructs, such as principled actions, may significantly shape organizational change and supportive environments for individuals.

Cameron (2003) crafts a connection between individuals and organizations that have an orientation towards virtuousness and wellness on a deviance continuum. At one end, individuals and organizations are described as being negatively deviant (e.g., ill, ineffective, and harmful) and having a problem solving orientation, while on the other end, individuals and organizations that experience positive deviance (e.g., wellness, extraordinary, honoring) have a virtuousness orientation. Cameron’s theory describes organizational virtuousness as the “*human impact, moral goodness, and social betterment*” (49) and seeks to clarify why virtuousness needs to be further researched in POS. He argues virtuousness in organizations “represents a set of activities, values, emotions, and consequences that are positively deviant” (63). In sum, more research is needed to investigate the full benefits of virtuousness, positive deviance evaluative measures, and their influences on performance, but evidence indicates that the relationships between these areas can help individuals and organizations improve and change their circumstances (Bright et al. 2006).

Positive deviance can be thought of as bringing forth positive change for individuals, groups, and their organizations. It describes a new way of decision-making and behaving in organizations that may significantly transform the way researchers study organizational change and practitioners engage with others to develop change in their organizational setting. Positive deviance focuses on finding honorable and virtuous ways to depart from the socially accepted norms that improve the lives of others, their organizations, and have the potential to change practices of other businesses. Creating a culture, along with developing leadership that encourages positive deviance may prove to be a new and prosperous direction for organizations across sectors.

### ***11.3.2 Appreciative Inquiry***

Appreciative Inquiry (hereafter AI) offers another avenue for approaching positive change in organizations. The AI framework distinguishes itself from the deficit-based or problem-focused perspective that traditionally asks, ‘what is wrong’ and then proceeds to fix the problem (Bright et al. 2006; Cooperrider et al. 2008). Three fundamental differences from the conventional deficit-based inquiry is that AI is fully affirmative, inquiry-based, and improvisational (Cooperrider and

Sekerka 2003). AI maintains that organizations are ‘networks of relatedness’ which are alive; therefore, its’ central objective is to reach the positive core of organizational life through “asking positive questions [that] draws out the human spirit” (Cooperrider and Sekerka 2003, 226–7). AI could also be related to the asset-based community development literature (see Phillips 2004; Green and Haines 2007) and the quality of life and well-being research (see Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky 2006; Sirgy 2012). Nevertheless, change creation is more of a by-product of AI processes than its sole focus.

A popular process used to describe how AI takes place in organizations is the 4-D cycle of discovery, dream, design, and destiny. These four stages center on developing the positive core of organizations through engaging stakeholders in an appreciative interview process that: (1) leads to uncovering positive experiences and meanings in their organization (i.e., discovery); (2) helps individuals shift from the status quo and individualism towards the collective future of the group through creating new possibilities (i.e., dream); (3) involves stakeholders in designing a new system that supports transforming their organizational dreams into a reality (i.e., design); and (4) transforms an individual’s “cognitive and conversational scripts change” (i.e., destiny or delivery) given participants cooperation in the process (Cooperrider and Sekerka 2003, 228). Thus, change occurs in natural ways as individuals develop and implement their hopes for the future of their organizations without the organization and its leaders having to demand specific actions from its members. Interestingly, the paradox of AI is that its main goal is not to change things; rather, it seeks to help organizational stakeholders “uncover and bring forth existing strengths, hopes, dreams: to identify and amplify the positive core of the organization. In so doing, it transforms people and organizations” (Whitney and Trosten-Bloom 2003, 15). Primarily, AI influences the internal processes of individuals which inevitable affects the external processes of managing organizations.

