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‘This is my ideal life’: The importance
of place for how Māori elders
understand a good life.

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts in Psychology at Massey University, Palmerston North,
New Zealand.

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Abstract

Attachment to place is considered to be an important component of ageing and can be intertwined with an older persons identity. For this reason place cannot be separated from understandings of a good life. This study examined the ways that elder Māori living on the East Cape construct a good life and how place may influence this understanding. Data analysis involved eight interviews with older Māori and a research visit to the East Cape. The thesis used a mixed methods approach to qualitative analysis combining Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis with Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. Principles of Kaupapa Māori research were also integrated throughout the research process. Four superordinate themes of ageing well, social connectedness, economic wellbeing, and autonomy and control were identified as contributing to the experience of a good life. The four superordinate themes represent different components that must be negotiated in order to balance these demands. The analysis also identified a number of discourses including positive ageing discourse, anti-consumption discourse, family discourse and neo-liberal discourse. These discourses were drawn on to balance competing expectations regarding a good life and present the participants identities in a morally virtuous manner. This analysis demonstrates how a good life depends upon finding a balance between the competing demands of living within the wider society, attachment to place, and Māori identity in later life.

Preface

The initial inspiration for this study came from interview data collected through a larger research project on the economic living standards of elders. However, inspiration was taken from several places along the way including my own background. Therefore it is important for me to explain how my background relates to this thesis.

I grew up in a small rural area called Ohiwa, between Whakatane and Opotiki in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. At age seven my parents moved us from Whakatane to live what they thought was the ultimate dream. Our five acres of land had no house, no power and no running water. We lived in a one bedroom shed and two caravans. We cooked with gas and stored food in a gas refrigerator. We relied on candles for lighting. We collected rainwater and showered with a solar shower. After a couple of years my parents invested in a generator meaning that we had power during the evening. We lived like this for about five years. Although I was young, I do not remember feeling like I missed out on a good life. I knew we lived differently than others, however, the neighbours also lived exactly the same. It wasn't all that unusual in the area.

Another important inspiration is my heritage as a bicultural New Zealander. I have cultural affiliations to both Tuhoe and Whakatohea. My appreciation for my cultural heritage and what it means to be Māori has grown throughout my years at University. As an undergraduate student I worked part time on a Māori land court project, which introduced me to the history of Māori land tenure and increased my awareness of the relationship Māori share with the land. My personal background, cultural links and connection to the area has helped me to understand the context of the participants in this study and to relate to their experiences living as rural Māori.

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Glossary of Terms

Ahi kā	symbolic phrase for ‘keep the fires burning’
Hapū	sub tribe
Iwi	tribe
Kaimoana	seafood
Kaumātua	respected tribal elder (male or female)
Kohanga reo	total immersion early childhood education for Māori
Kura	school
Mana whenua	land tenure
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Pākehā	European
Tangata Whenua	people of the land
Tapu	a state subject to risk, address with caution
Te Reo	Māori language
Tikanga	customs, protocols, procedures
Tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, autonomy
Waka	canoe
Whakawhanaungatanga	affirmation of bonds
Whānau	Family
Whare	House

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Introduction

Older Māori are a unique group in many ways. Their identity is bound in their culture and worldview as Māori citizens. Within Māori society older adults are both held with respect and depended upon as fundamental in the functioning of whānau (Cunningham et al, 2002; Waldon, 2004). Older Māori are a unique group due to the struggles they have faced at the hand of colonization and being forced to assimilate within western society (Kingi, 2007; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine & Barnes, 2006). With the ageing of the population the living standards of elders have been viewed as an important area for research in order to adequately plan for the future. Much of this focus has been in response to the predicted drastic increase in Māori over the age of 65 in the coming years, making older Māori a group of particular interest (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). At the beginning of the last decade New Zealand's Ministry of Social Development (MSD) took an active interest in the economic living standards of older adults with the completion of its first major survey.

The Living Standards of Older New Zealanders Survey was developed to inform policy development and contribute to public debates over economic and social assistance of older adults (Fergusson, Hong, Horwood, Jensen & Travers, 2001). The study included a survey of over 3060 older people and measured living standards against components such as ownership restrictions, social participation, economising, severe financial problems, and self-assessments (Fergusson et al, 2001). Overall, this study showed that older people enjoy a relatively comfortable life. However, the results identified that 10-15% were experiencing financial difficulties in some way, and a further 5% reported severe financial hardship (Fergusson et al, 2001). This survey gave policy makers and researchers a starting point and has since lead on to further surveys on the economic living standards of elders.

The following year MSD conducted a similar survey of older Māori. The *Living Standards of Older Māori* (2002), acknowledged the important role of Kaumātua in Māori society. The survey sample included 542 Māori individuals between 65 and 69 years of age and was conducted partly so that it could be compared against the 2001 general survey (Cunningham et al, 2002; Fergusson et al, 2001). The survey revealed Māori to be experiencing material hardship at a much higher rate with 20% facing severe difficulties (Cunningham et al, 2002). The survey uncovered factors that were

found to influence the standard of living experienced by Māori. These include, net annual income, savings and investments, cost of accommodation, economic life events and stresses, and the number of children that one raised or supported (Cunningham et al, 2002). The survey results are helpful as they describe the risk factors that may contribute to older Māori experiencing material hardship. However, the survey illustrates how older Māori live compared with the general population and focuses on material hardship as separate from the understandings and experiences of a good life. Essentially, the research fails to explain how older Māori live in comparison to their aspirations for a good life. The survey suggests that material hardship can impinge on a good life but does not offer any explanation of what a good life means to older Māori. The survey does not take into consideration the different types of resources people may access and the ways that they use these resources to achieve a good life (Perry, 2002). Furthermore, the survey does not consider the very core of Māori identity and worldview as it excludes aspects such as dependence on land and place, which may contribute to a good life for older Māori.

Ageing literature has acknowledged place as an important factor in the shaping of identity. Ageing in place is considered to be an important aspect of ageing positively (Gillsjo, Schwartz & von Post, 2011), and therefore the role of place should be considered with importance when researching the life of older adults. Researchers have identified the influence that material and physical elements of home have in the lives of older adults (Chapman, 2006). However, the link between geographical place and a good life appears to be missing from within the literature. The relationship Māori have with the physical world is evident within Māori culture through the creation story that conceptualises the sky and the ground as being the father and mother and creator of life (Panelli et al, 2008). From this perspective it is expected that the role of place would influence the way Māori think about a good life and therefore should be included in research.

Current Study

The current study looks to examine the ways that older Māori living on the East Cape understand a good life. Numerous studies have explored different elements of ageing for older New Zealanders, and have started to give some insight into the way older adults think about a good life. Research on older adults to date tends to be focused mostly at a general population level and therefore does not take into consideration the unique characteristics of older Māori (Cunningham et al, 2002). Research to date has

not focused on the role that place can have on influencing the way older adults construct their understanding of a good life. Furthermore, qualitative research that focuses specifically on Māori participants appears to be missing from within the literature. This research will begin to fill this gap by looking at the way Māori elders on the East Cape construct their understanding of a good life.

Research Aims

1. To explore the different ways that Māori elders living on the East Cape construct their understanding of a good life.
2. To explore how place influences the way Māori elders living on the East Cape understand a good life.

Thesis Outline

Chapter one involves a discussion of Māori identity and indigenous ways of thinking. This chapter acknowledges Māori and their position as the indigenous people in New Zealand by placing Māori in their social, cultural and political histories. Chapter two introduces the concept of place attachment and its important link with identity. It provides an explanation on how place and identity coexist and inform the way that people think about their lives. Chapter three gives a brief account of ageing and discusses the implications of an ageing population. Chapter four offers a theoretical understanding of living standards and inequalities and how these terms are connected to a good life. Chapter five talks about the current study. It gives a summary from the previous chapters and discusses how qualitative research can be applied to the research question. Chapter six discusses the methods used in the current study, provides information regarding the participants, the setting, and the approach taken for data analysis. Chapter seven involves the results of the data analysis using a mixed methods approach. This chapter is organised by breaking the section into the various themes identified in the data analysis and discussing each theme alongside interview extracts. Influential discourses are then presented and tied to the different themes identified in the analysis. Lastly, chapter eight situates the results in a wider research literature on the importance of place for older people and indigenous communities. This chapter also places the results with the context of Māori identity to conclude the thesis.

Chapter One: Maori Identity and Indigenous thought

The identity of New Zealand has been shaped by interactions that took place between European settlers and the indigenous Māori people. The arrival of settlers and the establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 have required Māori to experience several transitions. The following paragraphs will discuss some of these changes including three phases of indigenous transition and the impact of colonisation and the Treaty of Waitangi. Transitions in Māori worldviews and indigenous knowledge will be highlighted and an overview of Māori in their current state of being will be discussed. Each of these components will be evaluated to give a holistic view of past, current and future transitions that shape Māori identity as an indigenous group.

Indigenous Identity

The phrase ‘tangata whenua’ meaning people of the land is often used to describe Māori and their unique position within New Zealand (Durie, 2005). According to Durie (2005) there are three phases of indigenous transitions that have occurred to locate Māori in their present position. These phases contribute to Māori and their current identity as the indigenous people of New Zealand.

