UNDERSTANDINGS OF WELLBEING IN THE CONTEXT OF A LIVING WAGE

BY

CHRISTINA LORTH

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

Massey University Aotearoa New Zealand

2021

**Abstract**

Academic, public, and media interest in the living wage (LW) is rising in Aotearoa/New Zealand (NZ) and globally. This is due, in part, to the growing inequalities and the need to find viable solutions to issues of income (in)adequacy and its impacts on wellbeing. This thesis addresses the lack of research into everyday wellbeing among low-income workers' who have experiences of the LW in Aotearoa/NZ. A narrative approach informed by hermeneutic phenomenology and social practice theories were used to examine five case studies. Each case consisted of enhanced, semi-structured interviews ($n$=10 in total) and photo-elicitation projects that offered insights into participants' experiences of wellbeing and the LW. This thesis documents how participants construct wellbeing as fundamentally relational, dynamic, and as a complex collection of multiple and interconnected dimensions. These manifest through everyday interactions with people, objects, practices, and places. The findings support the assertion that earning a LW has implications for participants' wellbeing, increases civic and social participation and leisure activities, and enhances the overall quality of life. Key considerations also include work characteristics, relationships, material living conditions, and household composition. This research aligns with existing research and offers more holistic, nuanced, and context-specific understandings of wellness and the LW.

*Keywords:* Wellbeing; living wage; decent work; relationality; participation; photo-elicitation

**Acknowledgements**

**Table of Contents**

**List of Tables**

## List of Figures

**Chapter One: Introduction and Literature Review**

*Wellbeing is a quality in demand in today's society. Wellbeing is virtue that is much desired, much promoted, and much debated. Yet, as an ideal, wellbeing is not a concept set in stone* (Sointu, 2005, p. 225).

Over recent decades, wellbeing has become a booming business as witnessed in workplace wellness programmes, wellness tourism and real estate, yoga and meditation studios, fitness gyms, day spas, and healthy eating. This is further evidenced on the internet and in bookstores, with the eruption of wellbeing and wellness courses and self-help books (Lee, 2016; Sointu, 2005). Underlying this picture of health and wellbeing are assumptions about individual and moral responsibilities to achieve and maintain wellbeing and healthy lifestyles (Crawford, 2006; Foucault, 1990; Lupton et al., 2017; Rose, 1999). Correspondingly, the study of wellbeing has gained considerable attention across various disciplines from philosophy, psychology, health, sociology, developmental studies, economics, and politics (Atkinson et al., 2016).

While popular literature on wellbeing is primarily aimed at and appeals to the middle and upper classes (Sointu, 2005), academic literature is often based on research undertaken with middle and upper class participants (Arnett, 2008; Christopher et al., 2014; Hendriks, 2019; Rad et al., 2018), implying that wellbeing and how this is achieved is universal. In fact, almost 90% of published psychology research is based on studies of one privileged group, referred to as "WEIRD" samples, that is Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic populations (Henrich, 2010; Rad et al., 2018). This is problematic because wellbeing is important for everyone.

Research suggests there are differences in wellbeing outcomes between social groups in terms of ethnicity, gender, and class. As a result, policies and approaches to wellbeing

have not been targeted equitably (Crawford, 2006; International Labour Organization [ILO], 2013). While not all people deal with adversity in the same ways (e.g., Blaxter, 2003; Duncan, 2005), those from a lower socio-economic background tended to have poorer health and wellbeing outcomes (Hart, 1971; Hodgetts et al., 2020). Thus, as with the classic 'inverse care law' (Hart, 1971), those who need the least tend to consume the most and those who require the most tend to receive the least, and of a lesser standard. Many low-paid workers have shared their stories about how "insufficient income to meet other basic needs", (Perry, 2019, p. 64) can contribute to stress and undermine wellbeing (e.g., Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017; Hodgetts et al., 2020; Julià, et al., 2017; Rua et al., 2019). Others have expressed the need for higher wages is driven by the desire to live without worry of affording the necessities of life, to provide recreation and leisure, and to have a financial buffer and/or savings (e.g., Ballafkih et al., 2017).

A statutory minimum wage (MW) is purposed to protect employees against low pay (ILO, 2019) and Aotearoa/NZ's MW rate is amongst the highest in the world (Schulten & Luebker, 2019). Nevertheless, the campaign for a living wage (LW) has gained traction due to increasing pressures from growing inequalities, unliveable wages, and high cost of living (Arrowsmith et al., 2020; Plum et al., 2019; Skilling & Tregida, 2019). The LW has been a promoted idea for not only meeting basic needs, but also enabling wellness in terms of meaningful participation in society and opportunities for leisure and personal growth (LW Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019; Yao et al., 2017). However, empirical evidence on *how* a LW might contribute to such ends is limited (Carr et al., 2018). In theory, people's wellbeing can improve through a decent wage that allows for quality-of-living and supports people's aspirations for dignity, reciprocity, and respect, making this work inherently rights-based (Carr et al., 2018). Debates around the viability of a LW and potential for resulting job losses due to changes in pay disparity have not been empirically evidenced (Aitken et al., 2019;

Jardim et al., 2018), but rather to the contrary (Kenway, 2016). Research has shown benefits for brand reputation (Werner & Lim, 2017), improved retention rates, reduced absenteeism (Fairris, 2005), and increased morale, which leads to increased productivity and profit (Konigsburg, 2017; Luce, 2005; Parker, 2018). Increasing wages can have a multiplier effect as low paid workers have more money to spend, thus it can stimulate economic development, improve people's circumstances, and strengthen the wellbeing of families and communities (Konigsburg, 2017). Understanding more about how people experience the links between wellbeing and a LW offers the central focus for this research.

Developing a rich understanding of lived experiences can provide valuable insights into the nature of wellbeing, what this means to participants, and how participants associate a LW with personal wellness outcomes (Ford & Gillian, 2017). As such, this research explores understandings of what it means to be well for people with lived experiences of a LW. I am particularly interested in how a LW can contribute to a participant's sense of wellbeing in everyday life. Within a broad interpretive phenomenological orientation drawing on hermeneutics and social practice theory, I adopt a narrative approach to address this research focus. Insights gained from this research potentially allow for fairer, more inclusive, and "people-centred" informed policies and practices to enhance the wellbeing of workers on low incomes, with the possibility that positive effects will flow onto society at large (Carr et al., 2018; White, 2017, p.1).

I begin with an overview of relevant literature and explore existing conceptualisations and dimensions of wellbeing. I discuss the traditional approach to wellbeing as an individual experience before exploring the role of social structures, which may produce and reproduce social norms and narratives about wellbeing. I introduce relational approaches to wellbeing and indigenous health models to consider broader and contextualised presentations of subjective wellbeing. Throughout the thesis I argue that wellbeing is multidimensional,

relational, often contextually situated, and is both subjective and material. This reflects the idea of wellbeing as a lived everyday phenomenon, in that it manifests in particular places, relationships, practices, objects and beyond. I end this section with the importance of wellbeing at the individual, community, governmental, and policy levels.

In the second section, I provide context and outline how neoliberal structural changes have contributed to the erosion of the social, which is evident in the changing nature of work. Next, I discuss the social determinants of health (SDH), exploring the links between income and wellbeing. This leads to a discussion of the United Nations sustainable development goals (SDGs), decent work, and how the LW offers a possible solution to the working poor paradox. The chapter ends with a review of relevant wellbeing and LW research, which is foundational to this thesis.

**Wellbeing Literature Review**

*Wellbeing definitions and dimensions*

Academic research has revealed significant heterogeneity in how wellbeing is conceptualised and enacted (Atkinson, 2013; Linton et al., 2016). The term *wellbeing* originates from the Latin words "*bene"* and "*stare*", which mean "*being well*" (Pinto et al., 2017, p. 7). However, a range of terms are used synonymously for wellbeing (see Carlquist et al., 2017) such as happiness, life satisfaction, health, quality of life, and human flourishing (Allin & Hand, 2014). Each are distinct and represent components of wellbeing, but independently do not appear to reflect all that wellbeing entails (Atkinson, 2013; Dodge et al., 2012; Easterlin, 2005; Haybron, 2008; Marks & Shah, 2004). In a review of the literature, Linton and colleagues (2016) found that there is no academic consensus on a single definition of wellbeing. There is, however, an agreement that wellbeing is a complex and holistic term

and is described as a "catch-all category" (Cameron et al., 2006, p. 347), an all-encompassing concept used to express the quality and state of people's lives (Atkinson, 2013; Dodge et al., 2012; Linton et al., 2016). Broadly, wellbeing constitutes the entire human experience as perceived by a person at any given time (Atkinson, 2013; Dodge et al., 2012; Linton et al., 2016). Wellbeing is dynamic and fluid, can change over time (Atkinson, 2013), and covers the conditions people experience in their existence, both as persons and as collectives (Statistics NZ [StatsNZ], 2021).

An extensive body of theoretical and philosophical literature has addressed the conceptualisation of wellbeing. One of the most prominent theoretical influences is Diener's (1984) model of subjective wellbeing (SWB), which predominates traditional wellbeing research. SWB refers to how people *experience* (affective component) and *evaluate* (cognitive component) their lives within and across various life domains, including work, family, health, finances, leisure, self, and one's group (Diener, 1984; Diener, Lucas & Oishi, 2002; for review see Linton et al., 2016). In fact, the majority of large-scale multinational studies undertaken in the field of subjective wellbeing have been conducted by Western researchers, using SWB scales (Diener et al., 2010; Helliwell, 2012). Thus, SWB literature has deep roots in survey/quantitative research (Eid & Larsen, 2008; Linton et al., 2016), producing statistical profiles (White, 2010).

Authors also commonly refer to the World Health Organisation's (WHO) definition of health, which suggests "a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity" (WHO, 1948, p. 100). Health and wellbeing are framed as a positive state and are interrelated, whereby positive wellbeing leads to good health (e.g., beneficial to health and longevity), and good health contributes to and is a dimension of wellbeing (Atkinson et al., 2016; Fleuret & Atkinson, 2007). However, good

health is not all that matters for wellbeing (Atkinson, 2013; Linton et al., 2016), and as such

wellbeing and health are not used as synonymous terms in this thesis.

Based on this perspective, wellbeing is not simply an individually determined

phenomenon, and it is important to consider the relationship between the SDH and wellbeing

(Panter-Brick & Fuentes, 2009). Whilst a detailed engagement with this relationship is

beyond the scope of this section, for present purposes, it is important to consider health and

wellbeing as situated within socio-economic contexts. The influence of different contexts is

reflected in the disparities in outcomes between socio-economically and institutionally

disadvantaged groups (such as people on low incomes) and middle to upper class populations

(WHO, 1948). This is also reflected in the varying levels of accessibility to psychological and

social resources to achieve and maintain wellbeing (WHO, 1948), to cope with life changes,

challenges, and situations (The National Economics Foundation [NEF], 2012), and the

impacts on wellbeing (Headey & Wearing, 1992). Understanding that wellbeing can be

affected or changed by situational factors requires an understanding of wellbeing as dynamic:

"a fluctuating state" (Headey & Wearing, 1992, p. 56), "simultaneously unstable or able to be

destabilised" (Atkinson, 2013, p. 142), or become (un)balanced (Dodge et al., 2012).

Wellbeing can also occur within shorter timeframes or increase/decrease over longer periods

of time (Sonnentag, 2015).

Other influential work includes Ryff's psychological wellbeing (PWB) (Ryff &

Singer, 1998) and that of Greek philosopher Epicurus' (342-270 BCE) *hedonic* and

Aristotle's *eudaimonic* wellbeing (Atkinson, 2013; Deci & Ryan, 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2001).

Where hedonism typically defines wellbeing as maximising pleasure (avoidance of

pain/displeasure) and focuses on internal psychological states (Carlquist et al., 2017),

eudaimonia emphasises positive functioning, self-actualisation, virtue and requires living

well in one's social environment (e.g., see Joshanloo, 2014). PWB builds on Aristotelian

ideals of the highest good and comprises six dimensions: self-acceptance, personal growth,

purpose in life, positive relationships, environmental mastery and autonomy (Ryff & Singer,

1998; 2006). While the individual appears to be interpreted in more relational terms for

eudaimonia, with greater emphasis placed on interpersonal experience and *being in the*

*world* (Fowers, 2015; Heidegger 1927/1971), wellbeing for both is seen as a matter of the

subjective, individual self (Ryan & Deci, 2001).

Eudaimonia acknowledges that pleasure (hedonism) is among many components that

lead to a *flourishing* and *good* life (Huta, & Ryan, 2010; Huta & Waterman, 2014; Kraut,

2018). For hedonism, however, the *good* consists in pleasure, insofar viewing

pleasure/happiness as the ultimate life goal. SWB (also referred to as the hedonic approach),

is often used synonymously with happiness (Deci & Ryan, 2008); maximising one's

wellbeing has therefore been viewed as maximising one's happiness (Deci & Ryan, 2008).

This view is dominant in contemporary Western/Euro-centric psychology and popular

culture, which is largely contentious because it implies that nothing else is of intrinsic value

to how well a person's life goes (Dodge et al., 2012); happiness and pleasure are ultimately

what motivates us and what we do (Moore, 2004).

Academic literature on wellbeing converges on the understanding that wellbeing is

multidimensional (Atkinson, 2013; Dodge et al., 2012; Eid & Diener, 2003; Linton et al.,

2016; Ryff & Singer, 2008) and can be obtained by achieving balance across various

dimensions (StatsNZ, 2021). Dimensions that commonly emerge in wellbeing debates

encompass psychological, emotional, social, spiritual, economic, environmental, and physical

aspects of living (Durie, 2004; Pinto et al., 2017; StatsNZ, 2021) across external life domains

including family, and social relationships, work, leisure, financial and material aspects of life

(Carlquist et al., 2017). Dimensions not only include life satisfaction, positive emotions,

psychological resources, and functioning (i.e. meaning in life), but also considerations of

social inequality, environmental concerns, and political freedoms (e.g., freedom of movement and effective action) (Dodge et al., 2012; Herzlich, 1973; Lambert et al., 2020). Notwithstanding, most studies employ measures that predominately reflect psychological dimensions of wellbeing (Diener et al., 2010; Helliwell, 2012; Linton et al., 2016).

Linton and colleagues (2016) conducted a systematic review of wellbeing instruments and found 196 dimensions clustered around six domains: mental, social, physical, and spiritual wellbeing, activities and functioning, and personal circumstances. The majority of dimensions were found to reflect mental wellbeing (and subsequently social wellbeing and activities and functioning), which reveals that empirical research into wellbeing mainly draws upon Western-centric metrics reflecting Western populations (Henrich, 2010; Inglehart, 2009; Lambert et al., 2020). In light of the foregoing, ancient and contemporary Western psychological theories typically define wellbeing based on individualist traits such as positive affect, optimal functioning, autonomy, mastery of the self and the environment (Christopher, 1999; Joshanloo, 2014).

While happiness and life satisfaction may be important, some authors argue these dimensions do not offer a full measure of wellbeing (Dolan et al., 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff & Deci, 1998). Others question the extent happiness/SWB tells us about actual wellbeing within cultures that hold collectivist social norms and values (see Smith, 2004) and draw from more interconnected or relational understandings of what it means to be a person (Hodgetts et al., 2020). Existing metrics of wellbeing may be of limited utility in terms of cross-cultural diversities (Lomas, 2015), particularly when applied to groups and cultures who define themselves in more collectivist and relational terms. Therefore, an expanded and more inclusive orientation towards wellbeing that focuses beyond the dimensions of happiness and life satisfaction is warranted (Lambert et al., 2020).

*Approaches to wellbeing*

The traditional approach to wellbeing is predominately individualistic (e.g., Diener et al., 2010; Ryff & Singer, 2008), and it has been recognised that this is a partial perspective that is not applicable to everyone (Atkinson et al., 2016; White, 2015). As previously stated, academic research into wellbeing in psychology and other social science disciplines has primarily been developed in and influenced by the Euro-American and WEIRD contexts (Atkinson et al., 2016; Hendriks et al., 2019; Jahoda, 2016; White, 2015). In such contexts, psychologists focus on the ideals of individualism: the principle of being independent, internalised, autonomous, and self-reliant (Joshanloo, 2014; Ryan & Deci, 2001), and claim that findings show human universals when instead, there is a disconnect between empirical findings and people's daily lives (Schraube & Højholt, 2015). There is ample evidence challenging such individualistic conceptions of wellbeing as universal.

Such arguments critique the one-size-fits-all approach that obscures, 'invisiblises', or dismisses differences (Joshanloo, 2014; Lambert et al., 2020) and restrict the recognition and expression of non-Western cultures and worldviews (Diener et al., 2010; Joshanloo, 2014; Rad et al., 2018; Uchida et al., 2004). Cultural comparison studies and studies using survey data demonstrate how one's background, attitudes, personality, conditions, circumstance (Dodge et al., 2012; Morrison et al., 2011) and cultural influences can produce variability in the way in which wellbeing is understood and experienced by different groups globally (Christopher, 1999; Diener et al., 2003; Diener et al., 2010; Joshanloo, 2014; Rad et al., 2018; Uchida et al., 2004). Arguments that draw on broader Eastern perspectives of happiness and wellbeing, inherently understood in collectivist and relational terms, suggest that an individualistic pursuit of happiness will only lead to unhappiness for the individual and the collective (Joshanloo, 2014). That is, if all that people care about is their own hedonistic happiness, rather than harmony, collective cohesion, or care for and about others, then

everyone will be unhappy. This perspective is of great significance to wellbeing research as it implies that dominant understandings of wellbeing rest on flawed assumptions.

Critics of Euro-centric wellbeing programs also raise concerns that health and wellbeing promotions encourage people to adhere to neoliberal principles of active citizenship (Foucault, 1990, 2006; Rose, 1999; Sointu, 2005). Influential theorists such as Foucault (1990) and Rose (1999) contest that contemporary neoliberal ways of governing the self, operate through processes of 'regularisation'. That is, normalisation of the self-absorbed life could mean 'the death of the social' (e.g., diminished quality of welfare provision). This shifts the collective risk of social issues onto the individual. From this perspective, health and wellbeing are viewed as individual responsibilities for which each of us must remain vigilant rather than as a shared social responsibility. In this way, neoliberal approaches deny the aspect of human existence that is essentially social and collectivist (Keyes, 1998).

Similarly, Crawford (1980) coined the term 'healthism' to refer to the moral imperative for individuals to take responsibility for their own health and associated this fixation with a conservative ideology that individualises health and ignores contextual factors beyond the individual's control. The healthism perspective is particularly evident in positive psychology and the works of Seligman (2002; 2011), which offer advice on what one can do to self-manage and enhance one's wellbeing (Atkinson, 2013; Miller & Rose, 2008; Seligman, 2002; 2011). However, critical scholars question the assumptions underlying healthist wellbeing promotions about the moral obligation of individuals to engage in individualistic lifestyle practices (Howitt, 2020; Ong, 2007; Sointu, 2005), when such practices do not account for the differences in health outcomes between social groups like the low income and middle-class populations (Crawford, 2006). Ehrenreich (2009), among others, critiques the prevalence of claims that persons are 'choosing consumers' who have control over a range of material aspects of life, including health and wealth (Ahmed, 2010;

Foucault, 1990, 2006; Rose, 1999; Sointu, 2005). Thus, understanding wellbeing for low-income groups is worthy of further investigation.

Another major criticism levelled at the traditional approach to wellbeing is rooted in its very linguistic nature: *the self*. Atkinson (2013) wrote that subjective wellbeing is, in and of itself, part of the conception of a flourishing and contemporary social self, which is self-managed by one's own positive outlooks and decisions; choices have come to function as markers of selfhood (Sointu, 2005). This is problematic because it reinforces traditional notions about the psychological makeup of individuals and can minimise societal, political, and environmental contexts in which people dwell (Kern et al., 2019; Lambert et al., 2020; Mead et al., 2019). A failure to achieve wellness is often positioned as a personal failure while the social is ignored (Atkinson, 2013; Hodgetts et al., 2020; Miller & Rose, 2008).

At this point, a division emerges between people capable of exercising wellbeing enhancing practices and those who do not have access to the same resources to do so. In a society we cannot have individual responsibility without systems and structures that create conditions in which people can act responsibly. A recognition of the relational as a form of agency and support manifests as a space to address these shortcomings. Such considerations of the impact of contexts on wellbeing is supported by understandings of the individual as more than an isolated lonely thinker and as an interconnected being (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

Proponents of broader notions of the 'interconnected self' argue that human beings are more than "fixed personality-based entities" existing in the minds and bodies of individuals (Hodgetts et al., 2020, p. 74; Mikulas, 2007). For example, Buddhist-informed indigenous psychologies use the concept of 'dependent origination', which states that everything is interconnected and derives from its reliance upon something else, or 'Pratītyasamutpāda' (Goldstein, 2021). As is recognised in the Chinese concept of the

'cobweb self', which is being-in-relation with other people, the self is perceived as integrated into society through the interactions with people, the environment, and beyond (Yang, 2006). Central to this perspective is acknowledging limits on human agency to ensure one's own wellbeing and health because some factors, such as unliveable wages and poor housing are beyond an individual's control (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Such thinking is also found in the Māori concept of putahi (confluence), through which people can be seen as inherently woven into and emerging from the world (King et al., 2015). While indigenous (Mikulas, 2007) and Asian psychologies (Kim, 2006) purport that we are all interconnected and interdependent beings, this is also evident in collectivist streams of Western social psychology (Cooley, 1902/1964; James, 1890/1983; Mead, 1934).

Indigenous health and wellbeing models share the position with such collectivist social psychology scholarship and offer holistic perspectives on health and wellbeing. These incorporate links between the physical, mental, emotional, social, spiritual, environmental and situational aspects of wellness at personal and collective levels (Ministry of Health [MOH], 2017; StatsNZ, 2021). Traditional Māori health frameworks such as Durie's (2004) Te Whare Tapa Whā, and Pere's (1982) Te Wheke, The Octopus model of health can be used to explore and understand subjective wellbeing. These models speak to the interconnectedness of the inter-subjective and interrelated components of wellbeing, which occurs within and across particular economic, social, material and cultural contexts. The dimensions are interwoven, consider human complexities, and reflect the dimensions of wellbeing as closely interconnected and relational. The focus of these models extends beyond the individual, to include the health and wellbeing of the wider community. Connection and care extend beyond people in general to include nature and the natural world on which we depend (Durie, 2004; Pere, 1982). Considering these as frameworks throughout the research process orients me towards a holistic view of wellbeing.

Many critical health and social psychologists who study wellbeing take a collectivist and relational approach (e.g., (Atkinson et al., 2016; Hodgetts et al., 2020) also emphasise the significance of place. Atkinson and colleagues (2016) argue that wellbeing, however conceptualised, can have no form without the consideration of place. The processes of being or becoming, whether it involves enjoying a balance of positive over negative experiences, fulfilling potential and expressing autonomy, or activating a range of material, social, and psychological resources are emergent in place (Atkinson et al., 2016). Awareness of place draws attention to the interconnections between the environment and humans being *well* or otherwise (Hodgetts et al., 2020; White, 2015). Combined, this contextual, collectivist, and relational approach centralises the significance of the social networks within which people are situated. In this way, to understand people is to consider these connections and contexts and how one aspect affects other aspects (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

*Why wellbeing matters*

Wellbeing matters at the individual, family, and community levels. Strong evidence suggests that wellbeing is fundamental because it allows a person to function effectively, be happy, healthy, and satisfied across various life domains (Diener et al., 2002; Kansky & Diener, 2017). Empirical research has found that enhanced wellbeing can lead to numerous positive life outcomes for persons, families, and their wider communities. In a review of empirical literature, Maccagnan and colleagues (2019) noted that SWB is "intrinsically" important for individuals, in that there can be direct benefits derived from it, but it is also significant "instrumentally" (p. 217). It is widely documented that SWB (high positive affect, high life satisfaction; low negative affect) is strongly associated with a person's overall physical (Diener et al., 2017; Pressman & Cohen, 2005) and mental health (Diener &

Seligman, 2002); scholastic and work performance (for reviews, see De Neve et al., 2013; Tenney et al., 2016); for resilience (Kansky & Diener, 2017); citizenship (Dunn et al., 2008; 2014), and social relationships (Diener & Seligman, 2002; Mehl et al., 2010; Waugh & Fredrickson, 2006).

One of the strongest reported links with wellbeing is one's social relationships and social connectedness (Frieling et al., 2018; Kansky & Diener, 2017; Maccagnan et al., 2019; Oishi et al., 2007; Seppala & King, 2017), which is substantiated by empirical, theoretical, experimental, and longitudinal evidence that reinforces the association between SWB and social relationships. Social connections and relationships may be a source of pleasure and support as they provide people with a sense of belonging and a role to play in society, have protective value, and can help to form resilience (Frieling et al., 2018; Steptoe et al., 2008). Based on functional accounts of emotions, affect/emotion is thought to guide behaviour, including social behaviour (Keltner & Haidt, 2001; Keltner & Kring, 1998). In this way, positive emotions such as happiness, contentment, joy, and pleasure provide feedback and reinforcement for the individual, that the activity is going well and is worthwhile to repeat in the future (Kansky & Diener, 2017). Fredrickson's (2001) broaden-and-build theory argues that a key reason for experiencing positive emotions is to broaden and build resources as a psychological and social protective factor for future threats of distress. From this view, positive emotions allow a person to invest in building close, supportive social networks that one can call upon when needed.

Overall, literature has found those with positive affects have better quality (and sometimes quantity) of social relationships (Lucas & Fujita, 2000) and tend to engage in more social activities (Diener & Seligman, 2002; Mehl et al., 2010). Happy people with high positive affect rate the quality of social interactions highly and spend considerably more time with peers (and less time alone) (Berry & Hansen, 1996; Diener & Seligman, 2002). These

reciprocal relationships and positive emotions also contribute, both in terms of closeness and deeper understanding, to the development of relationships (Waugh & Fredrickson, 2006). Although these studies relied on university student or WEIRD samples, similar links between SWB and healthy social relationships are found in cross-cultural studies with collectivist cultures (Fulmer et al., 2010; Lucas et al., 2000). Moreover, East Asian cultures who prioritise interpersonal relationships over personal goals (Oishi & Diener, 2001), including adapting to social norms, fulfilling relational obligations (Suh et al., 1998), or those who receive emotional support and experience relational harmony (Uchida et al., 2008) are more likely to exhibit greater levels of psychological wellbeing.

Wellness also brings significant benefits to the community. Empirical research using longitudinal data also suggest that happier persons are more likely to perform kind acts, such as give time to charitable work (Griep et al., 2015); are more likely to donate blood or money to charity (Priller & Schupp, 2011); or do more forms of unpaid work (Oishi et al., 2007). It is widely documented that the relationship between volunteering and SWB is reciprocal and is beneficial both for the person giving and those receiving (Maccagnan et al., 2019). The importance and interest of wellbeing are further evidenced by a booming business in self-help, yoga, meditation, retreats and corporate wellness. The latter is designed to enhance enjoyment, coping skills and increase work performance (Cameron et al., 2006; Kansky & Diener, 2017; Tenney et al., 2016). For example, well people are more productive, have a better work history, have less sick days, and remain for longer in the same job (see, for reviews Boehm & Lyubomirsky, 2008; De Neve et al., 2013). It follows that wellbeing is more than an individual pursuit, and the benefits of improved life outcomes extend beyond the self to the wider community.

To recap, wellbeing matters at the individual level, but also at the community, government, and broader structural levels. Wellbeing is even addressed in the SDGs

(Atkinson, 2013). SDG 3 is committed to improving health and wellbeing, which also contributes to all other goals (Rosa, 2017). For example, SDG 3: ensuring good health and wellbeing can stimulate SDG 8 (decent work and economic growth) and can help to reduce poverty (SDG 1). In short, better health and wellbeing advance the other goals (Schmitt, 2020). With this flow-on effect, promoting wellbeing and ensuring healthy lives is the foundation for building prosperous societies (Schmitt, 2020).

To understand the value of wellbeing experiences for participants is to consider the *whole* phenomenological array of features and *totality* of that experience, including the socio-economic, political, cultural and historical context, in which that experience is situated in everyday life (Kraut, 2018). A relational orientation to selfhood and wellbeing can provide a holistic, contextual, and richer insight. In the next section, I explore the consequence of broader social structures that impacts and/or prevents people from being well. I explore how socio-economic factors contribute to health and wellbeing outcomes and draw on the LW as a possible solution to improve wellbeing outcomes for those on low wages.

**Setting the Context**

*Macrostructural changes globally and in Aotearoa/New Zealand (NZ).*

Many livelihoods and jobs have become increasingly insecure with the rise of neoliberalism (Groot et al., 2017; Standing, 2014). Neoliberalism describes a political shift towards the privatisation of government services, a focus on individual self-reliance and responsibilities over collective good, open liberalised markets, and a general glorification of competitiveness and market principles that pervade all areas of life (Standing, 2011). The neoliberal economic demands for *flexible* labour laws, which often result in precarity, so as to improve market competition on a global level (Groot et al., 2017). Consequently, social and

labour policies have largely become unworkable for vulnerable populations such as low-income workers. Neoliberal reforms in many OECD countries, including Aotearoa/NZ, functioned to suppress wages, employment benefits, and protections (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017; Standing, 2011a) and promoted informalisation through subcontracting, temporary and non-standard jobs (Groot et al., 2017). In this view, people are treated as expendable commodities, and are subject to market forces like any other factor of production, a trend that Standing (2011a) termed 'commodification'. Relatedly, it has been argued that neoliberal reforms worked toward dismantling institutions of social solidarity as they weakened labour's bargaining power (Standing, 2011a). As a result, labour relationships, work, and lives have inarguably become more unequal, uncertain, and insecure (Groot et al., 2017).

Inequality has been rising in Aotearoa/NZ since the 1980s and is now considered to be the fifth most unequal economy in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development ([OECD], 2014; Rua et al., 2019). Correspondingly, precarity is rising (Groot et al., 2017; Standing, 2011b). Job insecurity and wages below the subsistence level are central indicators of precarity (Dörre et al., 2006; Standing, 2011b). Hodgetts and Stolte (2017) posit that workers experiencing precarity are faced with multiple insecurities (employment, income, and rights) and struggles in life, and structural conditions contribute to and maintain the economic, social, cultural, and political inequalities (Groot et al., 2017; Kalleberg, 2009; Rua et al., 2019; Standing, 2014). Dörre and colleagues (2006) state that an employment contract can be labelled precarious if employees' income levels, protection, and integration fall below a standard agreed upon by the current society. An income is regarded as precarious if it does not secure one's livelihood and falls below a culturally defined minimum (Dörre et al., 2006; Kalleberg, 2009).

Compared with other OECD countries, average wages remain relatively low (OECD, 2019) against a backdrop of Aotearoa/NZ being a small and geographically remote economy that is trading-dependent, has a relatively specialised labour market, and relies on small-medium businesses in low-skill sectors (Carr et al., 2019). Moreover, many low-paid workers have incomes that do not keep up with the high cost of living (Arrowsmith et al., 2020; Favager et al., 2017; Plum et al., 2019; Skilling & Tregida, 2019), reflecting the realities of precarious work (ILO, 2016), and rapidly rising costs of living, in particular housing costs. Housing costs take an increasingly large portion of household budgets (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017), which hits people on a low income particularly hard (Bobek et al., 2020). Many households are left with inadequate income to meet their fundamental needs, even when in paid employment (Carr et al., 2019; Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017; Rua et al., 2019; Wacquant, 2009; 2014).

Wacquant (2009), among others, posits that transitioning people into contemporary labour markets in order to resolve poverty is illogical, given that so many people find themselves in increasingly precarious work and earn unliveable wages (Carr et al., 2019; Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017; Rua et al., 2019). In fact, 21 per cent of workers globally can be classified as 'working poor' with incomes falling below the poverty line (ILO, 2019a); low wage rates and hours are often inadequate to fulfil basic needs to cover costs for housing, food, and health. The health of the working poor parallels that of unemployed people (Farrants et al., 2016; Hodgetts & Stotle, 2017), and most people experiencing poverty in developed countries such as the United States and in Aotearoa/NZ are in paid work. The situation reflects not a lack of a work ethic (Handler & Hansenfeld, 2006), but rather the changing nature of work (Standing, 2014) and a rapid increase in housing costs. This disconnect between work and wellbeing/livelihoods brings to focus that employment

alone is not the central issue: job security, income security, and decent pay also matter (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017; Standing, 2011b).

*Social determinants of health (SDH) and wellbeing*

It is widely documented that work and an adequate income are among the most important SDH and wellbeing outcomes (StatsNZ, 1998). SDH are the conditions and circumstances in which people are born, develop, live, work, and age (WHO, 2020). These conditions are formed by a broader set of structures, such as the distribution of wealth, power, economic and social policies, geographical environments, and social norms, which are beyond the control of an individual (WHO, 2020) and can influence health and wellbeing equity in positive and negative ways. Research shows that the opportunity to be healthy or well is not equal everywhere or for everyone (Blakely et al., 2007; Howden-Chapman, 1999, 2000; The National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability, 1998). Factors including working and living environments and socio-economic conditions, play a role in causing and maintaining health disparities (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Wilkinson (2005) describes the consistent finding that "subjective wellbeing varies with income within a country… richer people are, on average, more satisfied with their lives than their poorer contemporaries" (p. 294). Work and income as crucial constituents of health and wellbeing outcomes will be discussed further in this section.

