Social embeddedness, political and socio-economic alienation as correlates of psychological well-being among working adults in Enugu

Solomon A. Agu, Ph.D
Department of Psychology,
Enugu State University of Science and Technology.
amasol2003@yahoo.com
&
Barnabas E. Nwankwo, Ph.D
Department of Psychology,
Caritas University, Enugu.
banniewankwo@yahoo.com

Abstract

It has been observed that an individual's perception of interpersonal relationship and reactions to the political and socio economic realities in his/her environment, is fundamental to human psychological and social interaction. These feelings are germane to the psychological well-being of employees. It is against this background that the research looks into social connectedness with family and friends and the perceived alienation in political and socio-economic domains of life and examined their relationship with psychological well-being. Two hundred and forty participants were drawn from the Ministries of Education (46), Health (60), Labour (35), Sports (32), Agriculture, Water and natural resources (67). The sample was almost equally split by gender; (110) male and (130) female. The age ranged from 26 to 64years (Mean = 46.52 and SD = 7.67). 100 were single while 140 were married. 100% of the participants were of Ibo ethnic group in the South East region of Nigeria. We hypothesize that social embeddedness will positively correlate with psychological wellbeing; political alienation and socio-economic alienation will also negatively correlate with psychological wellbeing. Pearson Moment Correlation was used to analyze the data. The results showed a significant positive relationship between social embeddedness and psychological wellbeing ($r = .89$, $P<.01$, $r^2=.79$) and negative association between political and socio-economic alienations and psychological well-being ($r = -.53$, $P<.01$, $r^2=.28$; $r = -.42$, $P<.01$, $r^2=.18$) respectively. It was concluded that social cohesion building programmes as a form of cognitive behavioural and existential interventions may buffer the negative relationship of alienation (political and socio-economic) to psychological well-being. Also programmes that will promote social connectedness with members of one family and his community are necessary to enhance psychological well-being.

Keywords: social cohesion, mental well-being, psychological health, alienation, wellness

Introduction

There is a shift in focus from the sole emphasis on mentally ill persons to preventive and promotional issues in psychological wellbeing and mental health (Carlisle, Henderson & Hanlon, 2009). As a construct, psychological wellbeing has been conceptualized by researchers in terms of specific components or processes such as affective processes (Kammann & Flett, 1983;

Diener, 1984); physical processes with emphasis on the connection between good physical health and quality of life (Goldberg & Hiller, 1979; Suominen et al. 2000); and cognitive processes with emphasis on satisfaction with life (Diener et al. 1985; Ingram & Wisnicki, 1988; Stephens et al. 1999). Generally, psychological wellbeing is concerned with the psychosocial functioning or psychological health of individuals in a community (Ryff & Keyes, 1995; Shevelenkova & Fesenko, 2005). The social dimension of psychological wellbeing, as particularly rooted in social processes, is concerned with the appraisal of one's circumstance and functioning in the society (Keyes, 1998). Contextually we operationalized psychological well-being as about lives going well. It is the combination of feeling good and functioning effectively. Sustainable well-being does not require individuals to feel good all the time; the experience of painful emotions (e.g. disappointment, failure, grief) is a normal part of life, and being able to manage these negative or painful emotions is essential for long-term well-being. Psychological well-being is, however, compromised when negative emotions are extreme or very long lasting and interfere with a person's ability to function in his or her daily life. Psychological wellbeing refers to the state of being comfortable, healthy or happy with oneself or in a community or organization (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Ryff attempted to combine different conceptions of wellbeing from the ancient Greek to the modern psychological, such as Maslow's conception of self-actualization; Roger's view of the fully functioning person; Jung's formulation of individuation; Allport's conception of maturity and others (Ryff, 1989). Ryff gave six (6) dimensions that explain psychological wellbeing, which are: Self-Acceptance, Positive Relations with Others, Autonomy, Environmental Mastery, Purpose in Life and Personal Growth.