Phase one. Phase one describes the original voyage of people within the Polynesian Triangle. This occurred some three to four thousand years ago when early voyagers settled within Polynesia and became indigenous to land within the South Pacific Ocean (Durie, 2005). The Pacific settlers developed their own traditions, language and distinct social customs and eventually began to disperse themselves throughout the various islands of Polynesia (Durie, 2005). Current Māori identity still remains strongly tied to its Polynesian roots. For example the waka, which once brought the Polynesian people to New Zealand continues to play an important part in Māori culture. Waka is now symbolic of not only the journey from Polynesia to New Zealand but also the transition of Māori from the past into the future (Battista, 2007; Barclay-Kerr, 2009). The waka is an important part of Māori cultural identity. It signifies the

transition from old to new and the adaptation of traditions and customs for Māori as an indigenous people.

Phase two. The second phase of indigenous transition refers to the settlement of the Polynesian voyagers in New Zealand. The early Polynesian settlers now known to us as Māori arrived with their own set of culture and identity. The unique environment posed several challenges and traditional hunting methods that were brought from Polynesia were ineffective (Durie, 2005; Smith, 2009). To survive Māori would need to adapt and transform traditions to better fit the new environment. This phase was mostly concerned with early Māori adapting to life in New Zealand and the conception of indigenous thought.

Phase three. Phase three saw further transitions for the indigenous Māori. By now acclimatisation was successful and within two to three hundred years small groups of whānau had combined to make larger social groups (Durie, 2005). These groups are what is now known as ‘hapū’ and continue to influence Māori social structure and society today. For early Māori to survive entailed the development and decree of understandings. These understandings came in two forms. Firstly, came ‘tikanga’ a set of beliefs and customs to be used as a code guiding human behaviour (Durie, 2005). Secondly a system of tenure (mana whenua) was designed to acknowledge the rights of particular hapū in specific locations. These sets of beliefs have been maintained and can be seen within shared understandings of Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).

This still has practical relevance in contemporary Māori society, as can be seen in the concept of Ahi Kā. Ahi Kā literally translates to ‘keep the fires burning’. This term has been used to signify the idea of continuous land ownership for iwi and the rights to that land. In contemporary Māori society Ahi Kā is used to refer to the concept of keeping the home fires burning (Ihimaera, 2004). In this sense Ahi Kā could refer not only to land tenure but also the care and development of marae, hapū and iwi. This is just one of many examples of how the third phase of indigenous transitions has influenced contemporary Māori society.

These three phases of indigenous transitions have helped to shape the identity of Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand. The experiences, struggle and transformation of early Polynesian settlers during these transitions have resulted in the development of customs, beliefs and practices unique to Māori (Durie, 2005). Strong concepts of tikanga and Māori worldview has prevailed and carried Māori through past, present and future.

Colonisation

In the early 1800's Māori and Europeans came into contact for the first time. The first European settlers to New Zealand were mostly whalers or sealers and only a small number lived throughout the country (State Services Commission, 2006). The estimated population of 100,000 Māori by far outnumbered the Europeans. Predictably, early interactions between Europeans and Māori sometimes resulted in violence and misunderstanding (Pool, 1991; State Services Commission, 2006). In 1814 Reverend Samuel Marsden became one of the first missionaries to arrive in New Zealand and later that year the Church Missionary Society (CMS) was established (State services commission, 2006). Both groups soon discovered it was important for them to learn the Māori language in order to gain the support and trust of Māori (Durie, 2005). The settlers introduced Māori to new technologies and a cash economy. It was not uncommon for Māori to trade fresh food and water for manufactured goods, clothing and muskets ("Te Papa", n.d.). Similarly, the missionaries' conversion of Māori to Christianity influenced the departure of many indigenous, religious and philosophical traditions through the introduction of literacy and a new faith (Durie, 2005). New technologies and different ways of thinking allowed for Māori to try new approaches resulting in the abandonment of some traditional methods

The Treaty of Waitangi was established in 1840 and came at a time when New Zealand was under threat from growing lawlessness; violence and land sharking was at a peak. The number of British settlers in New Zealand was increasing and there was concern over Māori welfare (State Services Commission, 2006). There was also threat of annexation by the French (Durie, 2005; State Services Commission, 2006; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2011). The treaty replaced the Declaration of Independence, which Busby who had been appointed as an official British resident, had founded in 1835. The declaration was impractical, and as the situation in New Zealand worsened, the British crown decided that negotiating a treaty of cession with Māori was the best step forward (State Services Commission, 2006; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2011). The intervention of the British Crown was to forever change New Zealand and the indigenous identity of Māori.

The Treaty of Waitangi is often talked about as involving three main principles of partnership, participation and protection. The treaty promised Māori partnership implying that Māori and Pākehā would be treated as equals (Durie, 1994). Similarly,

participation makes the promise that Māori will have an equal stake in decision-making and protection promises Māori protection and the same rights and privileges as British subjects (Durie, 1994). However, differences between the English and Māori versions of the text have led to confusion and misinterpretation of the Treaty (Durie, 1994; State Services Commission, 2006). These variations have meant that the three principles of partnership, participation and protection have at times been ignored.

There were several events following 1840 that are examples of the crown breaking their promise to Māori. Although it is outside the scope of this study to discuss each of these, it is clear that Māori experienced great injustices with the establishment of the treaty and the colonisation process (Kingi, 2007). According to Kingi (2007) there is controversy concerning how well the crown has met their treaty obligations and how well they have protected Māori interests. This is an argument that is at the heart of contemporary Māori society and recent movements for 'Tino rangatiratanga' or self-determination. Colonisation by the British crown resulted in the alienation of Māori land, waters and other resources (State Services Commission, 2006; Kingi, 2007). The impact felt by Māori due to land alienation is longstanding. The grief is still very much felt by Māori today.

The impact of colonisation had severe consequences for Māori as an indigenous people. British settlement increased, and at the peak of colonisation the Māori population declined drastically. In 1840 Māori outnumbered Pākehā by 40:1. However, by 1901 this ratio had changed to reflect Pākehā outnumbering Māori by 16:1, with the Pākehā population expected to increase further. It was commonly thought that the Māori population would die out (Pool, 1991; Durie, 1999). With declines in the Māori population came the loss of many aspects of Māori culture and indigenous identity. Māori had little biological protection against the introduction of diseases and were socially unprepared for the impact caused by land alienation (Kingi, 2007). The crown offered virtually no respect to the principles of partnership, participation and protection promised by the Treaty (Durie, 1994; State Services Commission, 2006), and cultural decay led to the abandonment of many social structures that had traditionally protected Māori (Kingi, 2007). Traditional ways of living were eventually lost and this forced Māori to transfer to western systems of living (Durie, 2005; Kingi, 2007). The cumulative effect of colonisation on Māori has resulted in a severe displacement for Māori as an indigenous identity.

The effects of colonisation remain evident in modern Māori societies. According to Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine & Barnes (2006), “one effect of those changes was that the foreign became the natural or normal and the indigenous, and particularly those who did or do not assimilate, became alien” (pp.7). Essentially, the colonisers (British Settlers) created a society where Māori are no longer considered ‘tangata whenua’ but are treated suspiciously. Furthermore, colonisation assumed that Māori should be able to succeed within the coloniser’s institutions, which are grounded in English language and culture (Nairn et al, 2006). For example, Māori were expected to take responsibility for their own health and wellbeing despite also having to cope with the pervasive impact of colonisation (Nairn et al, 2006). The effects of colonisation have had a lasting impact on indigenous identity that has transcended generations and continues to affect the lives of Māori in our current society.

Māori worldviews and Indigenous knowledge

Themes of collectivity can be seen within Māori thinking and cultural traditions. Māori have a unique approach to knowledge that holds certain knowledge as being of high value, special and ‘tapu’. For example, this knowledge may contain cultural restrictions about the way it’s used (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). This type of knowledge must be treated with special respect and protection. It is not uncommon for specific knowledge to only be entrusted to a few select people. This is one way of ensuring the knowledge is protected. Knowledge of this level can be viewed as having an intrinsic power which is implanted in its creation (Henry & Pene, 2001; Walker et al, 2006) This concept is at the core of Māori culture and must be understood in order to conduct research with Māori participants.

Māori live by the concept of Whakawhanaungatanga. This concept is an everyday part of life that involves connecting with others. Whakawhanaungatanga can be understood as the process of identifying, preserving or creating relationships in the past, present and future. Through this process it enables Māori to be located within the present and allows for the sharing of knowledge (Walker et al, 2006). Whakawhanaungatanga is fundamental to Māori and is connected to Māori identity in both an individual and collective sense. Whānau is a core aspect of Māori identity and indigenous thought. The whānau is more than just its English translation of ‘family’, rather whānau is a location where communication, shared outcomes and shared common understandings and meanings are built (Bishop, 1999). Furthermore, individuals have a collective responsibility to care and nurture other members within the

greater whānau group. Whānau transcends generations and has a hierarchical organisation of rights, responsibilities and obligations (Bishop, 1999; Walker et al, 2006). Whānau have an important role in the development, maintenance and preservation of a healthy identity for Māori society and whakawhanaungatanga is essential in keeping whānau connections alight.

