The Why and How of Understanding 'Subjective' Wellbeing: Exploratory work by the WeD group[1] in four developing countries

Introduction

Any research group studying experiences of poverty in developing countries would find no shortage of definitions to guide them, however, until recently 'wellbeing' has been a more fugitive concept. Is the exclusive focus on poverty by development policy and practice a problem? (Some might say it has been insufficiently focused on poverty!) Should we study wellbeing instead? Or can the concept of wellbeing actually help us study the production and reproduction of poverty more effectively? This paper aims to show that wellbeing can and will. In fact, the concept of wellbeing owes much to the guiding definitions of poverty within participatory research which reflect the almost equal importance of social relationships, and experiential aspects of poverty like being respected, having meaningful choices, and being able to preserve one's dignity.

The conviction that poverty goes far beyond the material, making it closer to a concept of illbeing, has been supported by a range of participatory studies carried out in developing countries during the past decade, which I briefly review in the first part of the paper (see also the comparative tables in Appendices 2 and 3). I then contrast their findings with qualitative data from the WeD project on people's happiest experiences, their perceptions of what it means to live well, and the characteristics of people they identify as local role models ('ideal (people), respected by all'). This should enable us to see if a more open-ended approach provides an insight into how people understand, pursue, and preserve their wellbeing, which could help development practitioners support, or at least not undermine their strategies.

The problem with Poverty

Many contemporary definitions of poverty come from the explosion in 'participatory research' during the past 20 years[2] and have a plausibility and credibility that support confident intervention. However, not only can the quality of participatory work be variable, but it often starts with the value-laden term 'poverty' and so misses the opportunity to understand people's lives in their own terms (Cooke and Kothari 2001, White and Petitt 2004). This includes acknowledging that people in developing countries may not characterise themselves as poor, or see their lives wholly in terms of lack or deprivation, which is often the way they are regarded by researchers and practitioners of international development (for an alternative perspective see Biswas-Diener and Diener 2001).

Good participatory work can provide a space for people to reflect on and share their experiences; it can also encourage the researcher to widen their lens to include overlooked aspects of people's lives like companionship, everyday pleasures, and sources of meaning that enable them to sustain their wellbeing in insecure and resource-poor environments (White and Petitt 2004, Laderchi 2001, Camfield and McGregor

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[1] The Wellbeing in Developing Countries ESRC Research Group (WeD) is based at the University of Bath and dedicated to the study of poverty, inequality and the quality of life in developing countries. See www.welldev.org.uk

[2] For example, the mainstreaming of Participatory Poverty Assessments in the 1990s and the World Bank funded 'Consultations with the Poor' project (Norton et al 2001, Narayan and Walton 2000, 2002, Narayan, Walton, and Chambers 2000).

2005). However, this potential tends not to be realised when financial and political pressures encourage a relatively superficial research engagement, followed by rhetorical justification back at the office.

This is where a grounded and long-term research project like WeD has a considerable advantage. For this reason, we would expect WeD's open-ended exploration of people's experiences and understandings of wellbeing or quality of life to provide interesting insights into what they value, what they aspire to, and how they manage the inevitable gap between aspiration and reality. By choosing the wide lens of wellbeing or 'living well' (however this is defined locally) over the narrower focus of poverty, we hope to enlarge our field of vision to include some of the compensatory richness of people's lives, which goes some way to explaining their resilience, even in the most hostile environments.

While philosophers like Sen and Nussbaum[3], and more recently 'positive psychologists' like Csziksmenthalyi have produced inspiring theories of human wellbeing, these have little empirical basis. Conversely, the applied nature of participatory research has ensured its problem-based focus on poverty and deprivation. Robert Chambers is a foundational figure in the field of participatory research and consequently his definition of deprivation as comprising not just material poverty, but physical weakness, (social) isolation, vulnerability, and powerlessness has been tremendously influential (1988).

A later review of participatory and conventional approaches to poverty measurement by Bob Baulch added lack of access to community property resources and state services, dignity, and autonomy[4] (1996). Bennet and Roberts's review of participatory work in the UK also noted that key aspects of poverty were lack of dignity and respect, dependence on others, and having no voice or choice (2004). To feel genuinely empowered people needed to be 'recognised and respected as equal citizens and human beings with a contribution to make' (Karl 1995), which often involved strengthening people's cultural and political capital.

The international NGO *Oxfam* made a similar point with its concept of 'voice poverty', which emphasises the absence of status and power, as well as material goods in defining poverty. For example, the right of people in poverty to control not only policies and decisions affecting their lives, but their public representation, and the way poverty is debated (Lister 2002).

1. Examples of participatory research on wellbeing in developing countries (see Appendix 2, table 1)
The following brief review aims to demonstrate that participatory research can enable us to explore the multidimensionality of 'individual' wellbeing. It primarily summarises the findings of studies that relate to the geographical areas that WeD is working in, but also engages with review and primary data from the *Consultations with the Poor* study (see footnote 5).

Moore, Choudhury and Singh began their research in S. Asia with a review of DFID and UNDP studies from the same area carried out in 1996 and 1997 (1998). These suggested that the main sources of wellbeing for

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[3] For example, Nussbaum's 'Thick Vague Theory of the Good' (2000, p.76).
[4] Baulch's definition also mentioned lack of access to income and assets (ibid).

rural people were having land and other assets, sufficient food, diverse sources of income, education, and the demographics of the household (for example, whether there was sufficient adult male labour). These factors also applied in urban areas, with a greater emphasis on the types of jobs people held and whether they had secure access to housing.

Mukherjee's study of peasants in Uttar Pradesh (India) confirmed the importance of having land and regular employment, and also highlighted access to basic infrastructure and services, and the need for community unity (1997). This awareness of the importance of social context continued in Moore et al's study, which explored economic and environmental security, instead of focusing on income and expenditure (1998). Their definition of environmental security encompassed not only avoidance of oppression, crime, and violence, and protection of rights, but also enhancing status and self-respect.

Moore et al produced two groups of indicators of deprivation: the first resulting from material poverty (for example, insecure livelihoods and poor access to public services), and the second relating to social relationships (for example, poor treatment from public officials, gender inequality and/or discrimination, physical insecurity in public and private spaces). The second set of indicators also included respect and self-respect, which were enhanced by avoiding relationships of dependence. The authors were keen to emphasise that while economic insecurity and poor access to health services and schools were important, the relational issues mentioned above were equally or more important, especially for women, and rarely included in development agendas.

