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Cutting stone or building a cathedral

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Cutting Stone or Building a Cathedral

Prof. dr. Jac van der Klink

Valedictory address,
delivered in adapted form by Prof. dr. Jac van der Klink, Professor of Mental Health at Work and Sustainable Employability at Tilburg University on Friday 11 October 2019.

Cutting Stone or Building a Cathedral

For my wife Ariane, my children Jolijn en Lein-Jan, Laura, Chiel en Floor
and my granddaughters Anneleine and Madelie

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Introduction

'Dear mister Rector, dear madam dean of the Tilburg School of Social and Behavioural Sciences, dear colleagues, dear family, friends and highly esteemed audience',

In my inaugural lecture of almost five years ago I invited you to accompany me on a journey to review several perspectives about the value of work. (Van der Klink, 2015). I stated then that, at the end of that journey, if your conclusion was that you had seen a lot, I had succeeded in entertaining you. Or, if your conclusion was that the journey enabled you to reflect about our occupational values, I succeeded in giving you some potentially valuable thoughts. However, if your conclusion was that I had challenged you to significantly rethink some of your values and our shared values, then I may have succeeded in recruiting some new companions for more exploratory journeys and, with apologies to Foucault, what I called value-plays (Foucault, 1994). It has been a pleasure and a privilege that many researchers and practitioners, particularly at the University of Tilburg, joined me in exploratory journeys after that lecture during the past five years. I believe the "capability for work" model and its various assets that we have developed deserves further application in scientific research and practice beyond Tilburg. And dare I say, it has merits that deserve attention and application beyond the Netherlands and even, Europe. Moreover, the position of Captain of this ship for such journeys will become vacant after today. So, for this present lecture my ambitions are even higher than that previous lecture as I hope to recruit sailors and many captains for new ships for journeys to more distant lands.

In my inaugural lecture I argued firstly that the ship we are travelling on, the ship of work and health, had been undergoing various renovations. By that I meant that the subject of work and health has been the focus of growing scientific research and proposals for reform. But while the ship may have been renovated to some extent, the instruments were still outdated, the maps were old, and the sextant as the guiding tool were not matched with a journey and era that requires the sophistication of a satellite navigation system. The warning I was giving was that the ship and the tools were inadequate particularly because there are some dangerous rocks ahead of us.

The first rock we arrived at was immediately and visibly dangerous as it showed an underlying conceptual problem — our core ethical values were not being

fully reflected in our constructs and models being used in the field of work and health. The same is also true more broadly in the field of (disease & illness) prevention. I suggested that the dominating values in prevention and in work and health should not be wholly based on a consequential (teleological) model, even though consequentialism was and is the dominant way of reasoning in the field and broader social policy making. By that I mean that occupational health interventions and, more generally, prevention are assessed for their financial and economic consequences; prevention is only better than a cure if the outcomes are cheaper than cure. Therefore, I argued that there is an urgent need for a model that also recognizes deontological elements. That is, the prevention of potential harm experience by human beings is valuable to do in itself--in general, and in the field of work and health.

As we try to navigate away from this imposing rock, we see a second dangerous rock related to the political economic value of work, most recently elaborated with great insight by Thomas Piketty. The core of Piketty's argument is that the economic value of work will become increasingly reduced (Piketty, 2011). If no corrective political choices are made, this development will be reinforced and hastened by the processes of mechanisation, robotics and computerisation. Markets will strive for increasingly cheaper labour and human labour will lose the competition with mechanisation, robotics and computerisation. This will continually marginalise and reduce the economic value of human work.

At this point of our imaginary journey I invited you to look at the value of work from a historical and philosophical perspective, from Aristotle to Arendt. I argued that the value of work can only be preserved if we make a dramatic change in paradigm, and start to look at work as an individual 'consumption good' (Heertje, 2006) and not exclusively as a production factor. By this I mean that most people, when they do have the luxury of a choice about work, they look for work that meets their preferences, that suits them and feels good-- such as when they are buying consumer goods. Yet, in most of our economic and social theories, work is primarily seen as a production factor. I think we should see work as something that has personal and social value, other than just a production factor. This is not as innovative or radical as it may seem; it is precisely the way the ancient Greeks viewed the value of work (Aristotle, ed. 1995; Anthony, 1984). There may also be other ancient traditions that saw work in this way. The present can learn from the past here.

In order to help introduce a new perspective about work and health, I would like to share a story about the rebuilding of St. Pauls Cathedral. The architect, Sir Christopher Wren, designed and supervised the building of more than 50 churches in London after the great fire of London in 1666. The reconstruction of St. Paul's Cathedral was his masterpiece.

I must admit that I do not know if this story is completely true, but it provides wonderful food for thought. The story begins with Sir Christopher walking among the many workers building the cathedral. Apparently, he was not known to the many workers. As he was surveying the progress of the building, he stopped and asked three different laborers, all engaged in the same task, what they were each doing. And he got three different answers.

1) The first said, while acting a bit irritated, "You can see what I am doing, I am cutting this stone."
2) The second answered, "I am earning three shillings, six pence a day. To feed my family"
3) The third man straightened up, squared his shoulders, and still holding his mallet and chisel, replied, "I am helping to build the most beautiful cathedral of London."

This anecdote illustrates that people can have different understandings or evaluations of the meaning of their work. Aside from the diversity of views, we can see some particular views about work -- from work done as an imposed labour and experienced as a burden; or work as a means to acquire income and an existence; and finally work seen as a fulfilment and a means to contribute to something of personal and social value.

As such, the short walk of Sir Christopher Wren among the workers can also be seen as a walk through (modern) times.

My motivation and desire is for the central paradigm of occupational health and occupational psychology to change and to see all workers as builders of cathedrals – cathedrals of flourishing lives and societies. Moreover, my desire is for a paradigm that helps workers see themselves as cathedral builders. And, furthermore, for a paradigm that recognizes how social conditions and environments where people are working can enable them to be builders of great cathedrals.

This motivation for a new paradigm is also aligned with the fact that the intrinsic value of work is becoming important again (Gheaus and Herzog, 2016), and a relevant factor in making work sustainable (Van der Klink et al., 2016). That is, while Piketty talks about the decreasing economic value of work by human beings, human beings are increasingly looking for valuable work, or work with values.

Many present-day theories in the field of work and health, like the Michigan model, the ICF and the JD-R model miss essential elements to accomplish this goal. They miss especially the elements of normativity and contextuality. The models do not sufficiently recognize the importance of values, or specific kinds of values. And they do not adequately recognize the importance of contextual factors that impact the ability of individuals to work.

I and colleagues have been arguing that the capability approach (CA) to human wellbeing and social justice developed by Nobel Prize laureate Amartya Sen (Sen, 1999, 2004, 2009) is suited for this task, and with adaptation, it can provide us with more robust tools to continue the journey in our work and health vessel. It can help our work be focused on helping individuals build their cathedrals of a flourishing life and good societies.

The capability model
The CA, is an ethical framework that social justice, or a good society, should focus on supporting the capabilities (freedoms or real opportunities) of all individuals to conceive, pursue, and revise their life plans. (Sen, 1999; Venkatapuram, 2011). Applied to the specific domain of work, the approach provides the possibility to identify important work-related values (Van der Klink, 2016; Abma, 2016), and to analyse how people are enabled and able to achieve these values in their work.

