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Towards a contextualized understanding of community wellbeing

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Part I: Introduction

Located at the foot of a privately owned trash dump, Cilincing is a small community of approximately 100 families. Residents earn a living through picking through truckloads of trash and selling them to companies who will reuse the materials.

The residents are not registered with the Jakarta government, and thus are not able to receive many of the government services, such as free education and medical care, which are typically available to low-income families. The nearest medical clinic is approximately five kilometers away. There are some small “warungs” (shacks that serve as convenience stores), but no grocery stores where people can buy milk or eggs. Every day a “tukang sayur” (vegetable salesman) will come through with a cart of fresh vegetables that the mothers can buy, if they are available at the time he passes through.

The Cilincing community embodies what is typically seen as a “poor community.” There are no jobs other than picking through trash; there are no educational or medical services available to the residents; the sewage canal that borders their community where they dump their waste is the same water source for their cooking and bathing. Yet in this community, where there should be desperation, live a group of people with hope, determination, and a strong work ethic—people like Ani.

Ani's story

Ani is 55 years old, has six children and lives in a small one-room shack over the sewage canal right *across* from the main entrance to the trash dump. She has lived in the Cilincing community for almost ten years. I met Ani for the first time about four years ago at one of the free medical clinics sponsored by Partners for Compassion.

Community residents are usually guarded when discussing the structure of the trash dump, but Ani was excited to share about her life and her job picking through trash. She explained the three-tiered hierarchy of the trash dump. The trash dump is owned entirely by one “big boss” who rents out large sections of it to several “bosses,” who in turn rent to a few “little bosses” (Ani). Each little boss hires approximately five to six full time workers to sort through the trash the trucks bring to their section of the dump. It is a highly organized and structured system, which given that it is a high power distance culture, makes sense.

In addition to the official trash crews, there is also a segment of people who collect trash who are called “independent workers” (Ani). These independent workers do not work for any one of the bosses—rather they are allowed to pick through the leftover trash that the official crews have cast aside. Though the independent workers collect trash on their own, they still collaborate amongst themselves. Each independent worker chooses one type of trash to collect for the month. At the end of the month, what each independent worker collects is weighed and they are compensated based on the weight. In order to have higher yields, the independent workers have developed an exchange system amongst themselves. For example, if Ani collects plastic water cups and another person collects toys, if Ani finds a toy they can exchange items, which allows both parties to reach their weight goal, thus enabling them to more quickly receive compensation for their trash load. In addition, if the official worker crews find fresh fruits and vegetables or items good enough to be sold, often they will give them for free or for a few cents to the independent workers (Ani).

As Ani explained the arrangement of independent workers at the trash dump, it occurred to me that this is similar to the Old Testament principle of gleaning. In the Old Testament, the harvesters were to leave some grain or barley behind so that the marginalized could come behind them and collect grain and barley to survive. Through gleaning, the gleaners were able to survive, while maintaining the dignity of working for their survival rather than just being handed free charity. This is very similar to what the trash crews do. The crews leave some trash to the side so that those who cannot work as official employees can still work to survive. The trash dump community has created their own system for caring for the marginalized in a way that retains their dignity and self-worth because they are still earning an income and providing for their families.

The Cilincing community gleaning illustrates that it is possible to work within existing community structures to help residents rather than develop programs that provide free handouts. Work is important because providing for one's family gives them dignity and self-worth. Ani was incredibly proud that she could provide for the school fees of her children through her trash collection. It would be easy to just give free vouchers for the school fees—but that would rob her of the ability to provide for her children herself. What the trash crews are doing, letting her go behind them to collect, is far more compassionate. They extend mercy in a way that builds her confidence and self-worth.

Ani's story illustrates that even in marginalized communities there are elements of wholeness. What if instead of looking at everything that we thought was "wrong" in the community, we started to build on the existing strengths already present in the community? What if we discovered how the community itself defined its ideal and

developed programs that met the needs the Cilincing community thought was most important?

Setting the stage

Definitions impact action. How one defines a problem greatly influences the solution chosen to address it. Traditionally development has been seen as alleviating poverty—solving a problem that we, as outsiders, perceive is present in a particular community. The problem with viewing poverty alleviation as problem solving is that it not only oversimplifies the situation and devalues the community, but it also misses the preexisting systems of wholeness present in the community.

For example, in the Cilincing community, it would be easy to focus on the fact that the residents do not even make minimum wage working in the heat of the day collecting trash. When this is our focus we lose sight of the beautiful story of gleaning present in that community. While on the surface the community may appear broken, in fact the systems below the surface are actually healthy and can be built upon.

Trust is fundamental to development projects and when outsiders enter a community with predetermined problems and solutions it undercuts the voice of the community. This is particularly damaging to trust when working with marginalized populations. But how do practitioners include the voice of the community in their work of development so that they do not further marginalize those they desire to serve?

To address this question, it is important to analyze the degree to which culture influences both how practitioners define poverty and wellbeing, and how they implement programs to address the needs they see in a slum community. Problems arise when development practitioner and the community are from very different cultures, so it is

important to understand how these cultural differences can be accounted for in developing culturally relevant projects based on community wellbeing. Through systematically analyzing the role of culture on definitions of poverty and wellbeing, this thesis will address current understandings and limitations of wellbeing, offer an in-depth look at cultural dynamics and research methodologies and then propose an alternative method of assessing what community wellbeing looks like in the Cilincing trash dump community. This new methodology, that focuses on culturally relevant community engagement, will enable practitioners to engage in communities in a way that enables long-term and sustainable impact and builds trust between all parties involved.

Defining Poverty

In general, as a Western culture, our insatiable need to accumulate wealth and possessions (Foster 80) causes us to view poverty as the absence of material goods, and wellbeing as the state by which we have everything we need. So when we look at a slum community, like Ani's community, we see all the material *things* that they do not have. I remember the first time I went the Cilincing trash dump community, almost five years ago. I remember getting out of the car and being overwhelmed by the heat, the flies, and the smell of trash. As I looked around, all I could see were shacks, garbage, children playing in heaps of trash, and a sewage canal. I saw people slaving away in the heat of the day to earn a living. I pitied because I saw everything they were missing—clean water, medical facilities, meaningful employment, etc. When poverty is seen as a lack of resources or opportunity, the solutions chosen to address those issues will likely be material or monetary in nature as we attempt to fill the voids we see in a community. The problem with viewing poverty this manner is that it assumes that the problems the

country or community faces are purely due to their lack of resources or opportunity, and often that is not the case. In reality, those issues are often symptoms of deeper underlying issues.

When only address the symptoms it is easy to misdiagnose the real problem a community faces. When I first started to work in the Cilincing trash dump community four years ago I noticed high levels of malnutrition. The hair and nails of the children were discolored and they were very small, even by Indonesian standards. In order to address the malnutrition, I worked with an Indonesian nutritionist to develop a program that would provide protein to the children in the local kindergarten. We coordinated with Edy and Yully, our community partners, to provide each of the 37 children a hard-boiled egg three times per week. After three weeks I went to visit the kindergarten to evaluate how the program was received. When I asked why the students took the egg home rather than ate it in class, Edy tentatively told me that the children were not allowed to eat the egg and took it home to give to their parents. Edy went on to explain that children under seven years of age in that community were not allowed to eat eggs because of a cultural belief that it is harmful to their development.