Barrera (1986) defined social embeddedness as an ongoing relationships and continuing interaction patterns reflected in social status indicators (e.g., marital status) and social roles. Social embeddedness is comprehensively assessed through social network analysis and closely resembles social integration, which has been defined as the existence and quantity of [social] relationships (LaVeist, Sellers, Elliot-Brown & Nickerson, 1997). In theoretical accounts of support, social embeddedness serves as a background against which support is enacted and might be perceived; although one step removed, social embeddedness has been associated empirically both with enacted and perceived support (Barrera, 1986). Scholars believe that familial ties and community institutions can play a crucial role in permitting individuals to adapt socially and psychologically in the face of stigma and social rejection. Family and extended family, neighbors, friends, churches, and civic and fraternal organizations, on this account, have offered sanctuary from a frequently hostile wider society and provided access to needed social, emotional, and material resources (Martin & Martin, 1995). Barrera (1986) distinguished among three aspects of support-social embeddedness, perceived support, and enacted support—and demonstrated that each aspect functions as a distinguishable concept ultimately best

understood within complementary theories of support. Researchers and theorists have treated social embeddedness as an important concept in its own right. Evidence from a number of studies links embeddedness-related indicators of social status to poor health and shortened life expectancy (Berkman & Syme, 1994). One study of elderly, African American women (LaVeist et al., 1997) found that 5-year death rate of the socially involved and the socially isolated differed by a factor of three. Other theorists have interpreted embeddedness as "social capital" — "…the quantity and quality of interpersonal ties between people." (Aday, 1994).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) defined alienation as the feeling of disconnectedness from social settings such that the individual views his/her relationships from social contexts as no longer tenable. According to psychological theory of alienation (Maddi 1967, 1998), which is in accord with existentialist theory of psychological wellbeing (Leonitev, 1999; Langle, 2005), the need to belong is one of the strongest human needs and thwarting the need to belong and find meaning can have devastating consequences for wellbeing. The notion of alienation, within psychology, was at its peak of popularity in the 1960s and 1970s (Osin, 2009). At the time and even in some recent literature, there appeared to be greater emphasis on such aspects of alienation like work alienation (Coburn, 1979; Nair, 2008) and parental alienation (Cripps & Zyromski, 2009; Meier, 2009; Anyanwu, 2010). Marx (1964) believed that people feel powerless because in reality, they have little power in their hands and changing

the system seems the only feasible way of overcoming alienation. Consequently, there had been a rise of several militant groups (young people) who use violence and other anti-systemic measures to press home their demands for 'self-determination'. A key issue in their demands is to gain substantial control of the resources in their land because they feel alienated. It seems, however, that the amnesty programme initiated by the Nigerian government to rehabilitate ex-militants who have surrendered their arms would control the activities of these militant groups. The region also has a difficult riverfront ecological terrain and so it was the worst hit in terms of loss of lives and property in the flood that ravaged most parts of Nigeria from September–October, 2012. Maddi (1967) proposed that existential neurosis, marked by psychological distress, results when there is inability to find meaning and believe in truth, importance, usefulness or value in any of the things one is engaged in or can imagine doing. Meanings can arise out of social relationships and positive contact with social institutions. Alienated persons may, therefore, perceive meaninglessness if they do not find fulfillments in social encounters or when there is a lack group ties and social roles that reflect such ties. Extant and recent literature, as enumerated earlier, reported the association of alienation and psychological wellbeing. These studies (Farrow, 1991; Spivey-Mooring, 2008; Osin, 2009; Rayce et al. 2008; Safipour et al. 2011; Dekel & Tuval-Mashiach, 2012) mostly conceptualized alienation as a global or generic construct. Therefore, in accordance with such an understanding of alienation, Ojedokun (2007) investigated its relationship

to psychological wellbeing among part-time and full-time Nigerian students outside the Niger Delta region. Contrary to findings of similar studies in western cultures, Ojedokun (2007) found that alienation was not significantly related to psychological wellbeing. We adopted the radical perspective unlike the popular conceptualization of alienation as a global construct. The radical perspective which is an approach to understanding alienation emphasizes the perceptions of disadvantaged circumstances by a group of people (Shepard, 1977; Kim 1990, 2005). The radical view of alienation flows from Lukes' (1975, 2005) classical essay on the radical view of power. Lukes' triology of power has a third dimension with definite affinities to alienation—the social forces that shape people's cognition of and perceptions of powerlessness, normlessness and meaninglessness. In this view, alienation is manifested in specific situations or processes (Marshall, 1994). These perceptions are manifested in several areas of people's life. There is always a focus or target of alienation and one feels alienated from someone or something. Hence, the radical perspective considers what Denters & Geurts (1993) described as variations in the locus of alienation. There are modes or referents of alienation (powerlessness, meaninglessness, estrangement, normlessness and isolation) and loci of alienation (social structures and institutions). Modes of alienation are assumed to have loci of alienation as focus. We viewed that the consideration of alienation from specific life domains (locus) was more conceptually and empirically suitable, because Pine (2002) stated that