Paid employment has many benefits. Contemporary labour policies in countries such as Aotearoa/NZ promote paid jobs as a fundamental need that is thought to make people happy, fulfilled and provide a sense of selfhood (Standing, 2011a). Social psychological research provides strong evidence that for most people employment is important for maintaining psychological and social wellbeing (Fryer & Payne, 1984; Jahoda, 1982). Jahoda

(1982) argued that psychosocial benefits to wellbeing derived from employment include

'manifest' benefits of regular wages and financial rewards, which enables people to meet

basic living costs and live out their day-to-day; but also stem from its 'latent' functions

offering a sense of collective purpose, social contact, status and personal selfhood, regular

activity, and time structure. It is also argued that these wellbeing benefits derived from

employment can help people to gain psychological resources such as meaning in life (Fryer &

Payne, 1984; Jahoda, 1982; Lambert et al., 2020).

However, as stated in the previous section, jobs can also be unsustainable and

detrimental to wellbeing. If the legal minimum wage falls below the basic costs of living,

work circumstances are poor, insecure, and precarious, then employees might become

susceptible (ILO, 2013) to negative effects on wellbeing with poorer health outcomes (Carr et

al., 2019; Standing, 2011b; StatsNZ, 2019). It is suggested that precarious working conditions

are negatively affecting individuals' physical, mental, and social health and wellbeing

(Benach et al., 2013; Marmot et al., 2012) including that of their families and communities

(Farrants et al., 2016; Pirani & Salvini, 2015). Population health researchers contend that

poor health outcomes are inextricably linked to poverty, unemployment, homelessness,

insecure work, welfare and charity (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2005;

Pickett & Wilkinson, 2015).

However, it is conceivable that some people can overcome adversities (e.g., Blaxter,

2003; Duncan, 2005, 2019) as not all people deal with hardship in the same ways, just as

some hardy, resilient, or affluent people experience substantial illness and unwellness

(Hodgetts et al., 2017). Furthermore, flexible working arrangements may benefit some

employees, such as highly paid contractors, parents with child-raising responsibilities or

persons who have a partner earning good money. Notwithstanding, growing evidence

suggests adverse health effects for low-skilled, precarious, and low-paid workers (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017).

Income has been documented to influence wellbeing in two ways: through a direct impact on the material conditions necessary to satisfy one's basic needs and on social participation and the opportunity to manage one's life circumstances (Marmot, 2002). To understand the relationship of a person's income to wellbeing, it is necessary to consider the difference between 'poor material conditions' and 'lack of social participation' (Marmot, 2002). Poor material conditions as reflected in material hardship in developed nations is defined as struggling to pay for basic material needs, which can include accommodation, heating, weekly groceries and expenses, replacement of old clothing and shoes, and broken appliances, and to visit the doctor when required (Marmot, 2002). Low income can also lead to a lack of social participation (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011; Davis, 2007; Zeller et al., 2001), such as not being able to foster a hobby, engage in leisure activities, unable to afford birthday gifts, cook for family or friends, or being unable to on a holiday (Marmot, 2002; StatsNZ, 2019). Poor material conditions and lack of social participation can have interrelated and compound detrimental impacts on the health and wellbeing of individuals, families, and communities.

*SDG8—decent work and economic growth— and the living wage*

The LW is championed as one possible solution to the aforementioned concerns, and as a means of supporting a basic material standard of living, civic participation, and dignified lives for employees, families and communities (Carr et al., 2019; Hurley & Vacas-Soriano, 2018). Full employment is, however, an illusion (Tímár, 1983) but there are other income interventions and ways of (re)distributing wealth, including a Universal Basic Income (UBI;

Standing, 2011a). In this thesis I focus on the LW, a topic and idea that is gaining traction globally (Carr et al., 2018; Searle & McWha-Hermann, 2020), which is designed to earn sufficient money to meet the needs for a decent life and to flourish[1].

As mentioned earlier, the LW dovetails with SDG 8 and the notion of "decent work for all" (Carr et al., 2018, p. 914; Carr et al., 2019; UN, 2019), and the ILO's Decent Work Agenda (ILO, 2007). Decent work is that which enables material needs to be met, provides economic security, is inclusive and equitable, allows for human growth (ILO, 2019b), and sustain quality of living and wellbeing (Carr et al., 2019). A LW is typically defined as a wage that is high enough to sustain normal standards of living and facilitates participation in society beyond mere subsistence (Yao et al., 2017). This includes supporting a family, recreation and leisure activities, and providing a financial buffer in the form of savings (Konigsburg, 2017; Yao et al., 2017). LW movements have gained traction throughout the world (Carr et al., 2016) with Aotearoa/NZ responding to a growing need to address poverty and inequality (King & Waldegrave, 2012; 2014). LW campaigns set (voluntary) wage rates that are higher than the MW, based on material cost-of-living calculations (Anker & Anker, 2017). In 2015, the LW was NZ $18.80 per hour, which increased to $21.15 per hour as of September 2020 (LW Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019). The Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit calculates the hourly LW rate in Aotearoa/NZ, assuming a hypothetical household unit with two adult and two dependents based on one full-time and one part-time (50% job) (Waldegrave et al., 2018). Of course, household composition vary enormously in terms of the number of householders and incomes, making 'real' or impactful LW values a continuous rather than a set value (Carr et al., 2016).

---

[1] Flourishing can refer to an optimum range of positive emotions, psychological and social functioning, most of the time; generally defined as feeling good and functioning well or Eudaimonia (Ryan & Deci, 2001; Seligman, 2002; 2011).

Recently, Searle and McWha-Hermann (2020) conducted an interdisciplinary review of LW literature published over the previous 20 years (2000–2020). Research into the LW includes a focus on organisational and social outcomes, such as effects on poverty reduction (Neumark & Adams, 2003), economic development (Freeman, 2005) and employment levels (Fairris & Reich, 2005). Despite these wider benefits, LW researchers have pointed to the concerns of some low-income employers about how they will fund pay rises (Parker, 2018) and possible negative consequences for investment and job losses (Karjanen, 2010). However, research suggests there is little evidence for such negative impacts (Card & Krueger, 1995).

Based on the seminal work of Card and Krueger (1995), numerous empirical research have demonstrated that a higher MW does not necessarily lead to unemployment, promoting the case for a LW (Luce, 2004). Fairris and Reich's (2005) quasi-experimental comparison of LW and non-LW organisations revealed better working conditions for low-paid workers through improved pay rates, more paid sick days, as well as LW organisational benefits such as a higher retention rate, reduction in absenteeism, less overtime and training requirements. Other literature support and expand these findings to include increased productivity and profits, improved staff morale (Parker, 2018; Reich et al., 2005; Swaffield et al., 2018), and an ability for workers to save money for unforeseen events or retirement (Konigsburg, 2017). For LW recipients, research also found significant mental health benefits in terms of improved psychological wellbeing (Flint et al., 2013) and improvements in quality of life and wellbeing (Reich et al., 2005). These findings illustrate that the LW has positive outcomes for employer and employee.

Work psychology scholarship by Carr and colleagues (2017) and Yao and colleagues (2017) also focus on employees and to elucidate the point of inflexion where wages move

from perceived subsistence to decent income and thriving. Carr and colleagues (2019) used a

nationally representative sample of low-wage New Zealanders to examine the links between a

wage range and job attitudes and found that working for a LW employer resulted in a

substantial increase in job satisfaction. As a result, a LW has the potential to relate greater

productivity to job attitudes, supported by meta-analytic evidence (Judge et al., 2001).

Moreover, job satisfaction and other job attitudes in Aotearoa/NZ undergo a quantitative shift

upwards once wages cross a pivotal wage range (Haar et al., 2018). Haar and colleagues

(2018) argue that low wages and work-related happiness in theory can spill over into

everyday quality of living. Recent research by Carr and colleagues (2021) explored the

nuances and context for LWs and quality of work life and how low wages might interact with

additional household income streams and dependents. The authors found that higher urban

housing and living costs may have dampened the effects of a LW on wellbeing, and that the

roles of dependents can matter. In summary, the aforementioned literature indicates that LWs

matter, however, is contingent on context.

More research is needed to connect with the lived experiences of wellbeing in

people's everyday lives, situated within the context in which they live, work, and develop, to

allow for richer, fuller, and more nuanced perspectives. By exploring peoples' lived

experiences and day-to-day activities in the context of broader social structures, we can

explore the self within the social (Teo, 2015). As such, this research will examine the

meaning of wellbeing for workers who have experienced life on the LW. Of core concern is

how the LW does or does not influence experiences of wellbeing. I now outline the

subsequent chapters.

In Chapter Two/Methodology I discuss the theoretical framework and methodological

approach adopted in this thesis to analyse the enhanced semi-structured interviews and photo-

elicitation exercises. I outline the recruitment and subsequent interviewing processes and

describe the ethical approach. The analysis of participants' verbal and visual accounts and knowledge co-produced through these interactions comprise the materials that inform the analysis.

The results from the research are offered in two chapters. Chapter Three introduces the five participants and their photographs. The first section draws on participants' experiences of life on a LW and points to the ways that wellbeing manifests in landscapes and locales, relationships, material, and social practices. This chapter illustrates that wellbeing is a multidimensional, dynamic, relational, and contextually situated phenomenon.

Chapter Four provides participants' experiences of wellbeing as these relate to the LW and demonstrate the relationship as manifested in work and income. While an important determinant of wellbeing, income (LW) is represented as one dimension of wellbeing among a raft of others that make up whether a person is (un)well in everyday life. This chapter highlights that the wellbeing-LW nexus is partially reflected in participants' material living conditions and social and civic participation. This illustrates the contexts and contingencies that interact with and influence the relationship between wellbeing and the LW.

To accentuate the diversity and complexity of wellbeing and the LW I have integrated further literature into the Chapters Three and Four. I intentionally weave literature through the analysis chapters, which allows me to move the discussion beyond description into interpretation.

The concluding Chapter Five grounds the key findings in existing literature on wellbeing and the LW. It explores the implications for how policy makers, employers, and advocates might enhance understandings of, and responses to, the LW and wellbeing for people on low to medium incomes. In considering the parts in the whole, I explore the multidimensionality, complexity, relationality, and dynamism of wellbeing, as reflected in

relationships, places, objects, and beyond. These have been highlighted throughout and

across the cases to foreground the complexities of everyday life for workers on a LW.

## Chapter Two: Methodology

This chapter outlines the conceptual framework for the present study. I provide a rationale for the broad phenomenological and narrative approaches taken, as well as the use of semi-structured interviews and photo-elicitation (PEI) projects. I describe my procedure of recruiting participants, discuss procedural and relational ethical issues relevant to the study, and the importance of reflexivity and reciprocity in research. The chapter is completed with an overview of my approach to the analysis and an outline of how my subjectivity as a researcher is critical to the analysis process.

## Approaches: Phenomenology, hermeneutics, and social practice theory

My research draws broadly upon the meta-theoretical assumptions of phenomenological inquiry that includes hermeneutics and support a focus on narrative or how people story their experiences of a multi-layered phenomenon such as wellbeing. This thesis also draws insights from social practice theory, which conceptually grows out of phenomenology. Adopting such theoretical and conceptual underpinnings stem from an understanding of knowledge and the research process as shared social practices. In this section I lay out this eclectic conceptual approach to research, which is directed towards a people-centred, power-balanced, and collectivist-oriented scholarship (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

Phenomenological research aims to understand the unique meanings of human experience or phenomena as it is experienced by participants (Given, 2008; Laverty, 2003). Participants' lived experiences are the focal point of the current study, which focuses on making explicit the subjective accounts of participants' everyday experiences (Given, 2008). It can serve to illuminate the meaning of seemingly banal or taken-for-granted experiences and practices, hidden in everyday life (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2016; Laverty, 2003). The

researcher aims to make sense of being human-in-the-world, positioning persons in relation to events, artefacts, people (or other entities) and the world itself (Given, 2008). In this sense, lived experience refers to encounters, is *perspectival* (has a viewpoint, is embodied and situated) and is *relational* (is engaged with objects, tools, people, and places of the lifeworld) (Boden et al., 2019; Given, 2008). This orientation is useful to scrutinise the phenomenon of wellbeing and its dynamic and complex perspectives.

Hermeneutics extends phenomenology when its content is viewed as interpretive rather than descriptive, as in Husserl's transcendental phenomenology (Given, 2008; Laverty, 2003). Likewise, Heidegger (1927/ 1971) argues that all description is already interpretation; every form of human awareness and interaction engages in interpretation which is shaped by an individual's background and history (Davidsen, 2013; Laverty, 2003). This view holds that context in relation to our historical, cultural, emotional, and social practices, sets conditions for how people interpret and understand not only their actions but life as a whole. As such, the interpretation of human actions and experiences is context dependent. Like Heidegger, Gadamer (1983) argues that all understanding is historical and interpretative and that our very 'being' is in fact hermeneutic (Davidsen, 2013). Critical to Gadamer's (1983) hermeneutics is the role of the researcher as inextricably involved in the 'co-construction' of meaning with participants. That is, to interpret the meaning of a phenomenon requires the researcher's critical interpretation of participants' lived experiences as they try to make sense of and express their experiences during research encounters (Gadamer 1983; Laverty, 2003; Norlyk & Harder, 2010). Acknowledging this complexity, Gadamer (1983) argues that it is not possible to arrive at a complete and correct interpretation. What one seeks is the best possible explanation that offers insights into the phenomenon under examination.

The aforementioned approach is compatible with social practice theory as they share theoretical foundations such as recognising that social structures are dynamic and are

delineated from others by the practices that routinely make up their lifeworlds within the structure (Giddens, 1984). This enabled me to ground participants' stories of their everyday wellbeing practices within the wider socio-cultural contexts. Based on the work of Bourdieu (1986), Heidegger (1927/1962) and Latour (2005), social practice theory offers understandings into the complexities surrounding shared wellbeing practices in everyday life (Reckwitz, 2002). Where individualistic psychologies such as behaviourism tend to focus on individual disposition for the roots of societal issues, social practice theory begins by examining collective social systems or cultures and how these populate personal lives (Hodgetts et al., 2020). Social practice theory emphasises the collective, is inherently relational, and assumes that people are interconnected beings (Hodgetts et al., 2020). As such, many personal practices are also collective activities such as childhood rituals, or are based on social expectations, making them familiar, comforting, and routine. Particular practices can be wellbeing-enhancing and/or wellbeing-depleting, which will be explored in greater detail later. This thesis sits within broader collectivist approaches to research, which seek to understand how social practices have influenced both the history of ideas and wider patterns of thought in everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernandez, 2015).

Narrative inquiry is rooted in phenomenology and interpretative hermeneutics, and holds that people can understand, re-present, give meaning to their lives, and do so through storytelling. It is through narrative that people come to understand and situate themselves in-the-world (Andrews, 2004). In other words, I am interested in how participants 'story' the meaning of wellbeing, both verbally during the interviews and visually through photo-elicitation projects (see below) (Apfelbaum, 2000; Hodgetts et al., 2020). I will document how participants picture and story their wellbeing and link to the LW in personal ways that also draw from broader narrative structures or communal resources in society (Riessman, 2008). Thus, I adopt a narrative approach to inquiry that takes personal stories and meaning-

making to consider the social, cultural, material, and institutional influences which shape participants' experiences of wellbeing (Silver, 2013). This dual existence of participant narratives in the personal and the social is also reflected in the seminal work of Polkinghorne (1988) who also argues that narratives comprise central schema that entangle personal experiences with shared understandings of the phenomenon involved. As such, I seek to explore how people make sense of the interrelated aspects of wellbeing through their everyday social practices and experiences of life, work, and the LW. Before describing the detail of the study, it is necessary to outline the methodological and theoretical reasons for using photography for the study of wellbeing and a LW in everyday life.

**Photo-elicitation**

More researchers are recognising that visual approaches are an integral part of shaping people's subjective experiences (Gibson et al., 2015), and can enable the potential for understanding the multi-layered and multidimensional phenomena of people's experiences, such as wellbeing (Reavey, 2011). Photo-elicitation was developed by anthropologist Collier (1957) who interviewed participants both with and without photographs to understand the environmental basis for psychological stress, and found that the PEI generated fuller and more detailed data than the 'word only' interviews that did not use photographs (Frith & Harcourt, 2007; Fritz & Lysack, 2014). Since then, PEI has been broadly adopted in health, educational and social studies (Briggs et al., 2014; Goff et al., 2013; Justesen et al., 2014; Radley et al., 2005).

Photo-elicitation is an inclusive practice and a model of collaboration where participants produce and interpret their photographs and meanings assigned to these, in dialogue with the interviewer (Loeffler, 2004). This process offers insight into the ways by

which participants compose themselves as social beings within certain places and situations

and enables researchers to connect personal lifeworlds to broader social contexts (Hodgetts et

al., 2007). It is designed to encourage active dialogue and listening, promote the interweaving

of daily experience and theoretical perspectives into wider social processes, and to improve

critical reflection and questioning in order to produce more comprehensive accounts of the

phenomena of interest (Frith & Harcourt, 2007; Hodgetts et al., 2010).

The difference between conventional interviews and PEI lies in the way people

respond to the visual information in the photographs (Glaw et al., 2017; Harper, 2002). It is

thought that the processing of images connects with deeper aspects of human consciousness

than processing words. That is, exchanges based on words use less of the brain's capacity

than images, thus photo-elicitation can evoke deeper feelings, meanings and information

from participants (Harper, 2002). Photographs in interviews can act as a memory cue and

empower participants to show and tell researchers about their world as they become re-

immersed in their past experiences (Bates et al., 2019), or into discussions about future

expectations (Hodgetts et al., 2020). This facilitates the connection between setting (space),

emotion and embodiment, people and places (Reavey, 2011). Thus, the making of and

dialogue with photos during the research is not restricted to the current place and present time

(Hodgetts et al., 2020). It invites discussion with the potential to develop more rich, or 'thick'

responses laden with social and cultural contingencies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and to elicit

different kinds of information, which generate new dimensions that the researcher may not

have considered (Epstein et al., 2006; Harper, 2002).

Photo-elicitation is appropriate for phenomenological and hermeneutic approaches

that view all research interactions as inherently interpretive, both on the part of participant

and researcher (Van Manen, 1990), and open to interpretative pluralism. Participant-driven

photo-elicitation is suited for the research of lived experience as every produced photograph

reflects intentional and personal actions; grounding participants in the material aspects of

their daily lives; to objects, relationships, practices and places meaningful to them (Hodgetts

et al., 2007). Allowing participants to lead the photo-production process is a way of

promoting researcher-participant collaboration in the sense-making process (Bukowski &

Buetow, 2011; Hodgetts et al., 2007). Such a collaborative approach of PEI is consonant with

narrative analysis principles where photographs can enable participants to convey something

central to their lifeworld that is not verbally conscious at the beginning of the interview

(Steger et al., 2013). Using PEI is a shared social practice to facilitate a more collaborative

production of shared knowledges (Bates et al., 2017). Next, I outline the strategy of recruiting

participants and offer participant demographic profiles.

**Recruitment strategy and participants**

The research proposal was reviewed by and discussed with my supervisors. The

Massey University online ethics screening tool indicated that this research was low risk with

minimal possibility of causing harm.

Initially I sought to interview employees who had recently transitioned from a MW to

a LW, however, only three participants met this requirement, thus, I broadened the criteria to

include those who previously have, or currently receive a LW. As a result, my sample

encompassed people who were currently receiving the LW, as well as those who were not

currently receiving the LW, but had received it in the past. This enabled me to capture some

of the dynamics potentially related to wellbeing as people move to and back from the LW.

For this thesis, I consider hourly rates between $21 to $23 as a LW 'range'.[2] These values approximated their respective campaigned LW rates at the time of this study.

Snowballing, chain or network sampling (Coleman, 1958-1959; Goodman, 1961) was used to recruit participants. Snowball sampling has been used to find vulnerable or disadvantaged populations such as low-income groups (Parker et al., 2020) who may feel sensitive or judged about their earnings. Specifically, I asked employers paying a LW and social contacts, including friends, family, and their acquaintances to facilitate recruitment. Once I obtained initial contact details, I then approached potential participants via text message or telephone call to introduce myself, provided details about the research, their involvement and time commitment, and general areas I wanted to explore with them. I emphasised my research interest in participants' stories and wellbeing aspects as they related to their income. Once participants agreed to be involved, we scheduled a first meeting at their chosen location.

I met three participants at their home and two at local cafés. Before starting, I took participants through the information sheet (Appendix A) to ensure they understood the scope and aim of the study, answered any questions, explained that participation was voluntary, that it can end it at any time, or they can choose not to answer a question or take photographs. Participants were reassured that photographic, written, and audio-recorded interview records would be kept in a secure university-based cloud storage service (OneDrive) and only to be used in the thesis and publication; that it would remain confidential to the researcher and supervisors and made unidentifiable by anonymising names. Consent forms (Appendix B) were signed. I present a short demographic biography in Table 1.

---

[2] The 2020 New Zealand legal minimum wage rate is set at $18.90 per hour and voluntary living wage rate is set at $22.10 per hour.

**Table 1**

*Participant Demographic Profiles*

| Participant | Age range | Gender | HH composite (on a LW) | Types of work | Work status (on a LW) | Income band (1) Past (2) Current | Period (year/s) on LW and hours p/week | Period (year/s) on less than LW and hours p/week |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kate | 25-30 | F | Renting a room - 2 others | Media | Full-time Permanent | (1) NZ$40,001–60,000 (2) NZ$40,001–60,000 | 2017-2019: $21.63 p/hr x 40 hrs | 2015-2017: $20.19 p/hr x 40 hrs |
| Tessa | 20-25 | F | Renting a room – 2 others | Retail Education | Self-employed casual employee or full-time | (1) NZ$20,001–40,000 (2) NZ$40,001–60,000 | 2014-2016: $21 p/hr x 40 hrs<br><br>2020: $21.40 p/hr x 25 hrs | 2010-2012: $17.50 p/hr x 40 hrs<br><br>2012-2014: $18.50 p/hr x 40 hrs |
| Amelia | 30-35 | F | Renting a room – 3 others | Sports and farming Home mothering | Full-time Permanent | (1) NZ$60,001+ (1) NZ$20,001–40,000 (2) NZ<$10,001 | 2018: $21.75 p/hr x 25-30 hrs<br><br>2017: $21 p/hr x 35-40 hrs | 2018: $19 p/hr x 25-30 hrs |
| Eve | 25-30 | F | Renting a room – 2 others | Hospitality Fashion Retail | Self-employed Part-time/ Full-time Permanent | (1) NZ$20,001–40,000 (1) NZ$40,001–60,000 (2) NZ$40,001–60,000 | 2018: $23 p/hr x 37 hrs<br><br>2019: $21.5 x 30-40 hrs | NA |
| Larry | 55-60 | M | House with mortgage | Environme-ntal | Full-time Permanent | (1) NZ$60,001+ (2) NZ$40,001–60,000 | 2014-2016: $23 p/hr x 40 hrs | NA |

Table 1 offers a demographic profile and shows participants' income range. Participants were either self-employed, casual worker, part-time or full-time workers, and they worked in media, education, hospitality, fashion, and environmental businesses. Four participants identified as female and one as male. The age ranged from 20 to 60 years. Three participants identified as European and two as European and Māori. All participants reside and work in Taranaki, in Aotearoa/NZ. Brief participant profiles are also offered in Chapter Three. Next, I outline how participants' accounts were accessed using enhanced semi-structured interviews and photo-elicitation exercises.

**Employing semi-structured interviews that include photo-elicitations**

Participants were engaged in an initial biographical interview, a photo-production exercise whereby they were asked to picture their world of wellbeing, and a follow up PEI. Interviews ranged from 50 to 90 minutes. During both interviews, I used a loose protocol of broad open-ended questions as a general guide to initiate and prompt conversation through which participant stories could be articulated both verbally and later through photo-elicitation (see Appendices D and F).

Each interview started with a general chat and sharing of kai.[3] As an integral part of research with Māori participants, kai sharing is recommended (Smith, 1999). This approach worked equally well for the three participants who identified as Pākehā. In relation to the reciprocal nature of manaakitanga,[4] participants who invited me into their homes offered coffee or tea, which I accepted (Hazou, 2018).

---

[3] Kai is the Māori word for food; to eat or to drink.
[4] Manaakitanga refers to the process of showing hospitality, respect, generosity, and care for others.

The data collection process began with semi-structured biographical interviews. Semi-structured interviews were designed to cover these core issues whilst enabling me to engage in a more dynamic and fluid conversation that responded to points raised by participants. The flexibility of the semi-structured interview allowed for unexpected topics to surface (Bates, Kaye & McCann, 2019; Bates et al., 2017; Smith, 2007), for clarification and exploration. Participants talked about their education background, work and income history, and household composition (see Table 1). I then invited participants to share what being well meant to them.

At the end of the biographical interview, I instructed participants about the photo production exercise, which is an enhanced extension of the interviews, and asked them to use their own camera (smartphone) to take photographs that represented their world of wellbeing. Radley and Taylor (2003a) allowed participants (hospital patients) 24 hours to take photographs and conducted the PEI immediately after the photographs were taken. Glaw and colleagues (2017) conducted the PEI three weeks after the initial interview or baseline screening. In general, photo-elicitation asks participants to spend a short amount of time (e.g., 7-14 days) creating photographs that they feel embody the experience or story they wish to convey to the researcher (Morrow, 2001). Participants in this study were asked to take photographs over the course of seven days and the PEI took place within two weeks of the initial biographical interview. The short timeframe between interviews was intentional as these methods need to be woven together (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

I was conscious not to tell participants what to photograph. Instead, I framed the task in a way that I wanted to look at wellbeing in their everyday life, and how this relates to the LW. The pictures could be of anything that was significant to their wellbeing. I specifically did not limit the number of photos that participants could take, as setting restrictions may lead to participants filtering or censoring photos they thought were unimportant.

As part of the photo-elicitation process, four out of five participants sent their photographs to me through a communication medium of their choice (e.g., email, text message or Facebook messenger). The fifth participant presented the photos to me on the day of the photo-elicitation. In-between sessions, I transcribed the recorded first interviews verbatim and reviewed any topics that required expansion during the PEI (Appendix E). Before the second interviews, I uploaded participants' photos on my laptop to showcase them. At the PEI, to initiate conversation I asked participants about their photo-taking experiences, which led them to describing and 'storying' their pictures (Radley & Taylor, 2003a). All the photographs were spread out on the screen and participants were asked to choose the photograph that they liked the most, one they liked the least, and those most important in capturing their experiences of being well. Participants were asked to explain the reasons for taking photographs and what feelings it gave them. This procedure was repeated for all the pictures participants chose to discuss. The last exercise on the interview guide 'please tell me a story using your photos and walk me through it', asked participants to summarise what wellbeing means to them. Two participants engaged in the exercise while three participants opted to reiterate what they had already shared. Upon reflection, the laptop was perhaps too formal and 'clunky' in the social and informal setting, and printed photographs may have been easier to manoeuvre.

Throughout the research process I was mindful of potential power dynamics between the researcher and participant that can occur in research interactions, where authority tends to sit with the researcher (Bates et al., 2017). Although more prevalent in mainstream / WEIRD psychology and quantitative research, objectivity and detachment between researcher and participant is sought (Hodgetts & Stole, 2012; Hodgetts et al., 2020), while interviewing is an inter-subjective exercise whereby meaning is co-created through interaction and dialogue. I

invited participants for feedback over a coffee to summarise the research findings. Field notes were written immediately after each engagement to supplement the other data.

**Ethics, reflexivity, and reciprocity**

I now turn to procedural and relational ethics considerations, including the importance of reflexivity and reciprocity to the research process. The research was conducted with an ethical approach considered throughout every stage of the research process (Holland et al., 2014; Shaw, 2008). I continued to consult with my supervisors during the research phases to ensure ethical conduct was maintained and special care was taken to address confidentiality, given two participants are personal contacts.

Research using photos presents unique ethical issues. For example, consent must explicitly consider the use of the visual image (Bates et al., 2017). Close (2007) recommends that participants are made fully aware of how and where their images will be used. I checked with each participant whether they understood their involvement in the research, how their images would be used, and answered any questions. Written consent had been obtained for both research components. To ensure confidentiality, I informed participants that any photos including other individuals and of identifiable places will be blurred, or not be used (Glaw et al., 2017). However, this did not preclude participants talking about their photographs in relation to other people (e.g., family, friends, and colleagues) who were associated with them (Radley & Taylor, 2003a).

Using photographs in research can evoke emotional associations to experiences and memories (Kunimoto, 2004), and sensitivity to such issues by researchers is advised (Bates et al., 2017). While the topic of wellbeing is not anticipated to evoke upsetting or unpleasant experiences, the notion of a low wage (MW and LW) as a contributor to wellbeing has the

potential to be sensitive (Bates et al., 2017). While topics can be sensitive in their nature, this does not imply that photos evoke a negative emotional response (Bates et al., 2017). I attempted to ensure the conversation of PEI was participant-led and that care and sensitivity were foremost for participants to feel comfortable (Bates et al., 2017). Similar to that found in Oliffe and Bottorff's (2007) study using PEI to explore men's health and illness experiences, participants in my study reported that they enjoyed our engagements and found them to be *"deep and meaningful"* (Larry). The use of photographs assisted participants to talk about their experiences more openly, with some participants reporting that this was therapeutic (Eve), or prompted reflection, *"Made me think about a lot of things actually"* (Larry). In a sense, this exercise served to pause and reflect, perhaps providing some critical distance to explore new angles and dimensions of their wellbeing.

The way in which these methods are used invokes relational ethical issues. It positions the researcher as the 'interpreter' of participants' narratives; the researcher engages in a social interaction with people, and then deliberate how to piece the aspects of research together. Part of relational ethics is reflexivity, and it is critical that researchers are self-aware of their own background and subjective experience, which one cannot help but bring to their research, including how phenomena is interpreted. Sherif (1976) emphasised how research is a process of social engagement shaped by the researcher's interests and values. While personal experiences can offer valuable insights, they can also limit what we are able to see (Braun et al., 2017). Although every aspect of who I am would have shaped all elements of my research, as a commitment to hermeneutic phenomenology, I have identified the following reflections as especially relevant to the issues being researched (Laverty, 2003).

I approached this research with lived experiences of coming from a low-income background. I recognised my own family's experiences in people's accounts described in the poverty literature. My parents were refugees from Cambodia who resettled in New Zealand in

1979, with hopes for a better life. Their hard work ethic challenged the dominant narratives around poverty that 'people are poor because they are lazy'. I learned quickly that public and political understandings of poverty were shaped by the biases and prejudices of more affluent groups than lived realities of hardship. Overly individualistic and reductive explanations for poverty also obscure other more humane and collective solutions. In short, my family's experiences guided my decision to conduct research around social issues (Murray, 2012) and commitment to contributing understandings of wellbeing for people on low incomes.

Reciprocity is critical when engaging in relationally ethical research practice. Gift giving reflects the reciprocal nature and shared negotiations of knowledge and is a natural aspect of social practices (Groot et al., 2013; Hodgetts et al., 2014). At the end of each interview, a koha[5] of $25 cash was offered for participants' time to attend the interviews. A koha acceptance form (Appendices C) was signed by participants. In some ways this process had the opposite of the desired effect of gift exchange and intimates a business transaction (interview for payment). This process felt unnatural and I reflected how the imposition of a neoliberal audit culture (Rose, 1999) makes many cultural practices feel insincere.

**Analysis process**

The analysis process was cyclical and occurred throughout the entire research. Billig (1989/1996) and Denzin and Lincoln (2013) note that qualitative analysis is achieved through writing, with the realisation that a large amount of information is obtained through the research phases of thought and writing. Early on in the writing process, I began to develop ideas about what participants were saying, and potential meanings attributed to this. While transcribing the interviews, I highlighted quotes and stories that appeared meaningful,

---

[5] Koha is a Māori term for a gift or donation.

noteworthy, and unusual noted ideas and points that required clarification from the participants. I then compared the results across other participant interviews and also noted areas where I needed to ask more questions.

Following transcriptions, I printed off the interviews to immerse and continue to familiarise myself with the interviews by reading them from different angles and in totality. This involved engaging in an intense back-and-forth between participants' verbal accounts and the photographs, as one informs the other in a hermeneutic dialogue. Understanding that meaning, and 'new' co-constructed knowledge of the lived experience of wellbeing can be developed from my interaction with the world of the text (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2016) and images, I noted how I responded to specific examples from participants. I was particularly attuned to relational, holistic, and collectivist stories about wellbeing, reflecting my cultural origin and commitment to inclusiveness and harmony. Once I identified this pattern of responding, I interrogated my readings further to consider alternative possible interpretations.