In this example, the issue was not that the parents could not afford to feed their children inexpensive protein, such as hard-boiled eggs as I had assumed, the problem was a cultural belief that eggs were harmful to young children. I did not understand what was really going on in the community, so the program I developed did not address the real issue. If cultural practices are not accounted for in program development and the root issues are not fully understood, then the programs will not have long-term success because they do not deal with the real issues the community faces.

When we start to look beneath the surface, we can see that the symptoms we typically define as “poverty” are actually caused by brokenness. Poverty occurs when an individual has a broken relationship with God, with themselves, with their community, with others, and with the environment (Myers 3226). If poverty is viewed as symptomatic of brokenness, then it changes the goal of development. The goal is no longer to fill a void; rather the goal of development becomes bringing wholeness, or wellbeing to a community.

How the goal of development is defined influences the tools chosen to advocate for change in a community (Myers 3029; Corbett and Fikkert 1125). The words we use influence the practices we implement in development (Chambers 1744). Redefining the goal of development as “wellbeing” is important because using the term wellbeing shifts the focus from problem solving to working towards the community’s preferred future. This allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the goal of development.

The remainder of this thesis will lay out how current literature understands wellbeing and how it can be redefined to fit a community-based model of wellbeing that influences how we implement development in local communities.

Defining Wellbeing

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), “health is not the mere absence of disease, it is a state of wellbeing” (La Placa, McNaught, and Knight 116). Wellbeing is a concept that has been both broadly studied and broadly defined. It is an ambiguous term with no singular definition (La Placa et al. 119; McGillvray and Clarke 3). Though wellbeing is understood to be more than just the presence of happiness

(Dodge et al 225), what else it includes is contested among the different disciplines of research and proposed interventions.

One strain of literature views an individual's income level as the primary indicator of his or her wellbeing (McGillvray and Clarke 6). Research shows that income and wellbeing are positively correlated and that the correlation continues beyond the point of the poverty line (Stevenson and Wolfers 3; Deaton 55). Studies conducted by both Stevenson et al., and Deaton compared per capita GDP with the World Gallup Poll's life satisfaction survey (Stevenson and Wolfers 6; Deaton 57). Both studies found that the mean value of the country's life satisfaction was positively correlated with their per capita GDP (Stevenson and Wolfers 14; Deaton 59). Stevenson and Wolfers's data showed that even within the same country, higher levels of income were indicators of higher levels of wellbeing (12). They argue, then that an increase in income will lead to a higher level of wellbeing.

Two issues arise with an income-based understanding of wellbeing. First, while income is statistically correlated to wellbeing (Stevenson and Wolfers 3; Deaton 55), the studies focus on country and regional-wide analysis and are not community specific. For the purposes of developing community-based programs, merely increasing a community's income is not sufficient to increase their wellbeing. Second, while on average it may be true that higher income levels lead to greater wellbeing, Kahnmen, Kreger, Schkade, Schwarz, and Stone argue that part of the reason for the apparent correlation is what they call the "focusing illusion" that is entailed with life satisfaction surveys (1908).

Focusing illusions draw a particular issue to the mind of the respondent, and thus make that issue more salient than it would be otherwise (Kahnmen et al. 1908). By asking respondents to ponder certain issues, it increases their attention to that issue and causes a false-priority on what they might otherwise have ignored. Kahmmen et al. argue that in general, people do not contemplate their current life circumstances, so are prone to being led towards a particular issue or response by the way questions are asked (Kahnmen et al. 1909). By asking respondents about their income, for example, it causes them to place a higher emphasis on the importance of income to their wellbeing than they might have given without the focus on income in the survey.

A second strand of literature deals with subjective wellbeing. Subjective wellbeing is based on how the individual views their own life circumstances, their emotional state, and the meaning they draw from their lives (McGillivray and Clarke 4; OECD Guidelines 10). Subjective wellbeing is often measured by quality of life surveys. La Placa et al. argue that while quality of life measurements ask people to determine if their life is “desirable” or “undesirable”—it leads to them to focus on “environmental and structural determinants, such as income and other economic indicators” (117). What is “desirable” or “undesirable” for a particular group of people is rooted in their cultural values. Understanding what “undesirable” means in economic terms may in fact be a highly Western perspective and may not apply in the context of highly collective societies. While this model attempts to give the community a voice in defining whether they have achieved wellbeing, it measures it against the Western perspective of the “ideal.” Another dimension to consider in subjective wellbeing is the influence of power dynamics between the researchers and the community members being interviewed. Those

dynamics will limit the freedom the community members feel in giving the researcher an answer other than what they think the researcher wants to hear (Myers 2594; Hofstede 1540).

Current models of wellbeing

In an effort to put forward a more complex definition of wellbeing, current researchers have focused on developing more comprehensive models of wellbeing.

As illustrated in figure 1, for Dodge et al, wellbeing is “the balance point between an individual’s resource pool and challenges faced” (230).



Figure 1. Definition of wellbeing from Rachel Dodge et al.; “The challenge of defining wellbeing”; *International Journal of Wellbeing*; Aug. 2012; pp. 230; <https://internationaljournalofwellbeing.org/ijow/index.php/ijow/article/view/89>.

This model, though highly individualistic, allows for a connection between resilience and wellbeing.

Resilience, according to Mguni, Bacon, and Brown, is “the ability of some individuals to bounce back from adversity” (3). Their research shows a high correlation between resilience and wellbeing. Their understanding of wellbeing tends towards individualistic analysis because of the focus on an individual having high amounts of leisure time and contentment with their household income level. However, it does include a community component to wellbeing, which measures “feeling close to other people” (5). Though there were some exceptions, Mghuni et al. found that high levels of wellbeing were correlated with high levels of resilience and low levels of wellbeing with low levels of resilience (8-9). The benefit of understanding the connection between

wellbeing and resilience is that it illustrates that wellbeing is not a fixed point to be reached, but is constantly in flux.

If the community is able to adjust their resources (psychological, social, and physical) based on the challenges they face—that is the definition of resilience. Dodge et al.’s model argues that wellbeing and resilience can be viewed as synonymous. The primary limitation of this model is that it is very general and does not allow for a nuanced approach of measurement.

A second model for understanding wellbeing, developed by Copenstake, looks at wellbeing in three dimensions—normative, historical, and practical (578).

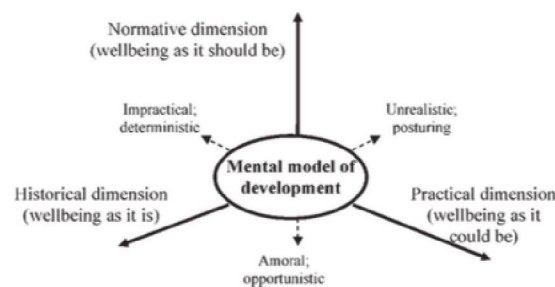


Figure 2. Discursive framework for thinking about mental modes of development from James Copenstake; “Wellbeing in International Development: What’s New?” *Journal of International Development*, 2008; pp. 579. *Wiley Online Library*, doi:10.1002/jid.1431.