As a theory of positive change, AI emphasizes the development of organizational ideals through individuals and the bottom-up perspective, bypassing mainstream approaches that focus on discovering and fixing organizational problems mainly from the top-down. Cooperrider and Sekerka argue that positive organizational change progressively occurs in three stages “moving from elevation of inquiry, to fusion of strengths, to activation of energy. Each stage is triggered by increases of inquiry into the appreciable world and the expansion of relatedness to others” (2003, 231–232). By emphasizing the best and positive features of an organization (e.g., personal connections), they argue that AI can facilitate sustainable organizational change that develops from the local (i.e. the individual) to the whole (i.e., the organization). Therefore, sources of change resistance, like an individual’s fear of the unknown or associated negative emotions of change, group norms, or organizational culture, will be less of a factor when the organization uses AI to understand its members. In turn, organizational members simultaneously engage with an AI point of view creating a reciprocal effect of understanding between their peers and organization.

As individuals are given the opportunity for self-discovery through appreciative interviews, their cognitive and emotional views of the organization will begin to

alter. Individuals are involved in developing their own organizational reality, where their vision for making their world better leads them to become facilitators of change rather than being forced to be a recipient of change. This ensues because individuals are encouraged to be self-reflective and engage intimately with their organization's purpose and processes. Interconnectedness with themselves, others, and the organizations will affect their interactions with their groups and the organization as a whole. Over time, alignments between individuals and groups may occur that will lead to organizational change in positive manners. AI develops a synergistic approach that relies on the collective whole in creating change instead of the influence of a few leaders, individuals, or organizational structures.

### 11.3.3 Coaching

Coaching introduces another aspect of inducing organizational change via the individual level. Although rarely portrayed as a component of POS, the core insistence of coaching on supporting self-discovery through asking questions and living a self-fulfilling life through developing one's own solutions to challenges lends credence to its relationship with POS. Like AI, coaching also involves asking questions, although, the *right* and *uniquely contextual* questions are its central intention. Cooperrider et al. conceive of AI's power to create a socially constructed reality powerful enough to inspire, mobilize, and sustain "human system change" (2008, 2). In a similar manner, coaching facilitates personal change through the process of self-reflection that can lead to developing individually-based solutions. One study found that when a small sample of army recruiter sales managers were coached, those they who applied "coaching advice reported greater work satisfaction and a tendency toward greater life satisfaction" (Bowles and Picano 2006, 238). Coaching or what some now call, Appreciate Coaching, is about the process of individual growth through experiences that may be needed for different lengths of time and for different events because it involves changing the way one thinks (Orem et al. 2011). QOL therapist use coaching as a positive psychology technique to help clinical and nonclinical patients both achieve positive results (Frisch 2005). Coaches are needed in good and bad times. They may be managers, leaders, change agents, co-workers, or outside consultants. Organizational coaches may stimulate organizational change through their relationships with organizational participants.

Regardless of organizational position, a coach's job is to help individuals develop their own unique solutions for handling challenges versus the traditional management paradigm of giving individuals solutions which they are then expected to understand and follow according to the steps given by the advice-giver (Rock 2006; Rock and Schwartz 2006). As previously noted, an individual's brain is hardwired and desires to make connections and find solutions by itself. However, a coach or what Rock (2006) refers to as a 'quiet leader' can assist individuals in focusing on thinking processes instead of the problem. Through this process, coaches or quiet leaders guide individuals in creating their own connections

between solutions and problems that will inevitably lead to a positive and energized response from the individual's brain i.e., coaching can become a positive change force.

There are specific techniques involved in coaching individuals. Rock posits 'six steps to transforming performance at work' through quiet leadership which include: "thinking about thinking, listen for potential, speak with intent, dance toward insight, CREATE (Current Reality, Explore Alternatives, and Tap their Energy) Model, and follow up" (2006, 235–8). Rock maintains that these steps can be applied to help teams and the organization change. Just as individuals make neurological connections for how and why change is necessary from the inside out, so too must the team and organization as a whole develop in a similar manner. Organizational coaching may not be well-received or lead to resistance if it is forced upon employees so individual consideration and meaningful feedback within a supportive climate is needed (Nahavandi 2009). A coaching orientation (i.e., asking questions and not making judgments) from managers may prove to be vital for facilitating individual and organizational changes in the future.

