

JOBS AND WELL-BEING: REOPENING THE DEBATE



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PART III.

BEYOND A JOB-FOCUSED AGENDA

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I.

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This is Part 3 of an investigation on the relationship between employment and well-being, focusing on the way that knowledge and claims in this area feed into social policy.

The subtitle of the investigation refers to “reopening” the debate on jobs and well-being. We intend this as a reproach to those who have suggested the matter is settled. With the backing of academics and professional healthcare bodies, the Department for Work and Pensions has claimed that there is a firm consensus on the idea that employment is essential for health and well-being, and that joblessness is inherently bad for people. Reopening the debate means asking whether the reality is really so simple.

The investigation is divided into three parts. In Part 1, we drew attention to the most influential claims about the relation between jobs and health, showing how these have been used to justify a job-focused policy agenda, centred on the promotion and prescription of employment. This agenda includes features that are often discussed - such as welfare cuts and job-focused conditionality - as well as political developments that are less talked about, such as the coercion of disabled people off benefits and the drive to establish employment as a ‘health outcome’ in healthcare settings.

In Part 2 we turned to the evidence, questioning whether this job-focused policy agenda is truly supported by research on the relation between jobs and health. Against the simplicity of the idea that jobs are essential to well-being, we shed light on studies which show that the relationship between work and health is variable, sensitive to context, and ultimately ambiguous. In the broadest terms, research suggests that having a job is not always good for people, and that the quality of life without work depends on the circumstances.

In Part 3, we now reflect on the implications of knowledge about jobs and well-being for social policy, suggesting that there is no justification for the UK's job-focused agenda that is rooted in convincing conclusions on the determinants of well-being. In response, we imagine the broad principles of a less job-focused set of policies. Our suggestions uphold the importance of a right to supported inclusion in employment for those who want it, but also put more focus on the quality of work available, and the possibility of reconstructing unemployment. This opens up the possibility for policies to focus on supporting people's agency, dignity and security when not working.

We also conclude with several more philosophical considerations, suggesting that reopening the debate on jobs and health may require a more skeptical attitude in general, regarding the power of public health expertise to 'tell us what to do' politically. This is because we think the future of work and welfare ought to be a question for citizens. It is a question that involves asking what justice means, whose interests may be served by the idea that 'working is good for you', and what kind of society citizens would choose to live in, if they had a genuine choice. The value-laden nature of the debate means the future of work and welfare cannot be left to health experts alone.

We hope this investigation will be useful to health practitioners, policymakers and campaigners who have questioned the unqualified claim that 'jobs are good for you'. We also hope to persuade more people that the claimed consensus on this matter is not all it seems.

David Frayne and Max Maher

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The government has made no secret of its determination to change the value system to focus more on individual responsibility, to place major limits on government support, and to pursue a single-minded, and some have claimed simple-minded, focus on getting people into employment at all costs.

Philip Alston, on behalf of the United Nations¹

In Part 1 of this report, we showed how claims about the necessity of jobs for well-being have been drawn on to justify a policy agenda focused on promoting and prescribing employment, including an expansion of work-based benefit conditionality and the establishment of work as a 'health outcome'. In Part 2, we then showed that the dominant claims about jobs and well-being ignore the high level of variation and ambiguity surrounding the personal significance of having a job. In the broadest terms, the research shows that having a job is not always good for health, and that the experience of joblessness is heavily dependent on circumstances.

In this final part of the report, we outline the broad principles of **a less job-focused policy agenda** that would be more in tune with these realities. To conclude, we also offer some broader reflections on the shape of the debate moving forward, suggesting that reopening the debate on jobs and health may mean taking a more critical stance on the power of public health expertise to 'tell us what to do' politically. Beyond evidence on the determinants of well-being, we need to debate a broader set of questions about the government's right to impose work, whose economic interests are supported by a work and health agenda, and whether the current reliance on work for well-being represents an ideal situation - one that we as citizens would choose, if alternatives were truly available. These questions are as much about values as evidence. Highlighting them is important for reclaiming the future of work and welfare as topics for debate among citizens - not public health experts alone.