As is illustrated in figure 2, Copenstake argues that it is essential to understand wellbeing in three dimensions: the ideal, how it plays out in practice, and how it can be modified or improved in the future (Copenstake 578). Not only does he look at wellbeing through these three dimensions, but he also takes it further, in that in each dimension wellbeing can be understood from a needs first, rights first, or local first perspective (Copenstake 580). Each perspective highlights different dimensions of wellbeing.

The needs first perspective is more traditional in that it is a direct approach that deals with alleviating poverty (Copenstake 579). The rights first perspective views wellbeing through the lens of relational and material struggles against injustice. This

perspective focuses on mobilizing individuals and communities who have been marginalized to stand up against the injustices that they have suffered (Copenstake 580). The third view, the local first perspective, according to Copenstake, “affirms the importance of diverse, local, vernacular and religious views of wellbeing” (580). The local first perspective, as its name suggests, is community-driven. In theory it allows communities to decide for themselves what wellbeing can and should look like in their particular context.

While this model may seem very broad, the major drawback is that within the same model competing perspectives of defining wellbeing can operate. This model serves more as a categorization of methods rather than a tool to understand coded responses of community descriptions of wellbeing.

A third model is the most comprehensive of the three frameworks. La Placa, McNaught, and Knight argue that wellbeing must include a broader definition than just what is included in the current understandings of subjective wellbeing or income-based models. They developed a model that looks at wellbeing as the result of the combination of four dimensions—the individual, family, community and society (see fig. 3). Wellbeing is achieved by the dynamic interactions between these four dimensions.

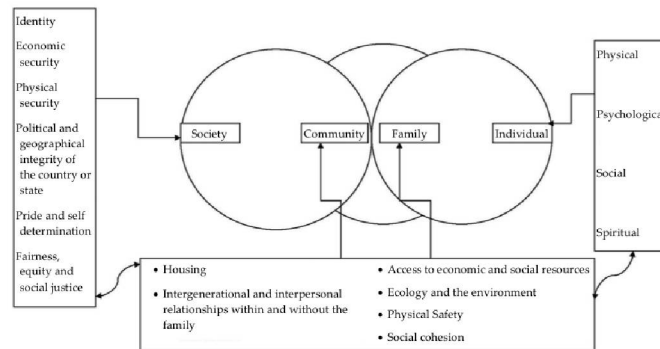


Figure 3. A structured framework for defining wellbeing from Vincent La Placa et al.; “Discourse on Wellbeing in Research and Practice.” *International Journal of Wellbeing*; Mar. 2013; pp. 118; <https://internationaljournalofwellbeing.org/ijow/index.php/ijow/article/view/177>.

The primary advantage to this model is that it is much more comprehensive and culturally adaptable than the previous models (La Placa et al. 120). In cultures that place high value on the family and community over the individual, this model gives room for their definition of wellbeing to be understood. La Placa et al. argue that, “the strength of this framework is that it brings together how people feel about their circumstances and assessments of how their objective circumstances affect them as individuals, families, and societies” (120). This model provides space for both qualitative and quantitative measures of community wellbeing.

Understanding wellbeing from a contextualized perspective is important. La Placa et al.’s framework provides room for the researcher to work with the community to define what they believe wellbeing looks like for them, while not limiting them to only what they themselves can identify as part of an ideal community.

Another benefit to La Placa et al.’s model of wellbeing is that unlike the previous two models, it offers space to include a spiritual component to wellbeing. Dhar, Chartuverdi, and Nadan argue that understanding spiritual health is an essential component to overall health and wellbeing (3). In their study on the connection between spirituality and health, they found that “acceptable spiritual practices have a positive correlation with survival, reduction of high blood pressure, less remission time from depression, reduced number of cigarettes smoked per day per week and lowered severe medical illness” (Dhar et al. 4). While La Placa et al. do not include the HOPE tool advocated for by Dhar et al., La Placa et al.’s model does give room for this type of spiritual understanding to be incorporated into the process of discovering a community-based definition of wellbeing.

While La Placa et al.'s model is highly useful in developing a framework for understanding wellbeing from the perspective of an Asian urban slum area, it does have a few limitations. The first is that the model was developed for the government of the United Kingdom to use in their national assessment of wellbeing (La Placa et al. 117). This does give it a bias towards a Western perspective of wellbeing (La Placa et al. 123). However, it will serve as a useful framework, alongside Myer's understanding of poverty, to see how the Asian urban slum dwellers define their own understanding of wellbeing.

A fourth perspective on wellbeing is one developed by Myers. Myers argues that wellbeing is the opposite of poverty and it occurs when an individual has a right relationship with God, themselves, their community, others, and their environment (3226).

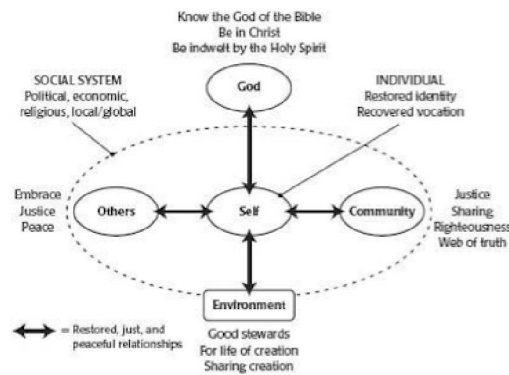


Figure 4. Transformed relationships from Bryant Myers; *Walking With the Poor*; 1999; location 3896; Kindle.

For Myers, when each of the relationships is whole, peace, harmony, and wellbeing occur (see fig. 4). It is when these relationships are broken that poverty occurs.

When using such a broad definition of wellbeing, it is particularly important to account for differences in culture. In individualistic cultures, a right relationship with oneself may include having good self-esteem, being employed, living on their own, etc. It

identifies the individual as the locus of control who can guide and direct his or her own life. The ideal in a collective culture, however, is very different. In collective cultures children are taught from a young age that they are a part of a group and that they should not make decisions without the group (Hofstede 1883). Since there is not one universal definition of wellbeing, it depends on multiple factors including the local culture of that community; the community should determine what wellbeing looks like in their own context based on their own cultural values.

The limitation of this model is that it is very broad and requires understanding how the community itself defines these ideal relationships. However, this limitation is quite useful when designing a contextualized model for wellbeing. It provides scaffolding for the community's ideal to be understood.

Moving towards wellbeing

When one understands poverty as multidimensional, the process of development changes. Community development is not merely assisting a community to have access to basic medical services or clean water (though both are important); rather development is about facilitating a community through a process of transformation. The goal is for them to recognize what areas in their lives are broken and what they believe needs to be healed. Development practitioners must understand that the goal of community development (and social justice work in general), is not merely helping a community find freedom from oppression, rather the goal is for individuals and communities to experience a renewal of right relationships that leads them to a place of wellbeing (Volf 1849). Seen from this perspective, genuine wellbeing can only be achieved when an individual has a right relationship with God, because it is only through a restored

relationship with God that they are able to have a transformed perspective of themselves, forgive those who have harmed or oppressed them, find forgiveness for when they have harmed or oppressed others, become good stewards of creation, and love sacrificially. Understanding how the community itself defines what healthy relationships in each dimension look like, allows the process of development to begin and remain culturally relevant. Effective development programs require the practitioner to understand the culture of the community and be committed to working with the community through a process of identifying what wellbeing looks like in their particular cultural context.