In contemporary Māori society another important concept related to indigenous identity is the yearning for self-determination. Self-determination (or tino rangatiratanga) is a concept at the core of recent political movements for whānau, hapū and iwi alike. It is about Māori having control and power through their own understandings and cultural practices (Bishop, 1996 cited in Walker et al, 2006). Furthermore, it is related to Māori having autonomy and independence over their own wellbeing and future (Walker et al, 2006). There are many examples of self-determination today. A fantastic example is the establishment of Kohanga reo in the 1980's as an early education alternative from western institutions for Māori children. The formation of Kohanga reo shows tino rangatiratanga in action. The ultimate goal of self-determination is the ability for Māori to have self-sufficiency and less reliance on the state (Durie, 1994). Fulfilling these goals can only have a positive effect for Māori, would undo some of the damage from colonisation and pave a better future for generations to come.

Important facets of cultural identity and Māori worldview can be seen within Māori health models. It is relevant to discuss these models of health as they encompass the very holistic nature of Māori worldviews and the importance of culture in wellbeing (Ngata, 2006). The whare tapa wha model is often the first model to be discussed when mentioning Māori health frameworks. This is probably for its simplicity yet holistic approach, which accurately encapsulates Māori worldviews. Te whare tapa wha uses the metaphor of a whare (house) to talk about health. The four walls of the house are taha wairua (spirituality), taha hinengaro (mind), taha tinana (physical/body), and taha whānau. The idea behind the framework is that the components must work together to achieve optimum wellbeing (Durie, 1994; Ngata, 2006; McPherson, Harwood & McNaughton, 2003). The whare tapa wha model is helpful for thinking about the different components of Māori identity and how balancing the four sides of the whare may enable Māori to have a good life.

Current context of Māori

Several important events in New Zealand's history have influenced Māori and contributed to their current identity. The effects of colonisation and the many social transitions experienced by Māori since 1840 have also resulted in a variety of demographic changes. For example, after severe threats to the Māori population there appeared to be revitalisation with the Māori population increasing slowly but steadily between 1931 and present (Durie, 1999). In fact, at the time of the 2006 census a total of 565, 329 New Zealanders indicated that they were of Māori descent (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). The Māori population is predicted to grow even further in the next few years with the population expecting to double by 2051 (Durie, 1999). Similarly, there have been several advances in the life expectancy of Māori since the early 1900's. Māori were expected to live around thirty-two years in 1900 and are now living on average 74.6 years for men and 77.8 years for women (Durie, 1999; Ministry of Health, 2011). These statistics show how Māori have changed demographically since the arrival of British settlers. Furthermore, it can be seen that the population that was once predicted to die out has strengthened and will continue to flourish.

It is important to note the current cultural climate for Māori. This is relevant as a secure cultural identity has been shown to be associated with positive benefits for Māori well being (Durie, 1999). Cultural vehicles such as the launch of Māori television in 2004 have had a positive effect in promoting Te Reo and cultural practices (Ngata, 2006). Māori television has been used not only to promote cultural practices but also provide Māori worldviews on many issues relevant to Māori, such as health (Ngata, 2006). More exposure to indigenous ways of thinking can only be a good thing for Māori development. It also provides a positive alternative to the racist ideologies that plague mainstream media (Nairn et al, 2006). Initiatives such as Māori television and Kohanga reo have resulted in a huge revival of Te reo (Nairn et al, 2006; Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2011). The positive effect that this has had and will continue to have on Māori identity, as an indigenous group is immense.

The story for Māori, as for many indigenous identities, is one of struggle and determination. In 1975 the Waitangi Tribunal was established in order to begin righting the wrongs made against Māori by the British crown. The tribunal allows Māori to bring forth claims where the crown has breached the Treaty of Waitangi and allows for the reconciliation of and compensation for these losses (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). For Māori this is one step in a long process of de-colonisation. According to McCormack

(2011), “struggle is a defining feature of indigeneity” (p.281). McCormack makes this statement to acknowledge that for indigenous groups struggle appears to manifest itself in a number of ways. Struggle can be seen in conflicts between Māori and the crown, within internal disagreements and in the fight to settle Treaty of Waitangi claims. Lastly, struggle can be seen in the continuous battle to reduce inequities and honour the rights of Māori as an indigenous identity.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Kaupapa Māori Research has emerged as a methodology that acknowledges the indigenous identity of Māori. Kaupapa Māori can be thought of as an approach to research that encompasses traditional beliefs, ethics and values of Māori society. It involves a contemporary resistance of the methodological practices from within a western research paradigm (Henry & Pene, 2001). The development of a Kaupapa Māori approach to research arose partly out of the dissatisfaction Māori felt after previous research experiences by non- Māori. This influenced Māori academics to challenge concepts of how knowledge was established and confirmed as legitimate whilst Māori knowledge was invalidated and Māori research subjects exploited (Walker et al, 2006). Kaupapa Māori research can be thought of as an alternative approach to conducting research with Māori participants. Māori often talk about Kaupapa Māori research as being research for Māori, by Māori and with Māori (Durie, 1999; Walker et al, 2006). As a strategy for research, it can be thought of as acknowledging ownership of Māori knowledge belonging to Māori and validating Māori ways of doing (Walker et al, 2006). Lastly, Kaupapa Māori research is about partnership and collaboration and therefore avoiding the exploitation of Māori research participants.

Summary

It is important to understand Māori today in their complete context. This means understanding the journey Māori have made as an indigenous people throughout history. This begins by acknowledgement of the Polynesian roots and the development of a unique culture in New Zealand. The establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi and the process of colonisation have also helped to shape Māori today. The cultural practices and beliefs that have carried Māori through this journey are likely to remain into the future. Acknowledging these transitions are therefore important for understanding Māori ways of living and the values that promote a good life. Kaupapa Māori research is a response to the struggle Māori have experienced as an indigenous people. This methodology is positioned from within Māori worldview and has the

potential to empower Māori in a way that western research cannot. Without knowing the journey Māori have travelled and will continue to travel as an indigenous people, Māori elders cannot be understood holistically.

Chapter Two: Place

‘Te toto o te tangata he kai. Te oranga o te tangata he whenua.’ - The lifeblood of a person is derived from food. The livelihood of a people depends on land.’¹

Defining Place

Historically research on place has focused on developing a clear understanding of how place is constructed and its importance (Easthope, 2009). The relationship between place and identity became popular among geographers in the 1970’s when the emotional tie people held to different places was noticed. Attention also came out of concern regarding alienation from place that was common in modern societies during this time (Easthope, 2009). This concern is of particular relevance for indigenous groups such as Māori who have experienced displacement from places of importance due to colonisation. It therefore makes sense to look at the role of place to understand how older Māori on the East Cape construct their understanding of a good life.

Place is often explained by contrasting the difference between ‘place’ and ‘space’. Both of these concepts are precisely defined within academic literature and considered to be distinctly different (Dale, Ling & Newman, 2008; Easthope, 2009). Space can be understood as an area that is purely geographical and/or geometrical. It has no content and is found everywhere (Easthope, 2009). Place is what occurs when space finds human and socially constructed meanings. Place is familiar, specific, culture laden and has attitude (Dale et al, 2008). Space becomes place because people are able to attach some form of meaning to it (Easthope, 2009). Perceptions of place can be dependent on physical characteristics of place and some spaces are more likely to become places (Dale et al, 2008). From this perspective the transition of space to place is a fundamental aspect of human living. Once space has become place it will always be considered place to someone and an essentially meaningful part of their life.

Place and Identity

Various researchers have documented the link between identity and place. Easthope (2009) argues that attachment to place has to exist in some way and influence identity for as long as people exist as physical beings in the world. From this perspective place will have an eternal connection with identity as this is all part of the

¹ Whakatauki as quoted in: Museum of Te Papa Tongarewa (n.d.). *Maori Land Rights*. Retrieved from <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/whatson/exhibitions/sliceofheaven/exhibition/Maori/Pages/Landrights.aspx>

human experience. However, as environments change over time, identities will also change (Easthope, 2009). For example, identity will change to reflect the move from a rural to an urban place. Furthermore, place can be understood as an anchor where the physical environment allows us to create and keep memories, emotions and expressions of human identity (Easthope, 2009; Scannell & Gifford, 2009). The above theories suggest that identity can be thought of as reflecting upon one's connections with place and may also be affected by proximity to place.

Place contributes to identity through the interactions between self and the physical and social environments. People's identities become both culturally and personally tied with place and most people require both a place that is home, and a place outside the reach of their home. The interactions that occur between these places help to inform identity (Buttimer, 1980 cited in Easthope, 2009). People tend to partly construct their identities in reference to where they do not position themselves by contrasting themselves against places in order to locate themselves firmly within another place (Easthope, 2009). Place can also be understood as static. The relationships people make with place are often re-negotiated and reflected on in different ways. Place moves, changes and evolves through the past, present and future (Dale et al, 2008; Easthope, 2009). Identity, place and living appear to have an interdependent relationship that can be understood as having constant movement.