¹ Alston, P. (2018), Statement on visit to the UK by Professor Philip Alston, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=23881>

II.

**BEYOND A
“JOB FOCUSED”
AGENDA**

Beyond a job-focused agenda

The available research does not support the idea that jobs in general are good for well-being, nor that suffering is an inevitable side-effect of joblessness. This should lead us to question the job-focused policy agenda outlined in Part 1 of this report, as well as the idea that this agenda is grounded in sound evidence on the determinants of well-being.

Taking these insights on board, we have set out the broad principles of an alternative, less job-focused policy agenda. This agenda shifts the focus away from the promotion and prescription of employment. It recognises the importance of job quality and the right to work, but also stresses the possibility of reconstructing unemployment, increasing the potential for time outside work to be secure, dignified and rewarding. This honours the fact that not everybody is capable or wants to participate in employment, that economic crises affect the availability of jobs for all, and that the actual experience of working often fails to live up to the ideal.

For the purposes of this report, we have limited ourselves to discussing the broad principles of such an agenda. These principles are intended to stimulate discussion, but the specific details of any proposals should be subject to ongoing debate.

- Reconstructing unemployment

There is no inherent link between joblessness and poor health, and a less job-centred policy agenda can focus on improving the lives of people when they are not in employment, resourcing citizens for agency and a sense of security. This could be framed as a need to 'reconstruct unemployment', or even a 'right to meaningful unemployment'. Such a right is vital in a world where not everybody can work, and where economic crises such as the Covid pandemic find growing numbers of citizens trying to subsist without a steady job.

- A new social guarantee

Reconstructing unemployment first and foremost requires economic security for all. The goal is to turn life without a job into more than a struggle for survival. This can be achieved with a new social guarantee that provides access to life's essentials as a right of citizenship. This guarantee would provide an universal basic income to every citizen² in combination with access to robust public services.³ Whilst public services would ensure universal access to goods such as healthcare, education, transportation, childcare and adult social care, a basic income can play a complementary role by resourcing citizens with the cash for goods they ought to be able to exercise choice over (such as food, clothing, leisure activities, and so on).⁴

Any new social guarantee would also need to recognise that there is no single definition of 'basic needs' among citizens, and take into account the additional living costs for people with long-term illnesses, care responsibilities and impairment-related needs.⁵ The method of assessment for such needs should be subject to deliberation by stakeholders and citizens, but broadly speaking it ought to move away from a system driven by cost-cutting and enforcing a norm of employment, towards one based on a genuine assessment of need. This would mean taking the disability assessment process out of the hands of private welfare contractors.⁶

2 For a full description of basic income principles and issues of implementation: Frayne, D. and Stronge, W. (eds.) (forthcoming) 'A Future Fit for Wales: A Basic Income for All', Autonomy

3 For a full outline of the call for 'universal basic services': Coote, A. and Percy, A. (2020) *The Case for Universal Basic Services*. UK: Wiley

4 For insights on combining basic income and basic services: Osben, N. (2021) 'Welfare after Covid: Beyond the cash / services binary', Autonomy, available at: <https://autonomy.work/portfolio/ffp-ubi-ubs/>; Stronge, W. (2020) 'What counts as basic? A new angle on the services / cash transfers debate', Autonomy, available at: <https://autonomy.work/portfolio/incomenotervices/>; Coote, A. and Lawson, N. (2021) 'Post-Covid Britain needs a new social guarantee', Guardian, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentis-free/2021/mar/11/post-covid-britain-new-social-guarantee-universal-basic-income-pandemic>

5 Richardson and Duffy outline the principles of a 'basic income plus', based on combining a guaranteed income floor with top up payments for those with additional needs in the areas of individual, home, travel and activity costs. See Richardson, C. and Duffy S. (2020) 'An Introduction to Basic Income Plus', available at: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a7b08c0d0e628f80b2cce36/t/5f1af73751962e0694ccdded/1595602746079/UBI%2B+Proposal+Version+1.0.pdf>