Part II: Methodology in Practice

The literature on wellbeing, as demonstrated in the previous section, is quite extensive and provides a broad framework for understanding wellbeing. But how do these broad principles apply to the women in the Cilincing trash dump community? Is the way the women in Cilincing described their ideal consistent with the European-based models of wellbeing from the literature? What do the mothers in Cilincing think is most important? What do they most value? Are the services and programs that what we offer them actually of value to them? My inquiry into community wellbeing is about addressing these questions for the purpose of increasing the impact of my organization's work in the Cilincing community so that the families can have a better future.

Merriam and Tisdell argue that “qualitative research is interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their world, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (6). In essence, the focus of qualitative research is on the community-based construction of meaning (Merriam and Tisdell 15), which was exactly what I wanted to understand in relation to wellbeing.

The research context

Though the Cilincing community is located within the city of Jakarta, it is a marginalized area and there are no other organizations, private or governmental, that work in the community other than my organization, Partners for Compassion. Due to the unfamiliarity the community had with research practices, I decided to start very small, using both participant observation and community interviews as a pilot study. The results of this pilot study can serve as a foundation for future work in the Cilincing community and at the same time help acclimate the residents to active inquiry.

The ten interview respondents were chosen by our Cilincing community partners Edy and Yully and included mothers of current and former kindergarten students from the school that my organization runs in their community. The interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and then translated into English for coding. Though these ten women do not represent the entire Cilincing trash dump community, their age range, living situation, and background were varied enough to serve as representative of mothers in the community.

Relationship building

Before beginning any formal research, Korry Akikalamu, my Indonesian friend, coworker, and translator and I went to visit Edy and Yully, our community partners. According to Hofstede et al., “In the collectivist society, the personal relationship prevails over the task and should be established first” (2164). Though I already had a preexisting relationship with the Cilincing trash dump community, I was still intentional in relationship building at the beginning of this research project.

Korry and I sat on the floor of Edy and Yully’s house for hours eating fish head, drinking tea, and discussing life before beginning any discussion regarding the project itself. It was important for them to understand that we valued their insight. Since our organization pays their salary, we knew that they would be unlikely to answer direct or pointed questions honestly if they felt their answer would cause tension in the relationship. In order to account for this, Korry and I were intentional to not ask pointed questions. Instead, when we asked the questions we asked for their insight on how community members might respond to the question. This approach allowed Edy and

Yully to express their opinions without having to tell us directly that they thought we were wrong. Though we would have welcomed that, culturally it was unlikely to occur.

Going through the research questions with Edy and Yully before beginning the interviews was particularly beneficial because it was through those discussions I realized that directly asking the respondents about a right relationship with the “self” would not make sense to them in their collectivist context. Having researched that Indonesia is highly collectivist, I assumed that their view of the self would be the weakest of the five relationships my framework was based on (Myers 3897), but I assumed they would at least be able to respond with answers like “good self esteem,” “confidence,” etc. However, when I asked Edy and Yully what they thought the community members would consider a healthy perspective of the self, they not only had no idea how to answer, but also the question itself did not make sense to them.

After the interview, I spoke to Rev. John David Kenney and Dr. Alan Johnson and asked their perspective on what I had stumbled upon, since both men have worked in an Asian collectivist context for over twenty years. Both Kenney and Johnson explained that it is not that individuals in a collectivist society do not have a relationship with the self—it is that their identity is so intertwined with the group that without complex thinking and processing, they cannot disentangle themselves to view themselves as individuals outside of the group. This meant that I needed to find a way to reframe my question or I would continue to hit walls in future interviews.

Pilot interviews

After the initial meeting with Edy and Yully, and hours of participant observation, I began the pilot interview process. Korry and I met with ten women, all mothers who

either currently have a child in our Partners for Compassion kindergarten or have had one attend in the previous four years.

I initially intended to ask the women what they thought a right relationship with God, with themselves, with the community, with the environment, and with others should look like. However, after the meeting with Edy and Yully I broadened the scope of my questions. Instead I asked the women to tell stories or draw a picture of what an ideal community should look like and leave it up to them what they decided to include. This broadening of the question allowed me to resolve the issue with the collectivist understanding of the right relationship with the self, and did not put the women in a position where they might only answer because they thought it was expected of them.

Insights from word usage

Before continuing the discussion regarding the process of the interviews, it is important to understand the rationale for the word choices used in the translation of “wellbeing” and “community,” as neither term can be directly translated from English into Bahasa Indonesia, the language of my interviews.

First, there is no Indonesian word that is equivalent to the English word “wellbeing.” Some of the words Korry and I attempted to use were: “*harmoni*” (harmony), “*sehat*” (healthy), and “*ideal*” (the same as the English word ideal). When we used the word “harmony”, the respondents focused only on their relationships with the community. While understanding community relationships is important, I also wanted to identify the physical and structural components they believed should be present in an ideal community. The second word we tried was “sehat,” which means “healthy.” The problem with the use of this word was that the women only focused on medical and

hygiene issues. Again, this was part of wellbeing, but not the entirety of it. The third word we tried, and the one we ultimately decided to use was “ideal.” This allowed community relationships, health, structure, and the environment to be included. So instead of asking the women, “What does wellbeing look like in your community?” we asked, “What do you think an ideal community would look like?” While this is not exactly the same thing as asking about wellbeing, it allowed me to learn different components that can later be connected to wellbeing in their community.

A second interesting translation issue that affected the data was the fact that the word “community” is a hard concept to translate from English into Bahasa Indonesian and maintain the same meaning. In English, the word “community” is general and can mean a place, a group of people living in close proximity, or a group of people who have the same interests but are not necessarily in the same physical location. In Bahasa Indonesia, though, each of those concepts requires different words. The phrase we chose to use was “*lingkukang masyarakat*.” This terminology has much more of a physical community connotation to it than “community” does in English; so when we asked what an ideal “*lingkukang masyarakat*” looked like for them, the respondents assumed we were referring to a physical place. However, we were able to get a broader picture by asking them follow up questions regarding what types of services, relationships, environment, etc. should be present in that ideal physical place.

Interview process

Even once Korry and I broadened the interview questions, the women still had trouble answering what they believed an ideal community should look like. In order to help them explain their ideas without having to articulate it in words, I had the women

draw a picture of an ideal community at the beginning of the interview. I was prepared with blank paper and pens and was excited to try this new approach. The women, though, did not respond the way I expected them to. They were overwhelmed and kept saying they were not artists—they felt they could not draw a good enough picture to be able to describe an ideal community. After failed attempts with three of the women, I gave up this approach and went back to asking verbal questions. These difficulties further illustrate the importance of developing a better methodology for discovery in a collectivist culture. It is important to note that part of the reason this exercise might have been unsuccessful was that there was a weekly art class held at the kindergarten each week and the women might have believed that a higher level of art was required in their drawing of an ideal community. Future researchers should attempt this type of exercise again but with a different approach.

The women had difficulty clearly articulating their ideal, so in an effort to more fully understand what they wish they had in their community, I asked them what they thought the three biggest problems were their community faced. The absence of that problem, then, could serve as a starting point for understanding their ideal. To my surprise, though, it took a lot of prodding and thinking for them to come up with problems as well. There is such an acceptance of their lot in life that they do not dream or complain—they just live. All ten of the women I interviewed had trouble explaining to me what their ideal was. I tried to use good methodologies; I tried both vague questions and specific questions. But again and again, they could not identify for me what the ideal community should look like.