Identity can also be affected negatively by interactions with place. Current bonds between place and person are believed to have become fragile due to the effects of globalisation. Globalisation has resulted in an increase in mobility and has impinged upon the natural environment in a variety of ways. This threatens existing connections and bonds with places of importance (Dale et al, 2008; Scannell & Gifford, 2009). Examinations of attachment to place have highlighted the distress and grief felt by people when forced to relocate (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). Recognition of this has led to an increase in research focused on the dynamic interrelationship between loss and changes to the landscape, a weakened identity and physical place (Dale et al, 2008). Identity can become disjointed if negative interactions with place occur.

Place can inform both individual and collective identities. Attachment is thought to be strongest when it evokes personal memories and this type of attachment is believed to influence a secure sense of self. Places increase in their meaning through personal experiences, milestones, important events and personal growth (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). At the group level attachment involves symbolic meanings that become

shared among group members such as culture. For instance, culture can link members together through shared histories, values, experiences and symbols. Different meanings can be created through these avenues that become common to the group and are then passed onto following generations (Kyle & Chick, 2007; Scannell & Gifford, 2009). The stronger the affiliation to place then the stronger the ties are for both the collective and the individual. Individual experiences within a place can also maintain and possibly strengthen culture related attachment to place (Kyle & Chick, 2007; Scannell & Gifford, 2009). As place is connected to identity on both individual and collective levels it can be manifested in culture.

Place can hugely influence a persons affect as the bond created between person and place almost always involves making an emotional connection (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). The impact of land alienation and the displacement of Māori and other indigenous groups as discussed in the previous chapter provide evidence to support this link (Durie, 1999; Kearns, Moewaka-Barnes & McCreanor, 2009). For example, most people when talking about place use words that suggest their emotional investment such as ‘feelings of pride’ (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). Researchers have also suggested that grief is not just limited to the experience of losing someone to death but can also emerge from losing a place of importance (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). The ability of place to alter affect signifies the strength of its connection with identity.

Attachment to place can also be understood from a cognitive perspective. This involves the construction and connection to place meaning and cognitions that are involved in allowing closeness to place (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). Meanings of place are constructed through a persons memories and cognitive experiences. Through this process a person may begin to associate place with their identity and become attached to place. Cognitive schemas can be applied to the concept of place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). For instance, people become familiar with a place and build schemas that organise the details of the place. The schema may hold information such as the features common to the place. A place schema may involve some sort of special place-related knowledge and views about the place that represent the essence of the place and the personal connections that are linked to the place. This schema can then become entangled in a person’s concept of self (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). From this perspective the schema a person holds about place may also be interconnected with the way they think about a good life.

The connection between place and identity can also be understood as having a behavioural component. This can be seen in the different ways that people interact with place throughout a variety of situations. One example is the behaviours of individuals or groups when an important place becomes threatened (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). Often in this case people will take part in protests or other actions in order to protect an important place. Place attachment can sometimes be so deep that when people relocate they try to stay close by or find a new place with similar features (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). The behaviour of actively choosing to stay in place knowing that opportunities for economic growth are low and inequality is high may be related to an even deeper connection to place. Place attachment may also help to explain why some people prefer to remain in place despite low economic living standards and high inequality. Individuals may feel that the meaning associated to both individual and collective memories, histories and culture offer greater security than the uncertainty of a new place (Burholt & Naylor, 2005; Scannell & Gifford, 2009). Affect, cognitive and behavioural components of place may reinforce decisions to remain in place and help explain how place contributes to a good life.

Place and older adults

Older people feel an extremely strong connection to place and their physical environments. This relationship has recently received widespread attention due to the need to cater for the rapidly growing older populations (Wiles et al, 2009). A core concept that is found within gerontology and geographical perspectives of place attachment is that older adults with good strong ties to place are more likely to feel secure, in control of their life and to have a positive self image. It is believed that this facilitates adjustment to the changes experienced in ageing and therefore enhances good health (Wiles et al, 2009). As people age their attachment to place is believed to strengthen. Maintaining ties with significant places has been linked to satisfaction, pride, positive experience and increased coping mechanisms (Wiles et al, 2009). Rural elderly are believed to have even stronger ties to place as their identity has become intertwined within a distinct culture based on historical, social and ethnic links, which influence the way the older person feels about their life. Both social and physical aspects of place can influence the functional independence of the older person (Dye, Willoughby & Battisto, 2011). Identity is bound together with the environment, its memories and meanings as they age and this relationship is believed to have a positive psychological impact on the older adult (Wiles et al, 2009). Remaining in place in older

age may improve life by keeping connections with place alight (Burholt & Naylor, 2005; Scannell & Gifford, 2009). The relationship older people have with place can be a strong predictor of a good life as place attachment strengthens over time and becomes more meaningful in older age.

Place and Indigeneity

Place has special meanings within indigenous cultures that is deeply intertwined into the lives and identities of indigenous peoples. The relationship between place and indigenous identity can be seen in the literal definition of the word “indigenous” (King, 2009, cited in Walters, Beltran, Huh & Evans-Campbell, 2011). The word indigenous itself “is derived from the Latin root *indu* or *endo*, which is related to the Greek word *endina*, which means ‘entrails.’ Indigenous literally means being so completely identified with a place that you reflect its entrails, its insides, its soul” (Cajete, 1999, p.6). If an indigenous land or place is disrupted this can therefore have the potential to harm indigenous health and wellness in a way that could persist and transmit through generations (Walters et al, 2011). Indigenous identity and place belong together and cannot be understood as occurring separately.

Indigenous people have a unique connection with place that is entrenched in their relationship with the earth. This relationship can be understood as interdependent where the earth or land teaches literally and metaphorically both first and final understandings of the world, of communities, families and self (Walters et al, 2011). People can be thought of as receptors that receive and accept the revelations that place offer. From this perspective, place cannot be seen as a cultural or socially constructed product but rather a product that is defined by relationships with and to place (Cajete, 1999; Walters et al, 2011). Place is also considered in a maternal or paternal sense where indigenous people are believed to be connected to place in the same way they are to relatives. In this sense place becomes part of ancestral heritage, part of the present and transcends to the future (Walters et al, 2011). Indigenous relationships with place are reciprocal and have no boundaries and this is reflected in the way that relationship with the earth informs identity.

Place and Maori. Similar to other indigenous groups, Māori have a strong historical and cultural connection to land that is reflected in their culture. According to McCormack (2011), sense of place is thought to be inherently indigenous and the communal and collectivist culture of Māori opposes the western practices of ownership. Māori land titles often belong to multiple owners and each title consists of clusters of

houses where closely connected kin live (McCormack, 2011). There are robust ties between identity, hapū members and their relationship with the land and sea (McCormack, 2011; Panelli et al, 2008). The connection runs deeper than just a physical and emotional connection to the land but rather the land is a resource where one can gather food and provide for whānau. The kinship within the land sustains the connection to the place despite any rural and/or urban divides (McCormack, 2011). A good example that highlights the depth of this connection is the meaning of the word whenua. In Te Reo Māori, this word means land but is also the word used for the placenta (Durie, 2005). Its dual meaning illustrates the relationship Māori have with the land. One is born to the land and belongs to the land, rather than the land being an asset that can be traded or sold as it is in modern day markets. The connection is felt deep and is shared across the many members of a whānau, hapū or iwi.

For Māori place can not only have spiritual and cultural connections but also represent struggle. For instance, it may be a place where people must attempt to adapt cultural practices so that they can keep intact the links between themselves the land, the sea and their ancestors (McCormack, 2011). Land alienation the loss of place attachment and meanings of place can also result in feelings of displacement for hapū and iwi (Kearns et al, 2009; McCormack, 2011). Māori researchers have noted the burden of alien epistemologies within the concepts of land ownership introduced by colonisation. They have also spoken of the displacement experienced at its hand (Kearns et al, 2009). The bonds Māori have with the land and sites of cultural significance are affective in nature. The ability to maintain place attachment and links to place is vital to older Māori, and loss of these connections influences their ability to live a life they have reason to value.

Summary

According to theory on place attachment, place occurs when humans attach meanings to space. Place and identity have an interdependent relationship that is constantly re-negotiated as people move through space and time. Place can also have a negative impact on identity causing identity to become disjointed if negative interactions occur. Through culture people construct a collective attachment to place that becomes ingrained in their identity. Place has the power to alter affect, cognition and behaviour in a way that may reinforce attachment to place. Attachment to place is therefore believed to have a positive psychological impact on older adults. Indigenous people have a special relationship with place. If this connection is damaged it can have

detrimental effects as indigenous people belong to the land in a way that is reciprocal. Māori share a similar relationship with place and land that opposes western systems of land tenure. This connection transcends throughout Māori societies and generations. Due to the cultural importance of place and its power to inform identity, place attachment may have a fundamental role in the way older Māori construct their understanding of a good life.

Chapter Three: Ageing and later life

New Zealand, like most other developed countries, has an ageing population. This has several implications for the future with the number of older people set to increase. Until recently the cohort to experience the main effects of ageing has been those under the age of 65, however, as the population continues to age this will have a dramatic effect on the over 65 group (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). This demographic shift is expected to result in changes to family structures with more couples without children, one-person households and changes in the type of living arrangements of older adults (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). The demographic shift that is being experienced in New Zealand means the needs of the general population is expected to change alongside the ageing of the population.