Despite noting the importance of self respect and independence, the authors acknowledge that "there is no convincing evidence that poor people place a very high value on independence, respect or personal autonomy if that is to be traded off against food when they are hungry (…) the general consensus that people focus first on basic material needs, then material security, and then less tangible objectives such as affinity, recognition and self-actualisation appears highly plausible" (ibid).

This conclusion seems to be supported by the findings of Mahbub and Roy who used participatory methods with men and women in rural Bangladesh to explore their definitions of 'personal wellbeing' (1997). These related primarily to basic needs (eating three meals a day, being healthy and having access to healthcare, having money and/ or a fixed income), followed by material security (having children and educating your children), and only then 'living a peaceful life'. Although men also mentioned education and self-development, women focused on the health of their husband and/ or other adult male household member and having a small family, both of which affected their economic security.

The *Consultations with the Poor* study[5] carried out in over 50 developing countries between 1999 and 2000 is undoubtedly the most extensive project of its sort. The first two volumes ("Can Anyone Hear Us?" and

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[5] The study was published in three volumes: volume 1, "Can Anyone Hear Us?" which synthesised 81 participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) conducted by the World Bank in 50 countries (Narayan and Walton 2000), volume 2, "Crying Out for Change" drawing on new participatory field work conducted in 1999 in 23 countries (Narayan, Walton, and Chambers 2000), and volume 3,

"Crying Out for Change") grouped the sources of wellbeing under five headings: material (having a secure livelihood and fulfilment of your basic needs), physical (health, strength, and appearance), security (including peace of mind), freedom of choice and action (including self development and mobility), and social wellbeing (good family and community relationships). These general findings were illustrated by case studies from particular countries; for example, in Armenia single pensioners were consistently ranked as the poorest because of their isolation, despite the fact that their income levels were no lower than average.

Key themes that emerged from the syntheses were the importance of people's assets and capabilities, and more importantly whether they were embedded in enabling or disabling relationships, which, among other things, affected their access to income. The syntheses also noted the adverse impact of national shocks and policy changes, the culture of inequality and exclusion in government service agencies, and widespread inequality between men and women, which increased female vulnerability.

Brock supplemented the *Consultations with the Poor* study with a review of participatory research on criteria for poverty, illbeing, or vulnerability, covering 58 groups of children and adults in 12 developing countries (1999). In rural areas the criteria primarily related to food security, followed by lack of work, money, and assets (predominantly land). Participants also noted the vulnerability of particular groups (for example, households with an older or female head) and individuals at different stages in the life cycle, or living in different household types.

In urban areas the primary concern was the immediate living environment, for example, crowded, unsanitary housing, access to water, dirty and dangerous streets, and violence inside and outside the household. Lack of land was also an issue, in so far as it affected housing. Rural and urban areas noted poor health as both a cause and effect of illbeing, which generally related to the quality of housing in urban areas and water in rural ones.

Brock's findings foreground experiential aspects of poverty such as fear, insecurity, dependence, shame, hopelessness, and powerlessness, which all impact on people's agency and mobility. Participants recounted not feeling accepted or respected by others, and feeling powerless in the face of officialdom. The perceived uncontrollability of their lives in the face of environmental or physical changes, made them feel more vulnerable, reducing their confidence and ultimately their agency. Participants described a reduction in their choices: in China people distinguished between what they 'could do' in the past and now 'have to' or 'are forced to' do. They also experienced a reduction in their ability to avoid relationships of dependency, and consequently independence had become a criterion of wellbeing; for example, in Sri Lanka the definition of being rich was that 'you don't have to stretch out your hand to other people'.

"From Many Lands", which offered regional patterns and country case-studies (Narayan, D and Walton, M 2002). It was supplemented by Brock's review of participatory research on criteria for poverty, illbeing, or vulnerability, which had taken place outside the PPA framework (1999).

Although the experience of lack of control limits people's choices and opportunities for action, it doesn't appear to be as central to conceptions of poverty as dysfunctional family or community relationships; for example, where people are embedded in communities that have been corroded by poverty or the social dislocation caused by out-migration on a large scale.

The individual studies for the WeD countries from *Consultations with the Poor* lack some of the richness of the aggregated data and are mainly focused on material wellbeing. For example, the main wellbeing criteria for rural respondents in Ethiopia were size of farmland, livestock (including oxen), access to farm inputs (especially fertiliser) and implements, and being able to feed your family throughout the year[6] (Rahmato and Kidano 1999). Urban respondents also mentioned food security ('able to eat as much as they want') and livelihoods (having your own business, store or hotel and/or permanent, pensionable employment), but added 'living in good houses with good quality furniture' and 'can afford to send their children to good schools'. Respondents from Addis were even more specific about the material dimensions of wellbeing: people should own commercial trucks, stores, hotels or bars, run grain mills, and 'live in nicely furnished houses that they own'. The Thai Participatory Poverty Assessment defined wellbeing as having enough money to save, a house, car, and a regular job or business (Paitoonpong 1999). Being physically and mentally healthy, having a good wife and loving family, and living in a good environment were also important. Interestingly, illbeing was characterised in less material terms, for example, having many problems, being unhappy, unemployed, in debt, and not having money for your children.

The key criterion for wellbeing identified in the Bangladesh PPA was having savings and capital produced by employment opportunities or cultivable land[7] (Nabi et al 1999). However, it was also important to have a good house, healthy and relaxed family members, good clothing, sufficient food, and the ability to educate your children. The Peruvian PPA focused on poverty rather than wellbeing and identified many structural deficiencies, for example, educational and healthcare services, the judicial system, access to markets and formal credit, and neighbourhood cooperation (DFID/ World Bank 2003). Unemployment and underemployment were concerns in urban areas, as was the vulnerability of small-scale agriculture in rural areas. Physical security in urban areas, domestic violence, institutional discrimination and corruption, and gender inequality were also identified as sources of illbeing.

Clark's study of rural and urban people in Western Cape South Africa explicitly addressed understandings of wellbeing by combining open-ended and closed survey questions to explore both people's 'visions of the good' and their evaluation of the complementary visions of Sen and Nussbaum (2002). His study identified the following as the three most important aspects of a good life in Murraysburg and Wallacedene: 'good' jobs (good in the sense of working conditions as well as salary), secure and good quality housing, and education to enhance people's future prospects. Access to income was important across all age groups, primarily as a means to support family and friends, but also a route to a better life; however, it was not as highly ranked as jobs, housing, and education. Respondents also mentioned the importance of having a

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[6] The very rich were also able to lend money to the poor.
[7] Large landowners in rural areas who produce a surplus, or homeowners in urban areas who rent houses, were defined as rich.

good family, religion, health, good food, and happiness, which Clark took as a demonstration that that 'respondents were aware of many of the better things in life but chose to emphasise their urgent needs' (ibid, p15). Many of the aspects of wellbeing proposed by Sen and Nussbaum were rejected by respondents; for example, longevity, opportunities for sexual satisfaction, and literary and scientific pursuits. Clarke also criticised Sen and Nussbaum for ignoring the centrality of the care and support offered by friends and family, by focusing on the 'virtuous' act of giving love, rather than receiving it.