In *New Friars: The Emerging Movements Among the World's Poor*, the author discusses a similar situation in an urban slum area he visited. Bessencker explained that though at first glance he found an attitude of contentment among the people, he went on to share that this attitude is not really an attitude of true contentment at all; rather it is, as he calls it, "resignation or fatalism," (Bessencker 44). For him, just because the residents of trash dump communities are not upset at their living conditions and just because they do not wish for better circumstances for themselves and for their children does not mean they have achieved wellbeing (Bessencker 48). As I thought about the attitude of contentment I encountered in the Cilincing trash dump community, in light of what Bessencker shared in his book, I realized why it was essential to have a community definition of wellbeing. It could be that the attitude of contentment seen in Cilincing is, as Bessencker asserts, a sign of fatalism. Or it could be that Bessencker does not understand the cultural context, and that having a positive attitude amidst difficult situations in reality is a sign of wellbeing because acceptance of their current circumstances in life is a part of being in a collectivist culture (Hofstede 1883).

Analyzing the data

After finishing my fieldwork, I gathered all of my interview and observation notes and laid them out on the floor of my apartment. With such a vast amount of information, I decided to listen to each interview again and make notes on anything that I had missed in my original notes. As I went through each interview and listened more closely, I began to hear patterns emerge that I had previously missed. I began to see the women's responses fit into themes relating to a right relationship with the community, with others, with the environment, and even with themselves. To tease this out further, I printed out

each interview page and wrote out the codes in the margins, as suggested by Merriam and Tisdell (204).

After laying out all the newly coded interview note pages, I realized it was too much to analyze without a better categorization system. I wrote out each code on a slip of paper along with the name of the respondent. I then laid out sheets of paper with the headings “God”, “Community”, “Others”, “Environment”, and “Self.” I then took the slips of paper and began to organize them and fit them into categories. As I sat on my apartment floor looking at the organized codes, I realized that without forcing it, I had come up with a rough outline of what wellbeing looks like in the Cilincing trash dump community—an outline that maps directly to the five relationships Myers explains in his book *Walking With the Poor* (3897).

Part III: Wellbeing in the Cilincing trash dump community

The coded data from my fieldwork illustrates that for the mothers in the Cilincing trash dump community, an ideal community includes a strong community bonds, a healthy environment for mothers to raise their children, employment for them and their husbands, a place of worship nearby, and access to services they had been denied. These are, in essence, the categories described by Myers and are a right relationship with the community, the environment, themselves, God, and others (3896).

In this section I will go through each dimension of wellbeing the women discussed and explain the results of the interviews.

A right relationship with the community

In a collective society, healthy group relationships will look very different than in an individualistic society. Understanding how a collective culture defines healthy relationships was of particular interest to me, because Indonesia is highly collectivist. Myers describes a healthy relationship with the community as there being “justice, sharing, righteousness and a web of truth” (3898). Healthy relationships and interactions between the women in the community were of utmost importance to the respondents.

The women’s ideal community included a place of harmony and collaboration. What the interactions looked like varied from woman to woman, but togetherness was a part of all ten responses. The overarching themes from the interviews indicated that for the respondents an ideal community would include: women’s gatherings, people would work together and help each other, there would be open and honest relationships between residents rather than meddling, and there would be a welcoming atmosphere in the community (appendix fig. 1).

The type of harmony the women described went beyond mere peaceful co-existence. Yupi explained to me that wellbeing is more than the absence of fighting and involves community members getting together for activities, helping each other, and talking about life with one other. Lindawati took that idea a little further and shared that neighbors should be actively involved in helping meet each other's needs—even at great personal sacrifice. For example, if someone in the community is sick and needs medical attention that they cannot afford—in an ideal community all the residents would contribute and together pay the medical bill.

Given the collectivist nature of the community, these results are not surprising. In highly collective culture, according to Hofstede et al, “social networks [are] the primary source of information” (2065). Strong and healthy social networks were important to the respondents. In addition, collective cultures place a high value on harmony and consensus, so the ideal of open relationships and working together makes sense in the collective culture (Hofstede et al. 2283).

A right relationship with the environment

The second dimension of wellbeing is the relationship the community has with the environment. Having a right relationship with the environment according to Myers involves people being “good stewards for life and creation [and] sharing creation” (3898).

Though the community is located at the foot of a trash dump, the residents take great pride in keeping order and cleanliness. Through my visits to the community I regularly noticed that the women hang their laundry very neatly, their small porches or

outside tables are meticulously neat and clean, they regularly sweep the dirt streets, they take care of their space to the best of their ability.

It was interesting to compare the observations I made to their value of order and cleanliness as a part of wellbeing to the interview responses. The women's responses were very varied in terms of environmental wellbeing (appendix fig. 2). One interesting finding was having trees was mentioned by four of the ten respondents. They believed the trees would reduce dust, keep them cooler, and make the area more attractive. Given that a large percentage of the families in the Cilincing community come from rural villages, it makes sense they would miss the beauty of nature and would include it in their ideal.

Another issue brought up was flooding. One of the mothers shared with me that, “When it rains, it floods the mattresses and we can't sleep and we have trash enter the house, which means we all have to sleep on the table, men and women together” (Pucasini). Given the apparent gravity of the situation, I was surprised she was the only one to mention that an ideal community would not flood.

The most discussed topic, after trees, relating to environmental wellbeing was the desire of the women to have their own home. The women did not dream of mansions with front yards—they just wanted a place to call their own that was clean, had furniture, and was newer than where they were living.

A right relationship with others

The relationship with others, according to Myers, involves, “[embracing] justice and peace” (3898). A right relationship with “others” is defined in the context of this thesis as relationships between people outside of the community with those inside the

community. In the interviews, these came up primarily as having access to services residents do not have because of the illegal status of their community.

Having access to medical services and education for their children were the two most discussed topics in this dimension of wellbeing (appendix fig. 3). This dimension reminded me that while wellbeing is more than access to resources and opportunity, development efforts should not focus so heavily on the community relationship dynamics that they forget that children are dying of preventable medical illnesses because they cannot get to a doctor. Access to medical care and educational opportunities are essential to community health.

The women did not ask for a state of the art medical facility, they just wanted a closer small government medical clinic. They wanted a place where they could take their children when they were sick and needed medicine. Referring to the midwife clinic Partners for Compassion runs on Saturday mornings, Kaidah, one of the respondents shared with me, “Having a midwife clinic here is ok if something happens on a Saturday morning, but what if it happens on a different day? What do we do then?” (Kaidah). She went on to say that when there are medical emergencies in the community, they are helpless—they are too far away from appropriate medical treatment.

Jakarta does offer free medical care and secondary education to many marginalized groups in the city. To gain access to these services, though, individuals must have a legal identity card. The reason many of the residents of the Cilincing community do not have these cards is because the government of Jakarta does not recognize their community and thus there is not the proper government official that can

help them process their paperwork. The reason they do not have access is not because the services are not available, but because of their residency status.

A right relationship with the self

In a collective culture it is difficult to discern what it means for an individual to have a right relationship with him or herself. According to Myers, the result of a transformed relationship with oneself involves the personal having a “restored identity and recovered vocation” (3898).