Māori the indigenous group of New Zealand are also experiencing a demographic shift. Between the years of 2011 and 2026 the population over the age of 50 is expected to grow by 7.1% with an increase of at least 60,000 people. This growth is almost two times the rate that is expected within the non- Māori population. This increase is steered by the number of Māori over 65 who have been predicted to increase by a substantial 121.8%. By 2026 it is thought that Māori will make up 9.5% of the older population (Ministry of Health, 2011). It is becoming increasingly important to understand ageing and how the unique experiences of elder Māori fit in to this phase of life.

Population ageing has resulted in the life of older adults becoming an area of interest to researchers. Rationales for research include rising concern over the potential implications the changing population will have on health and social systems (Alpass et al, 2007). As the population ages there will be fewer workers available to support the older population with the current ratio of 5.5 workers per older person expected to halve during the next fifty years. Positive ageing strategies represent a response to this issue by attempting to promote longer workforce participation and therefore increasing peoples economic contribution (Alpass et al, 2007; Ministry of Health, 2002; Pond,

Stephens & Alpass, 2010a). With the promotion of increased independence in older life as a tactic for coping with the effects of an ageing population, it is crucial that older adults have unrestricted access to resources, which allow a good life (Waldegrave & Cameron, 2009). The expectation of a large increase in older Māori means understanding the living conditions and aspirations of this cohort are particularly important for research, planning and policy development.

Ageing in Place

The promotion of ageing in place is a recent focus that has risen in the context of ageing literature. Positive ageing strategies acknowledge that remaining in place has an important role in maintaining the health and well being of older adults (Gillsjo et al, 2011). Similar to the concepts of place attachment, the older person often attaches significant meaning to their homes, which becomes bound with their identity. Home can become an idealised place where the older adult gains security, safety and belonging (Chapman, 2006; Gillsjo et al, 2011). Chapman (2006) extends on this idea by promoting the concept of a 'new materialist' framework for thinking about ageing well. A materialist lens offers a new way of thinking about ageing in place and allows researchers to examine the physical dimensions of person-object relations in further depth. From a new materialist perspective the older person can be thought of as a subject and the physical and material things of place can be considered as objects, which share an interdependent relationship. The older adult therefore does not exist outside of this physical context (Chapman, 2006). A new materialist approach to ageing positively reinforces attachment to place and home, arguing their importance as factors, which enable older people to have a good life.

Older Māori

Despite western influence Māori have managed to retain a unique and positive view of ageing. In Māori society older persons have a specially defined role referred to as Kaumātua, which they perform on behalf of their whānau, hapū and iwi (Cunningham et al, 2002). Older Māori often have an active role in marae activities and supporting the functions of the marae and hapū. They may also be expected to have regular whānau involvement and even provide care for whānau (Waldon, 2004). A recent study of elder Māori found that 78% from over 400 Māori surveyed, reported that they provide care for their whānau. Ninety percent reported caring for children, while 80% cared for sick whānau members (Waldon, 2004). As the population ages Māori will be subjected to several changes including changes to whānau structures, the health

care system and the provision of government assistance to older adults. Traditional roles of Kaumātua may not apply to each and every Māori elder; however, many will continue to be relied upon as a traditional Māori resource within their whānau (Waldon, 2004). With their role as Kaumātua many elder Māori have obligations to their whānau that they must balance on top of trying to maintain a good life in older age.

Summary

Demographic changes in New Zealand's population mean the needs of older adults are going to become increasingly important, particularly for older Māori, where rapid growth is expected. With the ageing of the population it is critical that older Māori have access to the resources that allow them to live a good life. Ageing in place is considered to be important for ageing well. A new materialist lens can be applied to ageing in place. This positively reinforces attachment to place and home as an important factor for a good life in older age. Older Māori may have a special role within their whānau, hapū and iwi as Kaumātua and this may mean they have unique obligations that influence how they understand a good life in older age.

Chapter Four: Living Standards and Inequalities

To understand how older Māori construct a good life it is important to acknowledge the role of economic living standards and inequalities, and how these may influence the way a good life can be understood. The theory underpinning economic living standards shares a close relationship to concepts such as socioeconomic position, poverty and deprivation (Coburn, 2000; Perry, 2002; Salmond, Crampton, King & Waldegrave, 2006). Economic living standards can be thought about as relating to the level of material wellbeing that an individual experiences such as access to food, clothing, housing and medications. Inequalities in living standards are thought to occur when economic and social resources (including power and prestige) are unequally distributed and affect the freedom that people have to live a life that they value (Marmot, 2005; 2007). From this position, a consequence of lowered access to material conditions such as food and housing is less freedom to live a good life. However, this understanding may be problematic as it ignores the role of non-material factors that may influence a good life such as place attachment and culture.

Living Standards are Relative

Assessment of living standards in New Zealand, like other developed countries, has been based on recognition that living standards are relative. A relative definition “takes as its reference the average and generally accepted standard of living in a given society at a given time and goes beyond what is required for mere physical existence” (Perry, 2002, pg.102). A relative explanation of living standards asserts that people do not experience poor living standards when compared with their own community. However, they may be viewed as having poor living standards when compared against the minimum standard that is required in the wider society, to have a good life. Furthermore, this theory takes into consideration factors outside of what is needed just for mere physical existence (Coburn, 2000; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2007). This could have implications for the way older Māori understand a good life. It is already known that older Māori experience hardship at a higher level than non- Māori. However, older

Māori may view their life as good in comparison to others located within their own communities, and by taking into account factors such as land and culture.

The Social Gradient

Living Standards can also be thought about as existing on a social gradient. The unequal distribution of resources across the gradient results in higher economic inequalities and can result in social exclusion (Marmot, 2007; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2007). Social exclusion can be thought about as restricting ability to participate in important aspects of society and the restriction of access to the necessary resources that enable an acceptable standard of living within that society (Miller, 2007). Most people's living standards are determined by the level of economic opportunity that they have within the labour market, however, if they are already at the low end of the gradient it is likely that they will receive less economic and social resources. This will further limit their ability to access necessary opportunities such as education, to increase their economic and material wellbeing (Marmot, 2007; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2007). From this perspective inequalities are not seen as a feature related to the individual, rather inequalities reflect the social gradient within society. The social gradient has the potential to restrict access to both social and economic opportunities.

Inequalities in older age

Inequalities in living standards can have implications for the life of older adults. Inequalities may particularly impact older adults who experience not only financial hardship but also limitations to health, decreased social networks and reductions in autonomy and independence (Miller, Booth & Mor, 2008; Pinquart & Sorensen, 2000; Smith, Sim, Scharf & Phillipson, 2004; Zimmer, 2008). A consequence for older adults who experience financial hardship might be an interdependent relationship between lowered health and social exclusion that exacerbates their situation and impinges on their ability to live a good life (Moffatt & Scambler, 2008). This can be related back to the social gradient and is supported by research showing that position on the gradient has a strong correlation with risk of mortality (Siegrist & Marmot, 2004). The accumulation of exposure to inequalities over the life course is believed to affect individuals well into older age and can result in vast implications including higher risk of disease in older life (Marmot & Brunner, 2005; Siegrist & Marmot, 2004). Prolonged exposure to inequalities can result in a variety of outcomes in older age that can limit a good life.

Inequalities in the living standards of Māori

Ethnic and indigenous groups are more likely to be effected by economic inequalities than the general population. Indigenous people experience inequalities at devastatingly high rates all over the world, which have been linked to loss of land and important places and a lack of access to living environments that promote good health (Durie, 2005; Walters et al, 2011). For example, Māori have been reported to experience disadvantage, poverty and material hardship at almost three to four times the level of non- Māori (Cunningham et al, 2002). Māori are more likely to be located at the bottom of the social gradient and therefore experience greater social exclusion resulting in inequality in a variety of different social determinants such as income, education, employment and housing (Durie, 2005; Stephens, 2009; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2007). Through experiencing greater social exclusion Māori have fewer opportunities to participate in the labour market and to access the resources that are necessary to have a good life (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2007). The economic position of Māori is not a deficit of their status as an indigenous people, nor can it be reflected upon them individually. Rather, the economic position of Māori provides evidence that the values underlying the dominant social structure do not fit well with Māori values.

Institutional racism within New Zealand's social structure contributes to the impact Māori experience from economic inequality. In the simplest of terms if a particular ethnic group experiences disadvantage then this can be thought of as institutional racism (Nairn et al, 2006). Institutional racism can be seen as influencing inequalities between Māori and non- Māori as the processes that have been established through the colonisation of Māori by the dominant European promoted the deprecation, marginalization and alienation of traditional Māori customs. Traditional Māori practices had previously sustained culture, spirituality, health and economic security and differed vastly from the neo-liberal ideology of the dominant social structure (Kearns et al, 2009; Lewis, Lewis & Underhill-Sem, 2009). Essentially the practices that are embedded within New Zealand's organizational structure promote inequality. This is because the social structure is institutionally racist by failing to provide practices that are advantageous to both Māori and non- Māori (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002; Harris et al, 2006). In this sense the inequalities Māori experience in their living standards is a reflection of the fact that New Zealand's social structure discriminates against Māori values and indigenous ways of thinking.