Introducing change and adapting to change may be made easier due to the ability of a coach to help individuals develop self-generated solutions to dealing with changes which they can then transfer to the group and organizational levels. As with AI, the pivotal point that organizational change may hinge on is the willingness of organizational members to be coached in a way that allows them to create solutions to personal confrontations they may have with proposed changes. The organization itself must be willing to have a more organic and dynamic approach to facilitating change. Having organizational leaders who are willing to be trained in how to coach employees in reaching their own solutions requires a shift in the managerial paradigm of leaders knowing what is best in favor of managers being willing participants in promoting others to create sustainable solutions. It is conceivable that through effective organizational coaching a cultural shift in organizational learning about change can occur that helps overcome some of the specific causes of resistance to change like organizational inertia and structures by enabling individuals to develop solutions to problems that work with rather than against the system.

### ***11.3.4 Resilience***

The study of resilience is a rapidly developing literature that is frequently mentioned in other concepts related to POS. Resiliency appears in multiple literatures at various levels of analysis regularly, but the research and theory of it at the organizational level is less specified and developed (Sutcliffe and Vogus 2003). Research of individual resiliency has been most commonly examined through vulnerable children populations. At the individual level, resilience refers to an "outcome of successful adaptation to adversity" (Zautra et al. 2010, 4). Some add the word 'positive' rather than successful adaption and coping to capture the

affirmative preference for resilience in humans (e.g., Ong et al. 2010). Resilience can play an important role in determining individual's quality of life (Sirgy 2012). There is a difference between the process of resilience in organizations and the personality trait of resiliency (Sutcliffe and Vogus 2003). Individuals can become more or less resilient over time, but some people may have a greater capacity (i.e., cognitions, emotions, personality, social relationships, and resources) for resiliency. Youssef and Luthans (2007) discovered that individuals with higher levels of resilience were positively associated with job satisfaction, work happiness, and organizational commitment.

Although less researched, resiliency at the group level mimics individual resiliency in its focus upon “factors that promote competence, encourage growth, and restore efficacy”; however, groups develop collective efficacy as “an emergent group-level attribute... [which] is ultimately the product of the interactive and coordinative dynamics among team members...[where] resilience is an outcome of the self-reinforcing nature of this [i.e., effective action that bolsters a sense of competency and efficacy] cycle” (Sutcliffe and Vogus 2003, 101–103). Both individuals and groups in organizations develop resiliency in similar patterns; it appears over time and through processes that lead to successful experiences, learning, and efficacy.

The key feature that helps explain organizational resilience is ‘adaptability’ i.e., to bounce back, recover from strains and pressures, to improve capabilities, and to continuously reconstruct itself (Hamel and Välikangas 2003). Organizational resilience, in Denhardt and Denhardt's (2010) view, combines the collectivity of individual resilience with the broader system's capacity for resilience. Unlike individuals, organizations are not born resilient. Alternatively organizations must nurture and practice it and focus on developing resilient characteristics like redundancy, robustness, flexibility, reliability, and the maintenance of a culture of trust and respect (Denhardt and Denhardt 2010). Over the long run organizations can improve and adapt to handle everyday stressors in creative and constructive manners.

There is an underlying tension between organizational resilience and change. Resiliency, in some instances, may entail only incremental adaptations or none at all. One premise of this chapter has been that change in all of its various forms and processes is recognized as such. Organizational resilience could further insinuate a need for contextually-bounded organizational understanding of the balance between changing too much or too little. In order for an organization to achieve more resiliencies, it must overcome particular challenges. Hamel and Välikangas (2003, 3–12) explain four of these challenges as the *cognitive challenge* (i.e., accepting the way things are and overcoming denial), the *strategic challenge* (i.e., constantly creating new alternatives to challenges), the *political challenge* (i.e., using existing resources in support of various ‘breakout experiments’), and the *ideological challenge* (i.e., accepting the paradox between being innovative and opportunistically-driven and overemphasizing the optimization doctrine). These challenges represent the tension organizations must face between change and resistance.