For Kadimini in particular, having a job and not idly gossiping with other women was important to her. This is consistent with the other interview results (appendix fig. 4). The women described having no uncertainty about their future, having a good job, enough money to provide for the needs of their family, and the ability to “fix” themselves.

Many of the families, like Tia and Yupi’s families, had previously lived in communities that were demolished by the government to make way for new construction. With little notice they were forced to leave their home and livelihood. With rumors circulating about their current community being demolished to build a new factory, uncertainty plagues them. For both Tia and Yupi, part of an ideal community is knowing they will be able to stay where they are and knowing they will be able to provide for their family’s needs.

Individual wellbeing in a collective context means knowing where they are going, being able to provide for their families, and living healthy and productive lives. These themes all relate to how they can have peace and can meaningfully contribute to the group.

A right relationship with God

For followers of Jesus, true transformation cannot happen unless individuals and communities are brought into right relationship with God (Myers 3898). Though not heavily emphasized in the interviews, having access to places of worship were important to at least two of the women interviewed (see Appendix fig. 5).

Our community partners Edy and Yully believe that spiritual transformation can happen in the community. This transformation is not about access to a place of worship; rather it is about introducing people to Jesus. It is interesting that even in a Muslim context, the idea of spiritual access is still a part of who they are as a community. For the women, spirituality is important, even if they do not always think it is the most important component to wellbeing.

The codes gleaned from these pilot interviews illustrate that wellbeing is complex and involves multiple healthy relationships simultaneously. It has components of community, of a safe and healthy environment, of access to education and medical services, being able to provide for one's family, and having access to a place of worship.

Part IV: The role of culture on wellbeing

No matter how hard people may try to negate their own bias, people interpret the world through the perspective of the environment where they developed. As Groody explains, “Where and how we live affects what we see and how we understand [the world]” (1281). Culture is the lens through which people see the world and by which they determine what is of value and what qualifies as appropriate or inappropriate behaviors (Braden and Mayo 191). People live, interact, and behave the way they do because of their culture. As explained by Merriam and Tisdell, “individuals construct their reality through interaction with their social worlds” (24). Culture influences how people construct their reality and how they interact with those around them. Therefore, it is essential that development practitioners understand not only the cultural lens of the people whom they desire to help, but also their own cultural lens as well (Chambers 1743) because culture greatly influences how communities perceive and define wellbeing.

In relation to wellbeing, two of the most relevant cultural dimensions to consider are power distance and collectivism. In this section each dimension will be defined and then examples will be given to explain the role these play, both in the definition and discovery of wellbeing.

Power Distance

Hofstede et al. define power distance as “the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally” (1169). Issues of power are important to address because power dynamics play a key role in development, both in the selection of a project and in its

implementation (Lewis et al. 18). Power in the context of development applies to who in the community or the development team has the authority and influence to move projects forward.

In countries with high power distance, like Indonesia with a power distance value of 78 out of 100 (Hofstede et al. 1144), subordinates do not assume they should be a part of the decision process, rather they value giving respect and deference to those in authority over them (Basbane and Ros 191-192). They accept the inequality of the group whether it is family, community or government. Group inequalities apply not only within clear hierarchical structures, but also within families or other group cliques (Johnson, *Leadership* 97). This means that in Cilincing, inequality is not only expected, it is actually desired (Hofstede 1197). Therefore, because equality is not something that is valued, it would not likely be a part of their understanding of wellbeing. Instead of equality, high power distance communities prioritize harmony, cooperation and unity within the group (Basbane and Ros 191). These values influence responses regarding what communities define as their ideal.

When attempting to understand wellbeing in a high power distance culture, we cannot expect individual grassroots dissention with the status quo if dissention from the group goes against their cultural programming. In the Cilincing trash dump community, each of the women interviewed expressed that their lives were “fine” the way they were. They did not believe that there was a better future out there for them that they were somehow unable to achieve. From a low power distance lens, this appears to be fatalism. It seems that the women have no hope for a better life. However, once their responses are viewed through a high power distance lens, their articulation of contentment and having

few desires may in fact be a reflection of their cultural values of harmony and contentment. These differences illustrate the importance of understanding the particular culture's definition of wellbeing. The ideal in a high power distance culture is not equality among people; the ideal is protection, harmony and contentment with life.

Power distance affects not only the definition of wellbeing, but also the process by which it is discovered, especially in relation to the dynamics between the researchers and the respondents. In high power distance cultures, people who view themselves as having "less" power do not feel comfortable expressing opposing perspectives. This means that the interview methods must be adapted to account for this difference.

In the Cilincing trash dump community interviews I did not want to be perceived as having more power than the women being interviewed—but due to the fact that I am white and from the organization that opened the only school and midwife clinic in the community, I knew the women would perceive a large power distance between us. Given that the community is high power distance, I intentionally adjusted my behavior to reduce the impact of power distance on the interview results. Some methods used to minimize these effects included: asking open-ended questions so that the women would not feel like they had to contradict me to share what they truly believed; sitting at the same level as they were or below them, rather than me sitting on a chair and having them on floor, because that would further accentuate the power distance; and engaging the women with stories rather than only directed questions.

Individualism – collectivism dimension

While power distance deals with acceptance or rejection of inequality, the individualism-collectivism dimension deals with identity. Collectivism according to

Hofstede et al. “pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout peoples’ lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty” (1162). Individuals in collective societies, such as Indonesia with an index value of 14 out of 100 (Hofstede et al. 1717), do not primarily view themselves as an individual, rather they identify more strongly as a part of their group. This does not mean individuals do not have an identity in collective cultures. Rather, as Basbane and Ross explain it, “collective cultures do not encourage focusing attention on the inner self—the most salient features of emotional experience are external and interactional” (190). Group identity is an essential component to wellbeing in a collective culture, like Cilincing.

The most vivid illustration of collectivist identity came from the Cilincing community pilot interviews. One of the mothers, Tia, explained to me that while she desired to have her grandchildren live in nicer homes and have better educational opportunities—to her it was more important that they remain near her in the trash dump community. To her, remaining together was of more value than their societal or economic advancement. Wellbeing is fundamentality linked to individual and group identity. One must understand whether a community is individualistic or collectivist because that greatly influences what healthy relationships look like in that particular community.

The individualistic-collectivist index value affects not only the definition of wellbeing, but also the process of discovering it as well. According to Hofstede et al., for people from an individualistic culture, “the task is supposed to prevail over any personal relationships” (Hofstede 2164). However, in collectivist societies, trying to accomplish a task without personal relationships is incomprehensible and offensive (Hofstede et al.

2164). This was why it was important for Korry and I to spend time with Edy and Yully before we began the pilot interviews, so that they would understand that we valued them as people more than we valued the results from our research study.

Understanding cultural dimensions is essential for the process of discovering community-specific definitions of wellbeing because both group and power dynamics are a part of community development. As practitioners we must understand that we should take the power distance value of the culture we are serving seriously. When working in cultures that are both high power distance and collective there are barriers that we, as development workers from a low power distance and highly individualistic culture, will face. These are by no means insurmountable. However, these cultural differences must be accounted for in the definition of wellbeing and in the methodologies used to arrive at those definitions.