6 At the time of writing, both the UK Labour Party and the Scottish

It would also mean jettisoning the focus on 'work capability' and grounding in a different set of principles, combining specialist understandings of the diversity of needs among disabled people, a commitment to human rights, and a trust in citizens' own descriptions of their conditions and needs.⁷

- Rethinking the work ethic

Research shows that the experience of living without a job is made worse because of the judgements imposed by a traditional work ethic, based on the idea that employment is the ethical norm and principal means of becoming good citizen. Reconstructing unemployment requires campaigns that promote a more active questioning of the value attached to work, the amount of time spent doing it, and how work informs the way we judge others. The stigma connected with not being in employment will need to be challenged by a new vocabulary that talks about the variety and value of activities that people perform when they are not working, whether in the form of care, creativity, play, political activities, lifelong learning or the work involved in self-maintenance. It will also mean recognising that 'dependence' is not shameful, that autonomy depends on economic security, and that the entitlement to respect should not depend on individual economic contribution. Demands for a new social guarantee and a shorter working week have already been generating significant public discussion along these lines.

National Party have pledged to end the private contracting of assessments.

⁷ For an insight into the debate on how disability assessments could be structured in a more ethically sound way: Waddington, L. and Priestley, M. (2020) 'A Human Rights Approach to Disability Assessment', *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, vol.37(1), pp.1-15.

- A new communal infrastructure

Beyond these proposals, reconstructing unemployment also requires us to conceive of new kinds of spaces and infrastructures that can allow people to create, collaborate, convene and play together when they are not in employment. The think-tank Common Wealth has called for 'new forms of communal luxury - cultural spaces, parks, civic spaces and free social goods ... making life more joyful, caring and ultimately more unexpected'.⁸ Autonomy has also imagined blueprints for a new kind of community workspace, combining free access to IT equipment and tools, with care facilities and spaces for public assembly.⁹ The need for a new communal infrastructure could be articulated as a demand to 'axe the Job Centre', or to refashion it as a place for citizens to come together on their own terms. Such blueprints can help policymakers to imagine a third option, between employment and social isolation: the option of a more autonomous and socially-engaged life when not working.

8 Common Wealth and Autonomy_Urban, 'The Green New Deal City of 2030' Available at: <https://www.common-wealth.co.uk/interactive-digital-projects/green-new-deal-city>

9 Farruggia, F., Jones, P. and Siravo, J. (2020) 'The New Normal: A blueprint for remote working', Autonomy. Available at: https://autonomy.work/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/2020_OCT26_RWB.pdf

- The right to supported inclusion in work

In our present social system, employment still remains a crucial source of income and access to a public life. The right to supported inclusion in employment therefore remains an important part of any policy agenda. This is especially true for groups who have been historically excluded from the world of work (such as women, migrants, and disabled people) and requires a genuine commitment from employers to equality of access to work and fair treatment in the workplace. The right to work, however, should not extend to the prescription and imposition of employment for those who do not want it. We should remember that even social movements that have historically fought for the right to work subsequently developed offshoots that questioned whether employment is ultimately really an ideal site for liberation and inclusion.¹⁰ The right to work for an employer does not by itself represent progress.

- Genuine improvements to job quality

The UK work and health agenda has implied that any job is better than no job. Rather than coercing people into employment, the political focus should shift in part towards improving job quality. Furthermore, given the way in which the competitive pressures and profit incentives of capitalism often lead employers to take the 'low road', undermining workers' rights and deskilling work, it must be recognised that making significant improvements in this area will often mean embracing conflict and strengthening worker power.