According to the CA, people should enjoy a 'capability set', a bundle of options to realise 'beings and doings people have reason to value' (Sen, 1992). By formulating this as a social goal and such capabilities as entitlements, the CA is a normative approach that transcends the conventional dichotomy between consequentialism and deontology. In our society and economy, it is a risk that all activities and services, and especially paid work are reduced to their strictly economic 'consequences'. Even for professionals working in rehabilitation or who mediate work for people who are vulnerable with respect to labour market participation, it is often difficult not to be pressed into that economic service. However, it is a consequential pitfall to sell services aimed at participation and well-being, as if they will always contribute to the efficiency and productivity of employees. That is an economic and not a health and well-being objective. Of course, in many cases such work will contribute to the economic goals of the organisation and a 'business case' can often be made for such an approach. But the added 'deontological' value of our work is precisely that we emphasize that workers deserve a broader values perspective; we should always make a broader 'value case' instead of just a business case. The capability approach, being explicitly normative in putting people's freedoms and well-being at the centre, is

a suitable framework to broaden our perspective from purely consequentialism, to include both consequentialism and deontology. Moreover, the criticism of financial economic consequentialism and resourcism of the approach and Sen (Bergers, 2007; Pierik and Robeyns, 2007; Sen, 1992, 2009) opens new perspectives on our field. I will elaborate later on the nuanced vision of resources in the approach.

According to the approach it is the shared responsibility of the individual and the social context (society and societal institutions) to build and sustain the capability set necessary to achieve a valuable and flourishing life. Seen as freedoms, people have an entitlement to be able and enabled to realise goals and values that are important to them. This implies that society or societal institutions have obligations to enable and facilitate people to achieve their goals. But there is also an obligation for the person herself to build up and maintain the ability to achieve important goals. In our view, for the present-day worker contributing to something valuable in work is considered to be an important aspect of their Quality of Working Life (Jahoda, 1982; Gheaus, 2016) and sustainable employability (Van der Klink, 2016). So, the challenge in all work places is to identify what the important values are and how people are able and enabled to achieve these values.

In the CA resources ('means to achieve' such as income and wealth but also a healthcare or labour conditions), only have value because of what individuals can be and do through using and 'converting' such means into valuable outcomes. For Sen, equity in capabilities – 'freedoms to achieve important goals people have' – is important, and not equality in the means or resources, as in most economic and political philosophical theories (Sen, 1980, 1992).

Equality of What?

Equal means   Equal opportunities / outcomes
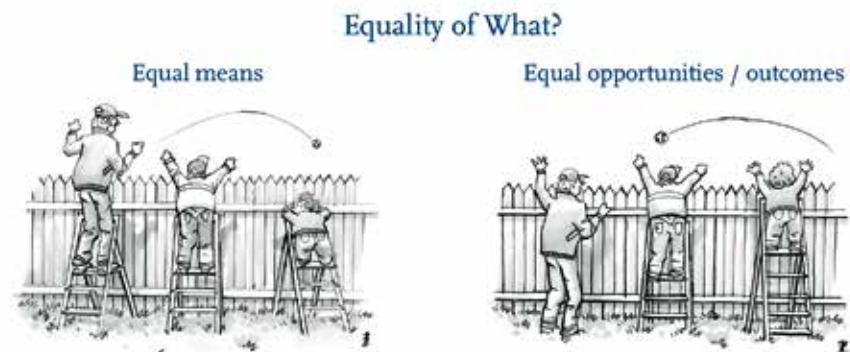
Thus, instead of focusing exclusively on the means or instrumental value of goods the CA advocates a focus on what we really value and care about. It should be on what individuals are practically able and enabled to be and do — i.e. what 'achievements' they can attain.

I would like to emphasize that there are different conceptual layers. The capability approach as described above, is firmly anchored in economics and philosophy and now also in health and social sciences. It is considered a leading model by the UN, the OECD, the WHO and the ILO to name a few examples. Hundreds of scientific groups worldwide are refining and expanding the model. Of course, no scientific theory should be elevated beyond scientific doubt and criticism, but there are theories that are so firmly anchored that there is little doubt about their validity, and they are mainly expanded and amended. The capability approach seems to have gained such a status.

At a lower level, we have many specific applications of the approach in various scientific fields. One of these is our application in the field of work and health. We derive a solid foundation from the capability approach, but our application and operationalization can and must be the subject of a strong scientific discourse. In addition, there are plenty of challenges in further developing the model and to broaden the applications. Below I firstly present the capability for work model, and then indicate a number of aspects that should be further elaborated.

The Capability for Work Model
Recently we proposed a model of sustainable employability based on the capability model and an operalisation in a questionnaire of work values (Van der Klink et al., 2016). In accordance with Sen's assertion that identification of capabilities – opportunities to achieve important values; being able and enabled - can only be 'collected' from the target group and relevant stakeholders, this proposed set was based on interviews with workers in the Dutch labour force and an expert group (Abma et al., 2016). The resulting 'capability set for work' consists of seven non-ranked work values:

1. using knowledge and skills,
2. developing knowledge and skills,
3. involvement in important decisions,

4. meaningful contacts at work,
5. setting own goals,
6. having a good income and
7. contributing to something valuable.

Each work value becomes a capability (an opportunity to achieve an important goal or value) if an employee a) finds the value important in her work, b) is enabled by contextual factors to achieve this work value and c) is able to achieve these work value herself.

This triptych of questions respectively relates to elements of the capability model a) identification of relevant capabilities of the employee b) work conversion factors (i.e. factors in the work place that enable people to convert resources (means to achieve) into capabilities (freedoms to achieve) and functionings (achievements) and c) personal conversion factors.

Thus, the 'capability set for work' can look to see if people are able and enabled to achieve important work values and also to detect deprivation of work capabilities in the work population. It showed to be explanatory for important outcomes such as perceived health, work engagement, work ability, intention to stay in the job and other outcomes. (Abma, 2016) Moreover, it appears to be an apt instrument for enabling dialogue to help make people aware of what is important to them in work and whether they are enabled and able to do so.

Perspective on the future of work
The CA has been the starting point for our research and implementation ambitions in the academic collaborative centre for work and health (CCWH) in the past five years. This is where our ideas and ambitions met practice. We succeeded here in Tilburg in building a research line with six PhD trajectories and many other projects with the CA as conceptual framework. Moreover, the partners and the researchers in the collaborative centre succeeded in implementing the CA in several projects and contexts. I will elaborate on this in a section below. These applications also showed new perspectives on future developments. In this lecture the focus is on these opportunities of the CA in future research and practice, and I will share some thoughts now with you about what in my opinion the CA can contribute to the field of work and health. This contribution manifests itself at three levels. At the first place, the CA can

shed light on what I would call supportive concepts and constructs that are very relevant in the field of work and health. These are among others three dimensions already identified in the Michigan model in the 1960s: demands, decision latitude and social support. A construct in more modern models is that of resources and a fifth relevant construct is coping; I will discuss these five constructs in relation to the capability model; we see that the capability approach adds normativity, dynamics and context sensitivity and thereby enriches these existing constructs.

On the second level it is of interest to discuss how the CA relates to other important theories and frameworks in the field of work and health and, a bit broader, in psychology and health care. I will discuss shortly the relationship with the JD-R model and the Value Mapping theory, and also the ICF framework that is often used in the field of work and health. Besides these theories on work and health, the relationship with more general concepts of positive health and positive psychology will be discussed.

I will conclude this discourse by discussing the practical implications that have been developed or are currently being developed.

The third level will be given as an encore, widening the perspective to work as an important social and societal phenomenon. This is at the interface of politics and science, but the capability approach is very clear about certain social phenomena, in particular equality and justice. Both aspects have an important impact on the value and the availability of work and I will briefly say something about it.

Constructs in the field of work and health; what the capability model can add

In this section I will further elaborate on the five constructs as mentioned above: demands, job control, social support, resources and coping.