To make sense of, and bring some order to the material, I organised participant biographies, and excerpts from participants' transcriptions into an excel spreadsheet, under a series of headings and subheadings relevant to answering my research questions. These were then interpreted in relation to existing wellbeing research. Material was organised by participant, interview, idea (category), key words, researcher reflections and literature. This ensured there was ease in future filtering and search of content and key words. This organisation assisted the development of the links between various aspects and dimensions of wellbeing and the overall development of ideas relevant to the study.

I found the structure of some coding approaches to be helpful in navigating through the material (Braun & Clarke, 2013). However, I adopted flexibility so as not to reduce the experiences of participants to generalisations or fit them into categories (Thomas, 2010). To distinguish common and dissimilar features of the wellbeing experiences of participants

while earning a LW, I conducted a comparison of the narrative accounts (Polkinghorne, 1995) using an excel spreadsheet. Similarities were found across narratives, which allowed me to approximate understandings of wellbeing as narrated by participants (Pak, 2006). By contrast, when discovering a category's absence in other stories, confirming its uniqueness to a participant, also prompted me to investigate further. This interpretative process involved critical thought about issues that seemed to be highlighted, linking to relevant wellbeing literature, and cross-referencing. From this, an interpretation and re-presentation of the material began to take shape further through the drafting and redrafting process.

I reviewed the photographs discussed with each participant and linked these to the verbal transcripts, thus the repeated process of comparing relevant interview extracts and photographs for each participant before contrasting between participants. While the interpretation of the stories behind the images remained the focus, Pink (2007) recommends the creation of new methods to organise and interpret visual materials. Guided by Radley and colleagues' (2005) method of interpreting photographs, I adapted a simple system for categorising the photographs (see Table 2), which arose out of the observation that the five participants had taken some similar but also unique pictures (Radley et al., 2005). I then used these categories to enquire further by asking: "why these pictures?"; "what is it that is similar, what is different?"; "do they give similar interpretations to similar images, or not?" (Radley et al., 2005). Table 2 served as a structure for examining the ideas that emerged from each set of photographs and, ultimately, making comparisons between participants. This is not to say that respondents' orientation to comparable photographs were the same, but rather that the prevalence of certain sorts of images provided insight into the issues raised in the interviews (Radley et al., 2005). I looked at how the participants' photographs related to their everyday experiences and practices of wellness, how these relate to the LW, and then to the kinds of locales they dwelled (Radley et al., 2005). This exercise encouraged me to treat pictures not

simply as images for discussion with participants (Hodgetts et al., 2010). In situations where

participants invited me into their homes where some of their photos were taken and the

interviews were conducted, I gained information about the context, the photos beyond the

frame, and beyond what they could tell (Radley & Taylor, 2003a).

I printed and laid the photographs out and considered each of the questions, made

notes, and conducted a count of, for example, material objects, people, places, and practices.

This process provided a means of foregrounding salient aspects of participants' wellbeing and

offered insight into what features participants found to be most important. I then linked each

image back to transcripts for hints as to why these representations were salient across and

between interviews.

**Table 2**

*Categories of photograph taken by selected respondents*

| Categories | Kate | Eve | Amelia | Tessa | Larry |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| People / other beings | 8 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 4 |
| Places | | | | | |
| Home | 5 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 2 |
| The Garden | | 5 | 3 | | 1 |
| Nature | 5 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| Work | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Material objects, possessions | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Practices | 2 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Practices with others | 5 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Total number of photographs discussed / out of those taken | 11/11 | 7/10 | 9/13 | 6/7 | 5/5 |

The analysis then extended to the comprehensive engagement with the information of each participant, with the resulting composition of main tropes. The aim of this was to focus on issues that were both personal to specific participants, but also relating to key ideas that were indicative of a composite story that started to emerge.

Because real lives are messy and do not always fit neatly into analytic categories, achieving a tidy structure for the analysis proved challenging. Different dimensions of wellbeing, for example, are often entangled, overlapping, and dynamic. It is in that complexity that the value of understanding wellbeing exists. Through embracing the hermeneutic circle (Heidegger; 1927/ 1971), I explored the relationship between the parts, and the whole, at a series of levels, within and between participants' accounts.

These complex issues required an analysis strategy, which drew on the notion of researcher as *bricoleur* (Kincheloe, 2005). That is, a researcher operates within a multidisciplinary and innovative way, reflecting the complexity of participant stories as evident in the verbal and visual materials produced during this research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Kincheloe, 2005). This orientation of analyses moves from description to interpretation of participants' detailed interactions with depicted events, objects, practices, people, and place. This also considers wider socio-cultural contexts that shape issues of pay and wellbeing (*cf.*, Lefebvre, 1947/1958/1991). Working as a bricoleur involves abduction or a 'means-of-inferencing' to derive both logical and insightful interpretations and explanations based on the ways participants' made sense of, and re-presented events from their everyday lives (Flick et al., 2004). This process produced a set of comparative composites, which informed my sections in the analysis.

Finally, it is necessary to note that qualitative research of this kind is open to interpretive pluralism and never fully complete (Billig, 1996). The material could be analysed with many other considerations, and approached and interpreted differently (Becker, 1993). In light of this, I provided a detailed account of the analysis and interpretation processes and remained open and reflective in my interpretations to allow the reader to be aware of how interpretations were made.

**Chapter Three: Landscapes of Wellbeing**

*I think it probably relates to most people - where you live is a huge part of your wellbeing.*

- Larry

Larry's quote emphasises the relationship between wellbeing and place evident in participants' accounts, which is the focus of this chapter. Dimensions of wellbeing manifest through different locales. People are from different lifeworlds, and various locations can foster diverse and similar aspects of wellbeing. Their everyday landscapes anchor aspects of *being well* in space and time through place-making.

I begin this chapter by briefly introducing each participant and present a selection of their photos, depicting key locales in their everyday wellbeing landscapes. Such an approach locates the participants in the context of their everyday life and a LW and provides an overview of participants' mundane experiences of wellbeing, the issues that arise, and shows participants emplacing wellbeing. Participants' photographs and their accompanying accounts depict places, people, practices, and objects and different dimensions of wellbeing in which I presented the Figures 1 to 5. This enabled me to consistently order the photos, connect the five cases and link these to aspects of wellbeing throughout this and the subsequent chapter. This approach complies with the case comparative method that involves developing an argument over and drawn from the comparison of salient features from several cases (Small, 2009). In doing so, the analysis draws on and across participants' accounts to explore the prominent tropes raised (Small, 2009).

The following four sections focus on how participants used photographs to talk about their experiences and practices of wellbeing, which illuminated wellbeing as inherently relational and material and interwoven with space and place. Participants frequent, live, grow, interact, shape and are shaped by places that implicate their wellbeing and sense of selfhood

(Hodgett et al., 2020; Howarth et al., 2013). Landscapes of wellbeing include the home, the garden, and nature, which comprise sections two through four of this chapter. I explore the ways these places are conducive to wellbeing, or otherwise, by considering how participants actively *care* for the self and others through consciously drawing on their repertoire of wellbeing-enhancing practices in these spaces. Participants engage as active agents in particular activities to foster and ground a positive sense of selves and wellbeing in place; just as place(s) is an active agent in shaping and integrating selfhood, thus wellbeing (Fleuret & Prugneau, 2015). The final section of this chapter explores the relational aspects of wellbeing; wellbeing can be gifted to others, much as it can be taken away by others. Throughout the chapter, I argue that selfhood and wellbeing are achieved not only individually, but relationally (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Yang, 2006).

While I aim to cover the aforementioned, it will be evident that wellbeing is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, therefore it has been challenging to integrate. Moreover, broader issues such as the rapidly rising cost of housing and high cost of living is widely recognised in Aotearoa/NZ as endemic, thus complicating the argument that a LW will address in-work poverty or not. In attempting to examine some of these aspects, I acknowledge I cannot deal with them in their totality. Such acknowledgement reminds us that insight revealed through this research is only a glimpse of the picture that could ever be portrayed in the scope of this thesis.

**Introducing the five participants and their photographs**

The first case considers Kate, a tertiary-educated 25-30-year-old woman of Māori and English descent. Kate works in a communications-related job and describes herself as *"career-driven"* and *"always been a social person"*. Kate lives in a privately rented property

with two other people, a 5-minute walk from the local beach, which she frequently visits as depicted in her photographs of natural landscapes (Figure 1: photos 1-4). Kate's narrative emphasises meaningful work as conducive to wellbeing (Figure 1: photo 8). Kate has been employed at her full-time permanent job for the past four years, starting on a $42k salary, to $45k ($21.63 per hour) then to $50k. Kate paid off her student loan (noting her debt was low due to receiving financial support from family) and has $15k savings for a planned overseas trip, enabled by a LW. Now with more disposable income, Kate engages in more gift-giving (Figure 1: photo 5), dining out (Figure 1: photo 9) and saves more.

**Figure 1**

*Photographs from Kate's photo-elicitation interview*
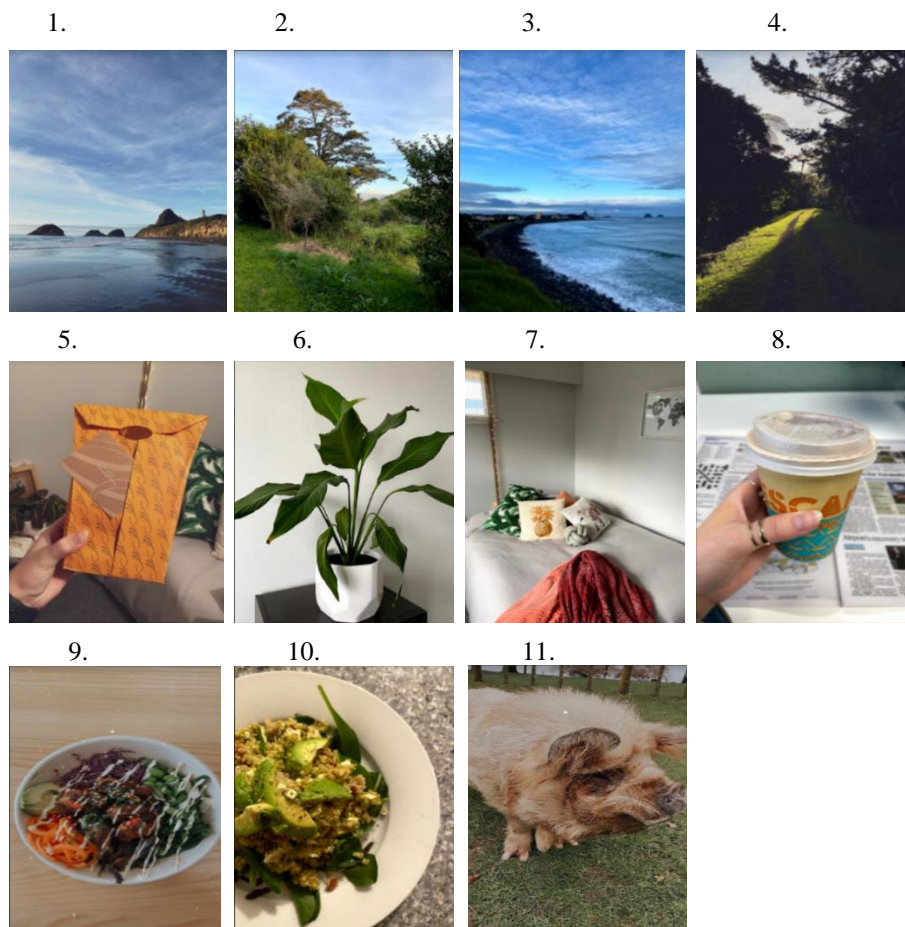
Figure 2 depicts the photographs of Amelia, a 30-35-year-old Pākehā woman who considers herself an animal lover (Figure 2: photo 9). Amelia reflects on her past living circumstances on a LW and exemplifies how social support and resource sharing can shape a person's effort to retain a positive sense of self and wellbeing during downward income mobility. Despite being employed on a full-time contract, hours fluctuated weekly with on average 25-30 hours per week (earning $19 - $21.75 per hour). Earning between $400-$500 NET/week, Amelia lived in shared accommodation with her partner and two others. A LW enabled Amelia to cover some expenses, including weekly food ($200); petrol ($120); pet costs ($50), and credit card debt. Savings ($50k) and financial support from her family and partner helped to cover costs. Amelia leads a healthy lifestyle that includes buying organic food and natural products (which are more expensive), a regular spiritual practice (Figure 2: photos 1, 3) and writing to do lists at home (Figure 2: photo 2). Central to Amelia's wellbeing are the connections with other beings (human and non-human). Amelia and her partner also enjoy growing their own vegetables (Figure 2: photo 5, 6).

**Figure 2**

*Photographs from Amelia's photo-elicitation interview*

Case three considers Eve, a 25-30-year-old woman of Māori, Pākehā, Australian

descent. Like Tessa (Case Five), Eve lived and worked in Auckland earning a LW, however

the high costs of living meant life in Auckland was unsustainable when compared to

Taranaki. Eve lived in a private rental property with her partner and a friend. Eve is qualified

in the fashion industry and worked in the fashion, retail, and hospitality sectors in various

roles, which ranged from 35 to 40 hours per week. Eve expressed working hours "*were all*

*over the place"* yet considers the LW a *"a good wage"*. With social support, a LW enables

Eve to save and have money to "*spend freely"*, but not without costs to her psychological

wellbeing due to high work demands. Eve's photographs illustrate how a sense of self as

competent and well, is not only preserved but enhanced through her active participation in

social and collective practices. Eve recalls childhood memories in the teachings of her mother

on decorating a room (Figure 3: photo 1) and gardening (Figure 3: photos 4-7), which

conjures up feelings of comfort, familiarity, security, and wellbeing. Concepts relating to

caring, sharing, and connection, which echoes over space and time, provide a conceptual

framework that is contextually and relationally relevant for Eve's wellbeing.

**Figure 3**

*Photographs from Eve's photo-elicitation interview*

Tessa is a 20-25-year-old NZ European woman who grew up in the city and moved to Taranaki for a change of pace. Tessa lived independently from a young age; she left school and home at the age of 16. Tessa has worked in low-paying jobs and frequently moved between rental accommodations. She spoke of her experiences working full-time, being paid $17.50 per hour, which was not enough to afford the necessities, often having to content on a basic diet such as eggs. While Tessa laughed it off, I sensed that this was a difficult memory for her to share. When we explored this further, Tessa admitted not having asked for assistance and that the situation upset her and made her feel "*shitty*". On a lower wage ($17.50-$21), Tessa had $100 per week of disposable income after paying rent, expenses and paying off a car loan. Now on $27 per hour, Tessa has $200 leftover, which she spends on social activities and savings. Tessa enjoys the lifestyle of living in a province rather than a city, with easy walking or biking access. Tessa's account of her wellbeing is filled with everyday small mundane aspects on her routine walk to work, the neighbourhood, or home.

**Figure 4**

*Photographs from Tessa's photo-elicitation interview*
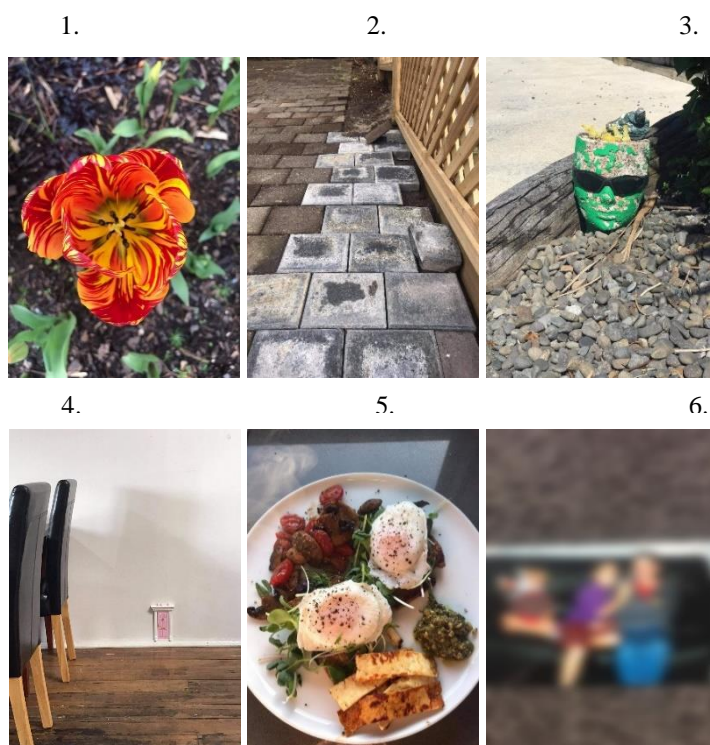
Case five presents Larry, a 55-60-year-old Pākehā male who works lives rurally. He is an active member of his rural/coastal community. As shown in Figure 5, Larry draws his sense of wellbeing from the outdoors and spends significant amounts of time in natural environments for leisure, recreation, and respite. Larry has two adult sons and lives on his own in a home he built. With financial support from family, he was able to obtain a mortgage. Larry has been employed in his permanent full-time (40 hours per week) role for 7-8 years; currently paid $26 per hour. Reflecting on a time he earned $23 per hour, Larry described that things were pretty tight and found he was usually $5k short a year. Larry employed tactical strategies of agency, resilience, and resourcefulness and made trade-offs. For example, Larry paid for groceries using a credit card and worked weekends to make up for the shortfall, and to enable participation in leisure activities. He describes financial stress as detrimental to relationships and unhealthy (*"can grind you down")* for his and other's wellbeing. He reiterates throughout our conversations that he is content living a modest and basic lifestyle, with a home as a place to enjoy and share with others. He often said, *"I'm happy as Larry",* which was a rather fitting pseudonym for him.

**Figure 5**

*Photographs from Larry's photo-elicitation interview*

In sum, these cases reflect both the diversity of lifeworlds and wellbeing, and the common needs in terms of positive social supports, connection, work, leisure, and multiple inside and outside locales. Participants find aspects of wellbeing in place through their creation of and interactions with landscapes of wellbeing. 'Landscape' experiences can be distinguished as place and space (Hunziker et al., 2007) and refer to more than the physical environment, to include shared social practices and political and cultural processes (Gesler, 1992). According to Tuan (1974), 'space' can be conceived as an abstract location detached from the material form and cultural interpretation. 'Place' exists of space, is dynamic, bounded, and specific to a location, and is the materialisation of personal/group, social, economic, and cultural processes, as well as emotional experience and/or attachments (Massey, 1994; Tuan, 1974). Participants frequently access and imbue meanings in particular places appropriate to their wellness needs (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

Therapeutic landscapes is a useful concept for understanding places that allow to explore the physical, individual, social, and cultural aspects, which have healing qualities (Gesler, 1992), but also includes the maintenance of health and wellbeing (Williams, 1999; 2002), in every day places (Williams, 2017). The therapeutic values of everyday spaces include material, social, and symbolic aspects (Gesler, 2003; Williams, 2017), offer a sense of inclusion (Smyth, 2005), belonging, security, and stability, which play crucial roles in achieving wellbeing (Manzo, 2008). I continue the analysis by exploring the home context and participants' home-specific and simple wellbeing-enhancing acts often overlooked in everyday life.

**Home**

Home settings are central to people's everyday wellbeing experiences and practices (Tuan, 1974). Generally, homes are more than mere shelters: they are ideally spaces for respite and a sanctuary from the public world (Porteous, 1976). A home invites one to be oneself: a place people can exercise agency and autonomy over their activities, relationships, and environment (Hodgetts et al., 2020). However, what can occur in the privacy of one's home can have both positive and negative implications for wellbeing (Atkinson et al., 2016; Plane & Klodawsky, 2013). Not everyone has access to, or experience of, a stable and safe home (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Massey, 1994; McGrath & Reavey, 2015). Some people dwell in physically and psychologically constraining, insecure, or substandard housing (Hodgetts et al., 2020). Home-making practices are also not restricted to private domestic dwellings (see Groot & Hodgetts, 2015), which I will illustrate later. In accordance with participants' experiences, home primarily offered a sense of wellbeing, which varied over time and between participants.

While life carries with it a degree of uncertainty and insecurity participants' home offered a secure place *to be,* an emblematic site for the self (Bhatti et al., 2009). Home afforded participants' a sense of familiarity, comfort, and stability (Giddens, 1991; Hodgetts et al., 2020; Stats NZ, 2009; 2020). These experiences are enhanced through social practices and the relational place-making endeavour of home-making: the daily material and psychosocial practices that human beings enact to make home spaces, a place to dwell in, and a place *to be* (Heidegger 1927/ 1971). Both Heidegger (1927/1971) and Levinas (1971) hold that being human *is* 'dwelling': staying with and among familiar things. As such, home is a crucial site imbued with meaning and emotionality that connects people to spaces, objects, events, relationships, and to their past, present, and future selves (Graham & Travis, 2015).

The home is a context for people to create everyday routines. In doing so, participants enact social practices and extend themselves materially, mentally, and emotionally into the spaces within which they dwell (Hodgetts et al., 2020). This process can be understood through de Certeau's (1997) analogy of a spider intimately building a web to extend the reach of its limbs into the world (Hodgetts et al., 2020). Similarly, drawing on the Chinese notion of the 'cobweb self', people build their web through which they become implanted in places and imprint on and connect with the world around them (Yang, 2006). This metaphor of self, allows for the consideration that the places we dwell in, our acts, bodily displays, and the objects we collect become part of us, shape facets of who we are, want to be(come), and reveal to others (Hodgetts et al., 2020). Here, the self as an action-taker or agent must 'think' about one's actions 'consciously'(Yang, 2006). This cobweb is linked to many other people, whom is each representing a strand of the web, thus deliberation and choices of action affect not only the self, but also people in the web (Kim, 2006).

To varying degrees, participants discussed their wellbeing as reflected in the material representation of the living room and the everyday social practices that occur in this space. This includes cleaning or tidying up, decorating, or redressing the room, writing to-do-lists, and inviting family and friends for a visit. Eve, for example, discusses her aesthetic appreciation of what she terms *"that scene"* and describes the ways in which this environment influences her wellbeing, just as she makes her mark on and shapes the space. Eve pictured her sense of wellbeing (see Figure 3: photo 1) and stated:

> *This is a good reflection of my wellbeing* […] *I've always loved old furniture… I love plants and like little trinket things, old things… They give me so much joy and textures* […] *It was just a nice feeling. 'Cos I'd cleaned up on the Saturday or Sunday because people were coming over. And then I just placed my plants in different places … Just appreciation of that scene and just the surroundings, I guess… Like your house is a*

*good statement of who you are as a character I guess, or like who you are deep inside is how you portray who you are to people, but also to you because you're in it all the time…. It's kind of like looking in the mirror in a way for me.*

In Eve's (and other participants') living room, consumer culture is expressed through accumulating and arranging objects to create a space that reflects her sense of self. The word *"love"* hints to objects that contribute to Eve's wellbeing: old furniture, antiques, plants, and trinkets, and these objects combined become a conduit to wellbeing. Not just an expression of Eve's taste, objects offer her pleasure, joy, familiarity, and comfort; key objects texture her interior and render material possessions into satisfaction and visual/sensory dimensions. Briefly, Eve curates an aesthetically and energetically pleasing home environment: *"that scene",* which becomes a spatial, psychological, and material reflection of her sense of self and wellbeing.

Noble (2004 ) suggests that as people accumulate objects in their home, they accumulate *being.* Associations through material objects, including furniture, photographs, artwork, and ornaments, provide evidence of *being,* invoking participants' memory and recollection of events. For Eve, old furniture and antiques evoke childhood memories of her mother redressing a room as she recounts, "*That sort of side of antiques and dressing a place - Mum was always moving furniture around in the house. Like, I'd come home from school and it's kind of took me back to that".* Redressing a room becomes a social practice in which Eve's past is drawn into the present space. She pulls from fragments of her memory and creatively brings into the present something familiar and comforting. z than simply a cognitive process (Myerhoff, 1982), reworked elements of the past become rendered in the present. Foundational to her sense of place and wellbeing, Eve delights in the process of re-connecting, re-engaging, and re-presenting parts of the relationship with her mother and place meaningful to her. Thus, associations with material artefacts, social practices, places, colour,

textures, and scents allow participants to rejoice in the process of 're-membering', which can have wellbeing-enhancing qualities, much as they can evoke sad memories.

In this way, material objects (e.g., antiques, photographs, food) and social practices (e.g., cleaning, decorating, or redressing a room) comprise agentic qualities and the home becomes a site of 're-membering' as a psychological and material process (Fortier, 1999). Micro-landscapes (Bell, 2018) such as a room, material objects, and social practices for example, can occur in these places and function as a sensory gateway, which transcend spatial-temporal borders to become sites of memory embodiment, materiality, emotionality, and wellbeing. Through these, a sense of connection, belonging, and relational selfhood are re-presented and aspects of wellbeing are embedded, such that one feels 'at home' (Giddens, 1984; 1991; Mallett, 2004).

Eve's account also emphasises the importance of a clean and orderly living room, which she suggests acts as a looking glass that reflects key qualities of her sense of self (Cooley, 1902/1964). Cooley (1902/1964) theorised that people's self-concept is formed from one's direct contemplation of personal qualities and the *imagined* perceptions and judgements of others, thus, social interactions act as a type of *"mirror"*. From this view, Eve plays an active role in shaping how others perceive, judge, and feel about her by cleaning the room in preparation *for* visitors. Displaying a competent presentation of self contributes to *"a nice feeling"*, a positive sense of being, *pride,* and wellbeing (Cooley, 1902/1964). This highlights how the act of cleaning for Eve (and other female participants) was not simply a chore to be done, but rather an active participation in forming, managing, and projecting a kind of positive self-image (Cooley, 1902/1964).

Participants' efforts to clean up and keep a tidy home, was presented as an intentional practice that encompassed therapeutic benefits. The result functions to induce feelings of joy, satisfaction, comfort, and safety. Eve elaborates:

*Yeah, like if it's all messy and it's cluttered and like there's a lot going on, then I know I've had a busy week or a busy few days. I think that's sort of why spring cleaning is so good even if it's not in spring. Because you just wipe everything down and get rid of the dust and get rid of all those old receipts and stuff. Yeah, it's quite cleansing… Clean clutter-free environment… But yeah, the environment I guess, it makes you feel better when you're in a clean environment and it feels safe when it's your own environment. Yeah, just comfort, yeah.*

Eve's (and other participants') accounts suggest that cleaning is a symbolic act that is reflective of their wellbeing. Sometimes cleaning up is 'simple' and sometimes people do not clean up and the mind remains in chaos. Similarly, Tessa suggests a clean room symbolises a *"good mind space".* A messy room symbolises *"a messy mind"* that can be remedied by the meditative act of cleaning up, anchoring her to the present moment. The act implies that the result is an 'uncluttered/organised' mind and contributes to their sense of wellbeing. A seemingly mundane and insignificant practice of cleaning or tidying up the home was immediately memorable to Tessa, Eve, Kate, and Amelia.[6] Tessa said, *"I just realised that its small things in my every day… which will determine how, you know, I will function".* Consciously recognising and appreciating simple acts contribute to participants' wellbeing.

Underlying the notion of home, participants actively created a subjective sense of *being* at home, which connotes Giddens' (1984/1991) 'ontological security'. This concept refers to a stable sense of self, grounded in a degree of certainty and continuity in one's life. Giddens argues that feeling secure in the self stems from a sense of belonging, order, predictability, stability, and routine that, combined, give life meaning. Routine is a prominent form of day-to-day (social) activity, which is psychologically linked to minimising

---

[6] While not explicit in her accounts, a follow-up with Amelia confirmed she highly values a clean and tidy space and spring-cleaning offered Amelia a cleansing feeling.

unconscious sources of anxiety (Giddens, 1984/1991). Beyond symbolic acts such as cleaning, tidying up, or decorating, participants 'organise the mind' and make/use to-do-lists or a weekly planner, which offered feelings of safety, security, and comfort (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Stats NZ, 2009). For example, the act of writing a to-do-list (Figure 2: photo 2) contributes to Amelia's wellbeing, as she transfers the burden of chores from mind to paper, relieving the weight of remembering and gaining a sense of achievement when tasks are completed and ticked off the list. Serving a functional role, the planner helps Amelia to manage stress and anxiety by structuring her day-to-day, de-clutter the mind, feel balanced and grounded, *"feeling quite sure of myself and at ease".* Feeling at ease (comfort) and grounded (security in self) helps Amelia (and other participants) prioritise and discern what is important in life, including wellbeing.

Balance is important for wellbeing, which includes having routine but not allowing order to rule one's life. Participants voiced a certain ambivalence in their attachment to routine (Giddens, 1991). As Eve puts it, *"Sometimes structure's good, but sometimes I'm like 'oh no', a bit too much".* On occasion, participants consciously disrupt routine to experience spontaneity, mindfulness, and balance. Eve elaborates by: *"going a different way to work, or like driving a different way or using a different cup for your coffee", which* disrupts the notion of structure in everyday life. Reflecting the dynamism of wellbeing, rupturing the structures, habits, routines, and the taken-for-granted can also be beneficial. Based on the work of de Certeau (1984), Felski (2002) contends that aspects of mundane habit "may strengthen, comfort, and provide meaning" (p. 28), and breaking a habit is in and of itself, creative. In this way, disrupting routine can also be considered a form of creativity, thus suggesting a balance between stability and dynamism in wellbeing.

It is also important to point out that homemaking is personal and subjective. Creating an aesthetically pleasing or orderly home is, for some participants, less important. Larry said:

*To me, a house is just a shelter, like it's just a big hut to me; I don't get too*

*sentimental about buildings and that. To me if it is giving me shelter and I don't have*

*to maintain it much – that's perfect yeah… It just suits me you know. It might not suit*

*a lot of people, but yeah and that's what your place is for, aye? The place that you set*

*up has got to suit you, and suit your needs, and if it's doing that. It's got the tick*

*hasn't it* […] *It's just a base… Like my boy* [Larry's son] *lived here for a while and to*

*me it's a place for those young fullas[7] to spread their wings you know… That's what*

*it's for you know. That's the purpose of this place.*

Larry refers to home as a shelter: a bush hut, which offers him a secure base *to be*. He

exercises autonomy and agency through setting up his home (Figure 5: photo 1) according to

his needs and expectations, offering satisfaction and control away from the outside world's

scrutiny, acquiring a sense of ontological security (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998; Giddens, 1991;

Padgett, 2007). It can also be considered that self-expression comes secondary and having a

social home may be his pivotal home experience. Through everyday home-specific social

practices, participants created home-spaces for themselves and their loved ones, an intimate

place they shared with friends and family (Hodgetts et al., 2020). This point is crucial

because material and social hardship often precludes having friends and family over for a

visit or meal, constraining one's ability to participate as active citizens in society, thus is

detrimental to wellbeing (Stats NZ, 2020). For participants having a home that enables

participation and connection that one takes *pride* (not shame) in sharing (Cooley, 1902/1964),

is conducive to a sense of belonging and wellbeing. To this point, I have considered the ways

participants affiliate homemaking with wellbeing. Such affiliations can be cultivated through

histories of engaging with material objects, social practices, people, and places. Additionally,

---

[7] Fulla(s) in informal New Zealand language is used as a familiar term to address a young often male person.

participants' home-making practices are not restricted to the domestic dwelling, which I

discuss later. Having a range of familiar everyday spaces to dwell in is important for people's

wellbeing (Atkinson et al., 2016; Hodgetts et al., 2020). In the following section, I consider

the relationship between participants' wellbeing and the garden.


**The garden**

The domestic garden is a familiar, often overlooked and seemingly insignificant or

taken-for-granted everyday space (Bhatti et al., 2009). Yet, gardens offer places for

participants to be and to become, to grow a sense of belonging, pride, and personal wellbeing

(Hodgetts et al., 2020). Gardens are also inside/outside spaces: "a domestic exterior *and* a

private intimate place" (Bhatti et al., 2009, p. 73), which offers sensuous, embodied, and

emotional interactions (Gorman-Murray & Bissell, 2018). Gardens allow for social practices

to occur that relate to wellbeing in place (Bhatti et al., 2009), such as gardening, gathering

flowers and crops, the sharing of fresh produce, dinning outside, and communing with others.

These are key spaces for home-making (Li et al., 2010) and as a material practice of self and

place caring (Francis & Hestor, 1990).

Of course, a garden can also be a source of stress and disappointment. The garden can

become a site of chaos and frustration when weeds take over, for example, when crops fail or

ripen at the same time and require processing. Garden work can also compete with other

domestic chores to become a burden (Bhatti et al., 2009). However, participants' accounts

emphasised positive aspects of everyday encounters in the garden therefore it was considered

predominately a therapeutic space for care (Gesler, 1992). Larry's, Eve's, and Amelia's

accounts engage with gardening as a therapeutic activity by actively connecting with and to

nature, self, and others, and at the same time cultivating landscapes of care (Gesler, 2003).

Gardening evokes connectedness with nature and something beyond the immediate human experience, which may be important spiritual dimensions of wellbeing (Heliker et al., 2001; Unruh & Hutchinson, 2011). In discussing the link between the garden and wellbeing, Amelia said, "*I just love being in nature. I feel, like it's very important for me, it grounds me and connects me to mother earth".* The tactile experience of working the soil can help people feel connected and grounded (Unruh & Hutchinson, 2011).