alienation is inherently relational and multifaceted. Emphasis was, therefore, placed on political and socio-economic domains of perceived alienation in the present study. The dimensions of alienation adopted in this study stems from the radical approach. However, the radical approach was found to be uncommon in available literature, in spite of its possible relevance in alienation studies (Ifeagwazi, et al. 2014). An overview of developments in alienation research and theory in modern society (See Geyer and Heinz, 1992) indicates that the relationship between conditions leading to alienation and experiences expressing alienation is not well-developed. This could be a reason for the apparent unpopularity of the radical approach. The merits of alternative approaches and conceptualizations of alienation was underscored by Citrin's (1977) suggestion that the assessment of context-specific alienation leads to improved predictions of psychological outcomes by establishing its link in the structure-attitude-behaviour chain. Interpersonal alienation is analogous to social isolation, loneliness and interpersonal trust (Ernst & Cacioppo, 1999). It has been found to be related to legitimization of violence (Lopez-Calva, et al. 2012). The indicators of interpersonal alienation have been reported to include feelings of being taken advantage of, being left out of things going on around, and feelings that one's personal thoughts do not matter (Lopez-Calva, et al. 2012). Political alienation is the perceived estrangement from the salient objects in the political domain. It is an assessment of the extent of one's attachment to the ongoing political order or estrangement from society's central

institutional system of government (Citrin, 1977). Gilmour and Lamb (1975) defined political alienation as a sense of the meaninglessness of choice in politics; a sense of powerlessness in terms of making any impact on needed change; and, a sense of distrust associated with a belief that government is untrustworthy and unresponsive. Socio-economic alienation is the estrangement of the individual from socio-economic activities in an area. It may be marked by poverty, limited prospects of sustainable employment, and lack of business opportunities and skills relevant to the market needs. Thus there is a perception that one does not and cannot identify oneself with the economic institutions and processes. In such a situation, the sense of attachment to such institutions and processes becomes eroded and marginality threatens the people's identity. Relevant literature (Schwartz, 1973; Lien, 1994; Oh & Park, 2002) noted that socioeconomic alienation is determined by such factors as living standards and perceptions of controllability of economic fate while political alienation is influenced by perceptions of government policy as an event directed towards the particular demographic group to which one belongs. We reasoned that the extent to which an individual many perceive the characteristic feature of alienation such as powerlessness may vary in the different life domains. Ifeagwazi, Chukwuorji, & Zacchaeus (2014) found that interpersonal alienation, political alienation and socio-economic alienation were positively associated with psychological distress while resilience was negatively related to psychological distress. Psychological distress was also predicted by

alienation and resilience. The findings of Tomé and collaborators (2016) were similar in so far as adolescents with higher levels of social alienation scored higher in health risks behaviors than adolescents with low levels of social alienation. There was a positive association between social isolation and risk behaviors to adolescents' health, such as engaging in a bullying behavior.

The social dimension of psychological wellbeing, as particularly rooted in social processes, is concerned with the appraisal of one's circumstance and functioning in the society. The need to belong is one of the strongest human needs and thwarting the need to belong and find meaning can have devastating consequences for wellbeing. Alienated persons may perceive meaninglessness if they do not find fulfillments in social encounters or when there is a lack of group ties and social roles that reflect such ties. Extant and recent literature, as described earlier, reported the association of alienation and psychological wellbeing. Interpersonal alienation is analogous to social isolation, loneliness and interpersonal trust (Ifeagwazi, Chukwuorji, & Zacchaeus, 2014). Interpersonal relationships have great importance during adolescence, especially for psychological well-being. The sensation of well-being during adolescence can depend on the integration and acceptance of the peer group (Corsano, Majorano, & Champretavy, 2006). Adolescents' mental health may be affected by difficulties in maintaining social relationships with peers, through the absence of a sense of belonging, rejection by peers, or a break in social relations. Alienation among adolescents is predictive of deviant behavior,

