# Measuring Social Workers' Wellbeing from a Capability Perspective: Developing a Capability Set

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#### Introduction

Governments of the last 20 years have begun to develop measures of national wellbeing for the appraisal of policy, using the concept of subjective wellbeing (Austin, 2016). Growing concerns over the legitimacy of subjective wellbeing measures has opened space for discussion over other approaches to the measurement of wellbeing (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000; Alkire, 2007; Comim *et al.*, 2008; Anand *et al.* 2009; Deneulin and McGregor, 2010; Tomlinson and Kelly 2013; Austin, 2016). One candidate is Sen's Capability Approach (CA), an analytical framework primarily concerned with expanding the freedoms of an individual to achieve valuable functioning. There is great potential in using the CA as the basis for research in a wide range of contexts but operationalising it into measurement tools is empirically challenging. This study aims to begin to develop these tools and utilise the CA to measure the wellbeing of social workers. The first step in doing so is developing a capability set specific to social worker wellbeing.

Therefore, there are two key aims of this study. First, to explore the issues related to the development of capability sets for specific populations and the operationalisation of the capability approach, Secondly, to develop a capability set for the measurement of wellbeing of social workers. The aims will be achieved by three key steps. First, generating a capability set. Second, putting this capability set through a process of deliberation involving social workers. Third, analysing the findings and refining the measurement tool accordingly.

# **Background**

Throughout the period of austerity that followed the 2008 global economic crisis, there was a greater focus on how cuts to public services would affect service users than there was concern for staff in the public sector. Public sector staff have faced increased workloads as local authority budgets were cut by approximately 27% between 2010 and 2015 (Hastings *et al.*, 2015). Now there is a global pandemic that places public sector workers' lives at greater risk as they continue to work through lockdowns. To compound their hardship, Chancellor of The Exchequer Rishi Sunak announced a public sector pay freeze (1.5% drop in real terms) to reduce spending after the economic downturn caused by the Covid-19 Pandemic (BBC News, 2021). Whilst there is now rising concern for the wellbeing of staff in the public sector such as nurses and teachers, social worker wellbeing remains low on the agenda. 85% of social

workers are female (DoE, 2018), adding an intersectional element to their predicament. Yet research into the wellbeing of social workers is extremely limited. From a policy perspective, there is a reasonable assumption that a better understanding of social worker wellbeing can help provide better social workers.

## **Research questions**

This study aims to develop a capability set specific to social workers through qualitative exploration of their shared values and experiences for future use in the measurement of their wellbeing. Through this process, this study also aims to explore the issues related to operationalising the capability approach. By adapting the indicators developed by Anand *et al.* (2009), based on Nussbaum's conception of core capabilities, and exploring capabilities extracted from the literature, this study specifically investigates the following research questions:

- I. To what extent do social workers consider the proposed indicators adequate and appropriate in terms of capturing their wellbeing?
- II. How feasible is the development of capability sets for specific population groups?

#### **Developing the Proposed Capability Set**

Nussbaum's 10 essential capabilities, the variables Anand *et al.* (2009) derived from them, and social worker issues extracted from the relevant literature, were reformatted into capabilities to present to the participants. The developed capability set (Table 1) shows how each of Anand et al (2009)'s capabilities are operationalised for the current study's purpose. The indicators in Table 1 are a vital starting point for engaging in a process of deliberation with social workers using in order to achieve the research aim of developing a capability set for social workers.

#### Methods

This section will discuss the methods needed to develop a capability set specific to social workers through qualitative exploration of their shared values and experiences for future use in the measurement of wellbeing. Following, the research limitations and ethical considerations will also be outlined.

#### Why Qualitative?

A qualitative approach is necessary to develop indicators, whereas a quantitative approach is necessary to test indicators (Sayer, 2010). This is because qualitative approaches allow us to

understand the complex relationships of human social affairs with a higher level of validity (Babbie, 2007). The indicators developed by this study could be implemented into a quantitative survey in further research into the wellbeing of social workers, but to develop these indicators a qualitative approach is necessary.