While 'doing-gardening' is a physical experience that people may find pleasurable, painful, or both (Bhatti et al., 2009), participants' accounts expressed 'doing-gardening' as pleasurable. As Larry states: *"[I] love my garden and just get out there as much as I can"* (Figure 5: photos 3). Gardening for participants encompasses a range of basic activities, which includes sowing seeds, propagating, weeding, and planting. Not only can these activities be methodical and therapeutic in and of itself, but watching the plants take root and mature is satisfying. Eve said:

> *The gardens were just* [about] *watching them [vegetables] grow. Um, taking that time to nurture them or just enjoy that time that it takes to grow something … I can't wait to eat them when they're ready [laughter]. That* [see Figure 3: photos 4-7] *is also to do with eating, I guess, and nurturing your body.*

Participants enjoyed nurturing the plants and growing food. In 'doing-gardening', an emotional response arises as these gardeners nurture, grow, and care for the garden, self, and others, termed multidimensional 'cultivation' (Casey, 1993). Caring for the garden implicates a relationality and interconnectedness that involves caring for the self and others, often in the context of home-making (Bhatti et al., 2009).

Larry and Amelia also elaborate on the importance of growing and eating healthy food for their physical wellbeing, which is connected to mental and emotional wellbeing:

>*A lot of those* [Figure 2: photos 5-6] *are for food, so growing our own food is really*
>
>*important* [to wellbeing] … *Because if you grow your own food you know where it*
>
>*comes from, you know what's sprayed on it… I think it's just a healthier way to eat*
>
>*and it's a really nice feeling being able to be so self-sufficient with stuff like that* […]
>
>*Obviously eating healthy is a massive part* [of wellbeing and] *fitness is a massive part*
>
>[of wellbeing]*… you know your body is your temple right, so for me to feel*
>
>[physically] *well, is a massive thing for me, and whether that's through food or just*
>
>*feeling strong and energised. I'm very sensitive, so as soon as I don't feel well*
>
>*physically, my emotional wellbeing drops with it instantly* […] – Amelia.

Amelia recognised an opportunity to improve nutrition and fitness by way of gardening, which is a more affordable way of adopting a healthy lifestyle. Research on community and allotment gardens found that gardening provided mental and physical wellbeing benefits through restoration and relaxation, access to nutritious food and opportunities for participation in exercise and leisure (Booth et al., 2018; Kingsley et al., 2009; Wakefield et al., 2007). For Amelia, Eve, and Larry, a discernment for healthy and organic food, an awareness of where food comes from, and the satisfaction of harvesting and contributing to self-sufficiency, aligned with the therapeutic and restorative benefits of connecting with the garden (Heliker et al., 2001; Pere, 1982). Gardening has beneficial impacts on active lifestyles, mental and emotional wellbeing (Brindley et al., 2018; de Bell et al., 2020; Soga et al., 2017) and promotes social interaction particularly if they evoke enjoyment and pleasure (Unruh & Hutchinson, 2011; Van Den Berg & Custers, 2011).

Through gardening, participants also connected and bonded with their partners and family members (both past and present). As Bhatti and colleagues (2009) write, the domestic garden is a place that reverberates in time, place, and memory. As such, feeling connected with the garden for some participants is about connecting with or re-membering previous

interpersonal relations set in gardens. For example, Eve reflected on her childhood memories of gardening with her mother. In doing so, she brings past engagements with her mother into the present moment in enacting the material and social act of gardening giving her a sense of familiarity, joy, curiosity, and pride. Through the agentic act of gardening, memories evoke connections with present and past loved ones.

The garden offered opportunities for participants to create and transform a space to mark it as their own place. However, Amelia's enjoyment of gardening derives from negotiating and sharing the space with her partner, thus connecting, and strengthening bonds:

> *Those ones* [Figure 2: photo 5] *are* [the] *planting* [of] *trees. That's, you know, building our future. Which is just really fun … and navigating where everything goes. And that's just awesome […] Yeah, it's really, really, nice and fun to do things with my partner and enjoy our time together. Like, we work as a team really well so when we strategise together and stuff it's just another connection for us… We love doing things together like that.*

The garden and gardening enabled Amelia to practice home-making through the acts of planning and planting trees for her family's future. By strategising and planning the garden's spatial order and enjoying leisure together, Amelia and her partner create a shared space of wellbeing. This textures the garden as a communal space for inclusion and strengthening a sense of togetherness; a tripartite of self, partner, and nature, enhancing wellbeing. Forging connections and collaboratively working towards a common purpose affords shared wellbeing and social cohesion (White, 2015).

The garden also offers opportunities to include others in the communal process through the sharing of food. Instances in which participants use the garden as a space of care through the use of everyday objects and practices, highlight the conscious ways participants

make effort to give, and connect with others. Below Larry offers an exemplar of hosting

barbeques (BBQs):

> *It's quite cool you know like, sometimes I've had a BBQ here. And I've had you know,*
> *my own mutton* [sheep meat]. *We've cooked up spuds and corn and made a salad out*
> *of the garden, you know. Most of it's been what's grown here. It's pretty cool.*

Larry reaps the satisfaction and benefits from growing fresh vegetables and his ability to host

a BBQ to share a meal, which is the focal point of the garden and gardening. Inviting family

and friends for a meal and the act of being together is an important aspect of social life

(Griffiths & Wallace, 1998). Food is foundational for extending hospitality and embodies

connection and belonging (Hodgetts et al., 2016). Often material deprivation and food

insecurity excludes people socially and materially from full participation and inclusion in the

life of their community (Mabughi & Selim, 2006). From this view, Larry's participation in

the sharing of food and hosting family and friends are symbolic ways of fostering

relationships that contribute to a sense of wellbeing.

Overall, gardening is a holistic practice that can facilitate mind-body-spirit

connections (Wang & MacMillan, 2013). There is an inside-outside flow with porous

boundaries between home-making and gardening: both are agentic activities, invite creativity,

and offer space to socialise with friends and family, to share food and stories, and support.

Furthermore, personal gardens are spaces within the landscape of nature, which I discuss

next.

**Nature**

Natural landscapes offer therapeutic and wellbeing enhancing aspects (Hodgetts et al.,

2020; Holloway & Hubbard, 2013). A relational perspective on wellbeing posits that human

beings rely on nature for our very existence (Knight, 2020). There is a romanticised ideology that by spending time outdoors, by seeking remote or isolated places where people can "get away from it all", they can "attain physical, mental, and spiritual healing" (Gesler, 2003, p.8). In fact, Louv (2005) suggests that nature is "a have-to-have for physical health and cognitive functioning" (*cf.,* Robbins, 2020). However, research shows therapeutic gains are not experienced the same by everyone (e.g., Edgley et al., 2011). For many people, especially for those from lower socio-economic backgrounds living in urban areas, 'being in nature' is not a dominant feature in their lives (Knight, 2020). Moreover, wellbeing-denying and wellbeing-affirming places may co-exist, which challenges assumptions that natural landscapes are *intrinsically* therapeutic (Milligan & Bingley, 2007; Wakefield & McMullan, 2005). Nature, however, was an integral and integrated part of participants' everyday lives and engendered wellbeing. All participants consider nature as therapeutic, which is reflected in their photos and accounts.

Participants' reference to nature varied in scale and ranged from forests, bush, the river, or the ocean, to backyard gardens and potted indoor or patio plants in a domestic home, to the natural lighting or windows in a space (Finlay et al., 2015). All visited favoured settings such as the beach, parks, bush, and river. Enjoying both solitude and social experiences, nature engendered a sense of belongingness, connectedness (to self, others, and nature), curiosity, restoration, moments of mindfulness, and leisure, conducive to participants' wellbeing. A growing body of evidence supports the nature-wellbeing nexus (e.g., Kuo, 2015; Knight, 2020).

All participants engaged in regular out-of-doors activities such as walking, swimming, hiking, and gardening, which enhanced physical and mental health and general wellbeing (Lawton et al., 2017; Mayer et al., 2009). Many studies have examined the psychological health and wellbeing benefits of physical activity in nature with positive outcomes (Korpela

et al., 2014; Lawton et al., 2017; Park et al., 2010), including on eudaimonic and hedonic

wellbeing (Passmore & Howell, 2014) and enhanced caring behaviours (Weinstein et al.,

2009). Nature is recognised for its restorative benefits as a source of peace and energy (Hartig

et al., 2014; Mang & Evans, 2016), and has the capacity to offer relaxation and increase

positive emotions (Abraham et al., 2010; Hartig et al., 2014; Scannell & Gifford, 2017). Kate

speaks to these issues when discussing the pictures in Figure 1: photos 1-4:

> *I do it* [go for a walk] *as a leisurely thing. But I find that if you go down to the beach*
>
> *and you just go for a walk, you can just really relax and just put your toes in the water*
>
> *and walk around* […] *What I usually do on that walk is I'll call a member of family,*
>
> *or like one my friends or something and I'll chat on that walk and it's always really*
>
> *nice.*

The therapeutic aspect of walking stems from Kate (and other participants) enjoyment of

exercising and simply *being* in nature. In deliberating nature and its aesthetic/sensory

qualities, participants find nature relaxing, restorative, cleansing, and meditative, which has

positive wellbeing effects (see review Djernis et al., 2019), linking to sensory pleasure and

hedonic wellbeing (Kahneman et al., 1999).

Mindfulness is consciously experiencing the natural environment, it means immersion

in nature using human senses: sight, smell, touch, hearing, and taste (Knight, 2020; Kotera,

2020, Richardson & Sheffield, 2020). For example, in Japan, the practice of *shinrin-yoku*

('forest bathing' or 'taking in the forest atmosphere') and mindfully connecting with nature is

found to lower stress and improve mood (Park et al., 2010) and reduce mental health

symptoms in the short term, particularly anxiety (for review, see Kotera et al., 2020).

However, the more specific and contextualised social practices within which Kate's walk was

embedded, like calling friends or family, implies that forging and maintaining connections

was the primary intention of Kate's walking excursions, while at the same time enhancing wellbeing (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Mielewczyk & Willig, 2007; Stainton-Rogers, 2012). While activities in nature induce aspects of wellbeing that are experienced by participants as individuals, it is the social interactions that occur in space that shape it, much as space fosters a sense of connection (to nature, self, and others) and wellbeing.

In offering connection with self and one's surroundings, nature affords a sense of exploration, curiosity, and leisure. Larry participated in recreational hunting and fishing as a wellbeing-enhancing practice and an expression of his subjectivity and selfhood. Larry said:

> *I reckon* [exploration of new places] *is probably part of me. That's why I like hunting. You know, like what's around the next corner, what's over the next ridge? And mum reckons we've got gypsy* [a nomadic or free-spirited person] *in us,* [laughter]. *And I think she's right, you know, I've always loved travelling.*

For Larry (and other participants), nature is the backdrop to quench his curiosity and to discover new places and experiences. Curiosity, or the disposition to seek out novel/challenging situations and to become immersed in intriguing situations (Kashdan et al., 2004), piques Larry's interest to go deeper into the landscape, to explore what lies around the bend in the path or hidden over the ridge. Kashdan and colleagues (2004) propose that a desire for curiosity broadens the thought–action repertoire by fostering interest in novel/challenging situations and activities that can facilitate learning, competence, and self-determination (Berlyne, 1960/1967) from which enduring knowledge, meaning, and wellbeing can be derived.

Such accounts are consistent with the Broaden-and-Build Theory (Fredrickson, 2001) as discussed in Chapter One, in which the process of curiosity propels participants forward towards new horizons, opens new doors, and possibilities (broadening effect). Taking part in

growth-oriented practices promotes psychological and social resources (building effect) as routes to enhanced and sustained wellbeing (Fredrickson, 2001; Kashdan et al., 2004; Kashdan & Steger, 2007; Rose & Fincham, 2004). This links to eudaimonic aspects of wellbeing; characterised by striving to develop one's potential and an orientation of openness to the tension and excitement of life challenges and uncertainty (Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff & Singer, 1998).

The slower pace of life appeals, and the quality of time spent in nature exemplifies the connection between participants' wellbeing experiences and nature. Larry uses the quote *"stop the world and let me off"* to underscore the fast pace of life. Being in nature for some participants was about having time out and being away: a feeling that can be *objective* or *subjective*, in that, a person can be far away from a location or can let their mind surrender from everyday life and worries (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989). As Larry states, *"There's no having to be somewhere at a certain time, you know, like with us with our work and all that"*. Being outdoors allows participants to gain respite from routines and obligations of everyday life; a sense of time suspension and be absorbed somewhere relaxing; and be present with self and others. Larry repeated his appreciation for these aspects, which deepened overtime with reflective learning and growth. Larry took a photo of a boat and car (Figure 5: photo 5), which represents fishing and hunting with friends. Larry said:

> *As you get older you change. You know, you appreciate the scenery more, and just the day, the guys you're with too… I hunt with a lot of other guys and that's awesome, you know. That's a real neat day out yarning about different things and they might not necessarily be even into hunting that much but* [to] *just have that day* [together]. *Because you've always got time in the bush.*

Larry's (and other participants') account indicates a dynamism and fluidity of wellbeing as life progresses. Overtime participants acquire skills and resources to prioritise what matters in

life including their wellbeing. By embracing nature as an antidote to the routine, Larry not only enhances his own wellbeing but also fosters a connection with others and the natural world. This reflects interdependent relationships (Knight, 2020) with the self, others, and nature, and when in harmony augments wellbeing.

Being in the bush (or in nature) with others is about being in place and "being well together" (Atkinson et al., 2020, p. 1903). Participants refer to numerous positive attachments to places, drawing particular attention to positive and supportive relationships through communing, conversation, and connections forged in place. Place attachment is a multi-faceted concept that refers to the long-term (positive and negative) emotional bonds between people and significant physical places (Giuliani & Feldman, 1993); places that are understood as part of a person's selfhood (Proshansky et al., 1983). Being in nature for Larry meant to share stories and relationships with friends and family that were often deep, secure, enduring, and strong, based on caring and sharing, trust, respect, and reciprocity. Activities such as hunting, fishing, and hiking together provided a sense of shared social identity. This led to implicit unspoken understandings based on past shared experience, connection, belonging and memory-making that transcend wellbeing (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Knight, 2020).

Participants' experiences of nature, then, resembles that of domestic home spaces, with both settings cultivating a sense of togetherness, belongingness, shared memories, and self-expression (Altman, 1975; Hodgetts et al., 2020). Through strong positive emotional attachments, the boat, kayak, the bush (Larry) or the beach (Kate) were considered settings for positive social experiences, and spaces to be well (Di Masso et al., 2017). Termed "secondary home spaces" (Hodgetts et al., 2020, p. 148), in these settings participants combine place-making, emotional and social support, and create a *personal* and *subjective* 'home-like' atmosphere (Bell, 2018). By regularly engaging in recreational activities in public spaces, participants make a secondary home for themselves, affording connection,

history, a sense of 'inside-ness' (Ratcliffe & Korpela, 2016; Toolis, 2017), and inclusion (Cross, 2015). This illustrates the multilocality of a 'sense of home' (Gorman-Murray, 2018), but also that positive place attachments serve a crucial and enduring function in maintaining psychological and physical wellness (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

In summary, participants' accounts point to the social, cultural, and embodied contexts that can contribute to people's intrinsic relationships with nature. Such experiences encompass curiosity, leisure, and opportunities to connect with others through shared activities to cultivate joint memories, a sense of togetherness and cooperation. In short, nature is a therapeutic environment. To this point, I discussed place-specific aspects conducive to wellbeing, with underlying and overlapping dimensions relating to relational aspects of wellbeing, which I unpack further.

**Relational aspects of wellbeing**

Wellbeing, participants suggested, is inherently relational and positive relationships enhance their wellbeing (Jones, 2020). This final section explores the ways in which people or social ties can be an asset or a liability to wellbeing. I demonstrate how participants' wellbeing is experienced within and through relationships and draw on examples to show the importance of social support, trust, reciprocity, gifting, caring, and sharing with others.

Harmonious relationships contribute to participants' wellbeing. The lives of participants occur within the complex web of relationships and social processes that produce, reproduce, and impact their wellbeing (Hodgetts et al., 2020). Yang's (2006) 'cobweb self' considers that the self is the hub of relationships (strands) that connect a person's action with the environment and beyond. Strands of the cobweb lead to different people and return to ultimately become part of one's self. Wellbeing then, is understood from a collectivist

perspective, not only as a quality of an individual but as existing in and emerging through

relationships with others (Christopher, 1999). This suggests that people affect and shape each

other. To understand people is to consider their connections, contexts, and how one strand of

the web impacts other strands (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Yang, 2006).

The impression that wellbeing can be transferred or gifted to people, just as it can be

taken away, was implicitly and explicitly conveyed throughout participants' accounts.

Participants described how people have (un)intentionally implicated their wellbeing, as

*"giving them all my compassion and then I'm empty"* (Amelia); or by describing people as

*"energy vampires"*[8] (Eve); or *"infectious"* as Tessa suggests:

> *I think people can be quite infectious. So, like…if you're quite empathetic you can*
>
> *pick up on their energy and you can leave with their energy, or their wellbeing.*

Tessa notes that the consequences of social interactions can result in the spread or transfer of

energy or (un)wellness, particularly for people with great empathy and their ability to think of

others and place themselves in another person's position (Hodges & Biswas-Diener, 2007).

All webs (people) in one's lifeworld are implicated by another (Yang, 2006) rendering the

cobweb fragile and vulnerable, for example, a/an (un)healthy relationship can impact the

whole network. This suggests that relational resources are fragile, as in the case of reciprocity

(Nussbaum, 2001). While relationships are an asset, they can also be a liability. Larry speaks

to the former:

> *Yeah, I reckon that social thing is so big, it's huge, It's everything really. It's more*
>
> *important than how intelligent you are, how good you are at sport. It's a combination*

---

[8] Energy vampires is a reference to people who intentionally or unintentionally drain another person's emotional energy.

*of everything. Obviously, it's great if you've got those other things too, but without*

*that social side of it, um, you're probably going to struggle* [in life] *I reckon.*

Larry emphasises that getting along with people and forging reciprocal relationships is

fundamental to his wellbeing (Briggs, 1998). Such proposition can be broadly linked to leftist

political tones of social Darwinism, where Darwin's theory maintains that species who

cooperate thrive (Shermer, 2002). Participants prioritise bonding relationships that help them

to not only 'get by' in daily life (Briggs, 1998), but also support one another in wellness

enhancing ways. Human connections and cooperation participants argue, is central to being

human and being well.

Trusting in others can be considered the deepest underlying element of basic human

security. Giddens (1991) argues that obtaining this trust is "necessary in order for a person to

maintain a sense of psychological well-being and avoid existential anxiety" (p. 37). As

mentioned above, for close relationships the idea of "thick" trust holds more weight such as

with family, friends, or spouses (Leonard & Onyx, 2003, p. 193). As Tessa states: "*I find only*

*particular people can trigger it* [(un)wellness], *like not everyone can trigger it* […] *It's as*

*almost someone that you put trust and faith into".* Moreover, ontological security can be

gained through the process of communing and trusting, because people become/are a part of a

group (Giddens, 1991). A lack of trust then implicates a person's sense of safety, belonging

and wellbeing.

Reciprocity and prosocial acts are essential in fostering harmony and care between

beings (Nussbaum, 2001), which includes thinking about and doing things for others (Yang,

2006). Reciprocity in relation to wellbeing is another way to resource human connectedness

and is considered good for the individual and society at large (Nussbaum, 2001). It

strengthens relationships, increases trust, and expands social capital (Törrönen et al., 2017).

Participants' accounts highlighted the relational aspects of wellbeing through the symbolic

acts of gift-giving and -receiving, which linked to feelings of love, connection, and belonging. Eve photographed a jar of pickled beetroots gifted by a family member (Figure 3: photo 3); an object that evoked memories and in storying, Eve weaves relationships across various contexts of the home, garden, and nature:

> *Well, the thought of the wellbeing in that photo… It's beetroot from my partner's dad's garden, so yeah. And Ayla* [Eve's partner] *pickled that beetroot, so it's in the cupboard for a week's time. So, there was so much love that went into that: it got grown by my partner's dad, um, Ayla put work into it by pickling it, and I just really liked the colours and the textures of that picture, so I took a photo of it.*

Eve's beetroot story highlights the symbolic weight behind tangible objects in participants' accounts, reflecting the relationality of wellbeing. The beetroot, received as a gift and imbued with positive emotional attachments and memories, turned into a memory object over time (Marschall, 2019). Based on Marschall's (2019) concept of a 'memory object', the agentic qualities of objects such as the beetroot elicits deliberate or involuntary memories of important places, social relations, and episodes in one's past, thus, activating emotions, re(actions), and social practices (Harrington-Watt, 2014). As such, the beetroot becomes more than an object of gift exchange. Emblematic of Eve's conception of wellbeing, the beetroot as agentic activates Eve in re-membering her partner's dad's garden, and the time and care taken by her partner to pickle the beetroot at home. The beetroot is also symbolic of the different dimensions and qualities of wellbeing and the social/cultural ground, much as it is a symbol of care and community, of love, selfhood, nourishment, and belonging (White, 2010). Viewed in this way, food (beetroot) emerges as an object of care (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017) that foregrounds the divergence between 'objective' and 'subjective', material and relational, and simple binaries begin to dissolve (White, 2015).

A focus on materiality and gifting directs attention to the effects of social processes, structure, and of place (White, 2015). Material hardship and precarity often exclude opportunities of gift giving to friends or family, thus constraining an ability to participate, which is detrimental to wellbeing (StatsNZ, 2019). From this orientation, participants' ability to give gifts in its various forms is storied as conducive to wellbeing. For Tessa, wellbeing is derived from her ability to give to others:

> *Well, I have the opportunity to do what I want to do, I guess I haven't had that before* [on minimum wage], *so it's nice to be able to do something and still have money left at the end of it. f I want to buy a friend coffee, I can buy a friend coffee, and I feel good being able to do things for others, so, yeah. Yeah, it's the give and take.*

This small act of paying for a coffee evoked joyfulness but also reflects exclusion in the past. Tessa (and other participants) emphasised the reciprocal nature of relationships: *"the give and take",* and gift-giving reflects that and is a natural aspect of social practices (as in Chapter Two; Hodgetts et al., 2014). Drawing on Mauss' (1923/1990) work, gift exchanges are given without explicit agreement for (immediate or future) rewards, but reciprocity and social norms govern the process. In a commercialised world, the idea of strengthening social bonds through giving and reciprocity increases their social capital and strengthens people's social networks. Reciprocation then, is both a social obligation and is beneficial to wellbeing.

Also contributing to social connectedness and wellbeing is the sharing of experiences through the gift of leisure. Sharing tends to be a communal act that links us to other people (Belk, 2010). For Larry, the social dimension of wellbeing stems from an enjoyment of communing in outdoor activities with others, which leads to shared history, memories, and importantly, resources. While leisure activities provide Larry with pleasure or what he terms *"a buzz"*, he delights in his capacity to gift leisure experiences such as hunting and fishing to

others (e.g., family, friends, and colleagues). Simply put, *"Ahh it's good fun, it's good seeing other people get a buzz out of it"* (Larry). Meaningful opportunities to commune in a leisurely way where social bonds are formed and sustained, can be conducive to wellbeing. As social beings, participants thrived on engagements with others and experienced a sense of wellbeing (Hogg, 1992), and activities tended to be more satisfying when shared with others (Kahneman & Krueger, 2006). Contributing to wellbeing, sharing is a powerful way in which people connect, create feelings of solidarity and bond (Belk, 2010).

Overall, participants commune, share, and gift to others and gain a sense of 'we-ness': a sense of belonging and community, and moments of wellbeing. In fact, solid and meaningful social networks are more closely linked to lower mortality than numerous lifestyle behaviours such as eating well and exercising (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Holt-Lunstad & Smith, 2012). Conscious and active relationship building is woven into the wellbeing experiences and everyday practices of participants, which strengthens selfhood, and contributes to others' wellbeing. This is further reflected in indigenous models of health and wellbeing outlined in Chapter One, and illustrate how each person's health is tied to the health of others (Durie, 2011), thus individual wellbeing and a healthy and well society interlink. Within a broader context of social support, and the sharing of resources a well society means communitarian actions and collective conducts such as the LW.

**Chapter discussion**

This chapter has explored the diverse and dynamic ways in which participants created a sense of place within which to experience *being* well. Key locales included the home, the garden, and natural landscapes, which take shape as therapeutic spaces for care (Gesler, 2003) through participants' agentive interactions with material objects, practices, and relationships. A focus on wellbeing as fundamentally relational, demonstrated that the self

exists in and through relationships. People actively and consciously enact simple wellbeing-enhancing practices that strengthen their selfhood and relationships with others. They spread wellbeing because they are well.

As such, the creation of therapeutic landscapes of wellness extends beyond a physical place, to include relationships, social practices, and material aspects. In the home, for example, participants drew on their repertoire of wellbeing-enhancing social practices to create feelings of security, structure, routine, and a sense of 'home' (Giddens, 1991). Taken-for-granted actions such as cleaning or redressing a room acquired therapeutic qualities through participants' use of mindfulness, 're-membering', or to create an aesthetically pleasing space. More importantly, participants' acts were presented as an active participation in forming, managing, and displaying a positive and competent self-image (Cooley, 1902/1964), which suggests that the way people perceive and treat each other impacts their wellbeing. The multilocality of 'home' was evident across different settings including the bush and the beach, where participants shared social identities, formed place-based identities and positive attachments.

Social practices do not restrict people to the here and now. Participants connected with memories through their interactions and associations with objects, people, and places, which conjured up feelings of wellbeing. The therapeutic garden space for example, comprised more than a simple place to garden. Gardening activated a space for re-membering, reconnecting with nature and others and gaining respite from the stressors of life. In the example of the beetroot as a condensed symbol of community, wellbeing can be gifted and shared with others. This shows that our very being is not independent but in fact, dependent on others, and as such people can either enable or hinder wellbeing; we can make each other sick, just as we can make each other well.

In the next chapter, I continue the analysis by documenting how research participants talked about their wellbeing experiences in the context of a LW, and what it offers in terms of their everyday lives. The effects of a LW on participants' wellbeing was clearly storied as being contingent on different circumstances. These broadly relate to the SDH (see Chapter One) and relate to the conditions in which living takes *place,* the broader structures and systems shaping these conditions, and their impacts on people's health and wellbeing (Menatti & Casado da Rocha, 2016; WHO, 2012). I focus on work and income, which centrally implicate material living conditions and social civic participation.

**Chapter Four: The Relationship between Wellbeing and the Living Wage**

*I guess my* [wellbeing] *is more, well it's everything. I just can't connect it to one thing.*

- Eve

Eve suggests that wellbeing is inextricably *connected* with everything, which epitomises the analysis of participants' accounts. Wellbeing comprises many components and participants discuss its contextual, complex, and dynamic nature: "the effects of relational and situated assemblage" (Atkinson, 2013, p. 137; Kesby, 2007). That is, everything relates to everything and is defined by its relation to everything else (Goldstein, 2021). Within social psychology scholarship, *meaning* can be generally defined as 'relation' (Maher et al., 2019) and connections between the self (e.g., selves, thoughts, emotions, behaviours, and memories) and objects, people, places, and environments (Heidegger, 1953/1996; Heine et al., 2006; Maher et al., 2019). Likewise, Yang's (2006 ) notion of the 'cobweb self' is to situate the self in the "centre of bundle of relationships that link a person's action with the environment and beyond" (p. 34). This metaphorical understanding allows for the consideration that people, places, practices, and material objects affect and shape each other. Income (a LW in this context) is one, among many, crucial dimensions that can both enhance and constrain a person's ability to be well. Exploring the relationship between the LW and wellbeing requires understanding participants' contexts of earning and using a LW in everyday life. Such understandings offer insight into the potential impacts of a LW on wellbeing.

The lived experience of work, income and other aspects related to these domains is important and demonstrates that wellness extends beyond personal life, leisure, and recreation. Manifested in these contexts, participants' accounts showed support for and undermining of, the LW, which was both overt as well as more subtle. Overall, a LW *can* increase social participation, leisure activities, help pay off debt, or save money for holidays,

or unexpected expenses. These features are conducive to wellbeing for participants in ways not previously documented in research.

By way of chapter outline, I present an initial account of the relationship between wellbeing and work, which includes considerations beyond pay. I focus on job characteristics and discuss the psychosocial benefits derived from employment, the various associated (in)securities, and job attitudes including job satisfaction and work-life (im)balance. Next, I explore contextual factors in relation to material conditions and highlight the ambivalence in the way participants perceived a LW value, contingent on residential location, household composition, resources, and personal needs. I demonstrate how participants draw on communal and social resources and often experience wellbeing through conscious decision-making and personal agency (e.g., skills and adaptive capacity) by making trade-offs between necessities when faced with insecurities. Finally, I show the complexities surrounding the LW when considering meaningful social participation in society.

**Wellbeing and work**

Work is generally understood as central to how people make a living, and is also essential for happiness, fulfilment, satisfaction, and the shaping of selfhood (Standing, 2011a). Most jobs, however, fall short of these ideal expectations (Standing, 2011a). Not all jobs are equal in the extent to which they enhance wellbeing as addressed by Warr's (1987/2007) vitamin model; or provide a reasonable standard of living. Warr's model draws on work by Jahoda (1982) among others, and suggests that job characteristics can shape wellbeing in similar ways to how vitamins can influence one's physical health, though only to a certain level. In this sense, certain job characteristics share a curvilinear pattern with happiness and mental health and can both enhance and constrain wellbeing (Warr,

1987/2007). This section documents how job characteristics influenced wellbeing in participants' everyday lives and how they manage nuances.

For all five research participants, work was not simply storied as a job. Work was constructed as a core part of their lives that was characterised by various complexities and situational considerations that can hinder and benefit their sense of wellbeing, both psychologically and materially. As mentioned in Chapter One, psychosocial benefits are derived from employment including latent functions such as time structuring (Jahoda, 1982). For example, Kate creatively pictures her work (see Figure 1: photo 8) to illustrate her morning routine:

> *What we do every morning is go to work and read the paper.* [Figure 1: photo 8] *was just* [about] *coming in on a Friday, you read the paper, you go down and get coffee and it just starts you off. I really wanted to include my work in here, because of how important it is to me.*

The structure of work offers a sense of order and routine (Jahoda, 1982), and allows people to exercise agency in managing their day. Kate reiterates, *"That's what I mean by my workdays being really organised and things like that… so I become very, not stressed, but uneasy if I have to rush".* Routine is agentic in that people can cultivate ways to regulate themselves in and around work. As a way to minimise stress and anxiety, Kate's work gives her structure, stability, and familiarity (Hodgetts et al., 2008). Routine anchors her daily life, which transcends the workplace to the home, establishing the flow of her life.

According to Maher and colleagues (2019), these work-based structuring characteristics can provide meaning to participants through routine and familiarity (Maher et al., 2019). Participants' repeatedly presented work as a source of purpose, meaning, and contribution to society (Dik et al., 2008; Hodgetts et al., 2020), which are factors they

identified as conducive to wellbeing. Participants even used the term *"love"* to invoke the significance and the meaning of work to wellbeing. Larry said, *"I've got a good job now, I love going to work every day, and it's good* [for me], *you know?"* Similarly, Tessa revealed:

> *I've always kind of had this idea that if you don't love what you do* [for a job], *then what's the point doing it?* […] *Yeah, I love my facilitation role. I really want to progress with that* […] *We go in and we teach kids about consent, and sexuality, and sort of create a space where they can ask any questions.*

Based on Frankl' (1946) work, the quest for meaning in life is considered an innate human motivation and experiencing work as meaningful leads to experiencing life as meaningful (Steger & Dik, 2009). Participants were well aware that meaningful work provided a psychological sense of wellbeing, which also leads to higher levels of work engagement and enthusiasm (Schaufeli et al., 2010; Wrzesniewski et al., 1997), organisational commitment (Tyler & Blader, 2003), and job and life satisfaction (Carr et al., 2019; Judge et al., 2010). Purposeful and meaningful work contributes to a greater cause, connectedness and fulfilment, which is further enhanced when work and personal values are congruent (Jones & Griep, 2018). Kate describes this as:

> *…Definitely meaningful. Yeah. I tend to compare myself sometimes. For example, my flatmate is an electrician, and he makes double what I do. But he goes to work most days and comes home, and I'm just like, 'Oh, how's your day?' He's like, 'Fine. How was yours?'* […]. *Of course, I still have bad days, but I would have helped someone like either grieve or like, raise money or, you know, take a jab at Council or something. You're always helping someone* [laughter]. *It does really give you a purpose* […] *It's my drive ... It's just I'm so proud of what I do, and I love what I do. I do it for a reason, and that's to help people. Um, and that's why I love my job.*

Participants employed in helping professions derive a great sense of satisfaction; Kate attains intrinsic benefits from her work that impacts the lives of others (Hackman & Oldham, 1976). Meaningful work then affects all aspects of one's life. Kate compares her work with that of her housemate, reinforcing the link between work and enhanced wellbeing, selfhood, and social status. Whilst wages are often taken as a symbol of social status (Barsky & Kaplan, 2007) and recognised as an achievement by others (Carr, 2004; Jahoda, 1982), this demonstrates how people may rationalise a lower income for an increase in job satisfaction. Without a decent pay the intrinsic benefits of the job itself are only placeholders, and wage inequity might eventually boil over (Carr et al., 2021). For participants, a LW was considered *"reasonable"* (Larry) or *"a good wage"* (Eve), thus earning a societally meaningful 'living' wage becomes a source of self-endorsement in and of itself (Folger, 1994; Konopaske & Werner, 2002). Maslow (1987/1953) proposes that people have basic needs for social acceptance and status, including the desire for reputation or respect by others. Further, self-esteem is enhanced by forging relationships through work and their own positioning in relation to others.