¹⁰ On work ambivalence in feminism, see: Weeks, K. (2011) *The Problem With Work*. London: Duke University Press. On work ambivalence in disability movements, see: Introna, A. and Casagrande, M. (2019) 'We rebel because We misfit' in D. Frayne (ed.) *The Work Cure: Critical Essays on Work and Wellness*. Monmouth: PCCS

Previous interventions have fallen short in this regard. In 2017, the Taylor review of modern working practices was released, pledging a renewed political focus on ‘good work’.¹¹ However, the review received negative responses from trade unions, who suggested that it was light on substantive proposals, with little political follow-through and a lack of suggestions for enforcement against exploitative practices.¹² Another prominent 2017 review, *Thriving at Work*, sidestepped most of the factors that researchers link with job quality, such as pay, contractual conditions, working hours and autonomy, staying instead on the softer terrain of human relations.¹³ The focus was on rehabilitating employees by increasing mental health awareness at work, monitoring employee mental health, and getting employees to talk about their emotions. The goal to ‘provide employees with good working conditions’ is stated but not significantly elaborated. The report instead emphasises ‘resilience’, implying that learning how to cope with working conditions is more important than altering them.

Soft interventions such as raising mental health awareness at work can present an image of progress without substantially altering the working practices that shape employees’ experiences. The World Health Organisation’s 2019 report on health inequalities across Europe found that countries with stronger collective bargaining rights have less pronounced health inequalities in the area of employment.¹⁴ This reminds us that job quality is always a political matter, and should lead us to question the efficacy of approaches that focus more on altering outlook than regulation and conditions.

11 Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (2017) *Good Work: the Taylor review of modern working practices*. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/good-work-the-taylor-review-of-modern-working-practices>

12 For example: Woodcock, J., ‘What’s wrong with modern work? On the failure of the Taylor review’. Available at: <https://www.plutobooks.com/blog/modern-work-failure-taylor-review/>

13 Farmer, P. and Stevenson, D. (2017) *Thriving at Work: The Stevenson / Farmer Review of Mental Health and Employers*. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/658145/thriving-at-work-stevenson-farmer-review.pdf

14 World Health Organisation (2019) ‘Healthy, prosperous lives for all: The European health equity status report’, Available at: <https://www.euro.who.int/en/publications/abstracts/health-equity-status-report-2019>

- A shorter working week

Research has shown the negative consequences of long working hours for health, well-being, leisure and families.¹⁵ Initiatives to reduce the working week at sectoral and eventually national scales could offer a significant boost to well-being by alleviating the strains of long hours, allowing people more time to share domestic labour and undertake self-defined activities.¹⁶ A shorter working week could also give more people who want to work the opportunity to do so, distributing the necessary work more equally among the population. Connected policies like better parental leave and employee-focused flexibility can also complement a shorter working week by giving people more control over their lives.

15 For example: Kivimäki, M., Jokela, M., Nyberg, S. T., Singh-Manoux, A., Fransson, E. I., Alfredsson, L. et al. (2015) 'Long working hours and risk of coronary heart disease and stroke: a systematic review and meta-analysis of published and unpublished data for 603 838 individuals', *The Lancet*, vol. 386, pp. 1739-1746

16 For the full case: Stronge, W. and Harper, A. (eds.) (2019) 'The Shorter Working Week: A Radical and Pragmatic Proposal', *Autonomy*. Available at: <http://autonomy.work/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Shorter-working-week-docV6.pdf>

III.

**FINAL
REFLECTIONS:
DEBATING THE
FUTURE**

Final reflections: Debating the future

Governments find expert advice to be an indispensable resource for formulating and justifying policy and, more subtly, for removing some issues from the political domain by transforming them into technical questions.

Stephen Hilgartner, 'Science on Stage'¹⁷

This report has highlighted a need to reopen the debate on jobs and well-being, reconsidering the evidence surrounding the dominant claims. In offering some final reflections, however, we also suggest that efforts to reopen the debate can move beyond and outside this evidence-based approach. The question 'are jobs good for well-being' represents one of many ways to engage in thinking about the future of work and welfare, and it is worth considering the consequences of formulating the debate in these terms. As well as re-assessing the evidence, we ultimately suggest that campaigners and policymakers can adopt a more critical attitude in general about the power of expert health claims to 'tell us what to do' politically. Here we outline four reflections that can be kept in mind when debating the future of work and welfare.¹⁸