such as drug use, truancy, crime and suicide and of health-related outcomes, such as symptom load, drunkenness, alcohol use, less exercising and eating unhealthy food on a daily basis (Rayce, 2012). The positive attitudinal change helps an adolescent to adapt himself accordingly and form his unique identity. But the problem arises when he refuses to surrender, under such circumstance she often feels alienated, isolated, lonely or out of this world. Thus, the ultimate challenge for him now is to find his place in society. It has often been observed that an alienated individual lacks the necessary competencies to function effectively in various spheres of life including home, school, community, workplace and society at large. Alienation is an experience which has become more and more a fact of life in these days of modernization. Probably adolescents feel this much more than the older people or children (Kaur, 2015). Specifically, our aim was to investigate whether social embeddedness, political alienation and socio-economic alienation would relate with psychological well-being Nigerian students.

Hypotheses

1. Social embeddedness will positively correlate with psychological wellbeing.
2. Political alienation will negatively correlate with psychological wellbeing.
3. **Socio-economic alienation will negatively correlate with psychological wellbeing.**

Method
Participants

A convenient sample of 240 civil servants in the Enugu State Civil Service who are indigenous people of Enugu State of Nigeria participated in the study. They were drawn from the Ministries of Education (46), Health (60), Labour (35), Sports (32), Agriculture, Water and natural resources (67). The sample was almost equally split by gender; (110) male and (130) female. Age ranged from 26 to 64years with mean age of 45.80 (SD = 3.87). With reference to marital status, 100 were single while 140 were married. 100% of the participants were of Igbo ethnic group in the South East region of Nigeria.

Measures

Data was collected using a questionnaire comprising three scales: Social Embeddedness Scale, Alienation Questionnaire and Psychological Wellbeing Scale.

Social Embeddedness was measured using Lubben, Blozik, Gillmann, Iliffe, Von Kruse, Beck, & Stuck. (2006) Social Network Scale (LSNS-R). It is a 12 item self-report measure of social engagement including family and friends. The composite scale has an internal reliability of .70 while the reliability coefficient for the family subscale is .84 and non family members/friends is .80. Sample of the items include: "How often do you see or hear from the friend with whom you have the most contact"? and "How many relatives do you feel at ease with that you can talk about private matters"? High scores indicate more social engagement/embeddedness while lower scores indicate less social engagement/embeddedness. The response format ranges from 1 to 5. The total score is

calculated by finding the sum of the all items. For the current study, the scale yielded a reliability coefficient of .72

The Alienation Questionnaire (Nwanna 2010) was used to measure subjective experience of alienation. Items on the alienation questionnaire were developed by Nwanna (2010) based on information found in the literature (e.g., Geyer and Heinz 1992). It is a 33-item inventory. Respondents indicate their agreement with each item using a 5-point response format ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). Negatively worded items are scored in reverse direction. A reliability co-efficient (Cronbach's a) of .74 was reported by the developer of the instrument. Nwanna (2010) originally established the construct validity of the Alienation Questionnaire through principal component factor analysis giving rise to 3 factors, namely, political alienation (9 items), socio economic alienation (15 items) and interpersonal alienation (9 items), with Cronbach's alphas of .71, .77 and .79 respectively. The subscales of Alienation Questionnaire were also reported to have shown some correlations with environmental attitude (Nwanna, 2010). For the present sample, we obtained high internal consistency coefficients Cronbach's alpha of .63, .80 and .83 for political alienation, socio-economic alienation and interpersonal alienation subscales respectively. Sample items from the questionnaire are as follows: These days, I don't feel comfortable hanging around friends (interpersonal alienation); I feel I am not part of our political system (political alienation); a lot of good jobs are available for people to do in our society (socio-economic alienation). Higher scores

on the AQ indicate more perceived alienation.

Psychological wellbeing scale by Ryff (1995) is an eighteen (18) item instrument designed to measure how individuals evaluate their lives in general. A response of (1) strongly disagree, (2) moderately disagree, (3) slightly disagree, (4) slightly agree, (5) moderately agree, and (6) strongly agree, was used indicating agreement or disagreement with each item. Sample items are: "I tend to be influenced by people with strong opinions'' and "I have confidence in my opinions, even if they are contrary to the general consensus''. Psychological well-being items ranging from 1, 4, 8, 15, 16, 17, and 18. have revised scoring format while item number 2,3,5,6,7,9,10,11,12,13, and 14 have direct scoring format. A pilot study was conducted by the researchers. We obtained an alpha reliability of .71. A composite score of psychological well-being was obtained by summing up the response of the respondents to all the items. Higher scores represent higher wellbeing of workers and vice versa.