# Sampling and Recruitment Strategy

Participants were required to be fully qualified social workers currently employed by a local authority. A social worker who agreed to act as a gatekeeper was contacted, enabling access to current and former colleagues as potential participants. A sample of 6 participants was achieved, all of whom were female and aged between forty and sixty years old. Two participants identified as BAME, and all had over five years' experience. There was one male participant that the gatekeeper had found that subsequently withdrew from the study.

#### **Data Collection**

This study is an exploration of the capabilities which are valuable to the wellbeing of social workers. Focus groups are a useful method for exploring how a group of people perceive topics (Babbie, 2007). Focus groups are chiefly concerned with social interaction and the joint construction of meaning (Bryman, 2016). Many of these social workers have shared workplace experiences which is beneficial in encouraging discussion as they are more likely to feel comfortable in sharing their views (Bryman, 2016). These features make them uniquely placed to understand the shared values of social workers in the context of developing capability indicators. Furthermore, the social interaction that is a unique feature of focus groups, generates a richer depth of the data collected (Hennink, 2014).

Focus groups have emerged as a useful method for feminist research, because they remove power from the researcher over the subject (Bryman, 2016). As a male researching the views of multiple women, relinquishing any perceived interviewer power is beneficial in encouraging and empowering female participants to engage.

Considering time restraints, lack of resources, and the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, online focus groups were chosen as the most suitable data collection method. Focus groups are a flexible, low-cost method and are effective at gathering a wide range of data quickly (Babbie, 2007). This was beneficial given workloads and time constraints.

The focus group was arranged via email and was facilitated through a group online Zoom call. The focus group began with a brief presentation that outlined the research to help them understand the information this study aimed to extract. Then, by taking each proposed indicator under the subheadings of Nussbaum's essential capabilities, participants were asked about the validity and importance of each capability indicator. The focus group was recorded

and transcribed. Through their responses, I was able to gain an understanding of the validity and importance of each indicator.

# **Data Analysis**

When analysing focus group data, it is crucial to be systematic and rigorous (Bloor *et al.*, 2001). The structure of this focus group meant the analysis drew on aspects of logical analysis and feedback groups (Bloor *et al.*, 2001) because this study sought to understand participants logical position on subjects, whilst gathering their feedback on a hypothesised capability set. Participant responses were grouped under each relevant capability. The structure in place meant responses generally confirmed or rejected the importance of a capability, leaving little room for interpretation. Some responses were more anecdotal and required greater analysis, but this study was able to gather insight.

### Results

Focus group result summaries can be found in Table 2. Using focus groups, strides were made to improve wellbeing indicators for the purposes of social work practice. Table 2 illustrates which of the proposed capabilities were deemed valid and conducive to the wellbeing of social workers. Many of the proposed capabilities were agreed to be important and required no changes. Several capabilities were shown to need refinement or minor revisions based on the ways in which the participants framed and discussed the proposed capabilities but were largely based on valid sentiments. Only one proposed capability was deemed to be inadequate and omitted entirely, and one capability's responses were deemed inconclusive and so was also omitted.

# **Analysis: Refined Capability Set**

This process produced a refined capability set (Table 3) for the wellbeing of social workers. For comparison, capabilities that are new or refined have been underlined. Table 3's revised capabilities framework were directly influenced by the focus group interviews in which social workers used their shared experiences to validate, refine, or reject capability indicators presented to them. The participants did recommend the inclusion of some capabilities that had not initially been considered, such as 'being able to have career/role change opportunities'. However, the majority of the changes made to the capability set involved further refining the parameters of the original capability to reflect how the participants framed them during discussion. Only the capability 'being able to do overtime' was deemed to be inadequate and omitted entirely, because of its irrelevance to such a demanding profession.

### **Discussion**

The refined capabilities set is unique for several reasons. Most importantly, because it is a capability set developed within the framework of Nussbaum's essential capabilities but for a specific population group and validated through a process of deliberation. This means it represents some attempt to reconcile the differing stances of Nussbaum (2000) and Sen (2004) in regard to whether or not there are universal essential capabilities. In addition, it is to my knowledge the only application of the capability approach in the subject of social worker wellbeing. Furthermore, my search of the literature returned no examples of any attempts to directly measure the wellbeing of social workers. For these reasons, it is suffice to say that this research addresses gaps in the literature, and offers unique insight into the issues faced by social workers through the use of the capability approach as an analytical framework.