Demands

In the Michigan stress model (French and Caplan, 1972) 'demands' was identified as one of the dimensions or factors that play a role in the stress process. Two other important dimensions were decision latitude and social support. In the Michigan model these factors were more or less seen as independently operating dimensions in the stress process. It was the great merit of Robert Karasek that he brought these factors together in a multi-dimensional model: first demands and decision latitude (job control) in his famous quadrant model (Karasek, 1979). The idea was that these two dimensions did not operate independently but influenced each other. The two dimensions together gave four types of work: passive work. with low demands and low job control; low-strain work, with low demands and high control; high strain work, with high demands and low control: and finally, active work with high demands and high control. Karasek hypothesised that high strain jobs would generate much stress and that active jobs were the most challenging and had the most learning opportunities. In several studies this was confirmed and the model proved to be predictive for job stress and all other kinds of worker-health related aspects. Karasek expanded the model with social support as a factor that buffered for high strain and Schaufeli, Bakker and Demerouti extended the model to all kind of job resources: the Job Demand-Resources (JD-R) model (Bakker et al., 2003; Demerouti et al., 2001; Schaufeli et al., 2004). The merit of Karasek was that he clarified that job demands as such are not necessarily devastating but that other factors influenced this relationship. Nowadays, scientist-practitioners like Van Rhenen stress that resources are an even more important focus for stress prevention and curation than demands.

The capability aspect adds that if people can achieve what they strive for and what they value in their work, that adds to sustainable employability and well-being in work and makes people resilient and resistant to stress. Demands can be seen as either facilitating or inhibiting. If demands are in line with what is valuable to people this will contribute to well-being. At the other hand, if people have to perform all kind of tasks that prevent them from doing things they value, it causes stress. An example of this is health care. Few professionals working in care experience it as a burden if they have to do some extra work caring for

patients. However, the pressure of all kind of regulations and registrations, cause lots of stress and can even lead to people leaving the sector, either by sickness or by efflux. In many qualitative studies that we performed we found this pattern: tasks are evaluated differently according to how they are perceived. From this point of view the third worker Sir Christopher Wren met, probably had a lower risk of job stress than the other two. Of course, there is a limit even to 'healthy' demands. We see that in our own sector of science, where the pressure for output in publications, education and management obligations can be huge.

The insight that the capability model adds here is that tasks are not necessarily demanding in themselves and at best can be buffered for in their harmful effect, but that the same task performed from different perspectives can have different meaning and consequently, different effect. If you are a controller, who enjoys to work with figures and see the merit you have for the success of the organisation you might enjoy controlling the efficacy of all kinds of activities. However, if you are a care provider, with the drive to help people, you might experience the same tasks as a burden.

Decision latitude / job control
In the capability for work model, job control can be seen as a resource, as a conversion factor or as a capability. It could even be seen as a meta-capability. It may look confusing or even as a weakness as a single concept can be placed in different locations of the model. At the other hand, looking at job control from a capability perspective gives the opportunity to unravel the different aspects of the concept of job control and even the development of the concept over time.

In Karasek's time, in the then economy and organization of work, job control or decision latitude, was an important factor to organise one's work; it concerned decisions within one's work: the way and the order in which tasks were performed. In the nowadays service economy, it is important for people to have control over their work and not merely within their work. People don't want – and need - just involvement in the how but also in the what. This reflects the different aspects of freedom that Sen distinguishes. According to Sen, freedom is, on the one hand the possibility to achieve valued goals (opportunity aspect; the freedom to use opportunities) and on the other hand the possibility to shape one's life and one's living environment (process aspect; the freedom to create opportunities) (Sen, 2009).

In the economy and the vision on work that prevailed in Karasek's time, job control could be seen as a conversion factor that could convert job demands into a healthy and learning work environment. In present work job control is seen as a capability in itself, reflected by two of the seven work values that we identified in the working population: 'involvement in important decisions' and 'setting own goals'. One could even say that these values (and the underlying concept of autonomy) reflecting job control as a capability, are values in itself but are also pre-conditional to most of the other values (such as 'using knowledge and skills', 'developing knowledge and skills', 'meaningful contacts at work' and 'contributing to something valuable'), by organising your work in a way that these values can be achieved. Job control could then be regarded as a meta-capability: not only a capability in itself but also a pre-condition for other capabilities (as Venkatapuram stated about health; Venkatapuram, 2011)).

In focus group interviews in different working groups in a variety of organisations (performed by Patricia van Casteren and Jan Meerman (Meerman et al., submitted)} we saw conformation for all of these aspects of job control: job control as a capability and even a meta-capability for people working in the higher service sector. We saw there too that the importance of job control depended on the position and function one had in the organisation. Some positions, especially those in which service providers were confronted with external clients and their differentiated wishes, required autonomy in the sense of 'process freedom', at the one hand to perform their work well (capability) and at the other hand to meet the requirements of the external clients (meta-capability).

Workers in supporting functions at the other hand, with predominantly internal clients could rely on the internal organisation and regulations of the company and were satisfied with 'opportunity freedom'; for them job control was a supportive conversion factor.

In the same focus groups research, we saw that employees differed in their ability to achieve their personal values within the same work context- We saw this especially in those companies that did not provide much room for dealing with personal values, time, tasks and energy. The difference between employees was reflected in the interrelation between organisational and personal conversion factors in experiencing job control. In these restricted circumstances,

most employees seemed to put up with their jobs by shifting their 'involvement and investments' towards on one side their private life and on the other towards building and maintaining social contacts at work to live up to the demands of the job, being satisfied with small steps towards contributing to something valuable for their clients and customers and towards simply earn their salary and getting acknowledgment by colleagues and clients.

A minority of employees, however, succeeded to achieve their values by influencing the environment, where others could not. Some of these workers persisted in using formal opportunities in the structure of the company, no matter how uninviting these were. Other workers worked around formal regulations by neglecting them and by using soft skills to realise their own values informally. The capability model clarifies the direct influence of the context at the one hand and the interrelation of personal and contextual factors at the other.

Social support
Social support is regarded as an important factor in all relevant models about work and health. In the same focus group research as mentioned above, we came along an interesting finding that we didn't find in the literature known to us and that could be understood with the concepts of capability, meta-capability and conversion factors, just as the construct of job control.

In our research we found that the meaning and importance of social support varied over work situations, related to the structure of and the organization of work within a working group.

In groups in which group participants had their own responsibilities and targets, social support was an important value and capability related to important outcomes as well-being, but it was not conditional for achieving other values. Those could be discussed and achieved with other actors in the company, such as the supervisor or HR. In other groups, for example in health care, there were group responsibilities, for example for rosters, and targets related to care for patients. For these groups social support was not only a value and capability in itself, but it was also conditional for achieving other important values. The development of knowledge and skills was, for example, an individual and also a group target and required coordination in the group and the willingness of other group members to take over tasks in order to be achieved. In these groups social support was a meta-capability: a value in itself but also conditional for achieving other values. The CA adds here insight in the possible 'meta-position' of social support, depending on the context: being a value in itself, but also conditional for achieving other values.

Resources
As stated above, the concept of resources is important in modern work and health theories and models. Sen developed in his research on poverty and famines a view on resources different from mainstream economics (Sen 1992, 2009) namely that economic goods such as income and wealth only have value because of what individuals can be and do through using and 'converting' such goods. This view on resources became one of the important starting points of the capability model; thus, instead of focusing exclusively on means or the instrumental value of goods the CA advocates a focus on what we really value and care about. It should be on what individuals are practically able to be and do, i.e. what 'functionings' they can achieve. For this, the presence of economic goods, commodities, or any other resources is necessary but not sufficient. To reach their goals, workers should not only dispose of resources and other inputs, they should also have the possibilities to exploit those inputs. 'Conversion factors' enable the worker to convert inputs into tangible opportunities, which are instrumental in reaching valuable goals in work.