Change is an inherent component of resiliency regardless of the level of analysis being studied. Conversely, organizational resiliency requires the acknowledgement of the fine line between adapting, remaining successful, and being true to an organization's mission and members. The spirit of being resilient means having the ability and capacity to deal, cope, and manage change in a positive manner. Individuals, groups, and organizations who can harness the opportunities presented in changing and moving forward may prove to have better outcomes.

Overall, the POS literature has much to offer theorists and practitioners. Table 11.1 applies POS constructs to develop strategies for addressing commonly asked questions and issues during the organizational change process. Employing some of these techniques can assist organizations and their managers in implementing positive changes. POS concepts like appreciative inquiry, coaching, resiliency, and positive deviance provide a much-needed alternative to understanding organizational life and change within it. Additionally, these POS concepts can demonstrate how to facilitate change in individuals, groups, and organizations that lead to human and organizational flourishing and abundance rather than focusing on the negative or harmful aspects of change.

## 11.4 The Crossroads of Change, POS, and Organizations

There is a growing need for research that studies how the processes of organizational change can be managed in more democratic (Piderit 2000) and positive forms, especially in the realm of public and nonprofit agencies and their communities. Learning more about how organizational and other types of change connects to the personal, organizational, and community well-being is a valuable research endeavor (e.g., Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky 2006). Organizational change and POS literatures have almost entirely developed in the context of private sector organizations and their employees thus leaving ample room for exploration of organizational change in other sectors. POS, along with its related concepts of positive deviance, appreciative inquiry, coaching and resiliency raises interesting questions for studying change amongst all sectors and communities. Arguably, public and nonprofit agencies and their managers have a higher moral obligation than their private sector counterparts to ease the change processes in general because of their focus on public goods, interests, and citizens.

For example, in her study of the relationship between competing drivers of public management reforms and administrative changes in the public sector, Wise (2002) draws upon three postmodern values in the field—"demands for greater social equity, humanization, and democratization and empowerment" (556)—to explain their influences on administrative practices in three national contexts. Wise's study is relevant because it considers public sector traditions that place values on engaging in democratic practices at work, treating citizens and employees more humanely, and being fair and equitable to others. Normative values like these are at the core of many POS practices, although scholars have yet to make this

connection directly. The final section of the chapter suggests how exploring the relationships between change and concepts from POS can inform new ways for studying topics in administration like organizational humanism, democratic and quality of work life practices, and their implications for social and societal change.

One pathway for connecting democratic practices and organizational humanism to organizational change is through the positive deviance construct. Deviating from the group and organizational norms in ways that improves the lives of others within the confines of being honorable would require a complete shift in administrative thinking. Prior attention on individual and administrative behaviors within the public sector places emphasis on rationality, hierarchy, following the rules, and efficiency rather than democracy (Waldo 2007). Nevertheless, positive deviance presents an alternative viewpoint on organizations where empowering individuals to act and taking honorable actions on behalf of others—including the citizens—would be rewarded. Although there would be some obstacles in calling for positive deviance in the public sector like adhering to bureaucratic structures and rules, or deciphering subjective viewpoints of what the public considers acceptable behaviors from public servants, it is possible that these actions would steer public and even nonprofit sector employees and organizations towards Cameron's (2003) positive deviance continuum. This could enable publicly service-motivated individuals to potentially achieve self-actualization needs and feel like they are having a broader impact on their communities and society.

There are others who also see benefits in rewarding positive deviance. Spreitzer and Sonenshein (2003) contend that positive deviance leads to extraordinary organizing where increased command and control hierarchy is never demanded; furthermore, there is movement towards more democratic practices through creating "equalitarian relationships and self-organizing structures" (239). These higher values appear to align with those administrators who wish to practice democratic principles in the workplace. As Sirgy et al. (2006) show there are 'spillover effects' between one's work place experiences and satisfaction/dissatisfaction and one's life domains where each can effects the other. Moreover, there are other potentially positive spillover effects for social and societal changes outside of the organizational setting that can be a by-product of positive deviance.