The aim of this research was to develop a capability set that could be used to assess wellbeing for social workers. Due to issues related to the size of the study, the data collected is not sufficient to be used in this manner yet. Therefore, we cannot conclude that the research aim 'creating a capability set specific to the wellbeing of social workers' has been fully achieved. However, the study provides a systematic framework for data gathering to develop a capability set for assessing wellbeing of social workers.

The second aim related to exploring the difficulties of operationalising the CA was more successful. Social workers demonstrated that their shared experiences were consistent enough to suggest that there are capabilities specific to their wellbeing. Although many of these indicators reflect fundamental freedoms of the general population, there are instances where participants indicated that their role as social workers sufficiently differentiated them from the rest of the population. This dynamic, in which their role as social workers directly influenced the importance of capabilities, was observed in relation to several capabilities, such as 'being able to have sufficient supervision'. This suggests that there are important capabilities specific to social workers.

Other capability sets surveyed, such as Nussbaum's 10 essential capabilities (2000) and the EMF developed by Burhcardt and Vizard (2014), are not geared towards the measurement of specific population groups. The process of developing these sets begins by extracting capabilities from essential human freedoms. However, when developing capability sets for more specific populations, capabilities taken from basic human rights are too broad. Therefore, many of the proposed capabilities for this study were extracted from the limited existing literature on social worker wellbeing. These capabilities, such as those relating to sufficient supervision at work and access to occupational support services, were all deemed to be valid by the focus group, suggesting the success of this process. Although this specificity makes

international comparisons more difficult, further research into the development of capability sets for specific populations could benefit from this method, particularly in instances where there is more research related to wellbeing of the chosen population.

There is a high level of convergence between the proposed indicators and the revised version, and it is important to discuss the potential reasons for this. Only on one occasion was a capability chosen to be omitted by the focus group - 'being able to do overtime', an absurd concept in such a demanding profession. Whilst this may suggest that the proposed capability set had a high level of accuracy, there could have been a high level of compliance amongst participants that has skewed the results. This could be related to the structure of the deliberation process. Arguably all these capabilities are important to some extent, making it difficult for the participants to express which select capabilities should be included in the final set. With no maximum limit on the number of capabilities included, there was a lack of boundaries in the structure of the research. Boundaries would have forced the participants to decide on the most important capabilities to be included in the capability set. Instead, what occurred was a refinement process that identified specific important capabilities but struggled to go any further. This reflects a key issue related to operationalising the CA. Measuring capabilities means defining a hypothetical space, as we are not interested in merely people's functionings, but the plethora of other options open to them, and their value (Gough and McGregor, 2007).

Several questions have emerged from this research related to the weighting of importance of capabilities to wellbeing. Participants indicated that certain capabilities were 'fundamental', whereas others were perhaps ancillary to wellbeing, but nonetheless important. The issue of weighting capabilities is well documented by those who write about the problems related to the operationalisation of the capability approach (Alkire, 2007; Comim *et al.*, 2008; Anand *et al.*, 2009). There is strong evidence that blanket ranking capabilities for the participants of a survey of wellbeing is problematic, and that it will drastically change the data collected (Anand *et al.*, 2009). However, this research has suggested that capabilities that reflect the freedoms of human rights should belong in their own capability set as 'primary' capabilities conducive to wellbeing. A second capability set could be developed that represents the 'ancillary' capabilities that are specific to the measured population and could be individually weighted by the participant of any wellbeing survey.

Adopting an approach like this could represent a coming together of both Nussbaum's (2000) account of essential capabilities and Sen's (2004) strongly held stance that capabilities should be specific to the context and subject to deliberation. This set exists within the framework of Nussbaum's widely read and peer-reviewed 10 essential capabilities but is developed in a

specific context and with a process of deliberation as Sen (2004) argues any capability set should be. Therefore, this set currently includes capabilities that could be 'primary' or 'ancillary', but the structure of this research was not intended for the purpose of making a distinction between the two. Subsequently, the capability set produced here places these 'ancillary' capabilities alongside and presumably equal to fundamental human freedoms. For example, this format places the capabilities 'being able to enjoy sports and other games' and 'being equal in the eyes of the law' alongside each other. Whilst capabilities involving recreational activities are undoubtedly important to wellbeing, they do not belong in the same bracket as essential human rights. This means that the capability set developed by this study requires further refinement to be fit for its original purpose.