In addition, work provided an opportunity to extend one's social network, crucial to wellbeing (Jahoda, 1982). To the extent that Eve expressed previous work relationships as comparable to family: *"I just loved it* [work]. *The owners were amazing and I'm so grateful to them. They were just like family"*. Amelia noted professional relationships as beneficial and described how she used to go around farms in her role: "*All the farmers were super friendly and stuff, so the working conditions were actually really good"*. While the work itself was initially low-wage work (MW to LW), Amelia experienced positive social contact, despite low compensation and sometimes challenging working conditions (Boyd, 2014).

Despite job insecurity, Kate worked with *"an amazing team"* and these positive relationships contributed to her wellbeing. Kate notes there is "*always a lot of talk around*

*redundancies within this business"* and feelings of insecurity became routine, constant, and familiar with the realisation that existing supportive relationships can be lost with redundancy. Kate said:

> *Oh, there are definitely insecurities, but they're always there, so you almost learn not to worry about them. I mean, I have that attitude with a lot of things anyway, like don't worry about it until you have to. Um, you know, it's always there [...] But I mean, it doesn't affect you too much because you get used to it. And you know that working in the team that you do have is an amazing team. You just know that maybe you won't always be in that team.*

Kate offsets the threat of job loss with an optimistic attitude, positive social relationships, and acceptance that some things are beyond her control. Research indicates the threat of redundancy may produce insecurity and strain due to potential loss of income, social contact, opportunities for time structure, personal development (De Witte, 1999), and meaning (Hogg, 2007). Expected unemployment (job insecurity) has potential to be as distressing as actual unemployment, which is detrimental to the economic and psychosocial wellbeing of workers (Sjöberg, 2010; Vulkan, 2012). Research also suggests that job insecurity is negatively associated with job satisfaction, work behaviours and emotions (work motivation) (Reisel et al., 2010; Sverke et al., 2002). However, as Kate and other participants suggested, workplace relationships and social support can act as buffers against the strain of job demands or stressful events, and can enhance positive affect (Terry et al., 1993). A positive and supportive work team offers a sense of belonging, which is a core human need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1987).

Moreover, workplace insecurities and uncertainties through unpredictable and irregular working hours were experienced as counterproductive to routine, structure, and financial security, which induced uncertainty, stress, and anxiety. Amelia said:

> *Oh yeah, that was the most difficult part of it, was being allocated jobs per fortnight,*
>
> *so then, you didn't know if you were going to have a busy week or a quiet week.*

In a later passage, Amelia repeats, *"really, really long hours"*. Long, unsocial hours and being on standby reflected in Amelia's seasonal work removed routine and structure (Standing, 2011b) and entailed irregular income.

Fluctuating hours and constant expectations to work additional hours often left Eve feeling overwhelmed:

> *I just don't work well working for other people. I look back at it now. Only if I choose*
>
> *to and for like certain periods of time during the week, yeah. But the more you say yes*
>
> *to things - and I'm quite good/bad at saying "Yes", all the time, the more they push*
>
> *and the more they expect. Um, and the more bogged down I get. So, I was a slave to*
>
> *the hours and the money* [LW]… *I don't know if they meant to* [take advantage of my
>
> nature of saying, yes], *but it's just hospitality; hospitality is when it's busy – it's busy,*
>
> *and you're just expected to work and that's just the life of hospitality. But it was also*
>
> *my choice to let that happen. It wasn't necessarily them doing it intentionally.*

Eve voices a sense of enslavement to work and money. While Eve acknowledges personal responsibility, there is tension in her sense-making: Eve considers returning to work subject to working hours under her terms and conditions, which suggests she seeks a sense of autonomy and agency over her employment situation. The need for autonomy includes 'job crafting', in which employees can alter aspects of their work to cultivate more meaningful experiences (Berg et al., 2013; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). This was particularly prominent in Larry's account as exemplified below:

> *I'm happy with the job that I'm doing* […]. *I said, "I've got no ambition to sit in that*
>
> *office all day in front of that* [computer] *screen, tapping buttons you know?" That's*

> *how you make more money* […]. *All I want to do is make my living and a little bit of*
>
> *exercise and enjoy my job and I've cracked it* [...]. *Yesterday I was on a six hour walk*
>
> *you know, so I'm lucky I love it. Everyone moans, you know, but I love it* […]. *I*
>
> *reckon I've got one of the best jobs there actually. I'm pretty much my own boss*
>
> *really. Like I get told what to do, but then I go out and do it on my own.* – Larry

Larry suggested that he *"cracked it",* hinting at a life-work-income balance that offers him
the desired and important work autonomy, which is more important to him than a higher
wage. Larry acts as an agent and in crafting his job he modifies the types of tasks performed
at work to suit his needs and wellbeing (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Here, Larry is
willing to accept less money, for a job that has other wellbeing increasing attributes,
including the opportunity to exercise rather than sit in an office. To varying degrees, both
Eve' and Larry's accounts demonstrate that job characteristics play a crucial role in
influencing wellbeing beyond pay. This indicates that a LW for participants is just one
component of how a job may (or may not) increase wellbeing.

Relatedly, working more hours and increased earnings does not necessarily increase
wellbeing, as evident in Eve's account:

> *…I was working six days a week and I was on a good wage* [$21.15 per hour], *so I*
>
> *survived and had money to spend freely. But my mental state wasn't as well because I*
>
> *was working so much* […]. *I didn't have that much time off. I was so used to "go, go,*
>
> *go, go, go" all the time. I resigned and went to Rarotonga for two weeks, and* […] *it*
>
> *took me about three days to get into the state of mind of holiday mode.*

Eve's account suggests a sense of surviving rather than thriving, despite earning *"a good*
*wage",* which enabled her to spend money freely. This demonstrates how the common idea
that a higher income equates to enhanced wellbeing is overly simplistic. Other characteristics

such as the nature of the tasks or work-life balances may in fact have an equally significant impact on wellbeing at work (Warren, 2015) and quality of life (see Carr et al., 2019). Work–life balance (WLB) typically refers to a person's perception that work and non-work roles are compatible and are managed according to personal values, goals, and aspirations (Casper et al., 2018; Haar et al., 2014). Better WLB can foster work performance, job and life satisfaction and reduce stress-related outcomes (Sirgy & Lee, 2018). Earning money without having time to enjoy it can invoke stress and overshadow what is considered good pay.

Moreover, participants experience tensions between their attempts to keep home and work life separate when these often crossover and overlap. Overlapping boundaries is common where work can encroach on domestic life, and similarly, personal life spills over into the workplace. Kate said:

> […] *I tend to be okay at leaving work at work and having a personal life separate. But there are times where you just can't help it, and you feel like it just carries through. But I do try to keep them separate. Like if I've had a shit day at work, I try not to take it home* […]. *If I'm worried about something or something went wrong at work, and I go home and I keep thinking about it, I just drive myself insane. So, I try to go, "look, worry about it tomorrow when you go into the office, have your own time at home".*

Kate consciously sets boundaries to establish a sense of separation between work and home life, however, acknowledges that there is often spill-over between work and home (Haar et al., 2014) and overall quality of life (Carr et al., 2016). It follows that work characteristics and experiences can traverse across domains (Haar et al., 2014). Sometimes this overlap can lead to better organisation, but it can also be a source of tension.

In summary, the links between wellbeing and work are contingent on job characteristics that extend beyond pay. Revealed in some participants' accounts was a sense that pay was good for the work they performed. As I have argued elsewhere, the LW, in theory, is an empirically determined value, where wages cover not only the quality of work life but also quality of living (Carr et al., 2019), and thus wellbeing (Yao et al., 2017). Subsequently, work and wages contribute to material living conditions, referring to individual standards of living as expressed through income and consumption, which I discuss next.

## Material living conditions

Participants' experiences of wellbeing and the LW are also influenced by social and material contexts outside the labour environment. That is, having enough material and social resources derived from employment and income to sustain a decent standard of living. This includes paying for accommodation, groceries, heating, other bills, clothing and shoes, replacing broken appliances, and visiting the doctor when required (Marmot, 2002). It also includes a person's ability to participate socially, foster a hobby, engage in leisure activity, have friends and family over for a meal, and buy presents (Marmot, 2002). Adam Smith (1776/2012) termed this 'sustainability' and argued the importance of the LW as an enabler (Searle & McWha-Hermann, 2020). This section focuses on the link between participants' wellbeing and the LW manifested in material living conditions and people's consumption possibilities. I illustrate participants' resourcefulness, agency, and resilience, all of which were enabled by the LW in conjunction with social support.

Participants assessed the LW as "*reasonable*" (Larry), *"a fair wage",* and enabled *"fairly comfortable"* (Amelia) or *"comfortable"* (Eve) living conditions. However, in some instances, the LW did not cover participants' living costs and was considered

*"unsustainable"* (Amelia and Eve)*.* Reasons for this are diverse, but primarily related to participants' residential location, household composition (e.g., number of earners and financial resources), and household needs. I discuss these contexts in turn.

A high cost of living, in particular accommodation, was noted by Eve and Tessa, who previously lived in Auckland. This was similar to Yao and colleagues' (2017) findings that despite earning a LW, people struggled to pay rent and cover the high cost of goods and services (e.g., groceries, public transport, and petrol). Despite Eve working multiple jobs, there was an imbalance between the cost of living and her income. Eve stated:

> *The LW up in Auckland is stressful because it's so expensive* […] *I tried to make it work* […]. *It couldn't work up there, long-term* […] *I was paying $165 here* [in Taranaki] *compared to $340 a week* [rent in Auckland]. *It became tough. Oh, it was just really hard, especially when I knew how easy it would be in Taranaki.... A lot cheaper here* [Taranaki] *than in Auckland. I feel like they* [stores in Auckland] *just put at least $2 extra on everything up there* […]. *Whenever I've been in Taranaki, I've always felt like I've been able to save; it's more simplistic, it's just easier.*

Living in Auckland became unsustainable for Eve due to ongoing strains to meet financial responsibilities (Yao et al., 2017). In considering the value of a LW based on local living costs in Taranaki, Eve enjoyed the lower cost of food, utilities, housing, and transport. Living in Auckland was considered *"stressful"* and *"so expensive",* while Taranaki was described as *"comfortable", "more simplistic",* and *"easier".* Similarly*,* Tessa elaborates on the benefits of living in central Taranaki:

> *I have lived in 9 different places* [within three years] *... Here* [Taranaki]*, I like that everything's accessible; it's all within walking distance, so I walk as much as I can or bike. Whereas in Auckland, you can't quite walk anywhere, public transport is*

*overpriced, and it's not reliable. It's nice and slower-paced here; it's not slower-*

*paced in Auckland. And I think for like the size of the room you'd be renting - I was*

*living in* [in Auckland] *I was paying the same that I am now, for like a grotty flat,*

*cold, and damp and a small room. Whereas here, it's a beautiful, warm house. Yeah,*

*different standards of living.*

Eve and Tessa both had similar experiences and compared the cost and quality of

accommodation between Auckland and Taranaki. The physical and social features of an

environment, such as a warm dwelling or the social opportunities to interact with others,

influenced participants' wellbeing (Cattell, 2012; Howden-Chapman & Tobias, 1999, 2000).

StatsNZ (2020) reported that rented homes were more likely to be older, smaller, in need of

repairs, and damp with mould than owned homes. While not unique to Auckland, poor

quality housing impacts physical and psychological wellbeing with over 50% of people

reporting these four key housing quality problems, who rated overall low life satisfaction

(StatsNZ, 2020). Two participants frequently moved in search of better accommodation; to

escape subpar housing and unaffordable rent; change their material and social environments;

and secure their basic needs to facilitate wellbeing.

It is crucial to note that livelihoods on a LW were considered more sustainable in

Taranaki than in a major conurbation (Yao et al., 2017). This suggests that a LW value in

Taranaki is not the same as a LW in Auckland and speaks to the complexities of finding the

right LW point (Yao et al., 2017).

When considering the impacts of a LW on participants' wellbeing their  household

composites and their members' income must be considered (Carr et al., 2019). Participants

lived in households of varying sizes, disposable incomes, and compositions, none of which

matched the prototype household configuration upon which the Aotearoa/NZ LW is

modelled. Notwithstanding, participants' cost of living co-varied with these considerations.

Larry lived alone in his own house with a mortgage; all other participants resided in privately rented, shared accommodation, which was considered a financially viable solution to their housing needs. Their accounts demonstrate the importance of resource-sharing arrangements on their ability to afford material costs of living, go about their daily lives, and be well. Most participants shared expenses and resources with two or more household earners. Amelia explains:

> I was able to live fairly comfortably, but I'd moved in with my boyfriend so I didn't have to pay rent […] Yeah, I could get by, but I didn't have anything left over after each week […] I didn't have to pay for rent or power, so that would have changed everything. I was able to buy, you know, healthier food - obviously healthy, especially organic foods are really expensive - and that's quite important for me… It definitely wouldn't have been sustainable on a LW. Um, just yeah, the price is too high. But, yeah, given my circumstance, it was sort of doable, yeah.

On a LW, Amelia (and other participants) often drew on communal and social resources to meet their day-to-day living costs. Amelia, who transitioned upwards from a MW to a LW, assessed her living conditions as *"fairly"* comfortable, though this was facilitated by financial support and the sharing of resources with others. Without this, she acknowledges it *"would have changed everything"*, suggesting there is tension between a LW considered sustainable or unsustainable with pay appraisal closely linked to her household composition and personal needs and wants. Amelia references the high costs of maintaining a diet of eating organic and *"healthier foods"*, which she considers essential to her wellbeing.

Hodgetts and Stolte (2017) suggest that a dominant Western worldview around the nutritional importance of particular (often costly) foods, is realisable in more affluent households where food security is taken for granted. From this perspective, Amelia avoids pesticide sprayed and non-organic food to adhere to healthy living recommendations (as

discussed in Chapter One). Importantly, Amelia's circumstance approximates a lifestyle that offers access to resources and experiences of what she terms a healthier lifestyle, which includes opportunities to participate in civic life and feeling valued. Despite sharing resources Amelia recounts having no money left over at the end of each week, indicating no provision to buffer further eventualities or save for the future (Yao et al., 2017).

Such tension between Amelia's pay appraisal and personal aspects of her everyday life becomes clearer when considering her wage history. Previously, Amelia and Larry earned higher wages. A possible explanation relates to the notion of relative deprivation that may arise when people compare their socio-economic status with their past or future status (Chen, 2015) and adjust aspirations upwards in the light of previous achievement or social comparisons with others (Clark, 2009). Where pay mobility showed a downward movement to a LW, Amelia perceived her experience as *"going backwards"*. Relative deprivation studies quantify the discontent people feel when they experience a fall in income (e.g., Burchardt, 2005). Despite earning less, Amelia maintained a similar standard of living, approximating a lifestyle of a higher wage earner, which was possible through receiving financial support from her family and partner. In this link between wellbeing and the LW revealed in material living conditions, it appears that other household incomes may matter more, not by changing a LW's actual value, but by enhancing its transformational value for wellbeing (Carr et al., 2019).

Larry recounted how financial pressure caused stress and worry, forced him to choose between life's necessities, prevented him from socialising and undermined his wellbeing (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011; Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Repaying a mortgage on a LW *"can grind you down,"* suggested Larry to the point where it impacted his wellbeing. Larry's account also reflects agency, resilience, mental and physical hardship during times of

constraint (Higate, 2000). He strategises and makes trade-offs between necessities in order to transform the situation to work best for him:

> *Financial pressure can really be hard on relationships, hard on your wellbeing. If you're worried about money all the time, it can grind you down* […] *Once I borrowed money for this* [property] […] *I was working for the* [place of work] *making a reasonable wage* [$23 per hour], *but I was still probably five grand short…So I was lucky I did a lot of extra work, you know, and I could do it* […]. *But, I was working seven days a week* […] *I remember a guy at work saying… "you want to cut that credit card in half".' I said, "that's what bought my groceries this week. I need that. It's not that I want it"* […]. *It was back when I was younger and I guess it affected my wellbeing, but I was doing it for a reason* […] *I put that pressure on myself* […] *I could've easily had lower repayments on my mortgage and had more* [money for] *myself to free things up, but I wanted to really chip away at that bloody mortgage* […], *and I owe bugger all* [now], *and so I guess that was part of the plan you know? I didn't want to hit retirement age and still have a bloody mortgage like 'phew'. That would've put pressure on things when you're older, which you don't need.*

Money worries are fundamentally relational because they enable or constrain relationships. When people struggle financially, not only does it affect the self, but it also impacts how people interact with and relate to others and society, reflecting a cobweb of self (Yang, 2006). While acknowledging that a LW may be a socially accepted and reasonable wage, Larry reports not having enough for his household needs due to prioritising higher mortgage repayments to clear the debt and an unforeseen bill is paid by credit card. However, Larry notes he was *"lucky"* because he was physically fit, able, and happy to do additional weekend work to make up for the shortfall. It is worth highlighting that precarious workers

often have little or no alternative work options (Standing, 2011b). However, all participants'

accounts indicated a sense of resourcefulness, resilience, and agency.

Significantly, Larry's example demonstrates the critical role of agency. That is, health

and wellbeing are "based on the resilience or capacity to cope and maintain and restore one's

integrity, equilibrium, and sense of wellbeing" (Huber et al., 2011, p. 2; Menatti & Casado da

Rocha, 2016). Reflecting one of many survival, adaptation, and self-management strategies

people of low incomes use (Nordenfelt, 2003) and recognising participants' ability to

exercise agency and autonomy, Larry mitigates material hardship by making strategic

decisions and difficult trade-offs between necessities for his wellbeing. Larry suggests that

the prospect of future debt is too much, thus he prioritises higher mortgage repayments to

mitigate the stress and pressure in later life. Research shows that doing without meeting

salient personal needs has a significantly adverse effect on psychological wellbeing (Marshall

et al., 2020). However, the price of mental wellbeing in later life can be affected by financial

hardship (e.g., struggling to pay bills, food insecurity and stress) and debt (e.g., credit card

debt) (Marshall et al., 2020). Scholars argue that debt impoverishes, wounds, and kills,

indicating the detrimental effects to one's wellbeing (Hodgetts et al., 2015). However, Larry

exhibits trust and awareness in his human capacity as an agent to make decisions and takes on

what he views as an 'acceptable' risk (Giddens, 1991). This allows him to feel empowered to

make decisions that minimise what he perceives as danger. As a component of wellbeing, the

experience of security usually rests upon a balance of trust and acceptable risk (Giddens,

1991). This links to broader notions of the LW to consider agency, in that the LW gives

people some extra 'wriggle room' that allows participants to make their own choices about

where to allocate their income.

In summary, this section has demonstrated the contexts, complexities, and dynamics, which influence how LW translates into lived experiences and wellbeing. Next, I will focus on the context of social participation.

**Social participation**

Up to this point, I have considered how wellbeing extends beyond simply psychology and includes materiality. People's lived experiences cannot be abstracted from the social, political, material, and economic conditions in which they live (White, 2015). While money is transactional in economic terms, it is also a relational phenomenon because it is an exchange good that enables or constrains people's social interactions with others and one's opportunities for participation in society. A LW then affords people the potential for wellbeing through relational and social participation in everyday life. This includes the participation in a range of social events.

Adopting a broader notion of a LW accepts subjective markers of social participation and wellbeing related to pay. These include participants' ability to engage in social and leisure activities. In various ways, participants talked about a LW enabling participation in particular activities beyond covering the material cost-of-living (Yao et al., 2017). At the same time, there were constraints. Kate discusses being able to save money and participate socially enabled by a LW:

> I used to put, say, $100 a week into savings [...] I think my lifestyle wasn't that
>
> different or anything like that…I didn't end up with as much build-up on my savings.
>
> So, I didn't have as much to fall on. And, what I used to do back then, too, is I had an
>
> interest rate overdraft on one of my accounts. And so, I'd fall into the red quite often.
>
> And a lot of the time it was, now I think back to it, I was playing catch up… But, my

*problem is I can't say no. So, my friends said, "you want to go have dinner?" And, I'll be like, "Yes, I'd love to". And I'd have like $50* [left for the week] *... My weakness and where most of my money probably goes is on alcohol... Yeah, more a night out* [laughter]*... So, it's generally food or social.*

Kate's example demonstrates the complexities and dynamics of the relationship between wellbeing and the LW, reflected in social participation. A LW enabled Kate to meet the day-to-day cost of living, pay off her student loan, save money, and participate in social activities and a consumer culture. In a sense, the LW offered enough of a financial safety net, where risks were manageable for people (Konigsburg, 2017). However, by prioritising savings as well as participating in social activities, Kate's funds often fell below zero and into *"the red",* a term Kate refers to as an interest rate overdraft.[9] Kate exercised agency and made contemporaneous trade-offs between remaining in *the green* (no overdraft) and participating in social activities to connect with friends, conducive to her wellbeing.

Research shows strong links between wellbeing and social connectedness (Oishi et al., 2007; Seppala, 2016; for review, see Kansky & Diener, 2017; Maccagnan et al., 2019). It can be considered that Kate's relationships with her friends bring her a source of enjoyment and support that is beneficial to her wellbeing, which overflows to society at large (Frieling et al., 2018). As seen in Chapter Three, when participants (and other people) are happy and well, they tend to connect, give, and share their wellness with others. Social connectedness is important to Kate and other participants and links to social inclusion and wellbeing (Frieling et al., 2018). As evident in Kate's account and photos (Figure 1: photos 9-10), connectedness over dinner can come at a cost and depletes the weekly budget.

---

[9] An arranged overdraft refers to an amount a bank agrees to advance after the customer has used up their funds in a particular account.

Kate's narrative exemplified neoliberal and healthist ideologies and participation in a consumer culture. A contention in Kate's (and other participants') account is that participation in a consumer culture and social practices are often pathologised and considered as a *"problem"* or *"weakness"*. Such depictions of discussing spending habits, in a sense, crystalise penal welfare narratives associated with low-income earners with poor budgeting and lacking money management (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Challenging these erroneous assumptions and narrow representations, most participants in this study showed considerable budgeting skills (Garden et al., 2014; Jackson & Graham, 2017; Rua et al., 2019).

Participants' actions at times reflected neoliberal and healthist ideologies that construct citizens as rational decision-makers and responsible for managing and improving their health and wellbeing (Atkinson, 2013). From this perspective, people should manage and control through behavioural and lifestyle changes often termed 'self-management' (Crawford, 2006). Choices function as markers of selfhood (Sointu, 2005), and through making rational choices, people should always seek to improve their health and wellbeing.

Purchasing alcohol or going out for dinner are also ways of participating in a consumer culture (Hodgetts et al., 2007), connecting with others, and gaining a sense of pleasure and belonging conducive to wellbeing. It allowed participants to exercise agency in their decision-making about meaningful participation, with a LW facilitating these decisions (Yao et al., 2017). This suggests that a LW can allow people to lead a decent life and may encourage consumption. Being able to participate in social practices makes participants feel better about themselves, feel included, and improves their relationships. In short, it is the social value of consumption that matters where a sense of joy stems from the social experience itself, and not merely in a material sense.

Leisure is another prominent component of wellbeing in participants' accounts. The ancient Greeks concept of *scholé* signifies leisure and learning, built around participation in

public life: the sphere of a citizen in a sustained way (Standing, 2011b). Importantly, leisure

is not the same as simply not participating in paid work (Standing, 2011b). Hodgetts and

Stolte (2015) propose that leisure emerges when those from less affluent groups (e.g.,

homeless) engage in practices they find valuable for their own sake, which also offers respite

from the hardships of daily life. Leisure can be understood as discretionary behaviour and

unobligated time outside of work and other responsibilities, which potentially positively

impacts physical, psychological, emotional, social, and spiritual health and wellbeing

(Mannell, 2007; Schmalz, 2018).

Leisure offers various opportunities for participants to participate in intrinsically

motivated activities that are meaningful and enjoyable to them (Mansfield et al., 2020).

Participants engaged in activities individually and with others; they were meditative and

restorative, active and passive, and revitalising and sociable (Mansfield et al., 2020; Schmalz,

2018). Such diversity endows leisure with unique functions that enable participants to be well

through experiences that match their interests, preferences, life stage, and conditions. For

example, many socio-demographic determinants shape and constrain people's access to and

experiences of places and the leisure practices that use these sites. Here, I focus on income

and the ways some participants' accounts showed that a LW increased their participation and

leisure choices. The degree to which a LW allows participants to take part in certain leisure

activities was contingent on various factors previously discussed, including working time,

material living costs and residual income, other household incomes, time, and energy.

Participants discussed consciously prioritising leisure and its significance to their positive

sense of wellbeing. For instance, Larry said:

> *Having enough money from your employment to do what you want to do on your days*
>
> *off ... That's a bloody big part of it* [wellbeing], *I reckon. Just to have a few spare*
>
> *dollars to go fishing; whatever you do in your time off* […]. *That's how I've always*

> *looked at it too. I'm happy to go and guts it out five days a week and work hard. But*
>
> *man, I want to do something on my weekend, you know? That's my time; I've worked*
>
> *for that two days […] I suppose for me it all comes back to lifestyle. And as long as*
>
> *I've got enough money to support that lifestyle, I'm pretty content, would be, probably*
>
> *a way to round it up.*

In his account and photos (Figure 5), Larry views time outside of work as *"my time",* *"weekend", "days off", "time off",* which can be described as psychological detachment creating a discrete form of restoration and leisure (Smit, 2016; Sonnentag et al., 2008). Jahoda (1981) argues that 'leisure' time is not enjoyed by those who are unemployed due to a loss of self-respect, altered sense of time, and reduced access to material means. In a way, Larry's account reflects a pragmatic attitude of 'work hard, play hard', which manifests into *earned* leisure time augmenting his wellbeing.

As discussed previously, Larry worked overtime into weekends to pay off higher mortgage payments, *and* to afford leisure on top of his material needs. Lacking the financial resources to participate in leisure activities and shape their everyday life pushes people to the side-line and into spectators rather than active participating members of society (Björklund et al., 2014). Larry suggests that the inability to participate in leisure activities would be detrimental to his wellbeing: *"Look, if I don't go hunting for two or three days, you know, I'm pacing [laughter], pacing the floor".* This expression is reminiscent of a caged and anxious animal. As such, leisure offers Larry (and other participants) *freedom*, as well as feelings of enjoyment, relaxation, and pleasure, linked to immediate and long-term health and wellbeing benefits (Mannell, 2007).

The research revealed that participants make the most of free public spaces such as parks, beaches, rivers, and the bush. Similarly, those who experience financial hardship are limited to the easily accessible and free leisure activities which allow them to participate

(Kennett, 2002). Wager and colleagues (2007) found that community space holds greater importance for families who live in poverty compared to those who belong to more affluent groups. They also found that public space was used to compensate for the lack of space within the household. Four participants lived in house shares. This frequently required negotiation of communal space, and they frequently used public spaces for out-of-home leisure activities. Their accounts also reflect a shared understanding of leisure as a wellbeing enhancing source of stress-relief and respite (Kleiber et al., 2002; Klitzing, 2004).

Another common finding across participants was the inclusion of non-human animals in their leisure time. Leisure is a multispecies practice (Danby et al., 2019). Some scholars embrace the 'animal turn', which is sweeping the wider social sciences and humanities, and considers how leisure actions, experiences, and landscapes are shaped through multispecies encounters (e.g. Carr, 2014; Dashper, 2017; Markwell, 2015). For example, Amelia voiced unconditional love and joy from connecting with and feeding her calves (Figure 2; photo 9) or riding her horse. Similarly, Kate visits a neighbouring pig on her regular walking route (Figure 1; photo 11) giving her a sense of joy. Whereas Larry gains satisfaction and pleasure from taking his dogs out for a run or a pig hunt (Figure 4; photo 4). Dashper (2018) argues that our (leisure) lives are often richer because of nonhuman animals, who play, relax, compete, and work with and for us.

In a sense, having pets for some people can be likened to having dependents. In terms of the connection, love, and joy pets invoke, and also the costs associated with caring for them. Amelia and Larry both report the extra costs incurred to pay for pet food, shelter, and veterinarian bills, all of which a LW enabled. For Amelia pet food cost $50 per week and her horses were housed on her parent's farm. For Larry, the result of a successful hunt served to put food on the table for himself and his dogs, or additional weekend work also paid the food

bills for his dogs ($40 per week). The number of dependents (here non-human animals) can

interact with how a LW translates into everyday life and wellbeing.

**Chapter discussion**

This chapter offered a more nuanced, holistic, and contextual picture of wellbeing and

the LW in everyday life. I discussed the relationships between wellbeing and SDH as primary

conditions in which participants work, live, develop, grow, and age. Through participants'

accounts complexities and circumstances that surround the LW contexts are identified and

unpacked. The LW is a contextual factor in participants' lives and subsumes income to be a

dimension of wellbeing. Simply, wellbeing in everyday life extends beyond income, though

income remains a crucial determinant of wellbeing (Perry, 2017). More nuanced insights into

people's lifeworlds are essential for understanding the links between wellbeing and the LW.

Work is presented as an important determinant of participants' sense of selfhood,

wellbeing and the wellbeing of others (StatsNZ, 2019; The World Development Report,

2012). This can manifest in positive and negative ways. For example, work can be a source of

uncertainty, insecurity, and stress implicating participants' wellbeing and the permeable

boundaries between work and home life require careful balancing. The key point is that

significant academic attention has contributed to producing an econometrically calculated

LW figure, however through participants accounts and supported by emerging literature (e.g.,

Carr et al., 2016; 2018; 2019; Hodgetts et al., 2020) complexities surround the LW in terms

of workplace relationships, conditions, and homelives.

While participants perceived the LW value as a reasonable and decent amount,

income determined material and social conditions (Marmot, 2002). Participants drew on

communal and social resources to facilitate work, material, and social participation where

webs of social support become enmeshed in their daily lives and wellbeing experiences. Moreover, residential location (for example, urban versus rural), cost of living, income mobility upwards and downwards, and diversity in household compilations are also points to consider in the wellbeing-LW nexus.

Participants used creative strategies to move beyond constraints imposed by a LW, circumstances and contexts in everyday life. Broader notions of a LW consider possibilities and eventualities beyond affording the material cost of living and include the concept of agency (Yao et al., 2017). Participants strategically exercise agency to transform the situation to work best for them and their needs. For example, Larry exercises agency in mitigating material hardship and future financial stress by making trade-offs, which is one of the skills low-income people acquire as part of survival and self-management strategies to mediate the effects of hardship and to ensure participation in meaningful activities.

Chapters Three and Four have demonstrated that participants consciously, actively, and communally engage in wellbeing-enhancing practices in agentive ways that draw on spatial, material, and relational/social lifeworlds of landscapes such as the home, nature, the garden, and the workplace. In the Concluding Chapter Five, I discuss the collective findings of this study, particularly the need to anchor the conceptualisation of wellbeing in mundane forms of wellness within people's everyday lives. I deepen the interpretation of wellbeing as an inherently multidimensional, contextual, dynamic, and emplaced phenomenon. I argue the need for additional contextual considerations surrounding the relationship between wellbeing and the LW, in Aotearoa/NZ. This can help advocates and policymakers recognise and respond to the needs of people, and understand the nuances and complexities surrounding a LW.

**Concluding Chapter Five**

Living wage campaigns have continued to gain traction in Aotearoa/NZ and globally, as a response to growing inequalities, inadequate incomes, and issues of wellbeing. The study of wellbeing also continues to gain interest and importance, as part of the ILO Decent Work Agenda (ILO, 2007) and the United Nations SDGs (Rosa, 2017). This is also evidenced in the growing body of public and academic literature across diverse disciplines, coupled with a booming business of wellness products, programmes and centres (Atkinson et al., 2016; Lee, 2016; Sointu, 2005). Dominant conceptualisations of wellbeing remain deeply engrained in individualistic subjectivities (Diener, 1984; Ryff & Singer, 1998; Sointu, 2005) with a focus on individual dispositions, behaviours, and responsibilities (Hodgetts et al., 2020). These orientations tend to appeal to and hold more weight for those of the middle to upper classes with a global wellness economy worth US$4.5 trillion in 2018 (Global Wellness Economy Monitor, 2018). Public and academic scholarship into wellbeing primarily focuses on the experiences and needs of these groups. In an effort to be more inclusive, this research expanded to consider people who earn a MW / LW and transitions thereof. The findings emphasise strong relational orientations to wellbeing, suggesting that wellbeing occurs through relationships and comprises multiple and interconnected dimensions.