Another matter that warrants exploration is how the relationship between appreciative inquiry and coaching can reinforce participatory and group democratic processes that could further stimulate positive changes in organizations. Appreciative inquiry and coaching is about helping individuals experience personal growth and well-being through asking questions focused on positive experiences. These processes align with organizational humanism, democracy in the workplace, and quality of life perspectives because they give people space to make mistakes and learn from them without retribution. AI and coaching epitomize the democratic practice of treating employees fairly, humanely, and relationally. For example, Cooperrider and Whitney (2005, 56–59) argue that AI is a successful practice because it enables the release of six freedoms that leads to a surge in power and energy for all which includes "to be known in relationship, to be heard, to dream in community, to choose to contribute, to act with support, and to be positive."

These freedoms allow individuals and groups to be personally liberated in their relationships with others and their organizations. Individuals are more likely to engage with and create change processes by being empowered to do so by management and organizational mandates. In a similar manner, coaching helps individuals and groups develop their own unique solutions to challenges in which they are more likely to follow-through seeing as the solutions are self-generated. One of the best ways for AI and coaching to become the norm in organizations is through an orientation change in culture and leadership. In sum, AI and coaching change the orientation of the organization and management towards the positive, which will benefit employees, the organization itself, the clients they serve, and perhaps society at large.

Lastly, studying the positive consequences for organizations by linking organizational resiliency with interdisciplinary literatures such as POS provides scholars with further areas for exploration. Just as some individuals are thought to be more resilient than others, organizational resiliency can be practiced, refined, and fostered (Denhardt and Denhardt 2010). The value of resiliency is that it offers organizations and individuals in them the ability to grasp the positive aspects associated with how they adapted and coped with change during times of stability, rapid change, or crisis. Moreover, seeing oneself and their organization as resilient can create norms of competency and efficacy insomuch as it helps design a culture less fearful of change and more accepting of perpetual organizational adaptations. In essence, a resilient organization can comprehend the dynamic, contextual processes and relationships involved during change and take advantage of past successes and failures to make more informed decisions. A resilient organization encourages learning and drawing upon individual strengths to inspire growth and collective efficacy for the organization and their community. In return, it offers a way of practicing a positive framework for achieving outcomes for all. Orienting managers and organizations towards resiliency encourages learning from past experiences and adversity in order to cope with economic, political, and economic change and pressures.

## 11.5 Conclusion

Society is facing increasing complexity that requires more than the traditional, top-down approaches to dealing with change. Communities and the organizations within them are facing ever-evolving challenges and movements that necessitate a response such as: global warming, government and corporate invasion into personal privacy, Black Lives Matter, rising employment among youth and minorities, and fiscal uncertainty. These issues demand our attention. It is tempting to fall prey to the idea that the solutions for such challenges may never be possible given that conquering them requires high levels of collective action from multiple stakeholders. The POS literature does not ignore the inherent difficulties in tackling issues that need major change from the masses like the ones listed above. It does,

however, suggest greater emphasis on the positive, life-giving aspects of the need for change and the individual's role in facilitating change at higher levels.

This chapter explored the various mechanisms for facilitating positive changes in the workplace by demonstrating how implementing change can be better managed to improve outcomes for individuals, groups, and organizations. Using a positive approach to dealing with change in organizations has the potential to impact individuals and their communities, which may have broader impacts on society. If change is best accomplished in and through relationships and social support systems as well as by unlocking all of an organization's capacities through focusing on the affirmative, then further research into this area enables the scholarly community to have a stronger impact change for all. In essence, improving quality of work life for individuals, their organizations, and communities can have an amplifying effect on all.

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# Chapter 12

## Conclusion from the Editors

### Conclusions and Future Thinking on New Dimensions in Quality of Life Studies

**Patsy Kraeger, Scott Cloutier and Craig Talmage**

**Abstract** The final chapter brings together the global perspectives on quality of life and community well being to inspire and prompt future research and applied work in these fields.