Part V: Where to Go From Here

Now that we have a culturally relevant framework for wellbeing and understand the limitations of current methodologies, the next step is to develop a process to help the community move towards their ideal in a way that is culturally appropriate. This section will discuss suggestions for future research to build upon the current understanding of contextualized wellbeing.

Participatory Action Research

Often community engagement programs have clearly delineated roles between the researcher and the research subjects, which presents issues such as insider/outsider dynamics and power dynamics where the researchers have power and privilege the community does not have and there is no relationship already present to help overcome them. One framework used to help overcome these two dynamics is participatory action research (PAR). Also called community-based participatory research, PAR is a methodology that engages the community throughout the research process. It is a systematic research process that is community-driven (Minkler 193; Wallerstein and Duran S41), participatory (Baum et al, 854; Minkler 193; Lazarus et al 310; Wallerstein and Duran S41), collaborative (Baum et al 854; Minkler 192; Wallerstein and Duran S41), and self-reflective (Baum et al 855). The goal of PAR is to enable residents of a particular community to have a voice in what development should look like in their own community (Baum et al. 854). Participatory methodologies involve the use of interviews, focus groups, and other community-vision exercises to help facilitate the research questions to the community (Holkup et al. 4; Minkler 196). The proposed methodology for discovering community wellbeing is grounded in participatory action research—

which involves observation and relationship building, pilot interviews, modified focus groups, and the development of a group action plan that engages the community throughout the entire process.

Observation and Relationship Building

In a collective culture where the relationship between the parties is more important than the task at hand (Hofstede 2164), it is essential for development workers to build a strong relationship with the community before even broaching the subject of “research” or “action plan.”

In relational cultures, coming straight in to ask questions in an interview can be offsetting. In addition, it is through observation that practitioners may discover some interesting components to wellbeing that the respondents may not discuss in their interviews. For example, in Cilincing I noticed a pattern of cleanliness that I would not have imagined to be present in a trash dump community. The women swept the streets, they cleaned their tables, and everything was kept properly in its place. There was cleanliness and order to their homes. This is a part of wellbeing—but this value of cleanliness and order was an assumption they made and thus was not included in their interview responses. Observation sheds light on what the respondents say and how they say it. It illustrates the values already present in the community.

Through observation outsiders can learn the power and group dynamics present in the community. Every morning while their children are in kindergarten class, the mothers gather outside on the patio to wait. It would be easy to assume this was one group, as they sit together and all wear matching “MOM” t-shirts. However, upon regular observation and even participation, there are in fact three different groups within the one larger group.

While they are separate groups and tend towards separate conversations, they are united in the fact that their children are in kindergarten. It is only through observing that the nuanced group dynamics can be fully understood.

These examples illustrate that outsiders will gain a much deeper understanding of what the community values if they spend time in the community.

Pilot interviews

As described in the methodology section, there are clear limitations to the effectiveness of interviews in a collective and high power distance culture. However, interviews can assist the process of discovering wellbeing because they allow for facilitated conversation with a diverse group of community members. While the data gleaned from the pilot interviews may not be enough to develop a community action plan, the interviews do provide a way to test theoretical concepts in a conversational setting. The coded data from the ten pilot interviews provided a rough framework that can be used as a baseline for the next stage of research.

In addition, the interviews should be understood as more than mere data collection. They are a way for outsiders to build trust and rapport with a variety of community members. Through the pilot interviews, I connected with women in a deeper way than I had previously. As the mothers shared their stories, their hopes and dreams for the future of their children and grandchildren, a bond was formed between us. Pilot interviews have the potential to facilitate relationship building, which is essential for long-term community partnerships.

Group Methodologies

In collective cultures, individuals do not have their own opinions; they take on the opinions of the group. Hofstede et al. explain, “if a new issue comes up on which there is no established group opinion, some kind of family conference is necessary before an opinion can be given” (1883). One of the barriers I faced in the pilot interviews was that I asked the women about issues they had likely never pondered previously. Without a group answer to fall back on and with the pressure to provide a “correct” answer to someone they perceived as possessing more power, the depth of their answer was severely limited. While pilot interviews are important, future research should embrace the group dynamics and utilize group methodologies in collectivist communities.

One way this can be done is through a modified focus group. Focus groups, according to Kitzinger, are “a form of group interview that capitalizes on communication between research participants to generate data” (299). Because it utilizes group dynamics as a part of the process, it is a particularly popular tool among action researchers. The goal of a focus group is to understand not just what the community believes but to understand the rationale for why they believe certain things (Rabiee 655; Kitzinger 299). Focus groups are particularly effective in empowering marginalized populations because the group setting gives those who may feel like they do not have a voice the opportunity to speak in the safety of a group (Rabiee 656; Kitzinger 300). Another benefit to utilizing a focus group is it gives the outside researcher the opportunity to guide the discussion, while giving the participants the ability to share their perspective in their own words and articulate what they believe the priorities for action should be (Kitzinger 299; Greenbaum 6; Rabiee 655).

Unlike traditional focus groups, which have one large group of six to ten participants (Greenbaum 3; Rabiee 656), the proposed modified focus group would comprise multiple sub-groups of three to four women. When the facilitator asks a question, the small groups would discuss their thoughts amongst themselves for a few minutes and then a representative will present their answer to the larger group. Hofstede et al. argue that in collective cultures, small groups are a good way to increase participation (Hofstede et al. 2070). This group methodology would allow the women the safety of expressing their beliefs while maintaining group harmony—because any response would be a group answer and not their own opinion. This protects individuals from sharing what they may perceive as a “wrong” answer because when they speak they represent more than just themselves.

The focus group would include the same questions as the pilot interviews. However, they would take one additional step beyond the interviews. Once the dimensions of wellbeing are identified and agreed upon by the group, the next stage is for the women to prioritize the identified components of wellbeing. Using a variation of the ten seeds methods, each of the small groups will prioritize which dimensions are the most important to them.

For example, if the codes relating to the “environment” from the wellbeing focus group round were: clean, play area, trees, clean home, proximity to services, clean water, no flooding, gathering place, good roads, each small group would be given ten seeds and told to prioritize which of the codes they felt were the most important. Then each group would send a representative to share to the large group their priorities. The areas that received the most seeds would be the areas of environmental wellbeing that are the most

salient for the group. Later this highly ranked codes can be the starting point for a community action plan.

This methodology is more likely to succeed in communities where the women are already comfortable meeting and sharing in a group setting. In Cilincing, the women are accustomed to meeting together for a variety of seminars and activities—so using group meetings to come to an understanding of wellbeing is less difficult than for communities where there is no current practice of group gatherings. This is one of the many reasons it is important to have relationships in the community before implementing programs.

Developing an action plan

Once wellbeing is defined and the goal of development is understood, it is essential to move from the conceptual understanding of wellbeing to action. The same methodology used to identify wellbeing can be used to develop priorities of action.

For example, some of the mothers in the pilot interviews I conducted thought it would be good to have a play area for their children. This allowed the kids not to play in the rubbish and gave the mothers a safe and clean place to gather while the children played. If this idea of a children's play area highly resonated with the women in the modified focus group, that could be a good project to begin with.