The relevance of conversion factors in addition to resources is that it can clarify mechanisms in the process of work and health. In large companies and institutions, the view of senior management on the company is often determined by the established rules and procedures (organisational resources). At that level, things are often in order in Western economies and that often leads to the premise that there are no problems (which is true on the level of resources). The concept of conversion factors makes it clear that factors in the workplace, such as leadership style, departmental culture and social cohesion, are often at least as important as the formal organization. A company can have a perfect training policy, but if there are staff shortages in a specific department and allowing a course to one employee leads to an unacceptable increase in work pressure for the others, good formal policy cannot be converted into actual goal achievement.

The concept of conversion factors can also clarify why in some contexts people with ample resources, whether these are knowledge and skills or giftedness, don't show their full potential in the sense that they cannot achieve significant goals and values for themselves and the company (research by Patricia van Casteren on gifted workers). And in other contexts, people with a 'negative' resource (such as a chronic illness or developmental dyslexia) can function perfectly well (Kuiper et al., 2016; and research by Joost de Beer and Marzenka Rolak). These mechanisms can be clarified better by enriching the concept of resources with the concept of conversion factors. It also clarifies why in these situations companies can better consult occupational health or occupational psychology professionals, influencing the conversion factors, than organisational advisors, looking at the level of resources. So, the CA enriches the concept of 'resources' by telling apart 'conversion factors' that are necessary to utilise resources.

Coping

The concept of coping (e.g. Lazarus and Folkman, 1984; Weiten and Loyd, 2008) can be enriched by the concept of agency (Sen, 1985) that plays an important role in the capability approach. In contrast with the personality- and trait based and descriptive nature of coping (Schreurs & Van de Willige, 1993), agency is state based and dynamic within the context of time and location, linked to value-realization of people and inherently normative. Agency relates to the two distinct types of freedom we mentioned above: the freedom one has to utilise available means within the context (opportunity aspect) and the freedom to create opportunities within the context (process aspect). Agency can be seen as the motivational and dynamic power in the process of converting resources into achievable values (capabilities) but is also in other ways related to and intertwined with conversion factors. At the one hand, conversion factors (conditions or opportunities) are needed, both within the person and in the context, to accomplish agency. At the other hand, agency can be seen as a (converting) factor itself that can create opportunities.

So, coping and agency are both concepts that play a role in the process of acting and of adaptation by people. In addition to this accordance, there are also differences. Coping is formulated within stress theories, while agency is a general concept. Coping stresses the trait and personality bound characteristics of adaptation, while agency focusses on the state and the dynamics of the

context. These differences are illustrated by the hypothetical situation that from an agency perspective one might conclude that on the basis of current 'negative' work conversion factors one is not able to achieve a certain value, despite an active coping style. At the other hand is it possible that someone with an ineffective coping strategy can achieve certain values in a facilitating context. So the concept of agency adds contextuality to the concept of coping.

As claimed in advance, I hope to have demonstrated in the short discussions above that in all five constructs discussed above, the capability approach adds normativity, dynamics and context sensitivity, thereby enriching the existing constructs.

Developments and theories in the field of work and health; what the capability model can add

In this section I will discuss how the CA relates to developments in health and psychology and concepts of positive health and positive psychology. Thereafter, I will deal with the relation with other important theories and frameworks in the field of work and health. I will discuss the relationship with the JD-R model and the Value Mapping theory, and also the ICF framework which is a more general model on health indicating the developments in our thoughts about health and is often used in the field of work and health and also the ICF framework, a more general health model that reflects developments in our thinking on health and is often used in the field of work and health.

Our concept of health has changed radically over the past five decades. The World Health Organisation's (WHO) definition of health (WHO, 1948) points to an almost unreachable spot on the horizon; a static state of 'complete physical, mental and social wellbeing', which as a goal, especially as a sustainable goal, is unattainable. Half a century later, in the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF), the WHO no longer gives health the position of a final outcome; health has become a determinant or input for social participation (WHO, 2001). And even more recent descriptions view health as an asset or capital, a capability, a meta-capability, or as a process of self-direction and adaptation (Law and Widdows, 2008; Venkatapuram, 2011; Huber, 2011).

Thus, in just a few decades, our idea of health has dramatically changed: from output to input, from state to process, and from target to agent. In many cases, this better reflects the perceptions and experiences of people. On a global scale, only a very small group of privileged people can afford the luxury of seeing health as an end in itself. For the vast majority of people, health is a necessity or a precondition for being able to earn an income, and by this, an existence. Furthermore, in affluent countries where existence is assured through a safety net of social and health insurance, health is still for many people more of a condition or means than a goal in itself. This definitely applies to groups whose health is permanently constrained or vulnerable (e.g. chronically diseased, elderly), and for whom health in the sense of the WHO definition is not (or no longer) an option. Nevertheless, despite not being able to achieve complete health and wellbeing, health is still important because it enables them to do the things that are important to them in their daily lives. The capability model is able to deal coherently with both health as a means to well-being and as a valuable end in itself.

Due to these developments in our view on health, well-being and human relations a paradigm shift is taking place. The core of this shift is that modern concepts like positive health, positive psychology and the CA move away from avoiding risks to realising opportunities; from attention to the past (what went wrong, what determinants played a role, what symptoms developed) towards attention to the future (what goals and values are important, how can they be achieved).

Internationally, health is increasingly being considered in terms of the capability model. The reasons are many. As Richardson (2016) states: '.... health is a tremendously important all-purpose means to enjoying basic human capabilities, but a mere means, and not an end. The ends to which health is a means are manifold, requiring all those engaged in policy making to exercise intelligence in a continuing effort to identify them and to think through how they interrelate.' This corresponds to the concept of health as a meta-capability (Venkatapuram, 2011). In the Netherlands the 'positive health' description of Huber is popular (Huber et al., 2011): 'Health as the ability to adapt and to self-manage, in the light of the physical, emotional and social challenges of life'. Compared to Huber's definition, the capability concept of health has the advantage that it provides a goal: 'the realisation of important capabilities'. After all, adjusting and self-management are not goals in themselves but important means to guarantee that people are optimally involved in setting goals that are important to them. A second advantage of the capability concept is that the realisation of capabilities is explicitly a responsibility of the individual and his or her social context: to be able and be enabled. Applied to the description of health, this means that it is not only an adaptation of the individual to his or her context, but also the other way around. This should not be understood as being a duty of the physical environment to support individuals. Rather, that the social institutions and policies that impact the environment should be adjusted to enable current and future generations of people to pursue their life plans. This also applies to the enabling the individual to self-manage.

For the concept of positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihályi, 2000) counts more or less the same as for positive health: the CA can provide a goal. The core concepts of positive psychology are to adhere to: 1) Positive experiences that people can have, such as happiness, hope and love; 2) Positive characteristics and qualities, such as vitality, perseverance and wisdom

3) Positive institutions, or ways in which institutions can make a positive difference within society.
These are mechanisms or sub-goals and no end goals.

Here too, the capability concept of health provides a goal: 'the realisation of important capabilities'.

Connection with other theories
In this paradigm shift towards positive aspects such as opportunities, solution orientation and participation, several models on work and health were developed. Hereunder, I will shortly describe three of these models (the JD-R model, the Map of Meaning model and the ICF framework) and subsequently I will discuss what the CA can add to these models.

JD-R model
The Job Demands Resources (JD-R) model (Bakker et al., 2003; Demerouti et al., 2001; Schaufeli et al., 2004) is a broadening of the Karasek model in the sense that it extends to all types of resources that an individual can have (instead of just job-control and social support) and emphasises the energising and motivational aspects that work may have if relevant resources or characteristics are present. The model assumes that high work demands (job demands) lead to stress reactions and unhealthiness (the exhaustion process), while having many energy sources (job resources) leads to higher motivation and productivity (the motivational process). The JD-R Model offers a balanced view on the interactions between work and workers. The JD-R Model is comprehensive in the way that it looks at risks as well as to opportunities. The model has a broad and flexible scope including all relevant job characteristics). Finally, it acts as a helpful communication tool with stakeholders.