**Keyword** Community well-being · Quality of life

This concluding chapter looks at key findings from the eight chapters to identify areas for future research and applied work. In our introduction we identify three new dimensions including general considerations for community well being, community well-being across the globe and looking and place based satisfaction and happiness.

Section One of the book looks at general considerations associated with community well being from diverse perspectives across age and gender to local and global considerations for well-being and quality of life.

Talmage and Knopf focus on three assessment tools. They suggest, “community policy, development, and enrichment are the tools by which the building-blocks of diversity, inclusion, and inclusiveness can be leveraged in communities to foster increased well-being. These ideas are important for individual as well as community consideration in looking at cohesion and disruption in communities. They specifically ask, “what resources and processes are needed to achieve, reinforce, and amplify inclusiveness in communities”. Complex elements of diversity,

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inclusion, and inclusiveness are discussed in the chapter with the intention of future researchers using these components to operationalize studies around diversity and inclusiveness.

Murgas and Klobucnik consider community well-being from a geographical point of view, which they suggest, can apply both in the human world as well as the virtual world. Specifically they utilize sensemaking to consider how to assess community well-being specifically through measuring quality of place. They suggest that the geographical point of view defines quality of the place as its objective dimension. The quality of place can be conceptualized. Community well-being is already a customary term, which in our opinion is not a part of the quality of life, but the output can be misinterpreted as condemning of community planning. Geographic boundaries are used in both. They suggest that there is a need to separate the concepts of well-being from quality of life given the two decades specific focus on community well-being. They suggest that conceptualization of well being cannot actually be done as that there needs to be a narrowing of the assessment to quality of place. Conceptualization of quality of place in this chapter uses the achieved values of Quality of Life index to assess outcomes in a Czech municipality. The chapter addresses outcomes around (i) municipal residents quality of life depending on the size of the municipality, and (ii) the geographical position of the municipality in the landscape plays an important role.

Finally, in this section, Movahed looks at nurturing as a tool to assess the connection between human and planetary health and well-being. Provocatively, Movahed suggests that it is time to transcend the traditional paradigm for assessment place and community well-being with a focus on connection between humans and nature in order to achieve a sustainable world for generations to come. “[I]nterconnections between humans and the rest of nature are ever-present and clear. ... Modern lifestyles have seemingly removed many people from this direct relationship as we have become distanced from ecosystems and detached from the consequences of consumption. ... We must begin to address the root problem- our separation from Mother Earth”. Scholars and communities are able to assess and operationalize these ideas through participatory workshops when there is a recognition that the focus should be on a multi-dimensional construct for well-being. The author adapts Crabbe et al.’s (1995) identify three key stages in determining community sustainability: (1) community engagement where the focus is on defining community conceptions of sustainability; (2) assessment of where the community stands relative to where wants to be and examining current sources of instability; and (3) assessing resiliency and adaptive capacity of community to change. Participation, feedback loops and an iterative process coupled with monitoring and evaluation will help communities define and refine what it is to be a resilient and sustainable community.

These three chapters in section one offer new dimensions for assessing community well being from a point of inclusiveness, geography and reconnect to nature (i.e., Mother Earth). All chapters provide a path for scholars and community leaders to study and operationalize what a more diverse, inclusive and/or connected quality community could be through deeper reflection on place. Importantly, Movahed “reiterates the urgency of transdisciplinary conversations” called for by Rist and

Dahdouh-Guebas 2006 around community well-being. The models proposed in these chapters recognize this urgency and provide new perspectives on what these conversations look like.

Section two revolves around questions of place which are analyzed from European and Native American perspectives that provide insights on both instrumental and expressive norms, vision and goals around cities, migration and sustainable design. Quality of life and happiness especially around place tend to be more of a collective endeavor.