Māori have been disadvantaged in their ability for home ownership and quality housing. During the 1930-1940s an assumption of the New Zealand government was that the under-funded Department of Native Affairs would be responsible for housing Māori (Bierre, Howden-Chapman, Signal & Cunningham, 2007). The need for housing was partly met after World War II by the establishment of state housing. However, minimal regulations, weatherboard style houses and low cost housing has meant that the quality of housing in New Zealand may still be inadequate in some cases (Bierre et al, 2007). The housing demand was huge and initially the allocation of housing tended to be based on who was considered to be a good citizen (Bierre et al, 2007). Unfortunately ethnicity was associated with beliefs regarding morality. As a result many Māori were severely disadvantaged in having their housing needs met during this time. In 1939 the Department of Native Affairs stated that they only had approximately 3% of what was required to provide Māori with adequate housing (Bierre et al, 2007). Māori were commonly made to take lower quality or state housing (Bierre et al, 2007). Current day statistics show that Māori continue to be disadvantaged in access to good quality housing (Cunningham et al, 2002), suggesting past housing policies have influenced current inequalities in economic living standards experienced by Māori. The prolonged impact of being disadvantaged from economic and social opportunity must be taken into consideration, when examining how older Māori understand a good life.

Living a good life

A good life is determined by access to the resources (understood broadly) that one requires to live a life that they find meaningful. Criticisms against measuring living standards in terms of income have instead promoted the idea that a good life is more about being able to live the most meaningful life possible with the resources that are available (Sen, 2000; Marmot, 2007). A number of factors must be taken into consideration that can contribute to a good life including accumulation of assets, savings, and social support. Therefore the ability to maintain consumption levels may not always be directly related to income (Perry, 2002). Rather the ways that people manage their consumption levels in relation to their material resources may be a stronger indicator of a good life. Furthermore, a good life may be reached through having the opportunity to live a life that includes a number of factors that can be achieved through various resources such as culture, social networks or place.

One way that this has been conceptualised is in terms of capabilities and functionings. A capability approach is based on the work of Amartya Sen and is

essentially concerned with the things people are capable of doing. This approach considers a good life as involving effective opportunities for people to participate in actions and activities they want to engage in and live their life in a way that they value (Robeyns, 2005). These actions are referred to as functionings and could involve a variety of factors such as working, resting, family participation, being healthy, having hobbies and being a part of a community that make life meaningful. Capabilities can be thought about as the freedom and/or opportunities, which make functionings possible (Robeyns, 2005). Through having capabilities people can choose to live their life in a way that they prefer. For example, older Māori should have the opportunity to actively participate and connect with their marae. However, they should also have the option to not participate or have this connection (Robeyns, 2005). Capabilities allow people to have a good life through giving them the freedom and opportunities to achieve the functionings that make their life valuable. This approach also allows for important factors of Māori identity such as whānau or self-determination to be translated into capabilities. Thus, offering a way of understanding how intangible items may contribute to a good life in older age that better fits the values of older Māori.

Summary

Inequalities and standard of living are closely related. Individuals experience poverty that is relative to others within the wider society. However, society is structured according to a social gradient. Individuals who sit at the top of the gradient are receiving considerably greater access to the resources that influence access to a good life compared with individuals who sit near the bottom of the gradient. Thus, inequalities can be understood as a reflection of social structure rather than of individual deficit. Older adults may experience severe circumstances such as higher risk of disease due to prolonged exposure of inequalities. Older Māori are further disadvantaged in their access to resources to facilitate a good life, as they are more likely to experience hardship and suffer structural disadvantage. The ethnic inequalities Māori face as an indigenous group has meant that they receive lesser opportunities to have a good life than non- Māori. Past policies that have discriminated against Māori may continue to impact the lives of Māori elders. The freedom an individual has to access resources that allow them to live a preferred lifestyle influences their capability to have a good life. This approach may have particular relevance to the way that older Māori construct their understanding of a good life.

Chapter Five: The Current Study

Understanding Māori identity and the challenges that Māori experience as an indigenous people is important to examine how older Māori construct their understanding of a good life. Place can be understood as an important facet in the life of all people. Place becomes linked with identity through memories, meanings and emotions making place important in the way that people view their life. Place is of particular relevance for Māori who share a special relationship with the land. For Māori, place can offer security, nourishment, empowerment, ancestral links and connection to culture. Relationship with place is therefore fundamental for understanding the ways that older Māori construct a good life. As a group older Māori are unique due to their status as an indigenous people and the several transitions Māori have experienced throughout history. Older Māori experience hardship at a higher rate than non- Māori and are more likely to be affected by the social gradient. Theories on living standards suggest that material hardship can impinge upon a good life however, does not prevent people from living a life that is meaningful. A capability approach offers an alternative way of thinking about a good life that may better explain how older Māori construct their understanding of a good life.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research offers a useful methodological approach for looking at the different ways people view the world. Qualitative research offers a less rigid approach that can be tailored to give a comprehensive analysis of the research question (Yanchar, Gantt & Clay, 2005). In New Zealand there has been an array of recent research with older adults. Some of this research has started to look at standard of living and what contributes to a good life in older age, however much of this research has focused on health and retirement (Pond et al, 2010a; 2010b; Breheny & Stephens, 2009; 2010). Furthermore, the majority of this has been at a general population level with the exception of a few studies (Ministry of Social Development, 2009). Qualitative research offers a unique perspective for researching older adults and the way that they think about their life as it takes the position that understanding can only be interpreted through deconstructing meanings within a phenomenon (Thorne, 2000). Through qualitative research, the meanings connected to a good life in older age can begin to be interpreted. Qualitative research acknowledges that humans often use language to

explain their experiences. Therefore speech and language become a social and culturally constructed medium to gain greater shared understandings of peoples experiences (Thorne, 2000). In qualitative research speech is often thought of as an explicit linguistic tool that is shaped and constructed by a variety of social and/or ideological influences (Thorne, 2000). Therefore, the way a person talks about their life can be a reflection of how they interact with the world and construct socially available meanings.

Through using language people attempt to construct their identity in a particular way. People include a particular moral dimension in the language they use so that they are judged to be of a particular moral status (Pond et al, 2010). Through this process people negotiate their relationships with others and the world. The purpose of this is to present ones self within a particular narrative that promotes a positive identity (Breheny & Stephens, 2009). From this perspective the way people make sense of their life may mirror and reproduce certain societal and moral values. In their research with older adults, Pond, Stephens and Alpass (2010b) found that participants tried hard to present a positive moral identity in a way that promoted societies current health values and then justified their health behaviour accordingly (Pond et al, 2010b). From this perspective people use language to negotiate different understandings of the world in a way that supports their identity as being morally virtuous.

The current study uses qualitative research as an approach for examining the different ways elder Māori living on the East Cape construct their understanding of a good life. The way participants talk about a good life is likely to include a variety of different values and/or discourse that are socially available. Discourse is a complex term however, discourses are generally thought about as representing various patterns of language that may occur within either written or spoken material (Coyle, 2007). It is expected that the participants will construct their understanding of a good life through negotiating their identity as older Māori with the discourses that are available within the wider society. It is thought that the participants will manage these discourses in addition to understandings about a good life that are specific to culture and place, and in a way that presents a morally virtuous image.

Chapter Six: Method and Data Analysis

Procedure

This study involves analysis of existing data from interviews that were conducted as part of a larger study on the economic living standards of older adults. As part of this study, the researchers conducted interviews with 144 older adults (7 of these included couples) in a variety of urban and rural settings throughout New Zealand. This wider research project had Massey University Human Ethics Approval. The interview transcripts and audio files were made available for the current study and the current research involved all of the coding and analysis of these interviews. The research group recruited interviewers who were from specific ethnic and community groups. The interviewers then recruited participants from within their own community networks. The purpose of this was so that the interviewer would be able to establish good rapport with the participants. This allowed an upfront discussion regarding their economic living standards to take place. All of the interviews took place between March 2010 and May 2011.

Participants

Eight interviews with Māori were chosen for analysis as part of this study out of the overall sample of 26 interviews conducted by the Living Standards for Elders research group with older Māori. It was decided to concentrate solely on these interviews due to the unique experiences of Māori and the overrepresentation of Māori in economic and health statistics (Ministry of Health, 2011). Choosing all Māori participants is also in recognition of the unique histories and culture of Māori that may influence the way the participants make sense of both inequalities and economic living standards in older age (Nairn et al, 2006; Bierre et al, 2007; Cunningham et al, 2002). The interviewers noticed that the content of the interviews tended to vary dependent on place. For example, participants who lived in urban areas and those who lived in rural areas described different experiences and talked about their life in different ways. For this reason it was decided to narrow the focus of this study by concentrating analysis to those interviews conducted in a specific place and to include place as part of the analysis.