¹⁷ Hilgartner, S. (2000) *Science on Stage: Expert Advice as Public Drama*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

¹⁸ These reflections take a significant cue from Ashley Frawley's book-length engagement with social problems and the rise of well-being science: Frawley, A. (2015) *Semiotics of Happiness: Rhetorical Beginnings of a Public Problem*. London: Bloomsbury

Beyond the evidence-base: reflections for debating the future of work and welfare

- **Reflection 1:** evidence-based recommendations may not be as objective as presented.
- **Reflection 2:** positioning the future of work and welfare as an issue for public health scientists may draw attention away from questions of ethics and justice.
- **Reflection 3:** 'well-being' may not always be the strongest political ideal.
- **Reflection 4:** the desire for work may be an adaptive preference.

Reflection 1: evidence-based recommendations may not be as objective as presented.

The key publications associated with the UK work and health agenda have used an objective or scientific language to support the decision to establish employment as a health outcome. Common phrases like 'we now know', 'the evidence shows', facts being 'widely accepted' and the existence of the Public Health England 'consensus statement' are part of the theatre of public claims-making, reproducing a sense of authority and impartiality on the matter of jobs and health. The language of 'evidence-based policy' is used to suggest that the state's decision to focus on the promotion and prescription of employment is a logical extension of knowledge gathered by experts.

In this report we have questioned the evidence, but we also advise that a more critical attitude can be taken in general towards the idea that policy recommendations can be 'peeled off' the available evidence. The process of identifying a social problem, making observations, reporting on these observations and feeding them into political recommendations inevitably involves exercising certain values, bringing into play ideas about what courses of action are possible and desirable.¹⁹

¹⁹ Consider that the state's decision to commission research on the health impact of employment status (over, for example, job quality, income

This becomes clear when we consider that the same research findings have been used to justify radically different policy proposals. Several studies included in the flagship Waddell and Burton review (discussed in Part 1), for example, contribute to the overall consensus that unemployment has a detrimental impact on citizens' health. Yet the political responses these studies advise (omitted in Waddell and Burton's review) point in a markedly different direction to the status quo, promoting solutions focused on redistributing working time and income, rather than prescribing work.

One study recommends a 'more equal division of paid and non-paid work, the sharing of existing jobs, and shortened working hours', as well as measures to confer more status on unemployed people²⁰ whereas another recommends the implementation of a national basic income.²¹ These proposals are a long way from the recommendations of the Waddell and Burton review itself, even though they are drawn out of the same core assumptions about the relation between work and health. This shows that moving between observations about 'what is' and recommendations about 'what ought to be' is never an impartial or straightforward process. Reflection 1 suggests scrutinising the idea that the passage from identifying a social problem, to gathering evidence and making recommendations can ever be value-free.

inequality or benefit conditionality) may already indicate a certain bias. The choice of research question already begins to shape what kind of recommendations can be made.

20 Lahelma, E. (1992) 'Unemployment and Mental Well-Being: Elaboration of the Relationship', *International Journal of Health Services*, vol. 22 (2), pp. 261-274

21 Shortt, S.E. (1996) 'Is unemployment pathogenic? A review of current concepts with lessons for policy planners', *International Journal of Health Services*, vol. 26(3), pp. 569-589.

Reflection 2: positioning the future of work and welfare as an issue for public health scientists may draw attention away from questions of ethics and justice.

This leads us to Reflection 2, which suggests embracing the value-laden questions involved in debates on the future of work and welfare, rather than sidestepping them. The problem with framing the future of work as a question about what determines well-being is that it can lead stakeholders to circumnavigate questions which offer a more direct engagement with the problem. Such questions may include:

- Do we think the state has legitimate authority to prescribe and coerce citizens into employment?
- Should citizens be entitled to support irrespective of their participation in employment?
- How does the current job-focused agenda measure up against concepts like freedom, dignity and rights?
- Do we think that the exploration of political alternatives is possible and desirable?