Finally, a study in rural Mexico by Garcia and Way developed locally defined indicators of wellbeing, which exemplify the wide angled perspective on wellbeing identified in the introductory paragraphs as they included not only jobs, income, health, and housing, but also relationships between men and women, self esteem, and the reaffirmation of cultural identities (2003).

The participatory research described above demonstrates the complexity of individual coping strategies, and the way individual priorities reflect specific and socially constructed values, preferences, and time horizons (Laderchi 2001). The WeD research also aims to understand how people experience wellbeing through "the analysis not of subjective components of wellbeing, but the subjective, socially and culturally constructed experience of wellbeing as a whole" (White and Petitt 2004, p.8-9). A complete picture therefore comprises not only people's *objective* endowments, but also the *inter-subjective* in the form of their social interactions, their *subjective* perceptions, and the ethical or moral aspects of wellbeing, reflected in what people value. The 'being' of wellbeing helps us by drawing our attention to states of mind and subjective perceptions, as well as 'state of body' and material endowments.

2. WeD-QoL Methodology

Our approach to 'experienced' wellbeing or quality of life (QoL) is based on the assumption that people reflect on the quality of their experiences to a greater or lesser degree, according to their cultural context. This reflection is influenced by the interplay of biological, social, and psychological processes, for example the fit between people's goals and the extent to which they feel they can or have achieved them (related to perceived resource availability), historically and socially contextualised experiences and expectations, immediate environment and mood, and personality

The goal of the WeD QoL research is to produce a methodology that creates a space for self-evaluation, where people can tell us what they value, what they have experienced, and how satisfied they are with what they have, and what they can do and be. The first phase of the QoL research explored these topics qualitatively, beginning with a workshop in Bath exploring the components of QoL for each of the WeD countries, followed by workshops with QoL 'experts' (e.g. NGO workers) in the countries (see Camfield 2005, Skevington 2004). We also piloted the Person Generated Index[8] (PGI), an individualised QoL measure, in three of the four countries (Martin et al 2004). The initial QoL work took place alongside

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[8] The PGI asks people to nominate aspects of life that contribute to their wellbeing and rate them according to how important they are and how satisfied they are with them (Ruta et al 1994, 1998)

Community Profiling, which asked questions relating to quality of life and wellbeing (see particularly the Wellbeing and Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia study, WIDE 2), and the Resources and Needs Questionnaire, which used both 'consumption adequacy' questions to establish people's satisfaction with areas like food and healthcare, and a standard 'global' happiness question. The more intensive part of the exploratory fieldwork[9] took place in rural, peri-urban, and urban sites in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Thailand and Peru and involved semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and the piloting of other measures, such as the Satisfaction with Life Scale or SWLS (Diener et al 1985)[10].

3. WeD data

Phase 1 generated a large amount of data on the characteristics of wellbeing at individual, household, and community levels, and more personal data on hopes, fears, sources of happiness and unhappiness, coping strategies, and a number of country-specific topics[11]. Read as a whole the data provides a rounded picture of people's lives (focusing on their aspirations and values), which attempts to avoid normative accounts by supplementing questions about what it means to live well with ones on personal sources of happiness and happy memories[12].

In this paper I explore the data from three questions, which were asked across the four countries (the slight variations in the wording are largely artefacts of the translation into English):

1. 'When were you happiest?' or 'What were the happiest moments of your life?'
2. 'What are the characteristics of a woman or man who lives well?' or 'Let's suppose that I would like to move to live here. What would I need to be happy?'
3. 'Who are the people you most admire/ respect or the best/ model persons of this community?'

I begin by summarising the data (also summarised in Appendix 1, tables 1 to 3), and then explore the country findings in more detail to bring out the differences in content and emphasis that are necessarily 'glossed over' in the summary but which point to more 'contextual' results. I also compare the data with the universal prescriptions offered by Doyal and Gough's *Theory of Human Need*, which identifies 'autonomy' and 'health' as the two dimensions of basic human need, and Ryan and Deci's *Self Determination Theory*, which also identifies 'autonomy' as the pre-eminent 'psychological' basic need, alongside 'relatedness' and

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[9] The exploratory fieldwork was carried out by local researchers, the majority of whom had spent at least one year attached to the site, enabling them to build a good rapport with the inhabitants. The average sample size for the countries was 360 (range 314-419) and age and gender were used as the key 'breaking variables', followed by religion or ethnicity.

[10] For more detail on the methodology see Camfield 2005 and 'WeD Toolbox No. ?: The *WeD-QoL* (WeD measure of individual Quality of Life)' at www.welldev.org/???

[11] We will be able to 'triangulate' this data with other qualitative and quantitative data, for example, Community Profiles and Resources and Needs Questionnaire, which highlight the objective constraints that people face in their pursuit of wellbeing

[12] Psychological studies demonstrate that people's judgements are more accurate when they focus on specific areas of their lives, rather than giving a 'global' assessment. Additionally, while people's memories are notoriously inaccurate records of the past, the way they choose and 'perform' a memory during an interview gives an invaluable insight into their current state of mind (Kahneman et al ??)

'competence'[13] (Doyal and Gough 1991, Ryan and Deci 2000). Finally, I compare the responses to the question on the characteristics of wellbeing with data from the other participatory studies described in section 3 to see if themes from the earlier studies have emerged or been elaborated further in the WeD data (see tables 1 to 3, Appendix 2).

3.1 When were you happiest?

Overview

Happy memories predominantly related to experiences of 'relatedness' and 'competence', for example, intimate relationships with a spouse or parent, and goal achievement by/ for yourself or your family. Being married and having a loving and supportive relationship with your partner appears to be a universal source of happy memories (albeit slightly more for women than men), and is linked to recollections of the wedding itself and the early days of marriage. Bangladeshi women in particular linked the first years of married life to economic solvency, freedom, and having a closer relationship with their spouse; what might be called the 'honeymoon period'.