The age of the participants in this analysis range from 66 to 79 years of age. The mean age of participants was 71.5 years of age. All of these participants reside within the Opotiki District in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. The majority of the participants live on the East Cape. All but one participant live in the isolated coastal township of Waihou Bay, two hours from the Opotiki township itself. All participants identified as Māori. The Māori interviewer recruited these participants because of her connection within this community. Eight interviews were chosen for analysis in total. Seven of these interviews were conducted with male individuals and the eighth interview involved a husband and wife couple. All of these participants were identified as having a New Zealand Deprivation score of 10, indicating that they live in an area considered to be one of the most deprived in the country. About half of the participant's lived alone while the remaining half lived with whānau or spouses. The majority of participants owned their own homes or lived on land owned by whānau. About half of the participants were recorded as still being in some kind of paid work. Most of the participants also reported having children, grandchildren or other whānau who lived in the area.

Setting

The participants' setting has been described in two contrasting ways. Firstly, a profile has been given of the Opotiki District, and in particular Waihou Bay (where eight of the nine participants reside), from an outside perspective. This section has been written based on information found through previous research, websites, local government and government publications. This has then been contrasted against an insider view of the Opotiki District paying particular attention to the East Cape and Waihou Bay. This section has been written based upon observations and notes that were made during a two-day visit and my own personal connections growing up in the Opotiki area. The visit included an overnight stay that was hosted by a local contact. The information that was shared by locals during this trip has been used to inform this inside perspective. The collection of data during the field visit had ethical approval from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. The aim of this section is to develop a fuller picture of the area and in particular Waihou Bay. It is hoped that this will provide a more holistic view of the area and build a stronger picture of the context that the participants live in. Much like writing this thesis, the trip to Waihou Bay was a journey. It has therefore been written like a story that reflects the journey through the Opotiki

District, along the East Cape and around Waihou Bay. For this reason the tone of the following sections may reflect this.

An outside view. Waihou Bay is a small coastal settlement located on the East Cape of New Zealand's North Island. It is one of many small coastal settlements that belong to the Opotiki District, in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. The Opotiki district covers 160 kilometres of coastline, including thirteen rivers and 11,200 hectares of bush land. It is home to approximately 9000 people (See *Figure 1.* for a map of the area). Half of the districts residents live in the Opotiki town ship itself while the rest live in small outlying coastal settlements such as Waihou Bay (Opotiki District Council, 2011). Fifty nine percent of the residents living in the Opotiki District were of Māori ethnicity at the 2006 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). The median age of residents in the Opotiki District is 36.7 and 13.9% of the population is over the age of 65. This is slightly higher than the national percentage of 12.3% (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). Although it is known that approximately 4500 residents live outside the Opotiki township, a specific number for how many live along the East Cape and in Waihou Bay itself is not reported.

The population along the East Cape is predominantly of Māori ethnicity. The high presence of Māori in the area is marked by the twenty Marae scattered throughout the district. These Marae are a focal point within their local communities (Opotiki District Council, 2011). There are just over 400 farms in the area, which are the main driver for the local economy. Forestry and orchards are other forms of agriculture that are also commonly found in the area (Opotiki District Council, 2011). The unemployment rate for people over the age of fifteen in the area is 9.6%. This is almost twice that of the national percentage. For Māori in the area the unemployment rate is 15.7%. Again this is higher than the national percentage of 11% (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). This suggests that there are fewer opportunities for employment within the Opotiki District. The low employment rate is also reflected in the average income, which is \$17,400. Likewise, this is lower than the national average of \$24,400. Furthermore, over 56% of people aged over fifteen years in the Opotiki District make \$20,000 or less per year (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). The higher than average unemployment rates and lower income levels makes the Opotiki District deprived in relation to other areas in New Zealand.

Around half of the residents in the district live in homes that they own. At 52% this is only slightly less than the national figure (Opotiki District Council, 2011).

However, the number of people living in homes that they do not own is expected to increase (Opotiki District Council, 2011). Accessibility to phone lines and Internet is also much lower than the national average. For example just over 30% of residents in the Opotiki District have Internet compared with 60.5% in New Zealand overall. Similarly, 78.4% have telephone lines compared with 90% in the general population. Again, 55.3% of residents own cellphones compared with 74.2% in the general population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). These statistics provide evidence to suggest that a large number of residents within the Opotiki District experience lower than average material living standards.

Known for its outstanding natural beauty and long stretches of coastline the East Cape is a popular tourist destination for campers over the summer months. The area is renowned for fishing and diving and many people choose to visit due to the accessibility of seafood. Waihou Bay offers activities like kayaking and fishing charters and nearby settlements offer horse treks and guided tours (“Oceanside apartments,” n.d.). Waihou bay is also home to the historic Raukokore Anglican Church. The church is open daily for tourists and remains an active part of the local community (“Oceanside apartments,” n.d.). According to the Opotiki District Council (2011), the region has about 30,000 visitors each year. These numbers are a reflection of the extensive appeal that the area has to tourists.

Despite the large number of annual tourists the area remains relatively unscathed by outside developers. This has partially been attributed to its geographical isolation as well as the traditional values of Māori land tenure, which have led to a resistance of outside development (McCormack, 2011). The area consists of numerous iwi with Whakatohea, Te Whānau a Apanui and Ngati Porou being three of the main iwi (Department of Conservation, n.d.). Many of the small settlements along the East Cape consist of traditional Māori land structures. For example multiple owned Māori freehold land titles exist where a cluster of houses stand and might home numerous connected whānau (McCormack, 2011). Protecting these structures in their current form is of the highest priority by hapū and iwi who hold the belief that changes to this structure would be socially destructive and immoral (McCormack, 2011). Likewise, whānau, hapū and iwi who reside in the area consider themselves to have powerful links between their identity and the lands natural resources (McCormack, 2011). These ideas are consistent with indigenous attachment to place and reflect the strong Māori values and traditions that have become embedded within the region.

An inside view. As a recognition that features of a place are important in understanding the experience of the people living there, it was decided that a trip to Waihou Bay would add huge value to the research. The purpose behind this visit was to gather a feel for the area and the context that the participant's live in. As the researcher, the trip to Waihou Bay allowed the identity of the place described by participants to come alive. The trip involved experiencing the drive to Waihou Bay from Opotiki, observing the natural features of the place, the culture of the place and the implications of living in the area. Furthermore, information was gathered from locals that gave insight into how the community operated, how people got by on a daily basis and what life in Waihou Bay was all about. Through taking this trip an insight into the identity of the place was gained. Thus, greater understanding and respect could be attributed to the participants and the data could be analysed from a deeper and more informed perspective.

From the moment you hit the beautiful Pohutakawa trees that overarch the road toward Opotiki you know you are in for a beautiful coastal adventure. The ocean is calm, the sky is blue and the atmosphere is relaxed and welcoming. The Opotiki township is full of wide streets and quiet roads. The little New World Supermarket greets you as soon as you reach the township. This is the only supermarket in the Opotiki District and serves residents as far afield as Waihou Bay and Cape Runaway. It is strange to think that one small supermarket can be so important, but when it is the only supermarket within 160 kilometres its worth can be truly appreciated. The Opotiki township is home to several services such as medical centres, a police station, farming supplies, pharmacies, Work and Income New Zealand offices, banks, hair salons and other services that are a necessary part of day-to-day living. However, as Opotiki is only a small town the services are limited and for some things travel to the next closest town, Whakatane is required. This is a further 45 kilometres drive from Opotiki.

Following the coastline from Opotiki to Waihou Bay I pass through several small coastal towns. Each one with a few houses dotted along the land and into the hills. What is evident is the many Marae that are spread along the way. These are an indicator of the high Māori population in the area and a suggestion of the important role of cultural tradition throughout the community. A few of the small townships have old churches. This is most noticeable in the small settlement of Torere, which is 21 kilometres into the journey. Here the historic Catholic Church neighbours the Torere

Marae. Although the churches are treasured within the community, from an outside perspective they act as a reminder of the missionaries who once arrived on these shores. The image of the marae and the church side by side is a symbol of biculturalism, and the partnership made between Māori and the western world. Bicultural imagery can also be found on the few schools scattered along the East Cape (or ‘the coast’ as commonly known by locals). Many of the small rural schools or Kura are adorned with traditional Māori carving. This is another indicator of the important role of Māori culture in the area.

Like every good journey the trip along the coast would not be complete without an obstacle. For locals this is otherwise known as the Maraenui Hill. The Maraenui hill is the only way of getting through to Opotiki or Whakatane and is infamous among locals as the site of regular slips and road closures. Approaching the bottom of the hill there is a large orange sign signaling road works and notifying road users of possible delays (See *Figure 2.* and *Figure 3.*). Diggers and machinery are parked on the hillside and as I begin to travel the newly carved dirt road the first challenge of living on the coast is clear. The road is narrow at times requiring you to give way for oncoming traffic. Once I reach the top of the hill and start the decline, the new road merges with the old. The old road is narrow and windy. It weaves its way down the hillside and in many places there are potholes. In several spots the road narrows down to one way and there are no barriers protecting cars from the edge of the Cliffside. On the return trip I look up onto the hillside and see the old road that is now closed. Evidence of the many slips that have made it unusable remains. Both literally and metaphorically the hill represents one of the many obstacles faced by residents of the East Cape.