Map of Meaning model
The 'Map of Meaning' is a conceptual model for cultivating meaningful work (MW) (Lips-Wiersma & Morris, 2011). MW comprises tasks and activities on an occupational basis that contribute to the existential significance or purpose of one's life (Both-Nwabuwe, Dijkstra & Beersma, 2017). The 'Map of Meaning' helps identify activities as either supporting or inhibiting MW. Individuals are responsible for creating their own meaning, while organizations should put conditions in place so that meaning can be pursued (Lips-Wiersma & Morris,

2011). In the model, MW is a multidimensional construct. It identifies seven dimensions through which work becomes valuable.

The seven dimensions are divided into three components: 1) core dimensions, 2) balancing tensions, and 3) inspiration and facing reality. Component one comprises the four core dimensions of MW: "Integrity with self," "Unity with others," "Service to others," and "Expressing full potential."

The second component comprises the dimension "balancing tensions" and refers to the need that all four dimensions are experienced in balance with each other over time. Then, one experiences MW and work itself becomes valuable (Lips-Wiersma & Morris, 2011).

The third component comprises the two dimensions "inspiration" and "facing reality".

ICF classification
The overall aim of the ICF classification is to provide a unified and standard language and framework for the description of health and health-related states, in particular the health components of functioning and disability. So, the ICF classification adds functional status to WHO's International Classification of Diseases (ICD), which contains information on diagnosis and health condition.

The domains contained in ICF are described from the perspective of the body, the individual and society in two basic lists: (1) Body Functions and Structures; and (2) Activities and Participation. As a classification, ICF systematically groups different domains for a person in a given health condition (e.g. what a person with a disease or disorder does do or can do). Functioning is an umbrella term encompassing all body functions, activities and participation; similarly, disability serves as an umbrella term for impairments, activity limitations or participation restrictions. ICF also lists environmental factors that interact with all these constructs. In this way, it enables the user to record useful profiles of individuals' functioning, disability and health in various domains. (WHO, 2011)

Added value of the capability model, in general terms
In general, the CA adds normativity and contextuality to all of these models. For well-being and sustainable employability in the current work setting it is crucial that workers can attain significant goals in their work that are concordant with their core values.

The added value of the CA is that it challenges researchers, policy makers and practitioners to look for what is important and valuable for people to realise in a given (work) context and whether people are able and enabled to do so. Being an explicitly normative model in this way, the CA is better than the other models able to reflect the dynamics in and the challenges of present days' work. It depicts valuable goals, i.e. a set of capabilities that constitute valuable work, rather than merely describing relationships between variables, as the descriptive models described above do.

The aspect of contextuality relates to normativity in the sense that normativity pre-eminently manifests itself in contextuality. The model gives an entitlement and a moral claim to adjustments at the policy level that should enable people to achieve goals and values that are important for them. To enable: "beings and doings they have reason to value".

For the work situation, working with the capability model implies that one must not only convince the organisation of the scientific value of the model but also of its moral implications. The advantage is that once this step is taken there is often fuller commitment to adapt policies. For the occupational health or psychology professional this presupposes a choice: does the professional consider him- or herself as someone who indicates and explains relationships and gives advices or as a 'change agent' who seeks to influence and advance things.

An additional advantage is on the communication level. All models are communication tools between professionals and stakeholders; the capability model adds, that it is also a direct communication tool with the worker involved. The discussion about values and important goals people aim to achieve, that is central in the model, is central in personal communication and coaching in the consulting room too.

In addition to the general remarks above, some specific remarks can be made on the specific models described above.

Added value of the capacity model focused on the models discussed
When we compare the JD-R model with the capability model we see that the two models are complementary in their explanatory framework: in the JD-R model there is accent on and elaboration of resources. The capability model adds the concept of conversion factors, a concept that has a strong empirical base in economics, but yet has to been proven in social science. In practice it proofs to be a valuable concept for managers to interpret and to intervene on processes in their organisation. Moreover, the accent on values is more pronounced in the capability model than in the JD-R model. Research is needed to see how, and under what circumstances, the two models can reinforce each other.

To investigate the relations between the 'Map of Meaning' and the 'Capability approach for sustainable employability' Jitske Both (Both et al., submitted) performed a mixed quantitative and qualitative study with the aim to provide insight into when work is perceived as valued. Additionally, we examined the proposition that valued work is positively related to continue working. More then 500 nurses from three healthcare organizations completed the scales of both models and of continue working. The data suggest that valued work is characterized by a good balance between **what** people can do at work that is valuable to them ("doings") and **who** people can **be** at work ("beings") and is positively related to continue working. By interviewing 15 nurses, it was found that being able to maintain good (physical) health in a physically and psychosocial challenging work environment is a precondition for continue working.

This last finding is in line with the idea of health as a meta-capability: it is conditional for work and the values related to work. Both models are value orientated. They are complementary in that the capability for work list seems to be relatively focused on 'doings', whereas the map of meaning list seems more orientated on 'beings'. If this is confirmed by further research, this may lead to an adjustment of the capability for work list for this specific population. After all, according to Sen capabilities should be identified for specific target groups and contexts. More research is warranted.

With regard to the relationship between the CA and the ICF, Patricia Welch Saleeby concludes in an article published in 2006 that the CA and the ICF complement each other excellently (Welch Saleeby, 2006).

The ICF can be used as operationalization of the CA. In addition, the CA adds the element of personal choice and importance: in the CA, a functioning is only relevant if the person values it. That gives direction to interventions and adjustments.

The CA can also help interpret data collected with the ICF. Joost de Beer is conducting a study in which the CA will be used to interpret the outcomes of a meta-synthesis of data collected using the ICF categories.

Practical applications

As I have discussed the implications and opportunities that I see for scientific applications of the capability concept, I want to conclude by describing some practical applications.

I want to do that based on the anecdote I described above: the construction of St. Pauls. Sir Christopher Wren took us figuratively by the hand during his short walk along the three workers. Now, I want to take him by the hand showing him the opportunities of the capability approach.

The position of Sir Christopher Wren is not entirely clear. He is probably not the employer and certainly not the supervisor of the workers. But he is clearly interested in his workers and from there I offer him an imaginary membership in our Collaborative Center for Work and Health (CCWH). That gives him all the tools to understand and address the health, well-being and sustainable employability of his workers.

First of all, it would be good if he received some training to get a little more feeling for the model and its practical applications. The NSPOH, one of the partners in the CCWH, has developed a two-day training course, for which Frans Vlek, associated with the NSPOH and also affiliated with Tranzo as a science practitioner (SP), is responsible. Besides Frans, Patricia van Casteren, associated with Ascender – a CCWH partner too - and also SP at Tranzo, Benedikte Schaapveld, head of the Occupational Health and Safety Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and former SP at Tranzo and myself play a role in that training.

The sessions of the training reflect the application options. Patricia mainly deals with the possibilities that the model offers in personal guidance, Frans and I practice with the participants with a discussion guide to conduct the conversation on values and Benedikte explains how the CA is applied at the organizational level within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Patricia's contribution is partly illustrated on the basis of the case below, which shows how the use of the list in the consultation room leads in the first instance to a dialogue between employee and psychologist, secondly between the employee and his supervisor and finally between the manager and the HR department.