Barreira, Guimaraes and Panagopoulos chapter reinforces McCrea et al. (2014) argument that there is a need to measure what is most important. This chapter look shrinkage versus growth and considers questions of a city's attractiveness or citizens' residential satisfaction. There is no answer to which component matters more. This chapter suggest that every city must adopt its own strategy that looks at shrinkage not just growth in measuring high levels of residential satisfaction when city officials accept shrinkage as a fact. Should shrinkage not be accepted and growth becomes the key focus, then cities should measure attractiveness rather than residential satisfaction. A provoking question for policy makers and policy scholars in a time of declining social capital is to ask what happens when the more educated leave the city. The ability of cities to adapt to the challenges caused by declining populations may also decrease. Should we look for different indicators for satisfaction then in shrinking cities other than employment satisfaction when assessing quality of life in shrinking cities? This is a question that resonates around much of the world in a post-industrial economy.

Similarly, place based satisfaction is addressed around the design of the Tonalea Chapter House on the Navajo Reservation in the south western region of the United States. Design and visioning and the use of a framework were used in order to develop a sustainable outcome where Navajo traditions and beliefs were embodied in the new chapter house design. The authors combined Wiek and Iwaniec's (2014) visioning criteria and Lee's (2014) indigenous visioning approach to achieve a "viable, and equitable path to completing the vision and design roadmap for the chapter house and other similar endeavors. Ultimately, the goal of the visioning process was used to create the best imaginable future possible for people who have struggled with injustice and inequity. By using the TEK8 to address social justices issues through participatory visioning, culturally appropriate design and broader opportunities for happiness may result".

The chapter importantly points out that the path to success often takes longer in the collaborative visioning process when working across different cultures. While the framework was set up, the visioning process was not completed due to circumstances not related to the design or the research team. Participatory processes are long and consuming. They require the buy in of everyone who comes to the table. This chapter guides future researchers to be reflective about design, frameworks and a visioning process across cultural boundaries.

Finally, in this section we look at migration and optimizing happiness when moving from place to place. Hendriks suggests that "people generally hope for a happy and satisfactory life and ... improvements in one's living conditions

(objective well-being) automatically lead to improvements in one's happiness (subjective well-being)". Migration is often motivated economic conditions or capabilities rather than quality of life and well-being considerations.

Hendriks asks us to consider focusing on people's expectations to assess optimal or suboptimal conditions of perceived happiness by migrants in addition to the traditional measures of economic improvement and capability assessment's. This focus on happiness will support a more nuanced approach to policy assessment and "support immigrants in developing better orientations (i.e., evidence-based choices) and diminish the constraints that obstruct immigrant's happiness. Overall, complementing the current approaches with a consideration of happiness offers significant potential in promoting better outcomes for both immigrants and the native population.

These new dimensions in place-based community development with a focus on sustainable well-being and quality of life outcomes drive us to consider adaptability in the face of complex challenges from declining populations, migrations and cultural competencies.

Section three of the book looks at comparative measures in the southern hemisphere, specifically in Australia and South America to assess community well being by focusing on the impacts of poverty and immigration. The focus is still on place and the impacts that poverty and immigration subjectively and objectively impact community well-being. While we do not know if these studies outcomes translate outside of the Australian or South African context, the rigorous models and data analysis shed new light on overcoming poverty and xenophobia in the post-industrial world through case studies.

Callander and Schofield look at chronic poverty in Australia. They suggest that traditional thinking has defined persons living in chronic poverty "as having a low chance of improving their situation. ... [T]here is currently no consensus on what the critical time period for being labeled as 'chronically poor' is for multidimensional poverty". The authors then is a multidimensional poverty definition combining low income and poor health status which is measured by the SF-36 Physical and Mental Component Summary Scores. Specifically they consider how long do people need to live in poverty before they are more than likely not able to escape poverty in Australia? They found through their study that Australians who live "in poverty for four consecutive years is the threshold for being chronically poor: being in poverty for four or more consecutive years significantly increases an individual's chance of remaining in poverty". While we do not know if this study translates outside of the Australian context, the rigorous model and data studies shed new light on overcoming poverty in the post-industrial world.