Procedure

The data collection for this study was done in January, 2018. Both authors recruited the participants after visiting each building that houses each Ministry in the same complex. The co-operation and assistance of the Permanent Secretaries were solicited and obtained before the commencement of the distribution of the questionnaires. Trained research assistants were utilized in the different locations to stand by to collect filled

questionnaires. The questionnaires were distributed at the reception where all the staff of each Ministry signs in on the attendance register. They were informed that the researcher was conducting a study on wellbeing amongst adults in South East Nigeria and their participation was voluntary. Those who were not willing to participate were not given the questionnaire forms to fill. Of the two hundred and fifty (250) questionnaires completed by the civil servants, two hundred and forty (240) were sufficiently completed by the participants and used for data analysis. Informed consent was obtained from all participants by telling them that participation in the study was voluntary; and that only those who are willing and ready to complete the research instruments should collect the questionnaires. There was no reward for participation in the study.

Design/Statistics

Cross sectional design was employed for the study and Pearson moment correlation statistics was used to test the hypotheses.

Results

Table 1: Summary table of means on Social Embeddedness, Political and Socio economic Alienation as correlates of Psychological well-being

Descriptive Statistics							
	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
SOCIAL EMBEDDEDNESS	240	28.00	30.00	58.00	47.20	7.66	58.65
POLITICAL ALIENATION	240	25.00	10.00	35.00	16.80	5.20	27.02
SOCIO-ECONOMIC	240	31.00	15.00	46.00	26.80	7.32	53.53
PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING	240	51.00	54.00	105.00	83.58	16.03	256.87
AGE	240	38.00	26.00	64.00	46.52	7.67	58.85
Valid N (listwise)	240						

From table 1 above participants obtained a group mean of 47.20 with a standard deviation of 7.66 on social embeddedness; political alienation 16.80, SD = 5.20; socio-economic alienation=26.80, SD = 7.32 and psychological well-being= 83.58, SD = 16.03. Also the age ranges of the participants were 26 to 64, with a mean age of 46.52 and standard deviation of 7.67.

Table 2: Zero order correlation coefficient Matrix showing Social Embeddedness, Political and Socio-economic Alienation as correlates of Psychological well-being

		1	2	3	4	5
1	SOCIAL EMBEDDEDNESS	1				
2	POLITICAL ALIENATION	-.58**	1			
3	SOCIO-ECONOMIC ALIENATION	-.42**	-.43**	1		
4	PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING	**.89**	**-.53**	**-.42**	1	
5	COEFFICIENT OF DETERMINANT (r^2)	**.79**	**.28**	**.18**		

**; P<.01, *; P<.05   Bold are relevant coefficient for research hypothesis

From table 2 above, the result shows that social embeddedness significantly correlated positively with psychological well-being (r = .89, P<.01, r^2=.79). Based on the result above, the stated hypothesis which states that "social embeddedness will positively correlate with psychological well-being" was accepted.

From the table, the result shows that political alienation significantly correlated negatively with psychological well-being (r = -.53, P<.01, r^2=.28). Based on the result, the stated hypothesis which states that "political alienation will negatively correlate with psychological well-being" was accepted. The above result also shows that socio-economic alienation significantly correlated negatively with psychological well-being (r = -.42, P<.01, r^2 = .18). Based on the result, the stated hypothesis which states that socio-economic alienation will negatively correlate with psychological well-being was accepted.

Discussion

In the present study, our first aim was to investigate the relationship between social embeddedness and psychological wellbeing (hypothesis 1). The results showed that social embeddedness significantly correlated positively with psychological well-being. We expected that there will be a positive association between social embeddedness and psychological wellbeing, which was supported by our findings. This means that as social embeddedness increases, the level of psychological wellbeing will increase too. In support of this finding, the study of Snowden (2001) found that African American men who were more socially involved in their communities expressed high psychological wellbeing. The findings of the study of Momtaz, Haron, Ibrahim, and Hamid (2014), supported the importance of neighborhood social cohesion for the well-being of older

adults, and also provided evidence that the impact of social cohesion towards well-being is mediated through the mechanism of social embeddedness. Also the study of Cramm and Nieboer (2015), showed that social cohesion, belonging, and changes therein predict the well-being of community-dwelling older people in the Netherlands over time. Investment in neighborhood social environments is expected to benefit well-being among older citizens, especially as dependence on these environments increases with age. The strengthening of relationships among neighbors and creation of a sense of belonging are needed to improve well-being, especially among older adults. At the same time, social cohesion is generally valued in and of itself, as it reflects solidarity and social harmony, while also being regarded as an important resource for economic success and quality of life.