Such questions should be brought out into the open for citizens to reason about. The risk we face in framing the future of work as a debate to be resolved with well-being expertise is that we turn what could be a democratic debate into a more technocratic and paternalistic one. As the sociologist of science Stephen Hilgartner has suggested, the transformation of ethical questions into technical ones, reliant on expert research, can be one way of removing social issues from the realm of debate among citizens.²² Without access to specialised knowledge, the public at large are thought to be amateurs, without a legitimate angle on what should be done. Policymakers should be aware of this tendency and be ready to listen to citizens whose lived-experiences and ethical reasoning have led them to different conclusions about what to do politically.

²² Hilgartner, S. (2000) *Science on Stage: Expert Advice as Public Drama*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Reflection 3. 'well-being' may not be the strongest political ideal.

Stepping outside debates on the determinants of well-being, it may also be worth asking the more fundamental question of whether 'well-being' is the best ideal to strive for. Academics specialising in the history of social problems suggest that, historically speaking, using emotional concepts to understand what is wrong with society is a relatively new tendency.²³ The discussion of 'well-being', both as a political goal and a realm of expert knowledge, has gained a remarkable prominence in the 21st century, and it is worth reflecting on the consequences.²⁴

Engaging with social problems as problems for well-being is unhelpful if it turns attention away from a more direct engagement with questions of interests, power and justice. It is notable, for example, that increasing interest in the emotional experience of work and unemployment seems to have corresponded with a declining interest in concepts like exploitation, ideology, freedom, and equality in the distribution of work, which are problems that exist independently of how workers feel.

23 For example, Davies, W. (2015) *The Happiness Industry: How Government and Big Business Sold Us Well-Being*. London: Verso; Madsen, O.J. (2014) *The Therapeutic Turn: How Psychology Altered Western Culture*. London: Routledge

24 Ashley Frawley has demonstrated this trajectory empirically, through an analysis of how social problems are discussed in the news: Frawley, A. (2015) *Semiotics of Happiness: Rhetorical Beginnings of a Public Problem*. London: Bloomsbury

Rather than asking whether the existing policy regime is good for well-being, we should perhaps ask the more direct question of whose interests it serves - especially when the prevailing claims about jobs and health are such an obvious complement to pre-existing neoliberal intentions to dismantle welfare and promote employment.²⁵ It has also been suggested that today's overwhelming public focus on well-being could be self-defeating, promoting an intolerance of the illness and negative emotions that are part of everyone's lives.²⁶ Ultimately, concepts like health and well-being should not monopolise arguments and proposals for the future of work.

Reflection 4: the desire for work may be an adaptive preference.

A final reason to ask whether expert well-being claims can tell us what to do politically is that studies of well-being do not generally provide a commentary on whether the realities observed represent an ideal state of affairs - one that citizens would choose, if they were presented with a genuine set of alternatives. Philosophers have long understood the possibility for individuals to inherit expectations that - just like the prisoner who grows to love his cell - leave people 'feeling good' under conditions that are oppressive or unjust.²⁷ The presence or absence of well-being is not always therefore the best guide to what we should do politically.²⁸

25 The financial interests of private welfare service providers are also worth bearing in mind. See of private welfare contractors is one answer. See: Finn, D (2018) The role of jobcentres and contracted providers in the delivery of employment services and benefits. In: Millar, J, Sainsbury, R (2018) *Understanding Social Security*. Bristol: Policy Press