This research explored LW earners' experiences and understandings of everyday wellbeing in the Taranaki region of Aotearoa/NZ. Drawing on 10 enhanced semi-structured interviews and photo-elicitation exercises, I employed a narrative orientation within a broader phenomenological and hermeneutic understanding to explore the experiences and practices of wellbeing as these relate to the LW. I was particularly interested to explore the extent a LW enables wellbeing in participants' everyday life. This research revealed that wellbeing experiences are more dynamic, diverse, and complex than the representation of wellbeing that dominates conventional understandings. The accounts move beyond an individual picture of

wellbeing to show how wellbeing is grounded in relational, material, and spatial contexts and is multidimensional. A crucial dimension of wellbeing is the LW (income more generally), and findings offer supportive and undermining tropes of this concept.

In this final chapter, I consider the research as a whole and weave together the material covered in this thesis. I reflect on everyday life as an orientation toward exploring wellbeing, the significance of understanding agency within structural constraints, and my reflections on the research process. I then recap the key findings and present these under three subheadings within the context of existing literature. First, I present a relational approach to wellbeing, which encompasses interwoven interpersonal, material, spatial, and symbolic aspects. Second, I offer considerations in relation to the LW, which extends beyond pay to highlight contexts that both support and hinder wellbeing. I show how a LW enables wellbeing via agentive practices of social participation and sharing. To conclude, I draw attention to the ethos of caring, sharing, and gifting that is absent from many contemporary conceptualisations of wellbeing, yet is central to the wellbeing experiences and actions of participants in the present study. I provide preliminary ideas for potential applications and future research.

**Research process and everyday life as a site for wellbeing and LW research**

As outlined in Chapter Two, the analysis draws on phenomenological and hermeneutic underpinnings to explore participants' wellbeing in everyday life and to understand lived experiences within broader societal and political structures (Hodgetts et al., 2020). Developing a more holistic and nuanced notion of wellbeing is to include everyday life into its domain. In this section, I reflect on these theoretical underpinnings, the co-

construction of knowledge *with* participants as a social practice and consider how attention to mundane everyday aspects of wellbeing reflects broader sociocultural processes.

In conjunction with social practice theory, this research centred around participants' everyday wellbeing practices to capture taken-for-granted experiences. Such understandings highlighted broader structural constraints and how people adjust or reproduce social norms and narratives about wellbeing. Often mundane experiences woven into the very fabric of selfhood concern material objects, relationships, practices, and places, which we influence, and in turn we are influenced by and become subtle parts of our wellbeing. Engaging with the hermeneutic circle enabled me to explore wellbeing as made up of small parts while also considering the whole in an effort to note strip the individual from the context (Gadamer, 1983; Heidegger, 1927/1962). Tessa highlighted that consciously recognising and appreciating objects and small acts contributed to her wellbeing, and, considered together, significantly enhanced her sense of wellbeing. The act of active 'picturing' enabled participants to gain perspective, observe and value the small things that enhanced their wellbeing.

Photo-elicitation is a social practice where people create photographs or 'picture' and emplace themselves (Hodgetts et al., 2021), whereby wellbeing is associated with particular facets of life that occur in specific sites and contexts. One participant engaged in the creative process of 'picturing' together with her partner (Amelia), and two participants also pictured other beings. Participants' decision not to picture others due to privacy concerns did not preclude them from talking about their photographs in relation to other people (e.g., family, friends, and colleagues) associated with them (Radley & Taylor, 2003a). In doing so, participants 'storied' and moved beyond photographs as static *still* images, to provide insight into the *evolving* relationships between people and the social practices that are fundamental to

their lives, across space and time (Hodgetts et al., 2007a). The latter point is crucial, particularly for participants not earning a LW at the time of the study, who were asked to recall memories of wellbeing experiences and how they (differ or) relate to a LW.

This method also influenced my interactions with participants as the central focus was on the communicative aspects of picturing as social practice (Andriolo 2014, 2018; House, 2004). Photographs form the basis of discussion and the researcher in conversation *with* participants, make sense of the lived experiences in everyday life in relation to the pictures they present (Hodgetts et al., 2021). This process was useful to foreground an orientation towards the multidimensionality of wellbeing and the salient points of each participant. Participants and researcher then move beyond the frame of the photograph to encompass and narrate a larger story (Barthes, 1981; Wright, 1999). New meanings were co-constructed as different views were shared (Gadamer, 1983). To materialise (in the form of photos) an abstract concept such as wellbeing, participants resorted to photographing places, people, practices (for example, redressing, cleaning, or decorating a room) and other objects to demonstrate the psychological, emotional, and material meanings of wellbeing. This process enabled them to critically distance, reflect on, and reconsider their situations and relationships to places, material objects, people, groups, and society, in ways that invoked unanticipated complexities and relationships (Hodgetts et al., 2021).

Within structural and financial constraints, everyday consumer practices highlight how participants cultivate agentive strategies that enhance wellbeing through the sharing of resources or by making informed decisions. Larry for example, mitigates material hardship by making trade-offs while considering his wellbeing. Sharing resources with flatmates, partners, family members and colleagues enabled collective action on shared values to promote wellbeing for all through sharing and caring. Embracing an orientation toward relational selves provides participants with greater social and resilience resources (Steptoe et

al., 2008). In doing so, participants draw on wellness-enhancing practices located in different settings (workplace, home, garden, nature), such as inviting people over for a meal or BBQ, sharing food or conversation, gardening with partners, or the sharing of resources in a flat share. All of which reinforce connections, strengthen social support, and the ideas of reciprocity, which buffers participants from potentially detrimental effects of (at times) inadequate income. Considering the nuances of people's everyday social practices allows for exploring agency in response to their wellbeing and the LW.

Making sense of participants' lived experiences of wellbeing was only the beginning. Articulating, translating into academic writing, and structuring the nuances and complexities required deliberations with my supervisors to expand my horizon of understandings (Gadamer, 1983). This enabled me to develop an orientation to wellbeing that is structured around relationality. However, these interpretations are dialectical, multiple, and open to further interpretation, thus there is no one 'correct' interpretation (Hakokongas & Sakki 2016; Hodgetts et al., 2021). In addition to being commonplace for participants, I also frequently and consciously engaged in simple wellbeing-enhancing practices, such as gardening, spending time in nature, and sharing a meal with family and friends, also as a way of reflecting on my ideas.

Acting eclectically as a scholarly *bricoleur* (Lévi-Strauss, 1962) enabled me to bring together insights co-constructed through interactions *with* research participants and their photographs, with my field notes, and with scholarly literature to make sense of and create in-depth and nuanced understandings of participants' experiences (Hodgetts et al. 2019). The resulting interpretations demonstrate wellbeing as a social and relational phenomenon. Such orientation is taken up in the following section.

**Wellbeing through a relational lens**

Despite sharing the common understanding that wellbeing is personal and subjective, social practices and relational aspects of wellness (Atkinson, 2013; Hodgetts et al., 2020) are shared experiences. This contradicts traditional approaches to wellbeing concepts that equate it to healthy lifestyles and individual and moral responsibilities (Crawford, 2006; Lupton et al., 2017; Foucault, 1990; Rose, 1999), often embedded in commercial transactions (for example, fitness studios, spas, yoga retreats, or dietary supplements) (Atkinson, 2013; Sointu, 2005). While findings suggest that individual preferences and choices play a part, these do not encapsulate wellbeing in its totality. It is important to recognise that wellbeing is at once relational, spatial, personal, and societal and deflects from the dominant narrative that wellbeing is simply an individual cognitive issue.

My findings present wellbeing as a complex assemblage of multi-layered and interconnected dimensions; the effect of interactions with people, objects, and places (Atkinson, 2013); and reflect interconnected and interdependent beings (Hodgetts et al., 2020). This framing allows for a broader conceptualisation of wellbeing conceived as (un)balanced (Dodge et al., 2012) and open to change (Atkinson, 2013), objective and subjective (White, 2015), individualistic and collective (Atkinson, 2013), hedonic (Seligman, 2011), eudaimonic (Ryff 1989), sometimes contradictory, and dissolving binary distinctions (White, 2017). These dimensions work in concert, operate together and influence each other, and in a sense are complementary. This orientation towards wellbeing is consistent with Atkinson's (2013; 2016), Hodgetts and colleagues' (2020), and White's (2015) relational perspectives that positions a range of dimensions as key parts in the dynamic whole of this phenomenon.

Participant understandings of wellbeing were presented as holistic, multidimensional, and all-encompassing, with interlinking dimensions (Cameron et al., 2006; Linton et al., 2016; WHO, 1948). For example, the act of gardening was documented as a rich and holistic practice that facilitated mind-body-spirit-nature connections (Wang & MacMillan, 2013), which fit within the ethos of a holistic and relational model of wellbeing as discussed in Chapter One (Durie, 2004; Pere, 1982). Acknowledging social, spiritual, cultural, mental, emotional, and physical aspects of health and wellbeing and realising these in combination with one another, represent a total selfhood and wellbeing, within a socio-cultural framework (Durie, 2004; Pere, 1982). Importantly, the emphasis of these models goes beyond the individual, and people in general, to include and consider the health and wellbeing of the wider community and nature in *harmony* with one another (Durie, 2004; Pere, 1982). These points also resonate with broader Eastern collectivist perspectives on how people story happiness/wellbeing and their selves with Joshanloo (2014) arguing for harmony, collective cohesion, and care for and about others. In short, emphasis is placed on inter-subjective, interpersonal experience and *being in the world* (Heidegger, 1927/1971) and being well *together* with others (Atkinson et al., 2020).

Findings demonstrate that different wellbeing spaces can foster diverse and often complementary dimensions for *being well* in place. Against a backdrop of participants' home, garden and nature, wellbeing practices such as decorating, cleaning, gardening, and communing with family and friends were often simple and unassuming. Gardening, for participants, also becomes part of gift-giving, 're-membering' (Myerhoff, 1982), communing, sharing, and caring. The pickled beetroot offered an opportunity for re-membering and connecting because 'memory objects' (Marschall, 2019) re-entangle people within traditions and the past, particularly if memories have positive associations (Bhatti et al., 2009). Through the acts of gardening and pickling, Eve renews connections and bonds with her partner and

her partner's father in the present, which then extends to childhood memories with her mother in the garden. A focus on spaces where participants encounter therapeutic landscapes in complex and multidimensional practices highlights the embodied and social practices key to participants' wellbeing.

As stated previously, such attention to the materiality of wellbeing is important because wellbeing is notoriously understood as an abstract term (Atkinson, 2013). Therefore, particular objects, including houses, food, and furniture, and the psychosocial aspects in material practices such as cleaning and gardening are overlooked. This offers insight into and enhances understanding of the relationship between participants' material and social worlds (Allen, 2011), where objects point to broader social opportunities or constraints present in participants' everyday lives (Hodgetts & Rua, 2010). Meaning-imbued objects become focal points and participants' *being well* in the world is often communicated in relation to and through the artefacts they collect and engage with in everyday life (Noble, 2004). Subjective experience is then interwoven with material and relational dimensions of wellbeing. Material objects, for example antiques, and social practices (redressing a room), are agentic and the home becomes a site of selfhood and wellbeing (Fortier, 1999; Noble, 2004). In this way, material objects and practices can serve as markers for and shaping of selfhood (Noble, 2004; Sointu, 2005); for continued re-membering (Myerhoff, 1982), and in emplacing beings in the world (Heidegger, 1927/1962).

By drawing on the work of Cooley (1902/1964) and Yang (2006), alongside social practice theory (Bourdieu, 1986; Heidegger, 1927/1962; Latour, 2005), the analysis demonstrates that humans are interconnected and social beings, as is our wellbeing. From this perspective, a person's self and wellbeing are not separate, but rather interconnected with other people, practices, and material objects that populate their place(s) (Cooley, 1964). Through the act of cleaning, participants actively shaped, managed, and projected a positive

self-image, reflected in the imagined effect upon another person's mind, which has the power

to move them to experience *pride* (Cooley, 1964). This demonstrates that the way people

perceive and treat each other significantly impacts on one's selfhood and wellness.

The findings further demonstrated a balance between stability and dynamism in

wellbeing. The dynamism of wellbeing points to the notion that a sense of being well can

differ from day to day (Sonnentag, 2015), as demonstrated in participants' ambivalent

attachment to routine and structure. Drawing on Giddens (1991) concept of ontological

security, a sense of wellbeing is derived from enacting everyday routines and practices,

affording participants a sense of predictability, stability, security, and continuity. Routines are

flexible, malleable (Giddens, 1991), and organised in relation to one's needs (*cf.* Dreier,

2015). As such, participants sometimes disrupted their daily patterns to enhance their

wellbeing. Thus, wellbeing can be approached as a process (Atkinson, 2013) that is fluid and

experienced differently across time and space (Atkinson, 2013; Kesby, 2007). Wellbeing then

can fluctuate within shorter periods of time (e.g., moments, hours, days, and weeks) and can

increase or decrease over longer periods of time (e.g., months and years) (Sonnentag, 2015).

Finally, just as relationships are intrinsic to the experience of wellbeing, they are a

vital resource for wellbeing. Social connections and relational resources also enhance

resilience (Frieling et al., 2018; Kansky & Diener, 2017; Steptoe et al., 2008) and contribute

to as a sense of belonging, feeling supported, loved, helping and sharing with others, and play

a central role in the wellbeing of participants (Frieling et al., 2018). Those who experience

relational harmony (Uchida et al., 2008) are more likely to exhibit greater levels of

psychological wellbeing. This indicates that relationships can also have negative wellbeing

outcomes, suggesting that the strands of the cobweb are vulnerable (Yang, 2006). Similarly,

Nussbaum (2001) emphasised the significance of relational resources and pointed to their

fragility, as connections built on reciprocity are easily damaged. Notions of reciprocity and

*"give and take"* (Tessa, Amelia, Eve, Larry) also link wellbeing to the LW.

**Living wage, wellbeing, participation and sharing**

A broader relational notion of the LW allowed for meaningful participation as active citizens living beyond mere subsistence (LW Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019a; Yao et al., 2017). While findings from the research show that a LW *can* enable wellbeing, the extent to which its effects are transformative depends on contextual factors such as workplace, material and social living conditions, and opportunities for social and civic engagement. It also includes the ability to pay off debt and save money for a holiday or as a financial buffer for unforeseen events; all of which relate to the LW and wellbeing (Yao et al., 2017). The findings of this study include more refined understandings that a LW extends beyond a monetary value to cover living costs but also improve wellbeing through subjective perceptions of autonomy and valued freedoms in relation to job satisfaction, security (Yao et al., 2017), work-life balance and quality of (work) life (Carr et al., 2019). As such, participants perceived the LW effectiveness in multidimensional terms (Yao et al., 2017).

While participants perceived the LW value as a comfortable, reasonable, and a decent wage, they often drew on communal and social resources to facilitate work and social participation. This is where networks of social support were woven into participants' daily lives and wellbeing experiences. Notably, this included other household incomes, which Carr and colleagues (2019) argued moderated the link between wage and job attitudes (e.g., job satisfaction and work-life balance). More recently, Carr and colleagues (2021) found that LW's do matter to wellbeing, however also that wages might interact with additional household income streams. Despite sentiments of dissatisfaction caused by downward income mobility (e.g., Burchardt, 2005), Amelia approximated a lifestyle that afforded

organic foods but only made possible by sharing resources and financial support from her partner and family. Resource sharing is a means towards 'sustainability' and sustained wellbeing (Searle & McWha-Hermann, 2020; Smith, 1776/2012). Rather than reproducing social systems in predisposed ways, a focus on material conditions and consumption practices enables the exploration of choices and constraints within a wider context. While context can buffer the deleterious effects of an inadequate income, relying on other household incomes can be encumbering, much as it can be supportive when needed (Carr et al., 2021). My findings show that other household income streams enhance the relationship between the LW and wellbeing.

Findings demonstrate that the LW (and wages in general) is paid into a specific context and its contribution to wellbeing depends on other factors (Hirshkowitz et al. 2015). Beyond number of household earners (Carr et al., 2019; 2021) as a factor, past and current living costs and conditions, residential location, the cost of living (Yao et al., 2017; Carr et al., 2021), and other circumstances or job attitudes such as work satisfaction and work-life balance (Carr et al., 2019) can influence the wellbeing-LW nexus. The suggestion that a wage increase also positively impacts wellbeing is overly simplistic, as work conditions (jobs attitudes, job (dis)satisfaction, workplace (dis)engagement, work-life (im)balance) often remain static (Carr et al., 2019). Moreover, income mobility occurs both upwards and downwards within an economy, thus a consideration of how this intercepts the link between wellness and a LW is essential.

The findings from this study complements Yao and colleagues (2017) qualitative findings that perceptions around the treatment at work, including job security, emerged as a salient contextual factor linked to income security but also perceived value at work. There are clear linkages between job security, job satisfaction, and work motivation (Reisel et al., 2010), supported meta-analytic research (Sverke et al., 2002). Aligned with their findings,

wage-related job security can impact on individual perceived work-life quality. Eve and Amelia were satisfied with their hourly rate, but the uncertainty of working hours or fragmentation of working schedules created significant stress. The findings support the argument that economic precarity such as job insecurity and poor WLB impacts the working class (Warren, 2015). The LW thus cannot be considered in isolation from working conditions and other contextual factors in which work, and wages are situated.

This aligns with previous research (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017; Jahoda, 1982; Standing, 2011; Warr, 1987/2007; Yao et al., 2017) that employment has a significant impact on people's work engagements, everyday life, relationships, and society; in short, the overall quality of life (Carr et al., 2016). This suggests that scrutinising various dimensions in silo does not provide a holistic picture of wellbeing, thus it is essential to examine interconnected parts of relationships (employer/employee; employee/fellow employee; employer/government; individual/partner/family/friends; individual/nature, for example) in its entirety (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017; Rua et al., 2019; Yao et al., 2017). The focus on opportunities for participation suggests that the personal and social effectiveness of pay provides some practical insights into a potentially impactful LW value but is equally important in expanding understanding of the potential quality of a LW by exploring the social embeddedness and contextualised nature of work and wages (Yao et al., 2017). In short, a job and a sufficient income may not be enough or all that matters to workers' wellbeing (Ballafkih et al., 2017). Other job characteristics and workplace relationships interact with and link between work, income, and wellbeing.

While the LW is a remuneration calculated on a hypothetical household unit (e.g., Anker & Anker, 2017; King & Waldegrave 2014) this study revealed the benefits of examining a LW in context to understand complexities and nuances. This is in line with Carr and colleagues (2018; 2019; 2021) and Haar and colleagues' (2018) findings, that money

matter to happiness, and wages and work-related happiness can transit into the everyday quality of life. My findings indicate that LWs do matter to wellbeing, however also that higher urban housing and living costs have the potential to dampen the effects of a LW on wellbeing (Carr et al., 2021). Consistent with Carr and colleagues (2021) findings, this research showed that participants' pay did not commensurate with the high cost of living and housing costs in major cities but was 'sustainable' (Smith (1776/2012) in provincial regions.

Above and beyond, the findings in this study illustrated that more money equated to more opportunities (and options) for social participation, to enable connection and sharing with others. Conducting research such as this requires one to be mindful of the importance of personal connection, caring, and sharing. The simple act of buying someone a cup of coffee (Kate and Tessa), a burger (Larry), or inviting people for a BBQ or a visit were enabled by a LW. Gifting (beetroot) for example, are symbolic of the different dimensions of wellbeing and the social/cultural ground, much as it is of community – those you commune with and share food with – of love, selfhood, 'cultivation' (Casey, 1993), and belonging (White, 2010). In the same vein, downplaying participants' personal constraints or the decisions that sometimes *temporarily* compromised their wellbeing would be misleading. However, participants exercised agency in their decision-making enabled by a LW. Relatedly, increasing low wages often led to more money to spend locally. Engaging in a consumer culture and purchasing goods and services stimulates economic development, strengthens the community and economy by increasing consumption, thus shared prosperity (Schmitt, 2020; Rosa, 2017). Civic and social participation in these ways is also conducive to wellbeing by way of inclusion.

**Final thoughts and looking forward**

Wellbeing is not just a trendy buzzword. It concerns individuals, communities, and societies at large. Wellbeing is social, relational, and ubiquitous, and, as research participants illustrated, everyone has the capacity to positively enhance or undermine the wellbeing of others. Wellbeing then can be gifted to or withdrawn from others. A collectivist and relational orientation to wellbeing, such as represented in the Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 2004) or Te Weke (Pere, 1982) models, stipulate that a person caring for other people, objects, places, and the environment, also cares and nurtures their self and their sense of wellbeing. This research thwarted the view that wellbeing is uniquely an individual undertaking and responsibility because many external factors (costs of living and associated stress; household composition; urban and rural living; workplace relationships to name a few) impact wellbeing.

The LW is one possible way to overcome the working poor paradox, lift people out of poverty and enhance their wellbeing, however it is not a panacea for all social and economic issues. Still, a non-consideration by employers may exacerbate workplace and wider problems (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). With growing recognition of the complexities around income, health and wellbeing and civic participation, a natural progression of this research extends the need to consider alternative solutions such as a Universal Basic Income (UBI) (Standing, 2011a) and its links to people's wellbeing.

Moreover, the study remains exploratory and is anchored in the context of Aotearoa/NZ. As mentioned in Chapter One, NZ is a small economy with a relatively specialised labour market, with a reliance on the trade-sector and on small to medium enterprises. Such considerations may have implications for the findings (Carr et al., 2019), such as generalisation problems associated with qualitative and exploratory studies (Yao et al., 2017). However, supporting the argument that one-size *does not* fit all, one must

acknowledge differences, subtleties and nuances that make up people's lifeworlds, rather than obscure, invisibilise or dismiss differences (Joshanloo, 2014; Lambert et al., 2020).

Such differences can be explored through photo-elicitation, which enables researchers to examine everyday lives in ways that are often overlooked. For example, the simple act of cleaning and prioritising routine in the home was true for all female participants. Exploring whether people's wellbeing has been socialised into that role is beyond the scope of this thesis and warrants further attention (Giddens, 1986; Hodgetts et al., 2020). A feminist critique for example, challenges literature on place-identity and meaning of home as universally known, but rather suggests that places and spaces are gendered in their representations and in how they are experienced (Rose, 1993). Traditionally women have been associated with the interior of the home and men with the exterior world. Simple acts then, can reproduce elements of societies in which we are emplaced and can reproduce social norms regarding appropriate behaviour (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

In summary, in attention to meeting basic needs, the LW enabled participants to establish wellbeing practices and cultivate therapeutic landscapes of care (Gesler, 2013) in agentic ways. In caring for and sharing with others, they care for the self. Insights can help policy makers, advocates, and employers realise and respond to the needs of people on low wages. Grounding an orientation of a LW as holistic, multidimensional, and inherently relational might direct attention away from individual-level solutions to find viable collective actions to address societal issues of working-poverty, income (in)adequacy, and wellbeing. While participants' accounts may mark a shift away from wellbeing being simply understood as an individual quality, this research shows we must expand the enquiry to interrogate and challenge dominant wellbeing narratives.

**References**

Abraham, A., Sommerhalder, K. & Abel, T. (2010). Landscape and wellbeing: A scoping study on the health-promoting impact of outdoor environments. *International Journal of Public Health, 55*(1), 59-69. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00038-009-0069-z

Ahmed, S. (2010). *The promise of happiness.* Duke University Press.

Allin, P., & Hand, D. J. (2014 ). *The wellbeing of nations: Meaning, motive and measurement.* John Wiley & Sons.

Altman, I. (1975). *The environment and social behavior: Privacy, personal space, territory, and crowding.* Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Andrews, M. (2004). Introduction. In M. Andrews, C. Squire & A. Treacher (Eds.), *The uses of narrative: Explorations in sociology, psychology, and cultural studies* (pp. 17–68). Transaction Publishers.

Anker, R., & Anker, M. (2017). *Living wages around the world: Manual for measurement*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Apfelbaum, E. (2000). Critical reflections on history: Some teaching from the history of social psychology. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences, 36,* 529–539.

Arnett, J. J. (2008). The neglected 95%: Why American psychology needs to become less American. *American Psychology, 63*(7), 602–614. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.63.7.602

Arrowsmith, J., Parker, J., Carr, S., Haar, J., Young-Hauser, A., Hodgetts, D., & Alefaio, S. (2020). Moving the minimum wage towards a 'Living Wage': Evidence from New Zealand. In E. Dagnino, A. Forsyth & Roiatti. M (Eds.), *Labour is not a commodity' today: The value of work and its rules between innovation and tradition* (pp. 147-170). Cambridge Scholars Press.

Atkinson, S. (2013). Beyond components of wellbeing: The effects of relational and situated assemblage. *Topoi, 32*(2), 137-144. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11245-013-9164-0

Atkinson, S., Bagnall, A. M., Corcoran, R., South, J., & Curtis, S. (2020). Being well together: Individual subjective and community wellbeing. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 5*(21), 1903-1921. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-019-00146-2

Atkinson, S., Fuller, S., & Painter, J. (2016). *Wellbeing and place.* Routledge.

Ballafkih, H., Zinsmeister, J., & Meerman, M. (2017). A job and a sufficient income is not enough: The needs of the Dutch precariat. *Journal of Workplace Rights*, 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244017749069

Barsky, A., & Kaplan, S. A. (2007). If you feel bad, it's unfair: A quantitative synthesis of affect and organizational justice perceptions. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*(1), 286. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.1.286

Bates, E. A., Kaye, L. K., & McCann, J. J. (2019). A snapshot of the student experience: Exploring student satisfaction through the use of photographic elicitation. *Journal of Further and Higher Education, 43*(3), 291-304. https://doi.org/10.1080/0309877X.2017.1359507

Bates, E. A., McCann, J. J., Kaye, L. K., & Taylor, J. C. (2017). "Beyond words": a researcher's guide to using photo elicitation in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 14*(4), 459-481. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2017.1359352

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995 ). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin, 117*(3), 497-529. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.117.3.497

Becker, G. S. (1993). Nobel lecture: The economic way of looking at behavior. *Journal of Political Economy, 101*(3), 385-409. https://doi.org/10.1086/261880

Belk, R. (2010). Sharing. *Journal of Consumer Research, 36*(5), 715-734.

 https://doi.org/10.1086/612649

Bell, S. L., Foley, R., Houghton, F., Maddrell, A. & Williams, A. M. (2018). From

 therapeutic landscapes to healthy spaces, places and practices: A scoping review.

 *Social Science & Medicine, 196*, 123-130.

 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2017.11.035

Benach, J., Vanroelen, C., Vives, A., De Witte, H., Barrachina, V.P., Belvis-Costes, F.,

 Ferrer-Armengou, O., & Van Aerden, K. (2013). *Quality of employment conditions*

 *and employment relations in Europe: A report based on the fifth European Working*

 *Conditions Survey.* Eurofound.

 http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/htmlfiles/ef1367.htm

Berg, J. M., Dutton, J. E., & Wrzesniewski, A. (2013). Job crafting and meaningful work. In

 B. J. Dik & M. F. Steger (Eds.), *Purpose and meaning in the workplace* (pp. 81–104).

 American Psychological Association.

Berlyne, D. E. (1960). *Conflict, arousal, and curiosity*. McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Berlyne, D. E. (1967). Arousal and reinforcement. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation.*

 *15,* 1–110.

Berry, D. S., & Hansen, J. S. (1996). Positive affect, negative affect, and social interaction.

 *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*(4), 796.

 https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.71.4.796

Bhatti, M., Church, A., Claremont, A., & Stenner, P. (2009). 'I love being in the garden':

 Enchanting encounters in everyday life. *Social & Cultural Geography, 10*(1), 61-76.

 https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360802553202

Billig, M. (1989). *Arguing and thinking: A rhetorical approach to social psychology.*

 University Press.

Björklund, O., Söderlund, M., Nyström, L., & Häggström, E. (2014). Unemployment and health: Experiences narrated by young Finnish men. *American Journal of Men's Health, 9*(1), 76-85. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557988314536725

Blakely, T., M. Tobias, J. Atkinson, L., Yeh. C., & Huang, K. (2007). *Tracking disparity: Trends in ethnic and socioeconomic inequalities in mortality, 1981–2004.* Ministry of Health.

Blaxter, M. (2003). *Health and lifestyles.* Routledge.

Bobek, A., Pembroke, S., & Wickham, J. (2020). Living in precarious housing: Non-standard employment and housing careers of young professionals in Ireland. *Housing Studies*, 1-24. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2020.1769037

Boden, Z., Larkin, M., & Iyer, M. (2019). Picturing ourselves in the world: Drawings, interpretative phenomenological analysis and the relational mapping interview. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 16*(2), 218-236. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2018.1540679

Boehm, J. K., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2008). Does happiness promote career success? *Journal of Career Assessment, 16*(1), 101-116. https://doi.org/10.1177/1069072717751441

Boon, B., & Farnsworth, J. (2011). Social exclusion and poverty: Translating social capital into accessible resources. *Social Policy & Administration, 45*(5), 507-524. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9515.2011.00792.x

Booth, J. M., Chapman, D., Ohmer, M. L., & Wei, K. (2018). Examining the relationship between level of participation in community gardens and their multiple functions. *Journal of Community Practice, 26*(1), 5-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705422.2017.1413024

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richrdson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). Greenwood.

Boyd, R. K. (2014). Psychological theories and low-wage work. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 24*(1), 16-25.

https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2014.843389

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners.* SAGE.

Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Gray, D. (2017). *Collecting qualitative data: A practical guide to textual, media and virtual techniques.* Cambridge University Press.

Briggs, L. P., Stedman, R. C., & Krasny, M. E. (2014). Photo-elicitation methods in studies of children's sense of place. *Children Youth and Environments, 24*(3), 153-172.

https://doi.org/10.7721/chilyoutenvi.24.3.0153

Brindley, P., Jorgensen, A., & Maheswaran, R. (2018). Domestic gardens and self-reported health: A national population study. *International Journal of Health Geographics, 17*(1), 1-11. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12942-018-0148-6

Bukowski, K., & Buetow, S. (2011). Making the invisible visible: A photovoice exploration of homeless women's health and lives in central Auckland. *Social Science & Medicine, 72*(5), 739-746. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.11.029.

Burchardt, T. (2005 ). Are one man's rags another man's riches? Identifying adaptive expectations using panel data, *Social Indicators Research, 74*(1), 57–102.

Cameron, E., Mathers, J., & Parry, J. (2006). Health: 'being well' and 'well-being'. Questioning the use of health concepts in public health policy and practice. *Critical Public Health, 16*(4), 347-354. https://doi.org/10.1080/09581590601128166

Card, D., & Krueger, A. B. (1995). *Myth and measurement: The new economics of the minimum wage.* Princeton University Press.

Carlquist, E., Ulleberg, P., Delle Fave, A., Nafstad, H. E., & Blakar, R. M. (2017). Everyday understandings of happiness, good life, and satisfaction: Three different facets of well-being. *Applied Research in Quality of Life, 12*(2), 481-505.

Carr, N. (2014). *Dogs in the leisure experience.* CABI.

Carr, S., Haar, J., Hodgetts, D., Arrowsmith, J., Parker, J., Young-Hauser, A., Alefaio-Tuglia, S., & Jones, H. (2019). An employee's living wage and their quality of work life: How important are household size and household income? *Journal of Sustainability Research, 1*(1). https://doi.org/10.20900/jsr20190007

Carr, S., Maleka, M., Meyer, I., Barry, M., Haar, J., Parker, J., Arrowsmith, J., Yao, C., Hodgetts, D., Jones, H., Young-Hauser, A., Afeaki-Mafile'o, E., Rasmussen, A. H., Alefaio-Tugia, A., Falealili, B., Mafile'o, K., Pikula, T., Wolfgramm, N., 'Uhila, H., …Naithani, A. (2018). How can wages sustain a living? By getting ahead of the curve. *Sustainability Science, 13*, 901-917.

Carr, S., Parker, J., Arrowsmith, J., Watters, P., & Jones, H. (2016). Can a 'living wage' springboard human capability? An exploratory study from New Zealand. *A Journal of the Social and Economic Relations of Work, 26*(1), 24-39.

Carr, S. C., Parker, J., Arrowsmith, J., & Watters, P. A. (2016). The living wage: Theoretical integration and an applied research agenda. *International Labour Review, 155*(1), 1-24.

Carr, S. C., Parker, J., Arrowsmith, J., Haar, J., & Jones, H. (2017). Humanistic management and living wages: A case of compelling connections? *Humanist Management Journal* (1), 215–236. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41463-016-0018-y

Carr, S., Young-Hauser, A., Hodgetts, D., Schmidt, W., Moran, L., Haar, J., Parker, J., Arrowsmith, J., Harvey Jones & Alefaio, S. (2021). Research update: How decent

wages transform qualities of living—by affording escape from working poverty trap. *Journal of Sustainability Research, 3*(2). https://doi.org/10.20900/jsr20210012

Casey, E. (1993). *Getting back into place: Toward a renewed understanding of the place-world.* Indiana UniversityPress.