Family relationships were also important, both in terms of having harmonious and mutually supportive relationships within the household, and for women in the patrilocal societies of Ethiopia and Bangladesh, with your natal family. This may also explain why celebrating holidays like *Meskel* (the Ethiopian new year) was a common source of happy memories for Ethiopian women as it usually involved returning to their natal home. People also had happy memories of childhood as a time of material and emotional security (men and women in Bangladesh and Peru, and women in Ethiopia), 'exploration' and/ or education, and relative independence. Perhaps this is the reason why the birth of children wasn't a universal source of happiness[14] as it brought this period of freedom, personal development, and intimacy to a close.

Having good friends ('people to drink coffee with' in Ethiopian terms) also emerged as important and was mentioned explicitly in all countries apart from Peru, and implicitly in rural Peru through the category of celebrating fiestas.

Another group of memories focused around people having enough to satisfy their basic needs, often linked to stories of childhood abundance ('I was raised with honey, butter and milk' Ethiopian woman). For example, people often recalled having a good harvest or getting a good price for their produce, although in Peru this state of satisfaction was characterised as 'overcoming scarcity', presumably to emphasise the effort and skill involved in satisfying basic needs in what was perceived as an unyielding environment.

Personal achievements, and in Bangladesh and Thailand those of your children, were also explicitly mentioned by people in all countries apart from Peru (for example, travelling overseas or holding an

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[13] These are defined as follows: Autonomy "the experience of volition, ownership and initiative in one's own behaviour"; Competence "being able to effectively act on, and have an impact within, one's environment"; and Relatedness "feelings of belonging and connection" [Ryan & Brown 2003].
[14] The birth of children was an important source of happy memories for people in Ethiopia and urban Peru

important post in the community). In Thailand the main type of achievement was having a job, which appeared to be valued at least as much for the pleasure it gave people's parents ('it made my parents happy and proud of me being able to get a job at Ja Na hospital' Thai male) and the fact that it retrospectively justified continuing in education.

Being in good health was a source of pleasure for people in Ethiopia and Thailand (in Ethiopia this was linked to the ability to continue working), but not in Bangladesh and Peru. However, the Peruvian category of 'rest and recuperation', which was particularly common in urban areas, appears to capture the experiential aspects of good health. Happy memories that were specific to Ethiopia related to religion ('I am happy during the fasting times of *Ramadan* and *Eid-el-Fetir*' Ethiopian male), living and working on the farm ('living on my farm makes me very happy and secure' Ethiopian woman), and the attainment of national security ('I was happy when the EPRDF seized Addis Ababa and ended the long war' Ethiopian male). The latter obviously reflects Ethiopia's troubled political history and the use of conscription, which had a great impact on the lives of a generation of men and their families.

Data from the countries (see Appendix 1, table 1)
The happiest episodes of life for **Bangladeshi** men and women of all ages were those where they had no worries or responsibilities, did not have to work, had their wants fulfilled, were economically solvent or self sufficient, and enjoyed close relationships and the achievements of themselves or family members.

A quarter of respondents described childhood and youth as their happiest period as they were cared for by their parents, and didn't have to work, or worry about meeting their daily needs. For the same reason, a fifth of male respondents characterised student or school life as their happiest period, and this was equally important for younger women who linked it to life before marriage when they were able to continue their education and live with their parents. Men also described life before marriage as a time of economic solvency and peace. Older and younger women recalled early married life as a happy period and associated it with economic solvency, freedom, independence (especially for older women), and close relationships with their spouses (also mentioned by some men).

Other memories related to specific incidents such as meeting national figures, earning the community's respect, or completing a training course. They also related to other periods when the respondent had no worries or responsibilities, or immediately prior to migration (young men only).

The happiest moments for **Ethiopian** men related to experiences of good health and physical capability, and the birth of their children. This was followed closely by periods of material sufficiency, their marriage and/ or their relationship with their spouse, and memories of specific achievements like surviving a period of imprisonment for political activism. Ethiopian women also described the birth of their children as one of their happiest moments, followed by their marriage and/ or their relationship with their spouse, and memories of childhood and other periods when they were cared for by others (for example, during pregnancy). Good health and their relationship with their natal family were also important sources of happy memories.

Some happy experiences were gender specific; for example, only men mentioned periods of mental peace (predominantly older men), their relationships with the community, improvements in national security, and building their own house, while only women fondly recalled their childhood, being cared for by others, and the marriage of their daughters. There were also visible differences in importance between shared categories, for example, personal health and education were twice as important for men as for women, while their relationship with their spouse was twice as important for women as for men. As might be expected in a predominantly patrilocal society, maintaining good relationships with their natal family was three times as important for women, and this was also true for celebrating the holidays, which usual involves returning to your natal family.

The happiest episodes for **Peruvian** sites involved time spent with their family (their natal family and their spouse and children) and memories of overcoming scarcity. Being in a couple, periods of 'solteria' (providing opportunities for travel and new experiences), and rest and recuperation were also important, although these were most frequently mentioned in urban areas. Fiestas (a traditional system of redistribution and social prestige that also functions as an 'escape valve') were specific to rural areas, while memories of the birth of their children were only mentioned in urban sites.

Family relations characterised the happiest periods for all groups in the **Thai** sites, followed closely by education (with the exception of respondents aged over 60). Memories involving good friendships and economic security (having assets) were also universally important; other happy memories came from being healthy, engaging in religious practice, and having a spouse (women), having a job (men), living in a clean and pleasant environment and having a good appearance (adults over 60), and getting a good price for your produce (adults aged 31-60).

3.2. What are the characteristics of a man/woman who lives well?

Overview
The most important element in all countries was good family relationships, both with your immediate and natal family ('relatedness'). This was obviously expressed in slightly different terms: Peruvian respondents emphasised being part of a couple, while Bangladeshis focused on their relationships with their children and their children's wellbeing (for example, whether they were healthy, educated, and living a moral life). Relationships with children were particularly important for older women whose future wellbeing depends on maintaining good relationships with their sons.

Economic considerations were important, although again there were variations in the way they were expressed; for example, having a job was more relevant to Bangladesh, Thailand, and urban Peru, while agriculture and agricultural inputs such as land and livestock were more important in rural Peru and Ethiopia (where the possession of livestock is also an important signifier of status).

Health was mentioned in all countries except Peru, though the omission of health may be artefactual as according to the Peruvian research team it was mentioned in other areas of the research, as was religion. Having a good house was similarly important everywhere except Bangladesh, although housing was mentioned in response to a similar question in Bangladesh about a good life for a household.