# **Research limitations**

There are important limitations to discuss about the adequacy of this capability set. First, only one focus group was carried out due to difficulties sourcing participants, limiting the generalizability of the conclusions made as further deliberation would have allowed further refinements to the capability set produced. Second, the sample size of 6 is small, meaning our ability to say these conclusions reflect the whole of social workers is hampered. Thirdly, the focus group composition was entirely female and therefore cannot be said to be representative of male social workers.

An online synchronous focus group could result in a limited depth of the data collected. Observing face-to-face interactions can be valuable in gleaning a deeper understanding of people's attitudes to certain topics (Babbie, 2007), and this will naturally be limited by the forced move to online data collection methods. There is also concern over how to encourage people to engage in online scenarios (Bryman, 2016), and the data may have been richer had it been conducted in person.

In conducting focus groups, there are common issues, such as the lack of control the researcher has in discussion scenarios and the fact that moderators need special skills (Babbie, 2007). These were addressed by the structure of the focus group. However, there were a small number of occasions where discussion drifted, resulting in the data being deficient, such as in the case of 'being able to start a family'. This was due to several factors: mental fatigue of both the researcher and the participants (as the interview was over an hour long); the inexperience of myself as the researcher and moderator; and the lack of resources available to undergraduate researchers. The latter problem meant that the role of researcher and focus group moderator were merged, something regularly advised against when conducting focus groups (Babbie, 2016; Bryman, 2016).

# Conclusion

In conclusion, although there were significant steps made towards developing a capability set specific for the measurement of wellbeing of social workers, the set created by this research is not yet fit for this purpose. However, this research has gained valuable insights into the operationalisation of the capability approach. The next step in developing measures of wellbeing from a capability perspective should be to explore the notion of a 'mixed approach'. This would involve a process in which two capability sets are developed; one 'primary list' reflecting essential human rights that would require little weighting of capabilities, and a second 'ancillary' list, that would reflect the specificity of the context of application and could be weighted by the individual taking the survey. This ancillary list could be developed using similar methods to this study in which capabilities are extracted from existing literature on a populations' experience, and then put through a process of deliberation.

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# **Appendices**

**Table 1**: A table of the indicators proposed by Anand et al, 2009 adapted and defined for the purposes of the current investigation.

Nussbaum's capabilities	Proposed indicators
Life expectancy	Being free from fear of premature death
	Being healthy (without debilitation)
Bodily Health	Being nourished
	Being sheltered
	Being safe outside of your home
Bodily integrity	Being safe within your home
	Being able to exercise reproductive choice.
	Being educated to degree level
	Being able to access proper training/education for progression in work
Senses, imagination and thought	Being able to use imagination
3	Being able to express political views
	Being able to exercise religion
Emotions	Being able to form romantic relationships

Nussbaum's capabilities	Proposed indicators	
	Being able to form social relationships	
	Being able to maintain family relationships	
	Being able to express emotions	
	Being able to handle emotional stress	
	Being able to be part of social/political/religious groups	
	Being able to meet friends regularly	
Affiliation	Being able to empathise and sympathise	
	Being able to feel equally respected and be treated with respect	
	Being able to form your own judgement of a good life	
Practical Reason	Being able to plan life and make life decisions	
	Being able to evaluate life	
Other Species	Being able to enjoy and experience the natural world	
	Being able to laugh	
Play	Being able to enjoy sports or other games	
Control over the environment	Being a homeowner	

Nussbaum's capabilities	Proposed indicators
	Being financially secure
	Being equal in the eyes of the law
	Being able to work
	Being able to start a family
	Being able to access proper equipment at work
	Being able to access occupational support services
	Being able to progress at work/realise potential
	Being able to have sufficient supervision at work
	Being able to do overtime
	Being able to apply skills in work
	Being able to complete work tasks/not be overloaded