Gordon for the first time in South Africa looks at how improving levels of subjective wellbeing may conversely have a negative impact on xenophobia. The author analyzes "subjective national wellbeing using African public opinion data and map the linkages between national wellbeing and xenophobia". The South African context specifically is one in which there is pressure on the government "to deliver on the personal hopes of the electorate for a better life". Twenty-four percent of the population individually believes that he or she have low levels on well-being

which I why this study was conducted to see the correlation between immigration, xenophobia and community well-being. The author suggests that an understanding of quality of life may allow for there to be broader “social tolerance towards diverse groups”. Gordon admits that his goal might be “somewhat outside the remit of the discipline, quality of life scholars have often pushed beyond the boundaries of their own discipline to explore broader issues and make new connections. Quality of life indicators can act as vital measures of a nation’s health and their relationship to prejudice should become an important site of study alongside other macroeconomic indicators.

Central questions around improvement, acceptance and tolerance have been empirically studied in these two chapters. The dimensions that these authors ask scholars and practitioners to explore is to use quality of life studies for larger epidemiological studies to widen the lens of optimal and suboptimal accepted norms for well-being.

Finally, in the fourth section we move from place based community well being to looking at organizational well being in the North America (specifically in the context of the United States) through traditional organizational structures in the study of foster care to new hybrid organizations where actors seek to optimize social good through private firms. These chapters look at challenges as opportunities through meaningfulness, positivity and purposes a measures or organization well-being.

Kraeger introduces the “Socioconomer” as an actor who seeks meaning and purpose in his or her day to day work through subjective measures of well-being including purpose and meaningfulness that contribute collectively to the overall organization well-being in hybrid firms. The chapter asks who are the socially minded business people working and co-creating financial and social returns in today’s economy in hybrid firms? Why don’t they choose sectors where outcomes are more clearly defined as social or economic? How can quality of life studies be the connection to bridge social and economic outcomes in these firms? The key is to really understand and assess who these new organizational actors are from a multidimensional perspective which includes a quality of component which connects to the idea of “doing good” through the delivery of private services and products whether the good is to the environment, the arts, improving employment and alleviating poverty and/or health. As Gordon states in his chapter assessing national subjective well-being, quality of life studies can be used to assess subjective measures of what it means “to do good” and co-create community well being and a hybrid that produces social and economic benefits.

Finally, Robichau in the concluding chapter looks at change as a fundamental part of the individual and organizational life. “Communities and the organizations within them are facing ever-evolving challenges and movements that necessitate a response such as: global warming, government and corporate invasion into personal privacy, “Black Lives Matter”, rising employment among youth and minorities, and fiscal uncertainty. These issues demand our attention. It is tempting to fall prey to the idea that the solutions for such challenges may never be possible given that conquering them requires high levels of collective action from multiple

stakeholders". Quality of life and positive studies literature allow a new lens to examine organizational change when social movements often impact organizational life and well-being evolves inside the organization to reflect the societal norm. The author provides four dimensions in which scholars can operationalize change in organizational life as reflective of community well-being.

The last two chapters then provide a focus of subjective well-being as measure to enhance and understand changes in organizational forms and in organizational life. These chapters show that changing societies require organizations that are adaptable and flexible as well as being committed to the well-being of owners and employees who seek purpose and meaning in their work.

The global variation and variation across units of analysis suggest that quality of life, community well-being and well-being measures in general can be operationalized to look at place and satisfaction, considerations for global movement and happiness, methods to assess poverty and tolerance and finally as a way to connect organizational well-being to reflect larger societal change. Recent literature highlights the importance of the frame of quality of life and well-being in the study of community and organizational life and as a guide for achieving optimal well-being and for understanding and explaining sub-optimal well-being. Connections across disciplines are also seeming these chapters reminding us of the urgency to have a transdisciplinary conversation if we seek solutions to the globe's most complex problems. Throughout this book, the contributors have investigated both formal and informal connections and networks to ask questions and draw conclusions about the state of individual and collective well-being across place, space and cultural from nation to individual to organizational contexts.

We hope, as your Editors, that this collection of global quality of life and well-being studies informs your scholarship or work in communities, organizations and of the individuals' subjective and objective understanding of his or her social world.

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