Respondents from Peru mentioned access to electricity and clean water at home, while respondents from Ethiopia focused on transportation and agricultural extension services to support the production and marketing of perishable produce (e.g. tomatoes). Being respected or having a good appearance was mentioned everywhere but Peru, however, the categories of 'being a professional' in urban areas and being able to host fiestas in rural ones suggest that status is equally important here. This links to the definitions of poverty discussed earlier in the paper where lack of dignity and respect was identified as a key aspect of being poor.

Education was only mentioned in Ethiopia, Bangladesh, and peri-urban Peru (where it was apparently valued as a scarce resource), reflecting the lack of enthusiasm for education in Thailand and rural and urban Peru. In these locales it may be perceived as of little relevance, possibly due to its variable quality and loose relationship with finding employment, or possibly because it is either relatively inaccessible or completely ubiquitous (for example, Thailand offers universal education up to age 13 or 14). Independence, in the sense of not being dependent on others (for example, parents or patrons) was mentioned in Bangladesh, and can be seen as part of being respected, or not giving people opportunities to withhold respect.

Data from the countries (see Appendix 1, table 2)
All the **Bangladeshi** respondents mentioned good health and following the teachings of Islam as characteristics of people who were living well. Education in general was significant for men and younger women, and being able to educate your children was important for women.

Older men and women both felt that having personal wealth or income (i.e. not being dependent) was an important element for a good life; however, their rationale for this was slightly different. Older men associated personal wealth with being able to live an honest life, live in peace with others, buy land, and conduct business, while older women saw it as a means of having more power and respect in their son's household. Both groups wanted to be provided for and cared for by their sons and a dutiful son was also a source of pride and respect, especially if they were employed or made a good living. The quality of the relationship with sons and daughter-in-laws was also important for older women, even more than being materially provided for.

Young men characterised living well as being educated, inheriting wealth, being employed and having good health; all of which contributed to securing or improving incomes. Young women focused on good health and household incomes, but were also concerned with the health and upbringing of their children.

The main characteristic of people who are living well in the **Ethiopian** sites was being economically secure and having sufficient produce or income to meet their needs (for example, having a good stock of grain in the barn). Education seems to be very important, both for yourself and your children, as is having good community relationships. People who are living well are also characterised as working hard, engaging in business activities, having a good house, owning land with sufficient oxen to plough it, and being in good health[15].

The **Peruvian** team didn't identify any aspects of living well that were the same across all sites; however, they did observe 'universal tendencies' like the need for good quality housing with access to water, electricity, and sanitation, appropriate sustenance, and having a partner and family. The following aspects of living well were found in all the Peruvian sites, with context specific variations:

House (the size, style, and condition of the house varied from site to site and between individuals within sites)

Sustenance (this referred to animals and agriculture for rural sites and jobs for urban ones)

Land (for urban sites this only referred to land for accommodation, but for rural sites it also covered agriculture and cattle)

Being part of a couple (not necessarily married)

Family

Furniture and appliances (these became both more important, and more complex and sophisticated in urban areas)

Power supply and water

All focus group respondents thought that family relationships were the most important aspect of a good life for a **Thai** person, and this was supported by all of the interviewees except North Eastern women who named income instead. In second place came income or job or assets, spirituality (Southern men only), family relationships (North Eastern women only), health (people aged 31-60 only) and good appearance (Southern women only). People's third choices mainly related to income or job or assets, with the exception of Southern men who named living conditions, people aged over 60 who nominated spirituality, and people aged 18-30 who mentioned good appearance. Although there seems to be more diversity than in the responses to questions about household living well (partly because this question was asked in both interviews and focus groups, eliciting slightly different responses), family relationships remain the clear priority.

3.3 What are the characteristics of a man/woman who is an ideal person/respected by all?

Overview

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[15] Some characteristics were only mentioned in one site, reflecting the different demands of different environments, for example, in Korodegega having access to an irrigation scheme was a vital part of living well as this reduced people's dependence on the rains and enabled them to grow vegetables to sell at market. Similarly, one of the most important aspects of living well in the provincial town of Shashemene was having connections.

The aim of this question was to explore the characteristics and ways of behaving that are respected and valued in each country; reassuringly there is considerable overlap. For example, helping near or distant others is universally important, although interestingly in Bangladesh people didn't value receiving help or support from others, possibly because of the detrimental effect on people's status of being a dependent or 'client'.

Behaving responsibly towards your family is also important (for example, refraining from extra-marital sex was mentioned in Ethiopia and Thailand), as is being educated or knowledgeable, partly because this enable you to give good advice to others. Interestingly, supporting your family was not mentioned in Bangladesh, which may be an example of how core values are often inarticulable (see also 'being respectful' in Thailand), a phenomenon encapsulated in Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' (1977). Being religious was important everywhere except Peru, and being respectful to others was also near universally important (behaving respectfully is so central to the Thai ethos that it was probably the main component of 'behaving well', which may explain why wasn't mentioned explicitly). 'Model' individuals also behaved courteously and ethically towards others and maintained harmonious relationships within the community.

Being hospitable was mentioned explicitly in Ethiopia and Peru, while in Thailand the focus was on community participation, for example, leading the community in worldly or spiritual activities, or teaching traditional instruments. Interestingly, observing traditional cultural forms was valued more in Ethiopia than Peru (where it was characterised as 'being conformist'), however, both categories occurred alongside their opposite of being progressive or 'modern'. A similarly contradiction was that Ethiopians valued both having a good appearance and engaging in conspicuous consumption (e.g. wearing urban fashions and 'drinking beer rather than water at home'), and practicing moderation and temperance. Not being materialistic also appeared in Thailand, but this may be more connected to religion and the powerful Buddhist ideal of the 'world renouncer' (reflected in the number of public figures who take temporary ordination as a monk during the rainy season).

In both Ethiopia and Peru we also see an interesting cluster of being progressive, hard working, and individually prosperous, combined with maintaining an attitude towards tradition (either positive or negative), which prevents it from sliding into the backdrop of people's lives and becoming part of the "doxa" as it seems to have done in Bangladesh and Thailand (Bourdieu 1977).

Data from the countries (see Appendix 1, table 3)
In **Bangladesh** the most important characteristic was being benevolent and altruistic, named by over 90% of focus groups. Approximately three quarters of respondents also mentioned being educated, practicing religion, and having a good character. Being honest was also important (63% of respondents), as was being respectful towards others (44%), well behaved and courteous (44%), and imparting good advice to others (31%). These characteristics appeared to be equally valued by men and women, and older and younger age groups.