Table 2: Focus group data and analysis organised by indicator

Indicator	Focus Group Summary	Framework Changes/ Analysis
Life	'Being free from fear of premature death' – participants agreed	This capability, along with others that reflect human rights, were
expectancy	on its importance.	decided to be adequate.
Bodily Health	'Being healthy (without debilitation)': The participants	Agreed 'being healthy (without debilitation)' is adequate. No
	indicated the importance of this capability.	changes required.
	'Being nourished' – participants agreed it is important but the	'Being nourished' will be further refined into 'Being able to
	question of 'to what standard of nourishment' remained.	access desired food of choice'.
	E.g., "the quality of food is important"; "it isn't just about having	
	enough calories to keep the body ticking over"	
	'Being sheltered' - participants indicated that because of their	
	difficult role, they expect a higher standard of living.	Participants expect more than the average standard of living in terms of shelter and there is a need to refine this capability
	<b>E.g.</b> "you've studied for it (being a social worker) you've qualified	further, into 'being sheltered in safe and desired
	for it and you expect, therefore, that that is going to be	accommodation'
	remunerated in a way that helps you aspire to a standard of	
	living, which gives you safe shelter and good quality shelter".	
Bodily integrity	'being safe within your home' and 'being safe outside your	Participants indicated that, due to the nature of their work, being
	home' - participants indicated that because of the potentially	safe outside their home was less important to them than being
		safe within their home. This will be addressed by changing

Indicator	Focus Group Summary	Framework Changes/ Analysis
	unsafe nature of their job, that being safe outside of their home was less important than within their home.  E.g. "there is a connection with the work that we do as a social worker where you perhaps feel threatened whether that's a real threat or a perceived threat, I don't know but it (feeling unsafe) is linked to the job."	'being safe outside your home' to 'feeling generally secure outside your home'. Furthermore, they indicated that a capability that concerns the bodily integrity of loved ones should be included. Therefore, I will add 'feeling others around you are generally secure' into the affiliation section, as it does not fall under bodily integrity.
Senses, imagination and thought	<ul> <li>'Being educated to degree level' - required educational attainment needed to begin social work courses.</li> <li>'Being able to access proper training/education for progression in work' - it is a recurring requirement for social workers to complete training programmes.</li> </ul>	No changes required.  No changes required.
	'Being able to use imagination' - responses encompassed two very different scenarios in which imagination was important.  One was in overcoming challenges in work environments. The other was in relation to recreational activities.	This indicates that imagination is important but should be split into 'being able to use imagination in work' and 'being able to use imagination in recreation'.
	E.g. "working with children they're individuals aren't they, so I suppose you're going to be creative in ensuring that you do the best job."	

Indicator	Focus Group Summary	Framework Changes/ Analysis
	"outside of work as well I think when you talk about creative spaces that's really important and you can re-nourish almost, it can nourish you in different ways."  'Being able to express political views' and 'being able to	Participants indicated the need for a new separate capability –
	exercise religion' – Participants agreed on the importance of having these freedoms but stressed that whilst having the 'choice' is important, they can contribute negatively to wellbeing. With politics they emphasised the importance of trying to stay politically active but "without it taking over (their) life either."	'to be free from harms of politics'. They also stressed the importance of not being offensive or receiving discrimination for your religious views. Therefore, another indicator will be included in the form of 'being free from religious discrimination'.
	With religion, participants stressed the importance of being "sensitive to other people" and "not wanting to upset different people"	
	Being heard in work' – participants expressed it is:  "really important to feel heard at work"  "really important that we have a voice."	No changes required.