Casper, W. J., Vaziri, H., Wayne, J. H., DeHauw, S., & Greenhaus, J. (2018). The jingle-jangle of work–nonwork balance: A comprehensive and meta-analytic review of its meaning and measurement. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 103*(2), 182.

Cattell, V. (2012). *Poverty, community and health: Co- operation and the good society.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Chen, X. (2015). *Relative deprivation and individual well-being: Low status and a feeling of relative deprivation are detrimental to health and happiness.* IZA World of Labor. https://wol.iza.org/articles/relative-deprivation-and-individual-well-being/long

Christopher, J. C. (1999). Situating psychological well-being: Exploring the cultural roots of its theory and research. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 77*(2), 141-152.

Christopher, J. C., Wendt, D. C., Marecek, J., & , & Goodman, D. M. (2014). Critical cultural awareness: Contributions to a globalizing psychology. *American Psychologist, 69*(7), 645-655. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036851

Clark, D. A. (2009). Adaptation, poverty and well-being: Some issues and observations with special reference to the capability approach and development studies. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities, 10*(1), 21-42.

Coleman, J. S. (1958). Relational analysis: The study of social organizations with survey methods. *Human Organization, 17*(4), 28-36.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Free riders and zealots: The role of social networks. *Sociological Theory, 6*(1), 52-57.

Collier J, J. (1957). Photography in anthropology: A report on two experiments. *American Anthropologist, 59*(5), 843-859.

Cooley, C. ([1902] 1964.). *Human Nature and the social order* . Scribner's.

Crawford, R. (1980). Healthism and the medicalization of everyday life. *International Journal of Health Services, 10*(3), 365-388.

Crawford, R. (2006). Health as a meaningful social practice. *Health, 10*(4), 401–420.

Cross, J. E. (2015). Processes of place attachment: An interactional framework. *Symbolic Interaction, 38*(4), 493– 520.

Damasio, A. R. (1999). *The feeling of what happens: Body and emotion in the making of consciousness.* Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Danby, P., Dashper, K., & Finkel, R. (2019). Multispecies leisure: Human-animal interactions in leisure landscapes. *Leisure Studies, 38*(3), 291-302. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2019.1628802

Dashper, K. (2017). Listening to horses: Developing attentive interspecies relationships through sport and leisure. *Society & Animals, 25*(3), 207–224.

Dashper, K. (2018). Moving beyond anthropocentrism in leisure research: Multispecies perspectives. *Annals of Leisure Research, 22*(2), 133–139.

Davidsen, A. S. (2013). Phenomenological approaches in psychology and health sciences. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 10*(3), 318-339.

Davis, P. (2007). Discussions among the poor: Exploring poverty dynamics with focus groups in Bangladesh. *Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper,* (84).

de Bell, S., White, M., Griffiths, A., Darlow, A., Taylor, T., Wheeler, B., & Lovell, R. (2020). Spending time in the garden is positively associated with health and wellbeing: Results from a national survey in England. *Landscape and Urban Planning,* 200, 103836. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2020.103836

de Certeau, M. (1984). *The practice of everyday life* (S. Rendall, Trans.). University of
California Press.

de Certeau, M. (1997). *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other.* University of Minnesota Press.

De Neve, J. E., Diener, E., Tay, L., & Xuereb, C. (2013). J. Helliwell, R. Layard & J. Sachs
(Eds.), The objective benefits of subjective well-being. In *World Happiness Report
2013.* United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2008). Hedonia, eudaimonia, and well-being: An introduction.
*Journal of Happiness Studies, 9*(1), 1-11.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research.*
SAGE.

OECD (2014). *Focus on inequality and growth.* https://www.oecd.org/social/Focus-
Inequality-and-Growth-2014.pdf

Di Masso, A., Dixon, J., & Hernández, B. (2017). Place attachment, sense of belonging and
the micro-politics of place satisfaction. In *Handbook of environmental psychology
and quality of life research* (pp. 85-104). Springer, Cham.

Griffiths, S., & Wallace, J. (1998). Consuming passions: Food in the age of anxiety. Martin's
Press.

Diener, E. (1984). Subjective well-being. *Psychological Bulletin, 95*(3), 542–575.
https://doi.org/10.1037/00332909.95.3.542

Diener, E., & Seligman, M. E. (2002). Very happy people. *Psychological Science, 13*(1), 81–
84. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9280.00415

Diener, E., Lucas, R. E., & Oishi, S. (2002). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness
and life satisfaction. *Handbook of Positive Psychology, 2*, 63-73.

Diener, E., Pressman, S. D., Hunter, J., & Delgadillo-Chase, D. (2017). If, why, and when

subjective well-being influences health, and future needed research. *Applied

Psychology: Health and Well-Being, 9*(2), 133-167.

Diener, E., Suh, E. M., Kim-Prieto, C., Biswas-Diener, R., & Tay, L. S. (2010). *Unhappiness

in South Korea: Why it is high and what might be done about it.* Psychological

Association.

Dik, B. J., Sargent, A. M., & Steger, M. F. (2008). Career development strivings: Assessing

goals and motivation in career decision-making and planning. *Journal of Career

Development, 35*(1), 23-41.

https://www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/publications/det-health.pdf

Djernis, D. (2019). A systematic review and meta-Analysis of nature-based mindfulness:

Effects of moving mindfulness training into an outdoor natural setting. *International

Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *16(*17), 3202.

https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16173202

Dodge, R., Daly, A. P., Huyton, J., & Sanders, L. D. (2012). The challenge of defining

wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing, 2*(3), 222-235.

https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v2i3.4

Dolan, P., Peasgood, T., & White, M. (2008). Do we really know what makes us happy? A

review of the economic literature on the factors associated with subjective well-being.

*Journal of Economic Psychology, 29*(1), 94-122.

Dörre, K., Kraemer, K., & Speidel, F. (2006). The increasing precariousness of the

employment society: Driving force for a new right wing populism? *International

Journal of Action Research, 2*(1), 98-128.

Duncan, G. (2005). What do we mean by "happiness"? The relevance of subjective wellbeing

to social policy. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, 25, 16.*

Dunn, E. W., Aknin, L. B., & Norton, M. I. (2008). Spending money on others promotes happiness. *Science, 319*(5870), 1687-1688. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1150952

Dunn, E. W., Aknin, L. B., & Norton, M. I. (2014). Prosocial spending and happiness: Using money to benefit others pays off. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 23*(1), 41-47.

Dupuis, A., & Thorns, D. (1998). Home, home ownership and the search for ontological security. *Sociological Review, 46*(1), 24–47.

Durie, M. H. (2004). Understanding health and illness: Research at the interface between science and indigenous knowledge. *International Journal of Epidemiology, 33*(5), 1138-1143.

Durie, M. H. (2011). Indigenizing mental health services: New Zealand experience. *Transcultural Psychiatry, 48*(1-2), 24-36.

Easterlin, R. A. (2005). Building a better theory of well-being. *Economics and Happiness: Framing the Analysis,* 29-64. https://doi.org/10.1093/0199286280.003.0002

Edgley, A., Pilnick, A., Clarke, M. (2011). 'The air still wasn't good … everywhere I went I was surrounded': Lay perceptions of air quality and health'. *Health Sociology Review, 20*(1), 97-108.

Ehrenreich, B. (2009). *Bright-sided: How the relentless promotion of positive thinking has undermined America.* Henry Holt.

Eid, M., & Diener, E. (2003). Global judgments of subjective well-being: Situational variability and long-term stability. *Social Indicators Research, 65*(3), 245–277. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SOCI.0000003801.89195.bc

Eid, M., & Larsen, R. J. (Eds.). (2008). *The science of subjective well-being.* Guilford Press.

Epstein, I., Stevens, B., McKeever, P., & Baruchel, S. (2006). Photo elicitation interview (PEI): Using photos to elicit children's perspectives. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5*(3), 1-11.

Fairris, D. (2005). The impact of living wages on employers: A control group analysis of the Los Angeles ordinance. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society, 44(*1), 84-105. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0019-8676. 2004.00374.x

Farrants, K., Bambra, C., Nylen, L., Kasim, A., Burstrom, B., & Hunter, D. (2016). Recommodification, unemployment, and health inequalities: trends in England and Sweden 1991–2011. *International Journal of Health Services, 46*(2), 300-324.

Felski, R. (2002). Telling time in feminist theory. *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature, 21*(1), 21-28.

Finlay, J., Franke, T., McKay, H., & Sims-Gould, J. (2015). Therapeutic landscapes and wellbeing in later life: Impacts of blue and green spaces for older adults. *Health & Place, 34*, 97-106.

Fleuret, S., & Atkinson, S. (2007). Wellbeing, health and geography: A critical review and research agenda. *New Zealand Geographer, 63*, 106–118.

Fleuret, S., & Prugneau, J. (2015). Assessing students' wellbeing in a spatial dimension. *The Geographical Journal, 181*, 110-120.

Flick, U., Von Kardorff, E., & Steinke, I. (2004). What is qualitative research? An introduction to the field. *A Companion to Qualitative Research,* 3-11.

Folger, R. (1994). Workplace justice and employee worth. *Social Justice Research, 7*(3), 225-240.

Ford, M., & Gillan, M. (2017). In search of a living wage in Southeast Asia. E*mployee Relations, 39*(6), 903–914. https://doi.org/10.1108/ER-02-20170046

Fortier, A. M. (1999). Re-membering places and the performance of belonging(s). *Theory, Culture & Society, 16*(2), 41-64.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality, Volume 1: An introduction.* Vintage.

Foucault, M. (2006). Governmentality. In A. Sharma & A. Gupta (Eds.), *The anthropology of the state: A reader* (pp. 131 – 143). Blackwell.

Fowers, B. J., Anderson, A. R., Lefevor, G. T., & Lang, S. (2015). Beyond harms: Exploring the individual and shared goods of psychotherapy. *The Counseling Psychologist, 43*(3), 380-392.

Francis, M., Hester J. R. (Eds.). (1990). *The meaning of gardens: Idea, place, and action.* MIT Press.

Frankl, V. E. (1946). *Man's search for meaning.* Beacon Press.

Freeman, R. (2005). Fighting for other folks' wages: The logic and illogic of living wage campaigns. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society*, *44*(1), 14-31. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0019–8676.2004.00371

Frieling, M., Peach, E. K., & Cording, J. (2018). *The Measurement of social connectedness and its relationship to wellbeing.* Ministry of Social Development. https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/literature-reviews/social-connectedness-literature-review.docx

Frith, H., & Harcourt, D. (2007). Using photographs to capture women's experiences of chemotherapy: Reflecting on the method. *Qualitative Health Research, 17*(10), 1340-1350.

Fritz, H., & Lysack, C. (2014). "I see it now": Using photo elicitation to understand chronic illness self-management. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy, 81*(4), 247-255. https://doi.org/10.1177/0008417414540517

Fryer, D., & Payne, R. (1984 ). Proactive behaviour in unemployment: Findings and

    implications. *Leisure Studies, 3*(3), 273–295. .

Fulmer, C. A., Gelfand, M. J., Kruglanski, A. W., Kim-Prieto, C., Diener, E., Pierro, A., &

    Higgins, E. T. (2010). On "feeling right" in cultural contexts: How person-culture

    match affects selfesteem and subjective well-being. *Psychological Science, 21,* 1563–

    1569.

Gadamer, H. (1983). Hermeneutics as practical philosophy. (F. G. Lawrence, Trans.). In

    *Reason in the age of science.* (pp. 88-138). The MIT Press.

Garden, E., Caldin, A., Robertson, D., Timmins, J., Wilson, T., & Wood, T. (2014). *Speaking*

    *for ourselves: The truth about what keeps people in poverty from those who live it: A*

    *summary report from the Auckland City Mission Family 100 Research Project.*

    Auckland City Mission. https://www.aucklandcitymission.org.nz/wp-

    content/uploads/2016/05/Auckland-City-Mission-Family100-Speaking-for-

    Ourselves.pdf

Gesler, W. M. (1992). Therapeutic landscapes: Medical issues in light of the new cultural

    geography. *Social Science & Medicine, 34*(7), 735. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0277-

    9536(92) 90360-3 -46

Gesler, W. M. (2003 ). *Healing places.* Rowman & Littlefield.

Gibson, A. F., Lee, C., & Crabb, S. (2015). Reading between the lines: Applying multimodal

    critical discourse analysis to online constructions of breast cancer. *Qualitative*

    *Research in Psychology, 12*(3), 272-286.

Giddens, A. (1984 ). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration.*

    University of California Press.

Giddens, A. (1991 ). *Modernity and self identity: Self and society in the late modern age.*

    Polity Press.

Gillett-Swan, J. K., & Sargeant, J. (2015). Wellbeing as a process of accrual: Beyond subjectivity and beyond the moment. *Social Indicators Research, 121*(1), 135-148.

Giuliani, M. V., & Feldman, R. (1993). Place attachment in a developmental and cultural context. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 13*, 267-274.

Given, L. M. (Ed.). (2008). *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods.* Sage publications.

Glaw, X., Inder, K., Kable, A., & Hazelton, M. (2017). Visual methodologies in qualitative research: Autophotography and photo elicitation applied to mental health research. . *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 16*(1), 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406917748215

Global Wellness Economy Monitor. (2018). Global Wellness Institute, October, 2018, p. 3. https://globalwellnessinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/GWIWellnessEconomyMonitor2018_042019.pdf

Goff, S. L., Kleppel, R., Lindenauer, P. K., & Rothberg, M. B. (2013). Hospital workers' perceptions of waste: A qualitative study involving photo-elicitation. *British Medical Journal Quality & Safety, 22*(10), 826-835.

Goldstein, J. (2021). Dependent Origination: The Twelve Links Explained. The Buddhist Review Tricycle. https://tricycle.org/magazine/dependent-origination/

Goodman, L. A. (1961). Snowball sampling. *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 148-170.

Gorman-Murray, A., & Bissell, D. (2018). Mobile work, multilocal dwelling and spaces of wellbeing. *Health & Place,* (51), 232-238. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2018.04.004

Graham, L. T., Gosling, S. D., & Travis, C. K. (2015). The psychology of home environments: A call for research on residential space. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 10*(3), 346-356.

Griep, Y., Hyde, M., Vantilborgh, T., Bidee, J., De Witte, H., & Pepermans, R. (2015).

    Voluntary work and the relationship with unemployment, health, and well-being: A

    two-year follow-up study contrasting a materialistic and psychosocial pathway

    perspective. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 20*(2), 190–204.

    https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038342

Groot, S., & Hodgetts, D. (2015). The infamy of begging: A case-based approach to street

    homelessness and radical commerce. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 12*(4), 349-

    366.

Groot, S. A., van Ommen, C., Masters-Awatere, B., & Tassel-Matamua, N. (2017).

    *Precarity: Uncertain, insecure and unequal lives in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 85–

    94). Massey University Press.

Haar, J., Carr, S. C., Arrowsmith, J., Parker, J., Hodgetts, D., & Alefaio-Tugia, S. (2018).

    Escape from working poverty: Steps toward sustainable livelihood. *Sustainability,*

    *10*(11), 4144.

Haar, J. M., Russo, M., Suñe, A., & Ollier-Malaterre, A. (2014). Outcomes of work–life

    balance on job satisfaction, life satisfaction and mental health: A study across seven

    cultures. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 85*, 361–373.

Hackman, J. R., & Oldham, G. R. (1976). Motivation through design of work – Test of a

    theory. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 16*(2), 250–279.

Handler, J. F., & Hasenfeld, Y. (2006). *Blame welfare, ignore poverty and inequality.*

    Cambridge University Press.

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies, 17*(1),

    13-26.

Harrington-Watt, K. (2014). Photographs as adaptive, transitional objects in Gujarati migrant

    homes. *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture, 5*(2-3), 273-287.

Hart, J. T. (1971). The inverse care law. *The Lancet  297*(7696), 405-412.

   https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(71)92410-X

Hartig, T., Evans, G. W., Jamner, L. D., Davis, D. S., & Gärling, T. (2003). Tracking

   restoration in natural and urban field settings. *Journal of Environmental Psychology,*

   *23*(2), 109-123.

Hartig, T., Mitchell, R., De Vries, S., & Frumkin, H. (2014). Nature and health. *Annual*

   *Review of Public Health, 35*, 207-228.

Haybron, D. (2008). *The Pursuit of Unhappiness: The Elusive Psychology of Well-Being*.

   Oxford University Press.

Hazou, R. T. (2018). Performing manaaki and New Zealand refugee theatre. Research in

   Drama Education. *The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, 23*(2), 228-241.

Headey, B. W., & Wearing, A. J. (1992). *Understanding happiness: A theory of subjective*

   *well-being.* Longman Cheshire.

Ministry of Health (2017). Māori health models – Te Whare Tapa Whā.

   https://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/populations/maori-health/maori-health-

   models/maori-health-models-te-whare-tapa-wha

Heidegger, M. (1927). *Being and Time.* (T. J. Stambaugh, Trans.). State University of New

   York Press.

Heidegger, M. (1971). Building dwelling thinking. In M. D. Heidegger (Ed.), *In Poetry,*

   *language, thought* (pp. 145–161). Harper & Row.

Heliker, D., Chadwick, A., & O'Connell, T. (2001 ). The meaning of gardening and the

   effects on perceived well being of a gardening project on diverse populations of

   elders. *Activities, Adaptation & Aging, 24*(3), 35-56.

Helliwell, J., Layard, R., & Sachs, J. (2012). World happiness report.

   https://worldhappiness.report/ed/2012/

Hendriks, T., Warren, M. A., Schotanus-Dijkstra, M., Hassankhan, A., Graafsma, T., Bohlmeijer, E., & de Jong, J. (2019). How WEIRD are positive psychology interventions? A bibliometric analysis of randomized controlled trials on the science of well-being. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 14*(4), 489-501.

Henrich. J., H., S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioural Brain Science, 33*(2-3), 61-83.

Herzlich, C. (1973). *Health and Illness – A social psychological analysis*. Academic Press.

Higate, R. (2000). Tough bodies and rough sleeping: Embodying homelessness amongst ex-servicemen. *Housing, Theory and Society, 17*(3), 97-108. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036090051084388

Hodges, S. D., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2007 ). Balancing the empathy expense account: Strategies for regulating empathic response. *Empathy in Mental Illness,* 389-407. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511543753.022

Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Scammell, M., Karapu, R., & Waimarie Nikora, L. (2008). Constructing health news: possibilities for a civic-oriented journalism. *Health (London), 12*(1), 43-66. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363459307083697

Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Tankel, Y., & Groot, S. (2014). Looking within and beyond the community: Lessons learned by researching, theorising and acting to address urban poverty and health. *Journal of Health Psychology, 19*(1), 97-102. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105313500250

Hodgetts, D., Drew, N., Sonn, C., Stolte, O., Waimarie Nikora, L., & Curtis, C. (2010). *Social Psychology and Everyday Life*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Hodgetts, D., Garden, E., Groot, S., & Chamberlain, K. (2015). Debt in the everyday lives of 100 families experiencing urban poverty in New Zealand. In *Social and psychological dimensions of personal debt and the debt industry* (pp. 19-38). Palgrave Macmillan.

Hodgetts, D., Radley, A., Chamberlain, K., & Hodgetts, A. (2007). Health inequalities and homelessness: Considering material, spatial and relational dimensions. *Journal of Health Psychology, 12*(5), 709–725.

Hodgetts, D., Rua, M., King, P., & Te Whetu, T. (2016). The ordinary in the extra ordinary: Everyday living textured by homelessness. In E. Schraube & C. Højholt (Eds.), *Psychology and the conduct of everyday life* (pp. 124-144). Routledge.

Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O. (2017). *Urban poverty and health inequalities: A relational approach.* Routledge.

Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., Sonn, C., Drew, N., Carr, S., & Nikora, L. W. (2020). *Social psychology and everyday life.* Red Globe Press.

Hogg, M. A. (1992). *The social psychology of group cohesiveness: From attraction to social identity.* Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hogg, M. A. (2007). Uncertainty–identity theory. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 39). Academic Press.

Holland, S., Forrester, D., Williams, A., & Copello, A. (2014). Parenting and substance misuse: Understanding accounts and realities in child protection contexts. *British Journal of Social Work, 44*(6), 1491-1507.

Holloway, L. H., P. (2013). *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life.* Routledge.

Holt-Lunstad, J., & Smith, T. B. (2012). Social relationships and mortality. *Social & Personality Psychology Compass, 6*(1), 41–53. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2011.00406.x

Horrigan-Kelly, M., Millar, M., & Dowling, M. (2016). Understanding the key tenets of Heidegger's philosophy for interpretive phenomenological research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 15*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406916680634

Howarth, C., Campbell, C., Cornish, F., Franks, B., Garcia-Lorenzo, L., Gillespie, A., Gleibs, I., Gonvales-Portelinha, I., Jovchelovitch, S., Lahlou, S., Mannell, J., Reader, T., & Tennant, C. (2013). Insights from societal psychology: A contextual politics of societal change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 1*(1), 364-384.

Howden-Chapman, P., & Tobias, M. (1999). *Social Inequalities in Health: New Zealand 1999.* Ministry of Health. https://www.moh.govt.nz/notebook/nbbooks.nsf/0/F6338BF7171E3F904C25696D00 1318EE/$file/SIHch1.pdf

Howitt. (2020). *After coronavirus, the penny has dropped that wellbeing isn't individual but social.* https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/12/after-coronavirus-the-penny- has-dropped-that-wellbeing-isnt-individual-but-social

Huber, M., Knottnerus, J., Green, L., Van Der Horst, H., Jadad, A., Kromhout, D., Leonard, B., Lorig, K., Loureiro, M., Van Der Meer, J., Schnebel, P., Smith, R., Van Weel, C., & Smid, H. (2011). How should we define health? *British Medical Journal,* 343. (343). https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.d4163

Hunziker, M., Buchecker, M., & Hartig, T. (2007). Space and Place – Two Aspects of the Human-landscape Relationship. In *A changing world* (pp.47-62). Springer, Dordrecht. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-4436-6_5

Hurley, J., Vacas-Soriano, C., Marcel, M., & Lantto, E. (2018). *Labour market change: Concept and practice of a living wage.* Eurofound.

Huta, V., & Ryan, R. M. (2010). Pursuing pleasure or virtue: The differential and overlapping well-being benefits of hedonic and eudaimonic motives. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 11*(6), 735-762. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-009-171-4

Huta, V., & Waterman, A. S. (2014). Eudaimonia and its distinction from hedonia: Developing a classification and terminology for understanding conceptual and

operational definitions. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 15*(6), 1425-1456. .

https://doi.org/10.100/s10902-013-9485-0

ILO. (2019a). *The working poor - or how a job is no guarantee of decent living conditions.*

https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---

stat/documents/publication/wcms_696387.pdf

Inglehart, R. (2009). Faith and freedom: Traditional and modern ways to happiness. In E.

Diener, J. Helliwell & D. Kahnemann (Eds.), *International differences in well-being*

(pp. 342–368). Oxford University Press.

Jackson, K., & Graham, R. (2017). When dollar loaves are all you have: Expereinces of food

insecurity in Hamiton, New Zealand. In S. Groot, B. Masters-Awatere & N. Tassell-

Matamua (Eds.), *Precarity: Uncertain, insecure and unequal lives in Aotearoa New*

*Zealand* (pp. 63-75). Massey University Press.

Jahoda, M. (1981). Work, employment, and unemployment: Values, theories, and approaches

in social research. *American Psychologist, 36* (2), 184-191.

https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.36.2.184

Jahoda, M. (1982). *Employment and unemployment: A social-psychological analysis.*

Cambridge University Press.

Jahoda, M., Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Zeisel, H. (1972). *The sociography of an unemployed*

*community: Marienthal).* Routledge. (Original work published 1933).

James, W. (1890/1983). *The Principles of Psychology. With an introduction by G.A. Miller.*

Harvard University Press.

Jardim, E., Long, M., Plotnick, R., Van Inwegen, E., Vigdor, J., & Wething, H. (2018).

*Minimum wage increases, wages, and low-wage employment: Evidence from Seattle.*

National Bureau of Economic Research.

Jones, S. K., & Griep, Y. (2018). "I can only work so hard before I burn out." A time

    sensitive conceptual integration of ideological psychological contract breach, work

    effort, and burnout. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *9,* 131.

    https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00131

Joshanloo, M. (2014). Eastern conceptualizations of happiness: Fundamental differences with

    Western views. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 1*5(2), 475-493.

    https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-013-9431-1

Jovchelovitch, S., & Priego-Hernandez, J. (2015). *Bottom-up Social Development Infavelas*

    *of Rio de Janeiro: A Toolkit.* The London School of Economics and Political Science.

Judge, T. A., Piccolo, R. F., Podsakoff, N. P., Shaw, J. C., & Rich, B. L. (2010). The

    relationship between pay and job satisfaction: A meta-analysis of the literature.

    *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 77*(2), 157-167.

Justesen, L., Mikkelsen, B. E., & Gyimóthy, S. (2014). Understanding hospital meal

    experiences by means of participant-driven-photo-elicitation. *Appetite, 75*, 30-39.

Kahneman, D., & Krueger, A. B. (2006). Developments in the measurement of subjective

    well-being. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 20*(1), 3-24.

Kahneman, D., Diener, E., & Schwarz, N. (Eds.). (1999). *Well-being: Foundations of*

    *hedonic psychology*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Kalleberg, A. L. (2009). Precarious work, insecure workers: Employment relations in

    transition. *American Sociological Review, 74*(1), 1-22.

Kansky, J., & Diener, E. (2017). Benefits of well-being: Health, social relationships, work,

    and resilience. *Journal of Positive School Psychology, 1*(2), 129-169.

Kaplan, R., & Kaplan, S. (1989). *The experience of nature: A psychological perspective.*

    Cambridge University Press.

Karjanen, D. (2010). Opposition to the living wage: Discourse, rhetoric, and american exceptionalism. *Anthropology of Work Review,, 31*(1), 4-14.

Kashdan, T. B., & Steger, M. F. (2007). Curiosity and pathways to well-being and meaning in life: Traits, states, and everyday behaviors. *Motivation and Emotion, 31*(3), 159-173.

Kashdan, T. B., Rose, P., & Fincham, F. D. (2004). Curiosity and exploration: Facilitating positive subjective experiences and personal growth opportunities. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 82*(3), 291-305.

Keltner, D., & Haidt, J. (2001). Social functions of emotions. In T. Mayne & G. Bonanno (Eds.), *Emotions: Current issues and future directions* (pp. 192-213). Guilford Press.

Keltner, D., & Kring, A. M. (1998). Emotion, social function, and psychopathology. *Review of General Psychology, 2*(3), 320-342. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.2.3.320

Kennett, C. R. (2002). *Leisure, poverty and social exclusion: An analysis of leisure card schemes in Great Britain* [Doctoral thesis, Loughborough University]. Loughborough University. https://hdl.handle.net/2134/6895

Kenway, E. (2016). *Here are the commonest corporate arguments against the living wage – and why they're wrong.* Independent. https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/here-are-commonest-corporate-arguments-against-living-wage-and-why-they-re-wrong-a6797271.html

Kern, M. L., Williams, P., Spong, C., Colla, R., Sharma, K., Downie, A., Taylor, J., Sharp, S., Siokou, C., & Oades, L. G. (2019). Systems informed positive psychology. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 15*(6), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2019.1639799

Keyes, C. L. M. (1998). Social well-being. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 61(2),* 121-140. https://doi.org/10.2307/2787065

Kim, U., Yang, K. S., & Hwang, K. K. (2006). *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context.* Springer Science & Business Media.

Kincheloe, J. (2005). On to the next level: Continuing the conceptualization of the bricolage. *Qualitative Inquiry, 11*, 323-350. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405275056

King, P., Hodgetts, D.J., Rua, M. & Te Whetu, T. (2015). Older men gardening on the Marae. *Alternative, 11*(1), 14–28.

King, P., Waldegrave, C. (2014). *Report of an investigation into defining a living wage for New Zealand.* Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit. http://familycentre.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Living_Wage_Investigation_Report_2013.pdf

Kingsley, J. Y., Townsend, M., & Henderson-Wilson, C. (2009). Cultivating health and wellbeing: members' perceptions of the health benefits of a Port Melbourne community garden. *Leisure Studies, 28*(2), 207-219.

Kleiber, D. A., Hutchinson, S. L., & Williams, R. (2002). Leisure as a resource in transcending negative life events: Self-protection, self-restoration, and personal transformation. *Leisure Sciences, 24*(2), 219-235. https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400252900167

Klitzing, S. W. (2004). Women living in a homeless shelter: Stress, coping and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research, 36*(4), 483-512. https://doi.org/10.1080/00222216.2004.11950033

Knight, C. (2020). *Nature and wellbeing in Aotearoa New Zealand: Exploring the Connection*. Totara Press.

Konigsburg, J. A. (2017). The economic and ethical implications for living wages. *Religions, 8*(4), 74–80.

Konopaske, R., & Werner, S. (2002). Equity in non-North American contexts: Adapting

    equity theory to the new global business environment. *Human Resource Management*

    *Review, 12*(3), 405-418.

Korpela, K., Borodulin, K., Neuvonen, M., Paronen, O., & Tyrväinen, L. (2014). Analyzing

    the mediators between nature-based outdoor recreation and emotional well-being.

    *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 37,* 1-7.

Kotera, Y., Richardson, M., & Sheffield, D. (2020). Effects of shinrin-yoku (forest bathing)

    and nature therapy on mental health: A systematic review and meta-analysis.

    *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction,* 1-25.

    https://doi.org/10.1007/s11469-020-00363-4

Kraut, R. (2018). *The quality of life: Aristotle revised.* Oxford University Press.

Kuo, M. (2015). How might contact with nature promote human health? Promising

    mechanisms and a possible central pathway. *Frontiers in Psychology, 6,* 1093.

    https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01093

Lambert, L., Lomas, T., van de Weijer, M. P., Passmore, H. A., Joshanloo, M., Harter, J.,

    Ishikawa, Y., Lai, Alden., Kitagawa, T., Chen, T ., Kawakami, T., Miyata, H., &

    Diener, E  (2020). Towards a greater global understanding of wellbeing: A proposal

    for a more inclusive measure. *International Journal of Wellbeing, 10*(2).

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory.* Oxford

    University Press.

Laverty, S. M. (2003). Hermeneutic phenomenology and phenomenology: A comparison of

    historical and methodological considerations. *International Journal of Qualitative*

    *Methods, 2*(3), 21-35.

Lawton, E., Brymer, E., Clough, P., & Denovan, A. (2017). The relationship between the physical activity environment, nature relatedness, anxiety, and the psychological well-being benefits of regular exercisers. *Frontiers in Psychology, 8*, 1058.

Lefebvre, H. (1958/1991). *Critique of Everyday Life* (T. J. Moore, Trans.). Verso. (Original work published 1947)

Leonard, R., & Onyx, J. (2003). Networking through loose and strong ties: An Australian qualitative study. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 14*(2), 189-203.

Levinas, E. (1971). *Totality and infinity. An essay on exteriority.* Martinus Nijhoff Publisher.

Li, W., Hodgetts, D., & Ho, E. (2010). Gardens, transitions and identity reconstruction among older Chinese immigrants to New Zealand. *Journal of Health Psychology, 15*, 786-796. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105310368179

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba. (1985). *Naturalistic Enquiry.* SAGE.

Linton, M. J., Dieppe, P., & Medina-Lara, A. (2016). Review of 99 self-report measures for assessing well-being in adults: exploring dimensions of well-being and developments over time. *British Medical Journal Open, 6*(7). https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2015010641

Loeffler, T. A. (2004). A photo elicitation study of the meanings of outdoor adventure experiences. *Journal of Leisure Research, 36*(4), 536-556.

Lomas, T. (2016). Flourishing as a dialectical balance: Emerging insights from second-wave positive psychology. *Palgrave Communications, 2,* 16018 https://doi.org/10.1057/palcomms.2016.18

Louv, R. (2005). Nature deficit. *Orion,* 70-71.

Luce, S. (2004). *Fighting for a living wage: The politics of implementation.* ILR Press.

Luce, S. (2005). Fighting for a living wage. *Industrial & Labor Relations Review, 59*(2), 83.

LW Aotearoa New Zealand. (2019). *The new Living Wage for 2019 is $21.15.*

    https://www.livingwage.org.nz/the_new_living_wage_for_2019_is_21_15

Mabughi, N., & Selim, T. (2006). Poverty as social deprivation: A survey. *Review of Social*

    *Economy, 64*(2), 181-204.

Maccagnan, A., Wren-Lewis, S., Brown, H., & Taylor, T. (2019). Wellbeing and society:

    Towards quantification of the co-benefits of wellbeing. *Social Indicators Research,*

    *141*(1), 217-243.

Maher, J., O'Shea, D., & Igou, E. R. (2019). Social Cognition in the workplace: The future of

    research on the meaning of work: In *the SAGE handbook of applied social psychology*

    (pp. 255-277). Sage Publications.

Mallett, S. (2004). Understanding home: a critical review of the literature. *The Sociological*

    *Review, 52*(1), 62-89.