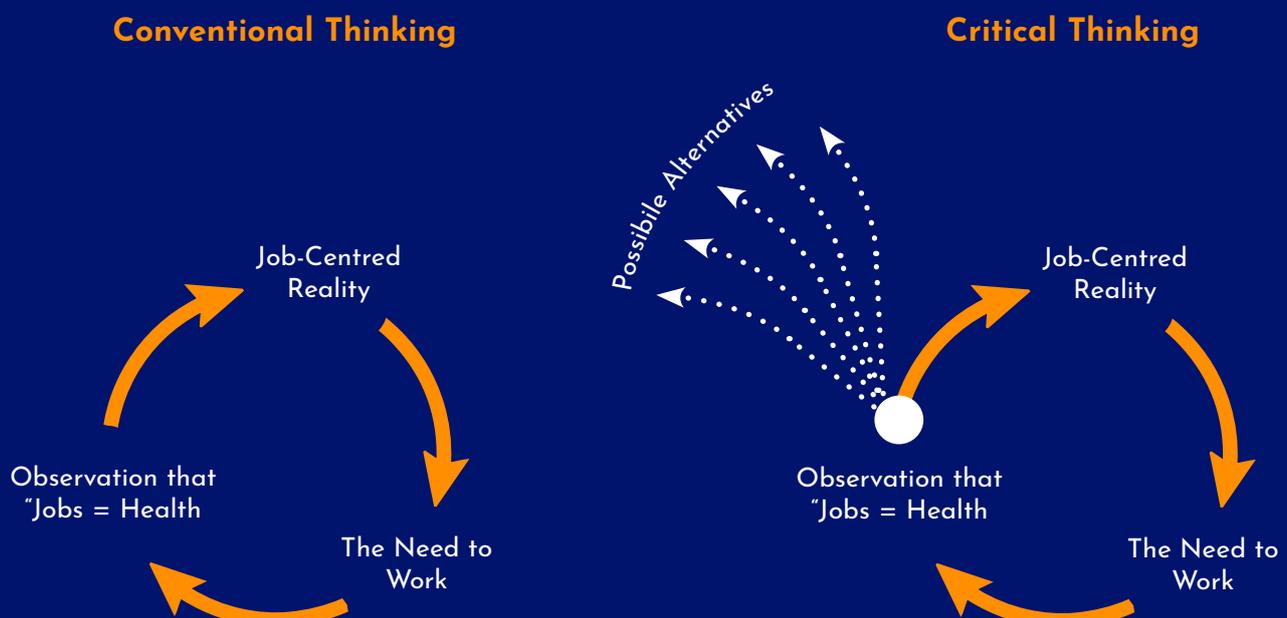
26 See Cederstrom, C. and Spicer, A. (2014) *The Wellness Syndrome*. London: Polity

27 This insight forms the basis of critiques around the suggestion that you should 'love your work', which question the virtues of loving something that exploits you. For example: Jaffe, S. (2021) *Work Won't Love You Back*. London: Hurst and Company

28 For a more extended exploration of this argument, see: Frayne, D. (2019) 'The Employment Dogma' in D. Frayne (ed.) *The Work Cure: Critical Essays on Work and Wellness*. Monmouth: PCCS

The philosopher Michael Cholbi suggests that the personal attachment to employment reflected in the research should not be taken at face value. It may instead represent what philosophers call an 'adaptive preference': 'a preference for some state of affairs that is formed within a limited set of options, under unjust social conditions'. Cholbi's argument is that the available evidence on the personal significance of work ultimately has to be considered within the coordinates of a system in which there are few options to do anything other than seek and perform employment, if citizens want to receive income and recognition. The personal significance of employment can only be considered within the wider socio-political context in which personal needs are formed - a context which can either strengthen or relax the need to work by removing or supplying options to survive and receive recognition in other ways.

Without reflecting on the adaptive nature of citizens' orientations to work, a purely empirical approach to the question can leave the debate stalled in something of a closed circuit. The problem goes something like this: our political reality creates a situation in which citizens depend on work for their well-being, researchers observe this dependency, and this in turn creates a justification to maintain the status quo. We suggest substituting the DWP's visual representation of work and health (depicted at the beginning of Part 2) with the following:



Whilst it is possible to make empirical observations about the personal significance of having a job, what political actors must ultimately decide is whether a situation in which citizens are dependent on employment is ideal. The white circle in the rightmost diagram above represents the point at which critical thinking can occur. Deciding whether the current state of affairs is ideal means evaluating the situation according to standards other than whether people depend on work for well-being - standards that involve deliberating values relating to fairness, freedoms, dignity and rights. It means asking whether the current system is economically and environmentally sustainable and whether alternatives are possible.



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