Indicator	Focus Group Summary	Framework Changes/ Analysis
	'Being able to enjoy day to day activities' - This drew a	This indicates a separation in the perception of this capability
	response that distinguished between activities inside and	between in work scenarios and out of work scenarios.
	outside of work.	Therefore, this capability will be split between 'being able to
	e.g. "you're absorbed by social work, just being absorbed by ordering other people's difficulties and issues and yet we still got to take care of yourself and find time for ourselves."  "we have to enjoy what we do at work because I mean you know 30 plus years ago, I said I'm going to work in social work until I find something else that I would rather do, and I've never	
	found that other thing."	
Emotions	'Being able to form romantic/social and maintain familial relationships' – participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required.
	<b>'Being able to express emotions'</b> – participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required.
	'Being able to handle emotional stress' and 'being able to be emotionally prepared for work' - responses indicated an elevated importance because of their role as social workers. There are generally two main streams of 'pressure' that cause	These responses suggest that there is a more complex dynamic relating to this capability. It is a mixture of 'being able to process emotional stress internally', having personal resilience, and having emotional literacy. The refined capabilities will therefore reflect this.

Indicator	Focus Group Summary	Framework Changes/ Analysis
	them stress at work from two directions. One comes from "the	
	situation that you're dealing with".	
	The other comes from the need "to appear to be able to manage	
	situations" in the eyes of their superiors. Responses also	
	indicated a need for what could be termed 'emotional literacy'.	
	e.g. when discussing traumatic experiences with children "you	
	have to find that balance so you're not just responding blankly	
	I think it's how you find those balances about you know not	
	overloading them but being able to respond in a way that is	
	human and affirming".	
Affiliation	'Being able to be part of social/political/religious groups' – participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required.
	'Being able to meet friends regularly' – participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required.
	'Being able to empathise and sympathise' – participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required

Indicator	Focus Group Summary	Framework Changes/ Analysis
	'Being able to feel equally respected and be treated with respect'  – participants said it was a fundamental core value for social workers.	No changes required
Practical	'Being able to plan life and make life decisions' – participants	Planning life has a strong relationship to retirement and
reason	focused heavily on retirement planning and pensions.	pensions for them and they indicated its importance through this
	e.g., "pensions have to better, then we could plan better."	link. There was little engagement with 'make life decision', which was inadvertently addressed under the next indicator.
	'Being able to form your own judgement of a good life' – participants linked this capability to making life decisions. They demonstrated how decisions are made with their own judgement of a good life.  e.g., "you do things that make you move forward and improve the life isn't it, so that's part of being able to form your own judgment about what you want in life."	This indicates that their life decisions are influenced by their ability to make a judgement of 'a good life', suggesting importance but indicating a need for reconfiguring. Because of how participants framed the discussion, linking to other topics, I will be changing 'being able to plan life and make life decisions' to 'being able to plan life and retirement', and making a separate capability for 'being able to make life decisions'
Other species	'Being able to enjoy and experience the natural world' – participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required.
Play	'Being able to laugh' – participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required.

Indicator	Focus Group Summary	Framework Changes/ Analysis
	e.g., "I think it's absolutely vital we have a real gallows sense of humour, but we have to because of what we deal with on a daily basis."	No changes required.
	'Being able to enjoy sports or other games' – participants agreed on its importance.	
Control over	'Being a homeowner' - participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required.
the environment	'Being financially secure' — Participants agreed upon its importance. They were also asked "what is being financially secure?".  Participant S said:  "having disposable income being able to enjoy life."  Additionally, participant M indicated the importance of 'job security':  "if you feel relatively sure that your job is secure then hopefully financially, you're going to feel secure."	Participants indicated that in terms of financial security, the line was focused on 'disposable income' and having the financial power to buy leisurely comforts. Therefore, the capability will be refined into 'being able to have disposable income', as this alongside other indicators such as 'being a homeowner' can sufficiently cover financial security.  Participants also suggested job security should be addressed in the capability set. This was done by including 'having the option of a full-time contract' to address job security fears linked to zero-hour contracts.  I will include another capability to address this in the form of 'being able to have career/role change opportunity'.

Indicator	Focus Group Summary	Framework Changes/ Analysis
	'Being equal in the eyes of the law' – participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required.
	'Being able to work' – participants indicated that being able to work is important to them, but also that having career/role change opportunities is important to social workers.	They indicated that anonymity should be included within this capability and therefore the refined capability indicator will be 'being able to access occupational support services anonymously'.
	e.g., "If I could retire now and still be financially okay, I feel as though I need to be doing something so, even if I went into retail or something just to do something different".	No changes required.
	'Being able to access proper equipment at work' – participants agreed on its importance.	No changes required.
	'Being able to access occupational support services' – participant's responses indicated it was important but raised concerns over anonymity:	No changes required.
	e.g., "Social workers worry about where it will lead to."	No changes required.