Being disciplined and hardworking was the most valued characteristic in **Ethiopia**, for example, 'spending time only on farm activities', 'doing whatever job they can get', and 'striv(ing) very hard to attain their objectives'. Family orientation was nearly as important (for example, 'having children from a single wife/ avoiding extra-marital sex', 'keeping children nearby', and encouraging 'reciprocal and supportive family relationships'), as was being progressive or modern by 'practicing new farming techniques', 'not sacrificing draft oxen to fulfil social and culture obligations', and 'enjoying western life styles'. Supporting and/ or being supported by family, friends, and community members was also important and included characteristics valued in other countries, for example, giving advice, resolving disputes, and 'having a big heart for the poor'.

Many of the remaining characteristics related to self-presentation and social performance, for example, conspicuous consumption ('building a big house in town'), having a good appearance, practicing moderation or temperance, being respectful and respected (for example, as a Haji or an 'inspiration to other farmers'), and being sociable and hospitable. Hospitality also brought material rewards in that someone who 'received neighbours and relatives happily in their home' was more likely to be able to 'attract and manage labour' during harvest time. Material sufficiency was also valued, largely because it enabled people to be independent ('doesn't need to beg a loan from a rich man') and avoid activities that might damage their status like working as a daily labourer or, if they were a farmer, having to buy food from the market. Finally, religion was very important and encompassed regular church attendance, faith, respect for God and the church/ Mosque, observing traditional practices (e.g. female genital 'cutting'), and 'maintaining the cultural and religious identity of the community'.

Helping each other ('ayuda') was found in all the **Peruvian** sites, which the Peruvian team interpreted as an example of an 'adaptive collective mechanism' to satisfy needs in specific environments (Schwartz 1996). They also identified 'adaptive personal characteristics' such as giving advice and being progressive, which occurred in all sites. Being a hard worker was mentioned in all sites except the remote village of Chucuna, possibly because in this relatively barren environment being a hard worker is considered so common as to not be worthy of comment. Being cheerful occurred in all the rural and urban sites, while being professional, responsible, and educated occurred in all the peri-urban and urban sites. The remaining personal characteristics were area specific; in rural areas people valued sharing, not fighting, organising, and making fiestas, while urban respondents focused on not gossiping, and being conformist, quiet, and respectful. Prosperity/ having goods was found in some sites, but not all, however there were no clear differences in their importance between rural and urban sites.

In **Thailand** the most common characteristics of the 'best or most admirable person' were (in order of importance) leadership, having a good mind and behaving well, being dedicated to the public, and being knowledgeable. The most admired figures were religious figures, local rulers, government officials, politicians, and teachers, all of whom were male.

Other key values mentioned by Thai respondents were helping each other (as in Peru), generosity and unselfishness (central precepts of Buddhism), unity/ 'no dissent', supporting your family (n.b. for some Thai Muslim men this conflicted with religious practice), religious practice, contributing to society, and not being materialistic.

Summary of Section 3

A qualitative analysis of the data (carried out by researchers at Bath and in-country) suggests that having good family relationships, being economically secure, being educated or knowledgeable, and being respected or worthy of respect are universally important. An additional finding, no surprise to psychologists and philosophers but seldom reflected in the design of development projects, is that people's conception of a good life is rarely couched in economic terms.

Friendship and sociability (or fun) appear as a source of happy memories, but are not part of living well. Nor are they a universal part of being a model person, since respondents from Thailand and Bangladesh focused on people's moral, spiritual, and leadership qualities. Conversely, religion is part of both living well and being a model person, but not a source of happy memories, with the exception of a devout Muslim in Ethiopia who enjoyed fasting! This suggests that treating happiness as people's 'universal goal' is not always sufficient to capture their motivations.

Helping others, preserving social harmony, and participating in community development are only mentioned under being a model person, suggesting that these may be part of people's discourse rather than their everyday reality. Working hard, being progressive, and having economic success are part of being an ideal person in Ethiopia and Peru (especially for people from urban and peri-urban areas, and fundamentalist Protestant minorities), but not Bangladesh and Thailand.

While having access to infrastructure and services and a nice home may be pre-requisites for a good life (infrastructure and services were only mentioned in Ethiopia), they are not, in themselves, a source of happiness!

When taken as a whole, the data provides empirical support to Doyal and Gough's classification of 'health' and 'autonomy' as basic needs, and 'significant primary relationships', 'basic education', and 'economic security' as intermediate ones (1991). It also supports Ryan and Deci's characterisation of 'autonomy', 'relatedness' and 'competence' as fundamental psychological needs, although autonomy appears to be primarily experienced within and through interpersonal relationships (2001).

In the final section, I compare the responses to the question on the characteristics of wellbeing with data from the other participatory studies described in section 3 to see if themes from the earlier studies have emerged or been elaborated further in the WeD data (see Appendix 2, tables 1 to 3).

4. Comparison with other participatory studies on understandings of poverty and/ or wellbeing

(see Appendix 2, tables 2 & 3)

The responses to the question on people living well from the individual WeD countries were initially compared with participatory studies done in similar areas (e.g. Peru and rural Mexico, Bangladesh and India), however, this tended to highlight local differences and produced few points of comparison[16]. Using larger scale or aggregated studies, for example Brock's review of participatory research on emic criteria for poverty, illbeing, or vulnerability (1999), gave a clearer sense of the general themes and the degree of overlap. Her focus on social and experiential aspects of poverty such as fear, shame, and lack of acceptance from others) dovetails with WeD's findings, as does her emphasis on the importance of avoiding relationships of dependency, which was very important for older men and women in Bangladesh.

Interestingly, although there were many points of connection, some key themes from the WeD data like the importance of social relationships and religious practice were either under-specified or ignored. For example, the studies from UNDP and DFID didn't mention the importance of respect and acceptance from others, nor did they explore freedom of choice and agency. Social wellbeing was under-specified in the final framework of the *Consultations with the Poor* study (which referred to 'good family and community relationships' and responsibilities towards your children, but didn't look specifically at relationships with parents, extended family, or partner), and wasn't mentioned at all in the UNDP and DFID studies. No studies covered the importance of people's 'relationship work' in preserving social harmony, and maintaining and developing the community (for example, refraining from gossip or quarrelling, helping and supporting other community members, and taking a leadership or advisory role).

Religious observance and spirituality was mentioned in *Consultations with the Poor*, but not in any of the other studies, although it appeared to be central to the lives of many of our participants from Ethiopia, Bangladesh, and Thailand. Other themes that emerged from the WeD research include the importance of friendship and sociability (for example, celebrating religious holidays and attending fiestas), behaving well (for example, being honest and cheerful), feeling happy and satisfied[17], and being proud of your achievements (or those of your family), or simply of your skill in daily activities like farming.