Our second aim was to investigate the relationship between alienation and psychological wellbeing. Alienation was conceptualized as a multifaceted phenomenon experienced in three specified contexts of political, interpersonal and socio-economic domains. However, in this study we studied the dimensions of political and socio-economic alienations. We expected negative relationships between political alienation and psychological wellbeing (Hypothesis 2) which was supported by our findings. Other studies (Ifeagwazi, et al. 2014; Dekel & Tuval-Mashiach, 2012; Inglehart, et al. 2002) reveal that while citizens in most established democracies bear allegiant attitudes, citizens of post-communist countries feel alienated. Distrust of each other and of the political authorities

leads to dysfunctional government-society relations. Since the time of transitional reforms people in post-communist countries have become more confident in their political capability, yet there is no general trend with regards to confidence in political authorities. Those at the margins of society often feel alienated, and dissident attitudes are on the rise, especially among youth. Since mid-1990s, political alienation of citizens in most countries has slightly decreased as people have become more confident in their capability to influence salient government decisions and (at least in some countries) begin to perceive their government as more responsive to citizen's needs. The improvements are small, but they indicate that people feel that they are slowly gaining more influence on politics, becoming part of the political decision-making process instead of being just passive political subjects. At the same time, most of them still see their politicians as untrustworthy. In a situation when confidence in political authorities is not improving, an increase in political efficacy could be an early indication of more politically turbulent times ahead. Individual level analysis, using the same model, reveals that political alienation is most widespread among younger people. However, in Nigeria there is a growing pattern of political apathy (Ifeagwazi, et al. 2014). Nigerians have lost faith the electoral process thereby alienating themselves from the taking political decisions as they believe that their votes don't count. Infact, there is an increased non-challant attitude by civil servants concerning the political process in their State. Unlike alienation that causes passivity, discontent and an increase in dissident attitudes can lead

to people engaging in unconventional political activities. A worrying sign from the point of view of the effective functioning of democracy is the increase in political alienation among the most disadvantaged members of society—those with a low level of education, low social status, and those lacking financial independence or social security.

The third hypothesis which stated that there will be a negative relationship between socio-economic alienation and psychological wellbeing and it was confirmed by the result. This result corroborates previous studies (Ifeagwazi, et al. 2014; Spivey-Mooring, 2008; Osin, 2009; Rayce, et al. 2008; Safipour, et al. 2011; Dekel & Tuval-Mashiach, 2012) on socio-economic alienation and psychological wellbeing. However, the result is in contrast to Ojedokun (2007) study which found that alienation was not related at all to psychological wellbeing. It should be noted however, that participants in his study were students in the south western part of Nigeria. Obviously, there are differences in socio-economic and political experiences between the workers in the South East and other Nigerians.

Conclusion

The psychological wellbeing of adults (workers) is important to the productivity and work output of the South East region because development revolves around the human person. It may also serve as a measure of the perceived impact of social relations on people's lives. We conceptualized psychological wellbeing as psychological distress but unlike some studies that viewed alienation as a global construct, we adopted a radical, domain-specific perspective of political and socio-economic alienation. It was found that socio-economic alienation, and political alienation were negatively related to psychological wellbeing. Human tendency to develop and get better in spite of adversity needs to be taken into account in organization of human service. More importantly, valued participation with valued people in valued activities that take place in valued settings is a key mechanism for reducing alienation in order to enhance psychological wellbeing. The media and public agencies should highlight the progress of society toward improving wellbeing, reducing distress, increasing life satisfaction and improvement in levels of happiness among Nigerian workers. This is because such wellbeing indicators are critical value perspectives in evaluations of social structure and interventions. We believe that if psychological wellbeing is given attention in public policy and social discourse, individuals and communities will be able to adopt behaviours that promote it. The relevance of considering the interaction of socio-structural and individual factors in psychological wellbeing appears to be too strong to be ignored.

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