Mannell, R. C. (2007). Leisure, Health and Well-Being. *World Leisure Journal, 49*(3), 114-

    128. https://doi.org/10.1080/04419057.2007.9674499

Mansfield, L., Daykin, N., & Kay, T. (2020). Leisure and wellbeing. *Leisure Studies,* 39(1),

    1-10. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2020.1713195

Manzo, L. C. (2008). The experience of displacement on sense of place and wellbeing. In A.

    W. Eyles (Ed.), *Sense of place, health and quality of life* (pp. 87–104). Routledge.

Marks, N., & Shah, H. (2004). A well-being manifesto for a flourishing society. *Journal of*

    *Public Mental Health, 3*(4), 9-15. https://doi.org/10.1108/17465729200400023

Markwell, K. (2015). Birds, beasts and tourists: Human-animal relationships in tourism. In K.

    Markwell (Ed.), *Animals and tourism: Understanding diverse relationships* (pp. 1–

    23). Channel View Publications.

Marmot, M. (2002). The influence of income on health: Views of an epidemiologist. *Health*

    *Affairs, 21*(2), 31-46.

Marmot, M., & Wilkinson, R. (Eds.). (2005). *Social determinants of health.* Oup Oxford.

Marmot, M., Allen, J., Bell, R., Bloomer, E., & Goldblatt, P. (2012). WHO European review

of social determinants of health and the health divide. *The Lancet, 380*(9846), 1011-

1029.

Marschall, S. (2019). 'Memory objects': Material objects and memories of home in the

context of intra-African mobility. *Journal of Material Culture*. *24*(3), 253-269.

https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183519832630

Marshall, G. L., Kahana, E., Gallo, W. T., Stansbury, K. L., & Thielke, S. (2020). The price

of mental well-being in later life: The role of financial hardship and debt. *Aging &*

*Mental Health*, *25*(7), 1338-1344.

Maslow, A., & Frager, R. (1987). *Motivation and Personality*. Harper & Brothers. (Original

work published 1953)

Massey, D. B. (1994). *Space, Place, and Gender.* University of Minnesota Press.

Mauss, M. (1923/1990). *The gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies.*

(W.D. Hall, Trans.). Routledge.

Mayer, F. S., Frantz, C. M., Bruehlman-Senecal, E., & Dolliver, K. (2009). Why is nature

beneficial? The role of connectedness to nature. *Environment and Behaviour, 41*(5),

607–643. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916508319745

McGrath, L., & Reavey, P. (2015). Seeking fluid possibility and solid ground: Space and

movement in mental health service users' experiences of 'crisis'. *Social Science &*

*Medicine, 128*, 115-125.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *The works of George Herbert Mead: Mind, self and society from the*

*stand point of a social behaviorist*. University of Chicago Press.

Mead, J., Fisher, Z., Wilkie, L., Gibbs, K., Pridmore, J., Tree, J., & Kemp, A. (2019).

  *Rethinking wellbeing: Toward a more ethical science of wellbeing that considers*

  *current and future generations.* Authorea Preprints.

Mehl, M. R., Vazire, S., Holleran, S. E., & Clark, C. S. (2010). Eavesdropping on happiness:

  Well-being is related to having less small talk and more substantive conversations.

  *Psychological Science, 21*(4), 539–541.

Menatti, L., & Casado da Rocha, A. (2016). Landscape and health: Connecting psychology,

  aesthetics, and philosophy through the concept of affordance. *Frontiers in*

  *Psychology, 7*, 571.

Mielewczyk, F., & Willig, C. (2007). Old clothes and an older look: the case for a radical

  makeover in health behaviour research. *Theory & Psychology, 17*(6), 811-837.

Mikulas, W. L. (2007). Buddhism & Western psychology: Fundamentals of integration.

  *Journal of Consciousness Studies, 14*(4), 4-49.

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (2008). *Governing the present: Administering economic, social and*

  *personal life.* Polity.

Milligan, C., & Bingley, A. (2007). Restorative places or scary spaces? The impact of

  woodland on the mental well-being of young adults. *Health & Place, 13*(4), 799-811.

Moore, A. (2004). *Hedonism*. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

  https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hedonism/

Morrison, M., Tay, L., & Diener, E. (2011). Subjective well-being and national satisfaction:

  Findings from a worldwide survey. *Psychological Science, 212*(2), 166-171.

  https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610396224

Morrow, V. (2001 ). Using qualitative methods to elicit young people's perspectives on their

  environments: Some ideas for community health initiatives. *Health Education*

  *Research, 16*(3), 255–268.

Murray, M. (2012). Critical health psychology and the scholar-activist tradition. In C.

Horrocks & S. Johnson (Eds.), *Advances in health psychology: Critical approaches*

(pp. 29-43). Palgrave McMillan.

Myerhoff, B. (1982). *Life history among the elderly: Performance, visibility and*

*remembering.* University of Pennsylvania Press.

National Health Committee. (1998). *The Social, Cultural and Economic Determinants of*

*Health in New Zealand: Action to Improve Health: A Report.* The National Advisory

Committee on Health and Disability.

Neumark, D., & Adams, S. (2003). Detecting effects of living wage laws. *Industrial*

*Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society, 42*(4), 531-564.

https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-232X.00306

Noble, G. (2004 ). Accumulating being. *International Journal of Cultural Studies, 7*(2), 233-

256.

Nordenfelt, L., & Liss, P. E. (Eds.). (2003). *Dimensions of health and health promotion* (Vol.

138). Rodopi.

Norlyk, A., & Harder, I. (2010 ). What makes a phenomenological study phenomenological?

An analysis of peer-reviewed empirical nursing studies. *Qualitative Health Research,*

*20*(3), 420-431.

Nussbaum, M. C. (2001). *The fragility of goodness: Luck and ethics in Greek tragedy and*

*philosophy.* Cambridge University Press.

OECD (2019). *OECD Economic Surveys: New Zealand 2019.*

https://www.oecd.org/economy/surveys/new-zealand-2019-OECD-economic-survey-

overview.pdf

Oishi, S., & Diener, E. (2001). Goals, culture, and subjective well-being. *Personality and*

*Social Psychology Bulletin, 27,* 1674–1682.

Oishi, S., Diener, E., & Lucas, R. (2007). The optimum level of well-being: Can people be too happy? *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 2*, 346–360.

Oliffe, J. L., & Bottorff, J. L. (2007). Further than the eye can see? Photo elicitation and research with men. *Qualitative Health Research, 17*(6), 850-858.

International Labour Organization (2007). International Labour Conference: Provisional Record – Ninety-sixth Session, Geneva, 2007 (Twelfth Sitting). http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc96/pdf/pr-16.pdf ).

International Labour Organization (2013). The World of Work Report 2013: Repairing the Economic and Social Fabric. ILO, Geneva.

International Labour Organization (2016). World employment social outlook: Trends 2016. ILO, Geneva.

International Labour Organization (2019). How to define a minimum wage? https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/wages/minimum-wages/definition/lang--en/index.htm

Padgett, D. K. (2007). There's no place like (a) home: Ontological security among persons with serious mental illness in the United States. *Social Science Medicine, 64*(9), 1925-1936. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.02.011

Pak, J. H. (2006). *Korean American women: Stories of acculturation and changing selves.* Routledge.

Panter-Brick, C., & Fuentes, A. (Eds.). (2009). *Health, risk, and adversity (Vol. 2).* Berghahn Books.

Park, B. J., Tsunetsugu, Y., Kasetani, T., Kagawa, T., and Miyazaki, Y. (2010). The physiological effects of Shinrin-yoku (taking in the forest atmosphere or forest bathing): evidence from field experiments in 24 forests across Japan. *Environmental*

*Health and Preventive Medicine*, 1518–1526. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12199-009-0086-9

Parker, C., Scott, S., & Geddes, A. (2020). *Snowball sampling.* SAGE Publications Limited.

Parker, J. (2018). The living wage in New Zealand and its implications for human resource management and employment relations. In J. Parker & M. Baird (Eds.), *The big issues in employment: HR management and employment relations in Australasia (Edition 2).* (pp. 95–105): CCH New Zealand Limited.

Parker, J., Arrowsmith, J., Fells, R., & Prowse, P. (2016). The living wage: concepts, contexts and future concerns. *Labour & Industry: A Journal of the Social and Economic Relations of Work, 26*(1), 1-7. https://doi.org/10.1080/10301763.2016.1154671

Passmore, H. A., & Howell, A. J. (2014). Nature involvement increases hedonic and eudaimonic well-being: A two-week experimental study. *Ecopsychology, 6*(3), 148–154. https://doi.org/10.1089/eco.2014.0023

Pere, R. R. (1982 ). Ako: *Concepts and learning in the Maori tradition* (No. 17). University of Waikato.

Perry, B. (2017). *The material wellbeing of NZ households: Overview and key findings.* Ministry of Social Development. https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/monitoring/household-income-report/2017/incomes-report-overview.pdf

Perry, B. (2019). *Household incomes in New Zealand: trends in indicators of inequality and hardship 1982 to 2018.* Ministry of Social Development. https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/monitoring/household-incomes/household-incomes-1982-to-2018.html

Pickett, K. E., & Wilkinson, R. G. (2015). Income inequality and health: A causal review. *Social Science & Medicine, 128*, 316-326.

Pink, S. E. (2007). *Visual interventions: Applied visual anthropology* (Vol. 4). Berghahn Books.

Pinto, S., Fumincelli, L., Mazzo, A., Caldeira, S., & Martins, J. C. (2017). Comfort, well-being and quality of life: Discussion of the differences and similarities among the concepts. *Porto Biomedical Journal, 2*(1), 6-12.

Pirani, E., & Salvini, S. (2015). Is temporary employment damaging to health? A longitudinal study on Italian workers. *Social Science & Medicine, 124*, 121-131.

Plane, J., & Klodawsky, F. (2013). Neighbourhood amenities and health: Examining the significance of a local park. *Social Science & Medicine, 99*, 1-8.

Plum, A., Pacheco, G., & Hick, R. (2019). *In-work poverty in New Zealand. Auckland, New Zealand: New Zealand Work Research Institute.* New Zealand Work Research Institude. https://workresearch.aut.ac.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/326709/In-work-Poverty-in-NZ_PDF.pdf

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences.* Suny Press.

Porteous, J. D. (1976). Home: The territorial core. *Geographical Review, 66*(4), 383-390. https://doi.org/10.2307/213649

Pressman, S. D., & Cohen, S. (2005). Does positive affect influence health? *Psychological Bulletin, 131*, 925–971.

Priller, E., & Schupp, J. (2011). Social and economic characteristics of financial and blood donors in Germany. *DIW Economic Bulletin, 1*(6), 23-30.

Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K., & Kaminoff, R. (1983). Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 3*(1), 57-83. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-4944(83)80021-8

Rad, M. S., Martingano, A. J., & Ginges, J. (2018). Toward a psychology of Homo sapiens: Making psychological science more representative of the human population. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *115*(45), 11401-11405.

Radley, A., & Taylor, D. (2003). Images of recovery: A photo-elicitation study on the hospital ward. *Qualitative Health Research, 13*(1), 77-99.

Radley, A., Hodgetts, D., & Cullen, A. (2005). Visualizing Homelessness: A Study in photography and estrangement. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 15*(4), 273–295. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.825

Ratcliffe, E., & Korpela, K. M. (2016). Memory and place attachment as predictors of imagined restorative perceptions of favourite places. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 48*, 120-130. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2016.09.005

Reavey, P. E. (2011). *Visual Methods in Psychology.* Routledge. .

Reckwitz, A. (2002). Toward a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *5*(2), 243-263.

Rees, T., & Freeman, P. (2007). The effects of perceived and received support on self-confidence. *Journal of Sports Sciences, 25*(9), 1057-1065.

Reisel, W. D., Probst, T. M., Chia, S. L., Maloles, C. M., & König, C. J. (2010). The effects of job insecurity on job satisfaction, organizational citizenship behavior, deviant behavior, and negative emotions of employees. *International Studies of Management & Organization, 40*(1), 74-91.

Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences.* Sage.

Rosa, W. (2017). Goal 8. Promote Sustained, Inclusive, and Sustainable Economic Growth, Full and Productive Employment, and Decent Work for All. *A New Era in Global Health: Nursing and the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, 319. https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal8

Rose N. (1989). *Governing the Soul.* Routledge.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought.* Cambridge University

Press.

Rua, M., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., King, D., Cochrane, W., Stubbs, T., Karapu, T., Neha, E.,

Chamberlain, K., Te Whetu, T., Te Awekotuku, N., Haar, J., & Groot, S. (2019).

*Precariat Māori households today.* Ngā Pae O Te Maramatanga.

https://ebooks.auckland.ac.nz/tearotahi_may_2019_no_2/

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2001). On happiness and human potentials: A review of research

on hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology, 52*(1), 141-

166.

Ryff, C., & Singer, B. (2008). Know thyself and become what you are: An eudiamonic

approach to psychological wellbeing. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 9*(1), 13-39.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10902-0069019-0

Ryff, C. D., & Singer, B. (1998). The contours of positive human health. *Psychological

Inquiry, 9*(1), 1-28.

Scannell, L., & Gifford, R. (2017). The experienced psychological benefits of place

attachment. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 51,* 256-269.

Schaufeli, W. B., & Bakker, A. B. (2010). Defining and measuring work engagement:

Bringing clarity to the concept. *Work engagement: A Handbook of Essential Theory

and Research, 12*, 10-24.

Schmalz, D. L., & Pury, C. L. (2018). Leisure and positive psychology: Complementary

science for health and wellbeing. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 13*(1), 1–3.

Schmitt, H. J., Keefer, L. A., Sullivan, D., Stewart, S., & Young, I. F. (2020). A brighter

future: The effect of social class on responses to future debt. *Journal of Social and

Political Psychology, 8*(1).

Schraube, E., & Højholt, C. (2015). *Psychology and the conduct of everyday life.* Routledge.

Schulten, T., Luebker, M. (2019). *Time for substantial minimum wage rises and a European minimum wage policy. WSI Minimum Wage Report 2019.* The Institute of Economic and Social Research. https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/225409/1/wsi-report-46e.pdf

Searle, R. H., & McWha-Hermann, I. (2020). "Money's too tight (to mention)": A review and psychological synthesis of living wage research. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *30*(3), 428-443, https://doi.org/10.1080/1359432X.2020.1838604

Seligman, M. E. (2002). *Authentic happiness: Using the new positive psychology to realize your potential for lasting fulfilment.* Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Seligman, M. E. (2011). *Flourish – A new understanding of happiness and well-being – and how to achieve them.* Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Seppala, E., & King, M. (2017). Burnout at work isn't just about exhaustion. It's also about loneliness. *Harvard Business Review, 29*, 2-4.

Shaw, I. (2008). Ethics and the practice of qualitative research. *Qualitative Social Work,, 7*(4), 400-414.

Sherif, C. W. (1976). *Orientation in social psychology*: Harper & Row.

Sherman, S. M., Cheng, Y. P., Fingerman, K. L., & Schnyer, D. M. (2016). Social support, stress and the aging brain. *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience, 11*(7), 1050-1058.

Shermer, M. (2002). *In Darwin's shadow: The life and science of Alfred Russel Wallace: A biographical study on the psychology of history.* Oxford University Press on Demand.

Silver, J. (2013). Narrative psychology. In C. Willig (Ed.), *Introducing qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 143–155). Open University Press.

Sirgy, M. J., & Lee, D. J. (2018). Work-life balance: An integrative review. *Applied Research in Quality of Life, 13*(1), 229-254.

Small, M., L. (2009). How many cases do I need? On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography, 10*(1), 5-38.

Smit, B. W. (2016). Successfully leaving work at work: The self-regulatory underpinnings of psychological detachment. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 89*(3), 453-514. https://doi.org/10.1111/ joop.12137

Smith, A. (1776/2012). *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations.* Wordsworth Editions. (Original work published 1776)

Smith, C. (2004). *"Social wellbeing in New Zealand and the correlates of life satisfaction"* Paper presented at the Social Policy Research and Evaluation Conference, What Works? Wellington.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* St. Martin's Press

Smyth, F. (2005). Medical geography: therapeutic places, spaces and networks. *Progress in Human Geography, 29*(4), 488-495.

Soga, M., Gaston, K. J., & Yamaura, Y. (2017). Gardening is beneficial for health: A meta-analysis. *Preventive Medicine Reports, 5*, 92-99.

Sointu, E. (2005). The rise of an ideal: tracing changing discourses of wellbeing. *The Sociological Review, 53*(2), 255-274.

Sonnentag, S. (2015). Dynamics of well-being. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior, 2(*1), 261-293.

Sonnentag, S., Binnewies, C., & Mojza, E. (2008). "Did you have a nice evening?'' A day-level study on recovery experiences, sleep, and affect. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 93*(3), 674–683. https://doi.org/10.1037/ 0021-9010.93.3.674

Stainton-Rogers, W. (2012). Changing behaviour: Can critical psychology influence policy and practice? In C. Horrocks & S. Johnson (Eds.), *Advances in Health Psychology: Critical Approaches* (pp. 44– 58 ). Palgrave Macmillan.

Standing, G. (2011a). Labour market policies, poverty and insecurity. *International Journal of Social Welfare, 20*(3), 260-269.

Standing, G. (2011b). *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class.* Bloomsbury Academics.

Standing, G. (2014). *A Precariat Charter: From denizens to citizens.* Bloomsbury Academics.

Statistics New Zealand (2009). *Review of Housing Statistics Report 2009.* https://statsnz.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p20045coll1/id/2704/

Statistics New Zealand (2020). *Housing in Aotearoa: 2020.* https://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/housing-in-aotearoa-2020

Statistics New Zealand (2021). *Wellbeing statistics: December 2020 quarter.* https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/wellbeing-statistics-december-2020-quarter#:~:text=by%20seasonal%20effects.-,Overall%20life%20satisfaction%20still%20high,and%2010%20is%20completely%20satisfied).

Steger, M. F., & Dik, B. J. (2009). If one is looking for meaning in life, does it help to find meaning in work? *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being, 1*(3), 303-320. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1758-0854.2009.01018.x

Steger, M. F., Shim, Y., Rush, B. R., Brueske, L. A., Shin, J. Y., & Merriman, L. A. (2013). The mind's eye: A photographic method for understanding meaning in people's lives. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 8*(6), 530-542.

Steptoe, A., Dockray, S., & Wardle, J. (2009). Positive affect and psychobiological processes relevant to health. *Journal of Personality*, *77*(6), 1747-1776.

Stolte, O., & Hodgetts, D. (2015). Being healthy in unhealthy places: health tactics in a homeless lifeworld. *Journal of Health Psychology, 20*(2), 144-153. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105313500246

Suh, E., Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Triandis, H. C. (1998). The shifting basis of life satisfaction judgments across cultures: Emotions versus norms. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 482–493.

Sverke, M., Hellgren, J., & Näswall, K. (2002). No security: A meta-analysis and review of job insecurity and its consequences. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *7*(3), 242. https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.7.3.242

Swaffield, J., Snell, C., Tunstall, B., & Bradshaw, J. (2018). An evaluation of the living wage: Identifying pathways out of in-work poverty. *Social Policy and Society.* https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746417000136

Tenney, E. R., Poole, J. M., & Diener, E. (2016). Does positivity enhance work performance? Why, when, and what we don't know. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 36*, 27-46.

Teo, T. (2015). From subjective reasons to privilege. In E. Schraube & C. Højholt (Eds.), *Psychology and the conduct of everyday life* (pp. 119-131). Routledge.

Terry, D. J., Nielsen, M., & Perchard, L. (1993). Effects of work stress on psychological well-being and job satisfaction: The stress-buffering role of social support. *Australian Journal of Psychology, 45*(3), 168-175.

The New Economics Foundation [NEF]. (2012). *Measuring wellbeing: A guide for practitioners.* https://b.3cdn.net/nefoundation/8d92cf44e70b3d16e6_rgm6bpd3i.pdf

Thomas, G. (2010). Doing case study: Abduction not induction, phronesis not theory. . *Qualitative Inquiry, 16*, 575–582. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410372601

Tímár, J. (1983). Problems of full employment. *Acta Oeconomica,, 31*(3-4), 209-224.

Toolis, E. E. (2017). Theorizing critical placemaking as a tool for reclaiming public space. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 59*(1-2), 184-199.

Törrönen, M., Munn-Giddings, C., & Tarkiainen, L. (2017). *Reciprocal relationships and well-being: Implications for social work and social policy.* Taylor & Francis.

Tuan, Y. F. (1974). *Space and place: The perspective of experience.* University of Minnesota Press.

Tyler, T. R., & Blader, S. L. (2003). The group engagement model: Procedural justice, social identity, and cooperative behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 7*(4), 349-361.

Uchida, Y., Kitayama, S., Mesquita, B., Reyes, J., & Morling, B. (2008). Is perceived emotional support beneficial? Well-being and health in independent and interdependent cultures. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34*(6), 741–754.

Uchida, Y., Norasakkunkit,V., & Kitayama, S. (2004). Cultural constructions of happiness: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 5*(3), 223-239.

Unruh, A., & Hutchinson, S. (2011). Embedded spirituality: Gardening in daily life and stressful life experiences. *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Sciences, 25*(3), 567-574.

Van Den Berg, A. E., & Custers, M. H. (2011). Gardening promotes neuroendocrine and affective restoration from stress. *Journal of Health Psychology, 16*(1), 3-11.

Van Manen, M. (1990). Beyond assumptions: Shifting the limits of action research. *Theory into Practice, 29*(3), 152-157.

Wacquant, L. (2009). *Punishing the poor: The neoliberal government of social insecurity.* University Press.

Wacquant, L. (2014). Marginality, ethnicity and penality in the neo-liberal city: An analytic cartography. *Ethnic & Racial Studies, 37*(10), 1687–1711.

Wager, F., Bailey, N., Day, R., Hamilton, D., Hill, M., & King, C. (2007). *Serving the children: The impact of poverty on children's experiences of services.* Glasgow Centre for Child and Society.

Wakefield, S., McMullan, C. (2005). Healing in places of decline: (Re)imagining everyday landscapes in Hamilton, Ontario. *Health & Place, 11*(4), 299-312.

Wakefield, S., Yeudall, F., Taron, C., Reynolds, J., & Skinner, A. (2007). Growing urban health: community gardening in South-East Toronto. *Health Promotion International, 22*(2), 92-101.

Waldegrave, C., King, P., & Urbanová, M. (2018). *Report of the Measurement Review for a New Zealand living wage.* Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit. http://familycentre.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Living-Wage-2018-Measurement-Review-Report-Final.pdf

Wang, D., & MacMillan, T. (2013). The benefits of gardening for older adults: a systematic review of the literature. *Activities, Adaptation & Aging, 37*(2), 153-181.

Warr, P. B. (1987). *Work, unemployment and mental health.* Oxford University Press.

Warr, P. B. (2007). *Work, happiness, and unhappiness.* Lawrence Erlbaum.

Warren, T. (2015). Work-life balance/imbalance: the dominance of the middle class and the neglect of the working class. *The British Journal of Sociology, 66*(4), 691-717.

Waugh, C. E., & Fredrickson, B. L. (2006). Nice to know you: Positive emotions, self–other overlap, and complex understanding in the formation of a new relationship. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 1*(2), 93-106.

White, S. C. (2010). Analysing wellbeing: A framework for development practice. *Development in Practice, 20*(2), 158-172.

White, S. C. (2015). *Relational wellbeing: A theoretical and operational approach* (No. 43). Bath Papers in International Development and Wellbeing. University of Bath.

White, S. C. (2017). Relational wellbeing: re-centring the politics of happiness, policy and

the self. *Policy & Politics, 45*(2), 121-136.

World Health Organization (1948). Constitution of the World Health Organization. *Basic

Documents.* https://www.who.int/governance/eb/who_constitution_en.pdf

World Health Organization (2020). Social determinants of health.

https://www.who.int/health-topics/social-determinants-of-health#tab=tab_1

Williams, A. (1999). *Therapeutic landscapes.* University Press of America.

Williams, A. (2002). Changing geographies of care: employing the concept of therapeutic

landscapes as a framework in examining home space. *Social Science & Medicine,

55*(1), 141–154.

Williams, A. M. (Ed.). (2017). Therapeutic landscapes. In *International encyclopedia of

geography: People, the earth, environment and technology* (pp. 1-2). Routledge.

https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118786352.wbieg0138.pub2

Witte, H. D. (1999). Job insecurity and psychological well-being: Review of the literature

and exploration of some unresolved issues. *European Journal of work and

Organizational Psychology, 8*(2), 155-177.

Wrzesniewski, A., & Dutton, J. E. (2001). Crafting a job: Revisioning employees as active

crafters of their work. *Academy of Management Review, 26*(2), 179–201.

Wrzesniewski, A., Dutton, J. E., & Debebe, G. (2003). Interpersonal sensemaking and the

meaning of work. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 25*(2), 93–135.

https://doi.org/10.1016/S0191-3085(03)25003-6

Wrzesniewski, A., McCauley, C., Rozin, P., & Schwartz, B. (1997). Jobs, careers, and

callings: People's relations to their work. *Journal of Research in Personality, 31*(1),

21–33. https://doi.org/10.1006/jrpe.1997.2162

Yang, C. F. (2006 ). The Chinese conception of the self: Towards a person-making

perspective. In U. Kim, K. Yang & K. Hwang (Eds.), *Indigenous and cultural

psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp. 327-356). Springer.

Yao, C., Parker, J., Arrowsmith, J., & Carr, S. C. (2017). The living wage as an income range

for decent work and life. *Employee relations, 39*(6), 875-887.

https://doi.org/10.1108/ER-03-2017-0071

Zeller, M., Sharma, M., Ahmed, A. & Rashid, S. (2001). *Group-based financial institutions

for the rural poor in Bangladesh, IFPI Research Report 120,* International Food

Policy Research Institute.

https://ebrary.ifpri.org/digital/collection/p15738coll2/id/84209/

**Appendix A: Information Sheet**



<div align="right">

School of Psychology

Massey University

Private Bag 102-904

North Shore

Auckland 0745

</div>

**PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET**

**Understanding the Effects of the Living Wage on Wellbeing**

### Who is conducting this research?

I am Christina Lorth, a Master's student at the School of Psychology. I am conducting this research under the supervision of Amanda Young-Hauser and Darrin Hodgetts from the School of Psychology, Massey University Albany.

### What do I study?

The aim of this study is to learn about people's wellbeing practices, and what it means 'to be well' for people who have recently transitioned from a minimum wage to a living wage to find out about the impacts of the living wage, across different aspects of wellbeing.

### Your involvement:

The study will run in three parts:

> Part 1 initial conversation (30 to 60 minutes)
>
> Part 2 taking photos over 7 days
>
> Part 3 talk to me about the photos you have taken (approx. an hour)

All conversations will take place at a time and location suitable to you.

I will ask for permission to audio record conversations to ensure content is noted accurately.

Participation is voluntary, you can opt to not answer a question, and you are free to discontinue the conversation at any time.

**Who will be a part of this study?**

I am inviting people to participate in this study who are 18 years and over, who are in full-time employment (at least 30+ hours per week) in the Taranaki region, and who have transitioned from receiving a minimum wage to a living wage ($21.15 up until 31/08/20 and $22.10 per hour from 01/09/20).

**What happens with the material?**

I will transcribe the recordings verbatim. The material will be securely stored on a password-protected computer.

I will use pseudonyms to protect participants' identities. With your consent I may use photos in this thesis or other publications, any face will be blurred out.

This project has been peer reviewed and approved by Massey University's Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions or concerns about the project, you are welcome to contact me (researcher) and/or my supervisors at Massey University.


Phone: Christina Lorth          022 322 1809

Phone: Amanda Young-Hauser      027 681 7525

Phone: Darrin Hodgetts          (09) 414 0800  ext. 43758

**Appendix B: Participant Consent Form**

School of Psychology

Massey University

Private Bag 102-904

North Shore

Auckland 0745

**PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

**Understanding the Effects of the Living Wage on Wellbeing**

I have read and understand the Information Sheet for this study. The details of the study have been explained to me and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that at any time I have the right to ask further questions. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study.

I also understand participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time or choose not to answer any particular question in the study. I agree to provide the researcher with information on the understanding that it is confidential. I agree to the interview being sound recorded, and understand I have the right to ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interviews.

I also agree that the photos generated through this project can be used for the purpose of the study, including for publication purposes.

**YES**                                    **NO (please circle)**

**I also agree that:**

The researcher may use the captions for the photos and brief quotations from the verbal material I produce during the study in her reports of the research, provided these do not identify me in any way.

**YES**                                    **NO (please circle)**

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

**Declaration by Participant:**

I _____ hereby consent to take part in this study.

**Signature:** _____

**Appendix C: Participant Koha Acceptance Form**



School of Psychology

Massey University

Private Bag 102-904

North Shore

Auckland 0745

**PARTICIPANT KOHA ACCEPTANCE FORM**

**Understanding the Effects of the Living Wage on Wellbeing**

**Interviewee Name:**

_____

Interviewer:_ _____  Date of the interview: _____

Location of the interview:

_____

Participation koha:

_____

**Signature:** _____          Date: _____

Amanda Young-Hauser       027 681 7525

**Signature:** _____          Date: _____

Darrin Hodgetts              (09) 414 0800  ext. 43758

**Appendix D: Initial Interview Guide**

**Initial Interview Guide**

- Introductions, drink (coffee, tea, water), kai, general chat
- Information sheet, consent forms, answer questions
- Outline topics e.g.,

This is an interview to get to know you a little, and to learn about your personal history and to get some general background information. I have six topics I'd like to ask questions about – there may be some you may like to talk about more, and others not so much, or not at all, and that's okay. You don't have to answer any of the questions, just let me know if you'd like to move on at any point.

Firstly, I'd like to understand more about your background and demographics Then I'd like you to talk through your history around three areas: your education, work/employment and your incomes. I'd also like for you to talk about your household, whether you are living alone or with others, and some details around this. Then I'd like to talk about your wellbeing.

Does that sounds alright? Any questions?

Can you please tell me a little bit about yourself?

About you…general demographics

- Age
- How do you identify? Gender? Ethnicity?
- Marital / relationship status?
- Any dependents?

Educational history

- What's your highest level of education?
- Any qualifications?

Employment/work history (over the past 4 years?)

- What's your current work status? (full-time employed, self-employed, intern, part-time, unemployed etc)
- What's your employment status/employment relationship? (permanent, fixed, contract, temp)
- Do you get paid if you have a sick day, holiday etc?
- Tell me about your work history, up to your current place of work?
  - What types of job(s)/role(s)?
  - How long have you been working in each role?
  - What industries/sector(s)?
  - How many hours do you work per week?

Income history

- Tell me a little about your income history – pay?
- How long *have you been* on the living wage for? How long *were you on* the living wage for?
- Talk me through a weekly budget i.e., how you spend it? how much disposable income you have?
- How has your budget changed after transitioning from MW to a LW? Or down to a LW?
- Have you received any government/social support (e.g., previously? In the past year?)

Household composition

- Tell me about where you're living?
- Who lives in your household?
- What was it like living there?
- What's your role in the household?
- Household income?
- Did you share resources? (How?)

Wellbeing

- Can you please walk me through an experience where you felt really well?

- What's that about?

- And from that, you're saying wellbeing is this X, and that means X?

- Was there a point in your life you felt particularly well? Can you please outline that for me? What was the situation?

- …….Okay, so what is the meaning of wellbeing?

- And what about more recently?

- Have you had any experiences when your wellbeing has been undermined? – e.g., work stress?


Photo-taking exercise:

I would like you to take photos (please use your camera on your phone) over the course of seven days of situations, experiences, things that represent what wellbeing means for you.

These can include anything, such as people, places, objects important to you.

After day seven, please email me your photos, and we'll organise the second session to talk about the photos you've taken.

Take as many pictures as you like.

## Appendix E: Semi-structured interview guide

## Initial interview and photo-elicitation interview

**Wellbeing in everyday life**

- What does 'being well' mean to you on a day-to-day basis?
- Can you think of a time when you experienced wellbeing? Describe in as much detail as possible.
    - How did this feel?
    - What does this look like?
- What types of activities/practices do you engage with to help with your wellbeing?
- Any regular activities that improve your wellbeing?
- What influences your wellbeing? (What kinds of things improve your wellbeing? Or negatively impact your wellbeing?)
- How do you maintain your wellbeing?
- Who do you think is responsible for your wellbeing; why?
- What undermines your wellbeing?

**Landscapes: Place/Spaces**

Were there any places you felt connected to? Or where you feel well?

Before you mentioned…

How did it feel to....

Can you tell me more about that….

*Where would you go? e.g., going to the beach or bush*

*Why would you go there?*

*How did you feel?*

*What did that look like?*

*What would you do?*

*Who were you with?*

**Wellbeing on the living wage**

- What was your experience of wellbeing, being on a living wage? What did this look like?
- What was your wellbeing like when you were on a lower wage? (e.g., minimum wage)
- Can you please think of a time when you were on a living wage when you experienced a sense of feeling well; describe that in as much detail as possible.
    - How did this feel?
    - What did this look like?
- Does the living wage impact your everyday life and wellbeing?
    - If so, how?