This comparison suggests that there are a number of things that are important to people which are not covered in mainstream studies, even those using participatory methods. This data needs be available to policy makers and planners so they can better understand people's goals and aspirations, the resources available to them particular environments, and the inevitable trade-offs they make between different elements of a good life (for example, the effect of widespread migration on family relationships in Thailand).

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[16] For example, affirming cultural identities was important in Peru, possibly because they were not valued in peri-urban or urban areas, or perceived to be under threat in rural ones
[17] Happiness was mentioned in *Consultations with the Poor.*

Conclusion

So, why study wellbeing? Wellbeing is both a process and an outcome. It's a dynamic and holistic concept that incorporates the material, relational, and cognitive/ affective dimensions of people lives. This includes the creation of meaning and forming of standards, which are not individual processes. The openness of the concept enables the understanding of people's lives in their own terms. For example, rather than rush to measurement the WeD research first asked people what wellbeing (living well) means to them, here, now. The term well 'being' implies support for research providing a socially and culturally embedded view of people's lives, which offers a discursive space for more ethnographic investigations. Wellbeing also throws up questions rather than answers, for example, what do people value? what do they aspire to? how do they remain resilient when reality falls short of their aspirations?

If we focus the wellbeing lens on poverty, a number of things become apparent. Firstly, people may not experience themselves as poor and their labelling may come from a form of 'focusing illusion' where the researcher only sees their most visible difference (see Schkade and Kahneman (1998) who looked at the way non-disabled people responded to people with paraplegia). For example, Biswas-Diener and Diener compared the satisfaction of people in Calcutta who are homeless, living in the slums, or working in the sex trade, with the urban middle classes, and found the only aspect of life the latter group were more satisfied with was their income (2001).

> The participants in this study do not report the kind of suffering we expect. Rather, they believe they are good (moral) people, they are often religious . . . and they have rewarding families. . . . They have satisfactory social lives and enjoy their food
>
> (ibid, p. 348)

Where people characterise themselves as poor, it may be for different reasons than the researcher might imagine (for example, the isolated Armenian pensioners in the Voices of the Poor study). It also doesn't mean that they then see their lives in terms of lack or deprivation, or are happy to be represented in this way.

> Everyone is surprised by how happy (the poor) can be. The reason is that they are not (poor) full time. They do other things. They enjoy their meals, their friends. They read the news. It has to do with the allocation of attention
>
> (Kahneman in Coady 2005)

Studying wellbeing rather than poverty enables researchers to explore what poor people have and are able to do, rather than focusing on their deficits (Lawson, McGregor, & Saltmarshe, 2000). This should produce more credible and respectful representations of people's lives to inform development policy and practice, hopefully leading to development that creates the conditions for people to experience wellbeing, rather than undermining their existing strategies.

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Appendix 1: WeD data[18]

Table 1: *When were you happiest?*

Bangladesh	Ethiopia	Peru	Thailand
Family relationships			
Close relationship with spouse	Own marriage/ relationship with spouse	Being in a couple (not necessarily married)	Lover
Family relationships	Birth of children		Family relations
Cared for by parents	Relationships with natal family	Family	
	Celebrating the holidays	Birth of children	
	Childhood, cared for by others (women)	Family	
Economic security/ material wellbeing			
Economic stability/ need satisfaction	Material sufficiency	Overcoming scarcity	Assets
	Assets (livestock, fertile land)		Good price for produce
	Good harvest		
Education			
Studying (not working)	Education	'Solteria': Exploring and developing 'life skills'	Education
Health (physical & mental)			
	Health	Rest & recuperation	Health
	Peace of mind		
Friendship, sociability			
Friendships	Relationships with friends	Fiestas	Good friends
	Celebrating the holidays		
Freedom from responsibility, independence			
Freedom (no worries or responsibilities), e.g. early marriage	Independence	Exploration	Independence
Independence, e.g. while student			
Achievements			
Achievements of self or family members	Achievements of self		Job
Other			
	National security		
	Farming (as an activity)		
	Religion		

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[18] The data in the tables has been compiled from the respective country reports (e.g. Darjongudarm and Camfield 2005, Choudhury et al 2005), supplemented by extensive re-analysis of translations of the original interviews, which are held centrally in an Access database. They represent the most common responses, determined by qualitative (Bangladesh and Ethiopia) and quantitative analyses (Thailand identified 26 aspects of quality of life and analysed their frequencies in Excel, while Peru used SPSS to carry out a descriptive factor analysis). For ease of comparison, they have been grouped into the categories of economic security/ material wellbeing, education, health (physical and mental), family and community relationships (also friendship, sociability, good character/ behaviour, preserves social harmony, helping/ supporting each other, participating in community development), freedom from responsibility, independence (also achievements), respect, access to infrastructure and services, home, and religion, which appeared in the original country reports.

Table 2: *What are the characteristics of a man/woman who lives well?*

Bangladesh	Ethiopia	Peru	Thailand
Family relationships			
Good relationships with children Children's wellbeing Independence (*realised through family relationships*)	Support from natal family Children's future	Family Being in a couple	Family relationships
Economic security/ Material wellbeing			
Personal wealth and income Inheriting wealth Household income Business activities/ buying land Job	Economic stability/ need satisfaction (esp. food) Oxen Livestock Modern agricultural equipment Land	Livestock and farming as 'means of sustenance' (rural) Land Job as 'means of sustenance' (urban)	Income Assets Job
Education			
Education (self and children)	Education (self and children)		
Health (physical & mental)			
Health (self and children)	Health		Health
Respected			
Respect	Respect		Good appearance
Access to infrastructure, services			
	Improved local infrastructure & transportation Govt. and NGO services		
Home			
	Good house	House Electricity & water Furniture and appliances	Living conditions
Religion			
Religion	Religion		Religion

Table 3: *What are the characteristics of a man/woman who is an ideal person/respected by all?*