A 53-year-old teacher at a University of Applied Sciences visits the occupational psychologist with symptoms of anxiety and panic attacks during his work. The teacher has recently started working at the University of Applied Sciences. He has a good career behind him as a logistics manager in business. However, he wanted to do work with more social relevance and had opted for education. Though, he soon developed the above-mentioned complaints. Since a few months the psychologist in question had all new clients fill in the work-capability list for the first contact by default. What in the case of the teacher immediately stood out was a number of substantial discrepancies. With the value "Contribute to creating something valuable," he scored a 5 for importance, a 4 for being enabled and a 2 for the question "do you succeed"? The values "Being able to use knowledge and skills" and "Being able to develop knowledge and skills" showed a similar pattern (4-4-1 and 5-4-1).

After a few open questions from the psychologist, it turned out that for every school day the man was very thoroughly prepared to give theoretical depth to his practical experience. However, he did not think about how he would transfer his knowledge and as a result he noticed that the students dropped out, started using their phones or other things. He lacked didactic skills. He had not realised this; had always - rightly - felt that he was preparing thoroughly and had not realised, because of his lack of teaching experience, that education is more than the transfer of knowledge. At this point, it became clear to him where things went wrong. Psychologist and teacher had spoken for barely half an hour. Together they came to the conclusion that the teacher should talk to his supervisor.

The psychologist reflected afterwards: "Less than half a year ago, I would have used the panic disorder protocol for these complaints. This would have put the client in the role of patient within two treatment sessions. After the treatment, he probably could have dealt with his panic attacks a bit better but nothing had changed about the situation. And he may have been at home on sick leave all the time with a growing distance to work."

The teacher reflected: "I went to the psychologist with quite a bit of restraint. I expected that it would be about my symptoms, my past and my person and that I would go into treatment for weeks, maybe months. Instead, it has been about what I find important in my work and why I am unable to achieve it. We have only had one session; I am going to talk to my supervisor now and I feel that we can quickly do something with the situation. "

After the conversation with the teacher, the supervisor said: "I expected not to see him again in the first few weeks, but he was already with me the next day. We had a good conversation, in which we came to concrete agreements: about a didactics course and personal coaching. Of course, I should have known better with my experience. We were so excited to get such a talented person from practice who also seemed so engaged and competent that I "forgot" to check if he had the necessary didactic skills. I will talk to HR. We have to ensure in the organization that this will not happen again. "

In a sense, this is a 'model case', also in the course of events: the teacher followed the training and the short coaching process and then started teaching again with pleasure and success. He was not reported sick at his own request. Without having received specific treatment on anxiety, his symptoms did not return. In this case all circumstances were favourable: a healthy and resilient man, a relatively short history of symptoms and a working environment that, so to speak, only needed half a word to understand the situation and also immediately wanted to contribute to the solution.

On the basis of this case we can make a number of things clear to Sir Christopher Wren. In the first place, not every case is going as smoothly as this one, but the success elements can also be seen in other cases. The core of this approach is that the focus is not on the complaints and on the past (what went when wrong, under what circumstances and with whom?) but on the strengths and on the future (what do you want to realise, what means and who are needed for this?). On a theoretical level this is in accordance with concepts such as positive health and positive psychology, which we discussed above. On a practical level it offers much more options for action than turning to the past does: the past cannot be changed, but the future can. Moreover, it is highly de-medicalising.

Secondly, it becomes clear that good conversation skills and interviewing techniques are important: the client must be strengthened in his self-direction and challenged to come up with solutions him- or herself. Third, it becomes clear that the context plays a crucial role. In this case, the context is initially part of the problem, but after understanding the mechanism, it is also part of the solution.

Finally, the case can help Sir Christopher Wren to reflect on his own anecdotical case. We all feel that the cathedral builder has a better starting position to get through the working day well than his colleagues. But in the capability theory and in the case of the teacher, we see that a value perspective is perhaps a necessary but not a sufficient condition to achieve goals and capabilities. Workers need the conversion factors, both personal and organizational, to be supportive that make them able and also enables them to achieve important goals.

Sir Christopher is immediately provided with tools in the other training sessions on interviewing and on what organizations (can) do. Within the project of Frans Vlek, we have developed a conservation guide based on the work-capability questionnaire, but also on effective discussion models described in the literature and on an expert group of professionals who already work with the model in practice. The purpose of the guide is threefold: 1. to create awareness about important work values for the individual employee; 2. optimise autonomy and self-management and 3. contribute to a concrete (action) perspective aimed at achieving important and achievable work values: the capability set. The techniques largely correspond to those of motivational interviewing and other modern conversation models. Important aspects are asking open questions, giving latitude and respecting and reinforcing the client's autonomy by having him/her come up with solutions. The anecdote about the reconstruction of St. Pauls gives us little insight into Sir Christopher's conversational skills. He only asks one question, but that is an open question, so he gives room. This is also apparent from the fact that he received three different answers to the same question.

In the part of the training that is provided by Benedike Schaapveld, the organizational context is central. She shows how she manages to convince organisational departments and management to work with the model. Central to this are the results of a Periodic Medical Examination of which the capability list is part. Partly based on this, she has developed all kinds of motivation strategies.

Naturally, membership of the CCWH gives more benefits to Sir Christopher than following a training course. I described the training quite extensively because it brings together a number of important applications of the capability model. However, many other studies are taking place. If Sir Christopher is confronted with employees who are dyslexic or highly gifted, he can go to Joost de Beer, Marzenka Rolak or Patricia van Casteren who focus on those target groups. As a result of that research, they also gain a deep insight into aspects of coping, agency and conversion factors.

Moniek Vossenaar investigates conversion factors on the organisational level. Another relevant part of the context that workers have to deal with is the private context. Simone Den Brinker investigates the work-home relationship from the capability perspective.

And with this I have only mentioned the PhD trajectories that directly relate to the capability model. In addition, other research is also taking place. From all these angles, Sir Christopher Wren may be able to answer the question why he received three so different answers to his same question to the three workers. It is tempting to attribute this to a difference in personality or upbringing, but we know on theoretical and empirical grounds that the context is often more important than personal characteristics. For example, it could be that the three workers are under contract with three different parties and also have different managers.

The first worker could have a boss who says in the morning: "here is a pile of rough stones and here are your tools. I come back at 12.00 and I expect to see then a pile of smooth, stackable stones". The boss of the second worker may have said: "I know that your wife is sick and you need money to buy ready-made food for your family. I have a job for you here; it is hard work, but because of that it is well paid." The boss of worker three may have said: "we are responsible with a group of five for that piece of wall of the cathedral that we are building. There is rough material and tools. It should be carved, carried, stacked and masoned. You are professionals; see for yourself how you organize the work together. The day after tomorrow that piece of wall must be ready; then hopefully we get another job within the project." This is of course a fantasy projected from the present. Within that reality, worker one would run the most risks for his sustainable employability and worker three the least.

But the only valid way to discover what is going on is to talk to people and ask what their goals are, what hinders them and what facilitates them. We must advise Sir Christopher to have that conversation, not just with these three, but with all his workers. We can give him the tools for that conversation and for interventions that may result from it. That gives him all the tools to supervise not only the physical construction of St. Pauls but also the well-being of his workers and thus to lay an extra foundation under his monumental cathedral.

Conclusion

I used two metaphors in this lecture: the voyage of the vessel of work and health and the building of St Pauls Cathedral. In this lecture it was my ambition not only to entertain you or give you some valuable thoughts, but to persuade you to board as captains and crew all kind of professional vessels of work and health to sail the sea to a horizon full of cathedrals and cathedral builders.

I have argued that the capability model applied to work is suitable for setting our goals and providing us with up-to-date navigation tools that can help us to reach our goals and to avoid the dangerous rocks that threaten us.
In my opinion the capability model is a rich model with many assets but the characteristics that are most urgently needed in our field are the explicit normativity and contextuality.