Indicator	Focus Group Summary	Framework Changes/ Analysis
	'Being able to progress at work/realise potential' - participants	
	agreed on its importance.	This capability was indicated to be inadequate for social workers
	'Being able to have sufficient supervision at work' – participants	and will be omitted.
	agreed on its importance.	
	'being able to apply skills in work' – participants agreed on its importance.	
	'Being able to complete work tasks and not be overloaded' – participants agreed on its importance.	Inconclusive.
	'Being able to do overtime' – participants laughed at the concept of overtime being involved in their work lives and indicated that it should be omitted.	
	e.g., "It comes with the job. It would be nice to be paid for it."	
	<b>'Being able to start a family'</b> – responses from this capability were inconclusive. Discussion drifted.	

Table 3: A summary of the proposed versus revised capability indicators.

Category	Proposed capability indicators	Revised
Life expectancy	Being free from fear of premature death.	Being free from premature death.
Bodily health	Being healthy (without debilitation).  Being nourished.  Being sheltered.  Being free from addiction.	Being healthy (without debilitation).  Being able to access desired food of choice.  Being sheltered in safe and desired accommodation.  Being free from addiction.
Bodily integrity	Being safe outside of your home.  Being safe within your home.  Being able to exercise reproductive choice.	Feeling generally secure outside your home.  Being safe within your home.
Senses, imagination and thought	Being educated to degree level.  Being able to access proper training/education for progression in work.  Being able to use imagination.  Being able to express political views.  Being able to exercise religion.  Being heard in work.  Being able to enjoy day to day activities.	Being able to access proper training/education for progression in work.  Being able to use imagination in work.  Being able to use imagination outside of work.  Being able to express political views.  Being able to be free from the harms of politics.  Being able to exercise religion.  Being free from religious discrimination.  Being heard in work.  Being able to enjoy day to day activities in work.

Emotions	Being able to form romantic relationships.  Being able to form social relationships.  Being able to maintain family relationships.  Being able to express emotions.  Being able to handle emotional stress.  Being able to be emotionally prepared for work.	Being able to form romantic relationships.  Being able to form social relationships.  Being able to maintain family relationships.  Being able to express emotions.  Being able to process emotional stress internally.  Being able to be emotionally resilient.  Being emotionally literate with others.
Affiliation	Being able to be part of social/political/religious groups.  Being able to meet friends regularly.  Being able to empathise and sympathise.  Being able to feel equally respected and be treated with respect.	Being able to be part of social/political/religious groups Being able to meet friend regularly. Being able to empathise and sympathise. Being able to feel equally respected and treated with respect. Feeling others around you are generally secure.
Practical reason	Being able to form your own judgement of a good life.  Being able to plan life and make life decisions.  Being able to evaluate life.	Being able to form your own judgement of a good life.  Being able to plan life and retirement.  Being able to make life decisions.  Being able to evaluate life.
Other species	Being able to enjoy and experience the natural world.	Being able to enjoy and experience the natural world.
Play	Being able to laugh. Being able to enjoy sports or other games.	Being able to laugh. Being able to enjoy sports or other games.
Control over the environment	Being a homeowner.  Being financially secure.  Being equal in the eyes of the law.	Being a homeowner.  Having disposable income.  Having the option of a full-time contract.

Being able to work.	Being equal in the eyes of the law.
Being able to start a family.	Being able to work.
Being able to access proper equipment at work.	Being able to access proper equipment at work.
Being able to access occupational support service	s. Being able to access occupational support services
Being able to progress at work/realise potential.	anonymously.
Being able to have sufficient supervision at work.	Being able to progress at work/realise potential.
Being able to do overtime.	Being able to have career/role change opportunities.
Being able to apply skills in work.	Being able to have sufficient supervision at work.
Being able to complete work tasks and not be ove	Being able to apply skills in work.
Being able to complete work tasks and not be ove	Being able to complete work tasks and not be overloaded.