Bangladesh	Ethiopia	Peru	Thailand
Family relationships			
	Supports/ supported by family 'Family oriented'	Responsible	Supporting your family
Economic security/ Material wellbeing			
	Material sufficiency, independence	Prosperity-goods	
Progressive, hardworking			
	Progressive, 'modern' Disciplined, hard working	Being progressive Professional Hard work	
Education, knowledge			
Educated	Educated/ knowledgeable	Educated	Knowledgeable Having a good mind
Friendship, sociability			
	Sociable, hospitable	Making fiestas	
Respect			
Respectful	Respected, respectful Good appearance Practices conspicuous consumption	Respectful	
Good character/ behaviour			
Well behaved and courteous Good character Honest	Good character Behaves ethically Practices moderation, temperance Happy, satisfied	Cheerful	Behaving well
Religion			
Religious	Religious		Religious practice Not being materialistic
Preserves social harmony			
	Peaceful, harmonious Observes traditional cultural forms	Quiet Not fighting Doesn't gossip Being conformist	Unity/ 'no dissent'
Helping/ supporting each other			
Benevolent and altruistic	Altruistic, community members supporting each other	Helping each other Sharing	Helping each other Generosity & unselfishness
Participating in community development			
Giving good advice	Advice giver, communicator	Giving advice Organising	Dedicated to the public Contributing to society Leadership

Appendix 2: Comparison of data from participatory studies in developing countries

Table 1

Moore, Choudhury and Singh 1998 How Can We Know What They Want? Understanding Local Perceptions of Poverty and Ill-Being in Asia	Moore, Choudhury and Singh 1998 How Can We Know What They Want? Understanding Local Perceptions of Poverty and Ill-Being in Asia	Mukherjee 1997 Informational Rents and Property Rights in Land	Consultations with the Poor 2000 Can Anyone Hear Us? & Crying out for change	Brock 1999 'It's not only wealth that matters, it's peace of mind too". A review of participatory work on poverty and illbeing	Clark 2000 Visions of Development	Garcia and Way 2003 Winning Spaces: Participatory Methodologies in Rural Processes in Mexico
S. Asia (rural & urban)	Review of DFID & UNDP studies from 1996 & 97 (rural & urban)	Uttar Pradesh, India (rural)	Review of PPAs from 50 LDCs, original data from 23 LDCs (rural & urban)	Review of participatory studies; 12 LDCs (rural & urban)	Murraysburg & Wallacedene, S Africa (rural & urban)	Mexico (rural)
Infrastructure & services						
Access to public services Physical security outside home		Basic infrastructure and services		Clean environment Basic infrastructure & services Neighbourhood violence		
Home						
Physical security inside home	Secure access to housing *(urban)*			Quality of home Domestic violence	Secure and good quality housing	Housing
Economic security/ material wellbeing						
Economic/ livelihood security	Land/ assets Diverse sources of income Type of job *(urban)* Food sufficiency Household structure *(e.g. adult male labour)*	Regular employment Land	*Material wellbeing: having enough* (food, assets, work)	Access to employment Work and working conditions Money & assets Land Access to natural resources Food security Resilience in response to seasonality & 'shocks'	'Good' jobs Access to income	Jobs Income
Education & health (physical & mental)						
	Education		*Bodily wellbeing: being and appearing well* (health, appearances, physical	Health Peace of mind	Education to enhance future prospects Health Happiness	Health

			environment) *Psychological wellbeing* (peace of mind, happiness, harmony, including a spiritual life & religious observance)			
Family relationships, community relationships						
		Community unity	*Social wellbeing* (being able to care for, bring up, marry & settle children, peace, harmony, good relations in the family/ community)	Community relationships	Good family	
Respect						
Status; respect and self-respect Protecting rights; avoiding inequality/ discrimination			*Social wellbeing* (self-respect & dignity)	Respect & acceptance from others		Self esteem Reaffirmation of cultural identities Gender relations
Freedom from responsibility, independence						
			Freedom of choice & action	Having choices Not being in relationships of dependency Feeling able to act & have some control over the outcome		
			Security (civil peace, a physically safe & secure environment, personal physical security, lawfulness & access to justice, security in old age, confidence in the future)	Violence within and outside the household Peace of mind (e.g. feeling secure)		

n.b. Clark 2000 also mentioned 'religion'

Comparison of WeD data with data from participatory studies in more than one developing country
Table 2

Moore, Choudhury & Singh 1998	Consultations with the Poor 2000 (see footnote 5)	Brock 1999	WeD
Review of DFID & UNDP studies	*Over 50 LDCs, rural & urban sites*	*Review of participatory studies in 12 LDCs, rural & urban sites*	*4 LDCs, rural & urban sites*
Infrastructure & services			
	Security (civil peace, a physically safe & secure environment, personal physical security, lawfulness & access to justice, security in old age, confidence in the future)	Clean environment Basic infrastructure & services Community relationships Neighbourhood violence	Basic infrastructure Govt. & NGO services
Home			
Secure access to housing *(urban)*		Quality of home Domestic violence	Good house (e.g. water & electricity, furniture)
Economic security/ Material wellbeing			
Land/ assets Diverse sources of income Type of job *(urban)* Food sufficiency Household structure *(e.g. adult male labour)*	*Material wellbeing: having enough* (food, assets, work)	Access to employment Work & working conditions Money & assets Land Access to natural resources Food security Resilience in response to seasonality & 'shocks'	Economic stability/ need satisfaction through livestock & farming &/ or business activities & employment Land & other assets
Education & Health (physical & mental)			
Education	*Bodily wellbeing: being and appearing well* (health, appearances, physical environment) *Psychological wellbeing* (peace of mind, happiness, harmony, including a spiritual life & religious observance)	Health Peace of mind	Health (self & children) Education (self & children)
Respect			
		Respect & acceptance from others	Respect Good appearance
Freedom from responsibility, independence			
	Freedom of choice & action	Having choices; not being in relationships of dependency Feeling able to act & have some control over the outcome	Independence (specific periods & relationships)
Family relationships, community relationships			
	Social wellbeing (being able to care for, bring up, marry & settle children, peace,		Relationships within the household & extended family

		Having a partner Children's physical, socio-economic & moral wellbeing
	harmony, good relations in the family/ community)	

Areas of Importance to WeD Respondents omitted from Participatory Studies
Table 3

Friendship, sociability
Relationships with friends
Celebrating the holidays/ Fiestas
Being sociable, hospitable
Good character/ behaviour
Well behaved & courteous
Good character
Ethical, honest
Practices moderation, temperance
Cheerful
Happy, satisfied
Preserves social harmony
Peaceful, harmonious
Observes traditional cultural forms
Doesn't fight or gossip
Unity/ 'no dissent'
Helping/ supporting each other
Community members supporting/ helping each other
Generosity & unselfishness, sharing
Benevolence & altruism
Participating in community development
Advice giver, communicator
Organiser, leader
Contributes to society, dedicated to the public
Achievements
Achievements of self or family members (e.g. getting a job)
Other
National security
Farming (as an activity)