By accepting and adopting these factors as guiding principles for our professional identity we are not just identifying and explaining relationships and giving advice, but we are also acting as change agents who seek to influence and promote the value of work and help workers experience themselves as cathedral builders.

Word of thanks

At the end of this valedictory address, I want to thank those who have made a major contribution to my work capabilities in the past five years as a professor of mental health at work and sustainable employability, here in Tilburg.

Although this farewell speech is mainly about saying goodbye to my job here in Tilburg, it is also a bit of a goodbye to my position as a professor. That is why I want to include Groningen in this word of thanks where I have learned the academic craftsmanship and where my first introduction to the capability model took place. I come back to that later.

Finally, I will thank the home situation. Even a workaholic like me has a private life. In fact, only thanks to a solid and loving home base it is possible to survive years of work-life imbalances. I owe my family and friends a lot of thanks to that and I will return to it extensively.

In my inaugural address, almost five years ago, I expressed my appreciation and gratitude to the parties who made the chair and the Collaborative Center for Work and Health possible and took the risk of hiring someone aged 61.5 with a medical condition on that chair. In the first place it concerns the University of Tilburg, TSB, Tranzo, but also the founding partners: Ascender, the Netherlands School of Public and Occupational Health (NSPOH), Dow Benelux and HumanCapitalCare (HCC). After five years we can conclude that I have been able to deliver and to finish it, but my appreciation and gratitude is no less.

What I can now say, after five years, is that it has been a five-year long party to work in that context and with those partners. There were structural contacts in the steering group, whose members were: Petrien Uniken-Venema (and also Erik Noordik and Frans Vlek) from the NSPOH, Dick Freriks (and also Moniek Vossenaar) from Ascender, Hans Trommel (and also Esther Wegter Hilbers) from HCC and from Dow first Gerard Blum and later Eelco Jens. I will come back to the participants from Tranzo in a moment. In addition to the steering group meetings, there were also frequent other contacts with the same and other colleagues. Both within and outside the steering committee, the contacts were always inspiring, thinking along and critically constructive. That was an important factor for the good atmosphere in the workplace. I thank all the colleagues involved for that.

At Tranzo I have worked wonderfully with many colleagues, but of course especially with colleagues within the CCWH. Even then I cannot mention all and I have to limit myself, but of course I am especially grateful to Evelien Brouwers, Margot Joosen, Roland Blonk and Ruud Muffels who are my direct colleagues. I also want to mention the PhD students I have supervised and continue to supervise: Karlijn van Beurden, Belaynesh Tefera Nidaw, Joost de Beer, Patricia van Casteren, Sabine van Thiel, Marzenka Rolak, Moniek Vossenaar and Simone den Brinker. And the people inside and outside Tranzo with whom I have cooperated in these PhD trajectories: Jaap van Weeghel, Berend Terluin, Alice Schippers, Marloes van Engen, Josephine Engels, Yvonne Heerkens, Arno van Dam and Dorien Kooij; and of course, the aforementioned Evelien and Margot. There are of course also colleagues in supporting functions at Tranzo that are extremely important for the process. I want to thank them all in the person of Jacqueline Frijters, business manager and only mention separately the secretaries who supported the CCWH: Ingrid van Loon, Astrid van Hemert, Wilma Nouwens and Kristine Derksen

Last but not least, I would like to mention Henk Garretsen and Dike van de Mheen, former and current chairman of Tranzo and as such members of the steering committee of the CCWH. I came in under Henk and worked almost exactly half of my appointment with him as boss. Tranzo was in collective mourning when Henk announced his departure. He was the boss everyone wants: a boss who facilitates you and takes away all burdens. I am afraid there are many bosses who do exactly the opposite. Moreover, Henk was mister Tranzo. He had founded it and made it big. To Dike, it seemed like a mission impossible to succeed such a person. Yet within a short time Dike has succeeded not to make Henk forget - nobody wants that and Dike in the last place - but to show that someone else, with her own style, can perform a similar facilitating and unburdening leadership. "Enabling" in capability terms. That form of leadership is very decisive for the good atmosphere within Tranzo and I thank them both very much for that.

My gratitude also extends to the future. It is wonderful to know that the partners continue with the academic workplace and also with the chair. It is not yet officially determined who will be my successor in the chair, but I am confident that the person will be a worthy and valuable new captain on our Tilburg vessel of work and health. There are some changes in the sense that Dow has

terminated its membership and that Transvorm has joined the CCWH. And HumanTotalCare and Transvorm will also support the chair in addition to the academic workplace.

My thanks go not only to the future, but also to the past. In that respect, I want to thank 'Groningen', where I came from professionally. I worked there for almost eight years and that was a good time. I have expressed my gratitude to Groningen in my inaugural speech and I will not repeat those words, but they are still valid. I will now confine myself to mentioning some names. In the first place my immediate colleagues Ute Bültmann, Sandra Brouwer, Menno Reijneveld, Johan Groothoff and other staff members, but also all postdocs and PhD students and seniors and juniors with whom I had the opportunity and privilege to work - and to some extent still do - and not in the least Lida and Janneke, working then at the secretariat. Because I have always regarded the PhD students as the core activity, but also as the pleasure of working, I want to name them separately, restricting myself to those with whom I have been able to complete the project: Femke Abma, Iris Arends, Jozef Benka, Bert Cornelius, Anja Holwerda, Wendy Koolhaas, Erik Noordik, Giny Norder, Jolanda Schreuder, and Hardy van de Ven. To our great sadness, Bert Cornelius died recently. He was special in many respects and he designed figure 2 (page 10) for my inaugural lecture. He gave me permission to use it for any purpose that I wanted and I also used it for this lecture (figure on page 10) I am grateful to him for that. Astri Ferdiana is the only Groningen PhD student that I am still supervising. She will soon complete her project.

Going even further back I would like to thank my two supervisors: Frank van Dijk and Aart Schene and my co-supervisor Roland Blonk, with whom I took the first steps on the academic path and who are still good friends.

There are two other people who are very special to me, both as good friends and as good colleagues. Gert Jan van der Wilt and Sridhar Venkatapuram have been a professional source of inspiration and very good friends for many years. I have known Gert Jan for over 35 years as a very good friend. Out of that friendship, a professional relationship has grown, with one of the highlights being the development of the work capability list. With Sridhar it was the other way around: with him the first contacts were professional. I was lucky to get to know Sridhar shortly after I was introduced to the capability approach. Not only did

he greatly increase and deepen my understanding of that approach, he was also willing to teach the students in Groningen and later in Tilburg, and everyone who heard him regarded him as the most gifted teacher they know. From that professional relationship a deep personal friendship has grown. Both Gert Jan and Sridhar have been invaluable for my two Tilburg speeches: my inaugural speech and this one, for which they have given me valuable advice and feedback and Sridhar has also provided feedback on the English language use.

With regard to the private context, we are blessed with loyal and good family and friends. And because we have been living in a small village for almost 35 years, we have very good old and new neighbours too. I want to thank them all and I will not try to name them apart.

Last and certainly not least but primarily, I come to my "nuclear family": Ariane, and our children, Jolijn and Lein-Jan, Laura and Chiel and Floor and my granddaughters Anneleine and Madelie. I can repeat the statement I made five years ago that my children and my granddaughters are the nicest and most valuable people in the world, but now I can add the experience of the past five years.

In those five years I have had the privilege of seeing them all continue to grow in partially new roles. The most obvious was that of course with my granddaughters, Anneleine was a baby five years ago and has grown through toddler into a little princess. Madelie was not born five years ago and is now a toddler princess. It is fantastic to see how they match and differ and together reinforce each other. The one lets the world come in, considers that world and changes it to a place she wants to live in; the other invades the world and conquers it.

It is just as fantastic to see how Jolijn and Lein-Jan have grown in the parent role, how they combine it with their work and with all their other obligations, I look at it with admiration and respect.