After a project is selected there are several ways the implementation can occur. We (as outsiders) could come in and just build a playground. The problem is it goes against the principles of community ownership, which were fundamental to the discovery of wellbeing phase. To address this issue, the community itself must decide what it wants to focus on and outside practitioners should assist the community in working towards their goals, but not do all the work for them. Outsiders have a strategic opportunity to

guide the community and to help them evaluate their progress. As communities see small victories, it enables them to tackle more difficult and potentially controversial problems.

It is essential that the same principles of community ownership apply throughout the entire journey of development. The community may initially not realize it has the capabilities to tackle the issues they have identified—but through guidance from the practitioners they are capable of much more than they recognize. It is through the continual engagement of the community throughout the entire project that wellbeing can occur.

Conclusion

Poverty is not the mere absence of wealth and resources; it occurs when there are broken relationships in a community. Wellbeing, its opposite, is when there is peace and wholeness in the community. What wholeness looks like is highly dependent on the particular culture of a community. As demonstrated in this thesis, it is essential for outside practitioners to intentionally learn and understand their own cultural lens and that of the community they serve, particularly as it relates to power distance and collectivism—because only then are they able to effectively guide the community through a process of discovering their own wellbeing. Through embracing the cultural dimensions, development practitioners can partner with communities to develop a deep trust, which can lead to contextualized and sustainable programs that meet the needs the community has itself identified. This allows transformation in the community and in the practitioner as well.

Appendix: Wellbeing code diagrams

Figure 1: Community wellbeing interview codes

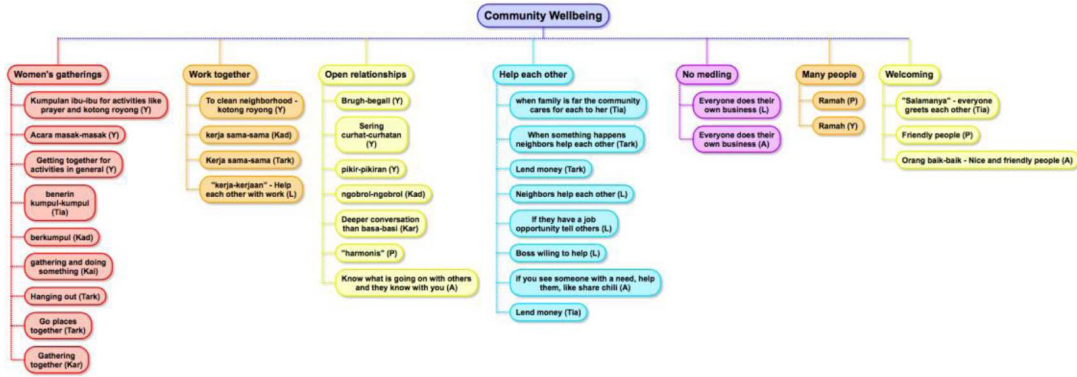


Figure 2: Environmental wellbeing interview codes

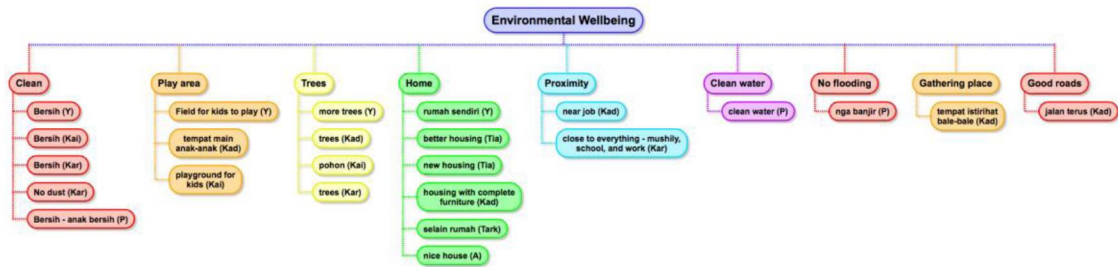


Figure 3: Right relationship with the other interview codes

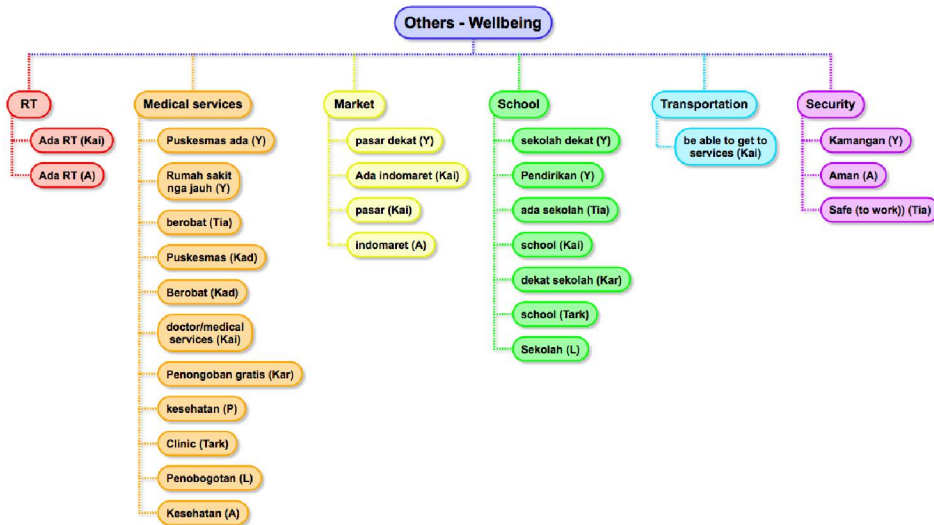


Figure 4: Individual wellbeing interview codes



Figure 5: Spiritual wellbeing interview codes

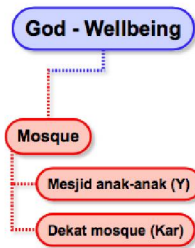
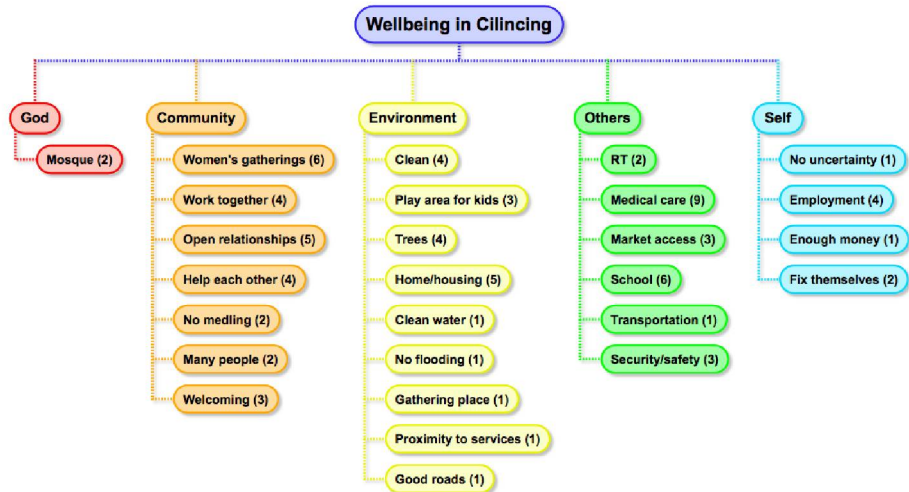


Figure 6: Summary diagram of wellbeing codes



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