Laura and Chiel and Floor have of course been given the role of uncle and aunt, who they fulfil with dedication, but lead a different life in other respects too. Laura seemed the homeliest of the children; the one that had not been outside of Europe. She has travelled extensively and now lives and works in Australia and

seems to feel at home in many places.
Chiel and Floor were still students five years ago and lived as students. Now they have responsible jobs, live in a family home and make beautiful journeys. It is a privilege to be a witness and part of all these developments.

Ariane, my love, you are not part of my life, you are my life. We have been together for 38 years now and ever since then you have not only been the love of my life, but also the stabilising factor in that life, in the most literal way in the last few years. If I have had any success in my life and career, it is thanks to you. You have always been there for me, alongside your own social and political career.

For you too, I have seen you in a new role for the past five years. In addition to all the roles that you have always fulfilled with dedication, love and loyalty, you have demonstrated to be the most fantastic grandmother our granddaughters could wish for. That has deepened my love for you even more. We sometimes say jokingly to each other when we are tired after a hectic period: "I didn't know you could be even more tired than we were". Apparently the same applies to love: I didn't know it could be more. But it appears to be possible and that means that we can still grow together in the coming years; I look forward.

Ladies and gentlemen, like my inaugural address of five years ago, this speech was about capabilities: opportunities in the context. I hope I have shown you the opportunities that I see for the work capability model and that I have also given you a glimpse into the context in which I have been privileged to work in the past five years. I have experienced that context as a great facilitator and inspirator. It enabled me to build my own cathedral. I hope that others will put the finishing touches to it and be able and enabled to build cathedrals as I could do.

I wish you that.

'ik heb gezegd'.

An encore to close with:
Societal perspective

So far, I have discussed the capability approach in relation to work. I have tried to argue that the capability concept can generate a wonderful new set of instruments in that context; instruments that, as I noted at the start, are urgently needed. However, the capability concept has a considerably further meaning and importance. By way of conclusion, I would like to briefly consider this by arguing that work, the value of work and work values play an important role in our political and social order. I want to demonstrate that the CA provides a suitable framework for analysing this.

Shortly after Donald Trump was elected President of the United States, Joan Williams[1] published an essay in which she tried to answer the question that kept many people busy: how is this possible? In this much shared and quoted essay "what so many people don't get about the US working class" she argues that the "white working class" (WWC) is in a number of respects a "neglected class" - at least by politics. These blue-collar workers are not poor, certainly not rich, but could always keep their heads above water by working hard. Williams does not say it in so many words but this class is a victim of globalization in every respect.

Members of the WWC see their labour position threatened by job relocation and international competition: and they see their values threatened by newcomers and by the 'elite'. This elite, on the other hand, members of the class of highly educated white-collar professionals are the 'winners' of the globalisation; they benefit from all the international contacts and opportunities and see their position in the labour market strengthened by the exchange of knowledge and people as a result of globalisation. They develop an internationalised value system. This has given the WWC an enormous resentment towards this elite, which pays full attention to the 'real poor' far away and to all kinds of foreign cultures and local subcultures, but has no eye for, or even looks down on, people who see themselves as carriers of traditional values: work, faith and family. People choose in elections a candidate who they see as 'on their side', despite, or perhaps partly thanks to, authoritarian and anti-democratic characteristics.

Work and the threat of losing it are central to this analysis; it also determines one's position in the family and is an expression of faith. We can learn from it that work as a means of existence, independence and identity might even be a more central value than liberal-democratic values for many people in this

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[1] I owe dr. Sridhar Venkatapuram for this example

group and that this can partly determine their choice in elections for candidates who may have little sympathy for democratic institutions, but who promise to guarantee the sustainability of their work and values. Secured and ensured work can therefore be seen as an important cornerstone of our liberal-democratic system. it is a paradox that the (economic) freedom that the system offers allows companies to transfer work to low-wage countries, thereby undermining the system because work as an opportunity to earn income is lost or becomes less valuable. Joan Williams argued that the 'elite', for whom the work was unthreatened and even made more attractive by all developments towards globalisation, failed to see that these same developments threatened work and other central values of the WWC.

Because of the more developed welfare states in Europa, developments might be a bit less pronounced there. But, a similar watershed can been seen in Europe: we see in the past few years all kind of societal and political movements (Brexit, les gilets jaunes (the yellow vests movement) and the rise of nationalistic and populistic politicians and movements) that have in common that people claim their share, economically and culturally, and want to be recognised and respected in their values. People seem to long (back) for a situation that probably never existed: being safe and cosy 'among us'. In the Netherlands the dichotomy is often referred to as "whereabouts" and "hereabouts". The whereabouts feel at home everywhere, are internationally oriented and have a (social) liberal system of values. The hereabouts emphasize their own identity, are nationally and locally oriented and have a (social) conservative value system. Also in Europe, the elite of whereabouts; may not have recognised that their system of values is not automatically universal and that they have neglected their fellow citizens with different interests and a different system of values.

Several core aspects of the CA can help to analyse this situation.
In the first place, starting point of the CA is that all people are different. In their needs, their characteristics and also in their value systems. In the Sen-tradition of identifying capabilities they can only be collected in the target group or in stakeholders that know that group very well. So, we can and should never extrapolate our value system to others.

This open mind for different values together with the attention given to neglected groups and constant reassessment of values in the CA tradition, might

have provided insight into the situation at an earlier stage. The normativity of the method implies that situations are not only analysed, but also appraised. An important criterion is that political systems must always give people the freedom to pursue goals and values that are important to them. So, we can understand and respect the values, interests and needs of others, without automatically accepting their vision of solutions, if these solutions threaten the liberties and freedoms of other people.

The foregoing concerned an analysis of societal and social processes in which work plays a role, but we can also apply that analysis to the work itself. With this we can probably prevent us from making the same mistakes from the same blind spot by ignoring that developments that we regard as positive can be threatening to other people.

As we have seen above, the CA is in line with models with a strong emphasis on self-direction and self-management and with concepts of positive health and positive psychology that also have a focus on self-management. The capability approach fits into that tradition. But, as stated above, starting point of the CA is that all people are different and therefore need different means and conversions. This implies that people also differ in their need for self-direction. There are people that might want and need some assistance and from a CA perspective we must recognise this and respect it.

If we connect it with the above discussion, the CA can make us realise that the strong emphasis on self-direction and personal responsibility – which has almost become a societal ideology - might apply primarily to 'whereabouts'. They manage perfectly in work that is positioned in the globalising world and don't mind to be assessed on their output; their "doings". The 'hereabouts' may associate more with classical values and they want to be recognized in their identity and their input, not in their output; "beings" in terms of the CA.

We can presume that management theories and corporate policies and consultancy models are designed from a 'whereabouts' philosophy and thereby possibly will create resistance among people who want to feel safe and secure in their working environment and who want to be addressed on their input and their identity.

So, the CA adds "sensitivity" for the fact that people differ from each other and have all kinds of preferences, including how they want to be approached. It is self-direction at a meta-level to recognize that not everyone in every phase of his or her life is capable of, or needs complete self-direction. This may be related to "type of person", but also to periods in someone's life or, probably, to the context, More generally, the aforementioned management theories and corporate policies and consultancy models are almost always based on a 'one size fits all' philosophy. From the CA, but also from practical experience, we know that this does not work for a large proportion of people and that it may even evoke resistance. There is a strong case for customization from the CA. Only a work context that can deliver customized and tailor-made work conditions will be able to retain people in a sustainable, healthy and satisfied way. Here too, normativity plays a role: tailor-made interventions must be aimed at giving people the freedom to achieve goals that are important for them; or, in other words, to build their own cathedral.

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