From the bottom of the Maraenui hill the road weaves in and out through forest and coastland. Soon homemade signs begin to appear on fences, trees and even houses displaying messages such as ‘stop drilling’, ‘go home petrobas’, ‘kia kaha apanui’ and ‘honour the treaty’. These signs are a political protest against the government’s decision to allow petrobas to begin drilling for oil on the East Coast². This decision has been made despite strong opposition from local iwi and protests from the community and Greenpeace (Weir, 2011). As I travel further along the coastline I spot houses where the exterior has been decorated with messages of protest (See *Figure 4.*). The signs indicate the immense hurt being caused to the community and the deep passion the local iwi have for their home and land. The signs are also a reminder of the ongoing political war

² East Cape locals are currently protesting against Government decisions to allow overseas companies to test for oil off the coast of the East Cape. Further information can be found in Appendix A.

for iwi to have tino rangatiratanga or sovereignty of their land and for the rights promised in the Treaty (Durie, 1994; 2005, Kingi, 2007). Passing through the coastal settlements that homes the Te Whānau-a-āpanui iwi, the pain of their people can be felt.

After an hour and a half drive I finally reach the village of Waihou Bay. The views are beautiful, the grass is green and the houses are spread out with houses dispersed along the hillside and several farms scattered throughout the settlement (*Figure 5* shows a photograph of the scenery at Waihou Bay). There is one small urban area with a cul-de-sac of houses; however, the majority of houses are scattered in pockets throughout Waihou Bay and Cape Runaway. Across the road from the wharf are a small general store and the infamous Lodge. This Lodge is Waihou Bay's local pub and attracts both local patrons and tourists of the area. Along the waterfront by the lodge are a row of beautiful but mostly empty holiday homes. These houses are extravagant in comparison to many of the houses owned by locals and edge the waterfront but remain empty for much of the year. These big modern holiday homes juxtapose the modest housing belonging to Waihou Bay locals.

The town has many important services including Fire Brigade, St. Johns Ambulance, a police station and a doctor's clinic. In the case of an emergency the ambulance will often leave Waihou Bay and meet another ambulance halfway as the nearest hospital is 170 kilometres away in Whakatane. The fire brigade often relies on the help of volunteers and willing community members. The village also has a rescue helicopter. The helicopter is used to transport patients to hospital in case of a major emergency. It has also been used to bring in groceries when the roads are closed due to bad weather. All of these services are fully funded, supported and kept going by the community. There are medical clinics that are located in both Waihou Bay and Cape Runaway and also a larger medical centre at nearby Te Kaha. However, some locals still prefer to visit doctors in Opotiki or require travel out of the area for specialist appointments and treatment. Overall, many Waihou Bay locals consider themselves lucky to have such good access to services.

The residents of Waihou Bay have several challenges due to living in such an isolated area. Power cuts are common and many residents rely on generators as their only source of power. Power cuts can last as long as a few days and impact residents in a number of ways including difficulties with food storage, cooking, heating and running water. Collecting crayfish and other kaimoana (seafood) is a way of life for many of the locals, as is fishing. It is not uncommon to have dinner thrown on your doorstep by a

friend, neighbor or whānau member. Many of the locals live on farms and grow beasts for meat. Living off the land is part of the lifestyle and growing vegetables such as corn, avocados, potatoes and kumara is common. There are always fresh fruit and vegetables available and people have chickens or ducks to provide eggs. Furthermore, the community looks after each other and food is often traded or shared. There is an unwritten reciprocity that suggests if for example you share your eggs with someone then they will give you a share of their seafood next catch.

There are very few community-based services available in Waihou Bay. There is a small school at Raukokore and another at Cape Runaway. Both schools have a roll of less than 50 students. The Raukokore School has approximately 20 students making it at risk of closure. Waihou Bay has two Marae where community events are often based. Opposite the Raukokore School is the stunning Raukokore Church that sits overlooking the waters edge. The historic Anglican Church continues to hold a service every Sunday at 11am and has a small group of dedicated attendees. The inside of the church is decorated with plaques and memorials that explain its history and honour historical church members, some whose families still remain within the community. The Sunday service is shared biweekly by two locals and is conducted predominantly in Māori. Attending the church service seemed comparative to sampling a piece of the history and culture that makes the area unique.

Employment opportunities are few and far between in Waihou Bay. Farming and forestry are the largest employers. Many people have chosen to retire in the area, while others live on benefits or have other means of income. Self-employment ventures are a common approach with locals growing fruit and vegetables, keeping bees and making honey, or producing art and craftwork. There appears to be a real split in the area between wealthy holidaymakers, people who are viewed as living a deviant lifestyle and the locals who work hard and live modestly.

Figure 2. Maraenui Hill Road
This photograph illustrates the Maraenui road on the East Cape between Opotiki and Waihou Bay.



Figure 3. Construction on Maraenui Hill

This photograph illustrates the current state of the Maraenui hill road



Figure 4. Protest Sign

This photograph shows one of the many signs supporting the local iwi(s) who are protesting against oil mining in the area.



Figure 5. Waihau Bay
Scenery and shoreline at Waihau Bay



Data Analysis and Methodology

The methodology that has been adopted for this study is a mixed methods approach combining elements from two different qualitative methodologies. Pluralism or a mixed methods approach has a number of benefits that make it an advantageous approach to analysis of the existing interview data. Pluralism offers a way that pre-defined methodologies can be developed and diversified in order to better answer a research question (Chamberlain, Cain, Sheridan & Dupuis, 2011). Although some researchers suggest that methodologies work best together when they share the same or similar epistemologies, theoretical positioning and methods; there is also argument to support the combination of clashing assumptions. For example, the use of clashing assumptions could lend toward the development of a better explanation and therefore offer a better answer to the research question (Chamberlain et al, 2011). Chamberlain and colleagues (2011) suggest that one way to overcome problems of combining methodologies with clashing assumptions is to use only qualitative methodologies. The rationale being that this will make it more likely that the epistemological assumptions that underlie each approach will align. The possibility of applying pluralism to the existing data set to analyse the ways that the participants understand a good life allows a more comprehensive answer.

The decision to combine multiple methods in the interview analysis came after discouragement at the inability for only one methodology to give a comprehensive answer to the research question. This led to the combination of an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) as a more comprehensive approach to the data. However, the combinations of these two approaches fail to take into consideration the role of Māori worldviews and the unique epistemological assumptions, which make a Kaupapa Māori approach, a preferred methodology amongst Māori academics (Bishop, 1999; Henry & Pene, 2001; Walker et al, 2006). Finding the right methodological fit has therefore proved to be challenging. The following sections will describe how each of these three approaches makes a valuable contribution to the analysis of the data.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

An aim of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis is to investigate the way participants perceive the particular topic that is under investigation. IPA originated from the theories of both phenomenology and hermeneutics and can be seen as having a theoretical underpinning grounded in humanistic psychology (Smith & Eatough, 2007). It is concerned with making meaning out of the ways that participants perceive particular objects, events or experiences (Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999; Smith, 2004). As an IPA approach involves a two-faceted level of sense making from both the researcher and the participant it is often thought of as having a cognitive element without the concern of the mental processes involved in cognition (Smith et al, 1999; Smith & Eatough, 2007). Typically IPA is used to explore participants' perceptions of an experience or a physical entity such as the body (Smith et al, 1999). It shares some similarities with discourse analysis approaches such as paying close attention to the use of language (Smith et al, 1999). However, differs in the sense that it takes into consideration the cognitions people form in relation to the particular topic.

The features of IPA add considerable value as an approach for analysis of the interview data. An IPA approach acknowledges data analysis as being the researcher's interpretations (Smith et al, 1999; Smith, 2004; Smith & Eatough, 2007). Interpretations are made from the language that participant's use and their descriptions of a phenomenon (Smith et al, 1999). This allows elements of the participants' experiences to be acknowledged, explored and analysed where a FDA methodology may dismiss these aspects through focusing on the presence of discourses. Cognitive elements of the participant's experiences such as loss, dependence and freedom can be highlighted using this methodology. Furthermore, through interpreting the cognitions participants make about their life a more comprehensive understanding of the ways that they construct a good life is gained.

Foucauldian Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is concerned with the different ways in which people communicate and share ideas in order to discover how society structures people's underlying behaviors, beliefs and thoughts (Thorne, 2000). For instance, discourse can reflect an accepted understanding of the type of person one should be. Through discourse analysis people's representations are action-oriented. For example through language people carry out a variety of actions such as blame, justification or acceptance (Woofitt, 2005; Wiggins & Potter, 2008). Furthermore language can be understood like

building blocks where words are constructed in a variety of different ways to present versions of the world in a particular way (Wiggins & Potter, 2008). In this sense discourse analysis is based on the assumption that the way people think about the world is socially constructed.

Foucauldian Discourse analysis as a methodology emerged in the late 1970s out of the work of Michel Foucault who had begun to examine the relationship that language has with subjectivity and the implications this had for psychological research (Coyle, 2007; Willig, 2003). FDA is based on the role of language in social and psychological life (Willig, 2003). According to a Foucauldian perspective the language people use is influenced by different discourses that facilitate, constrain and enable what people are able to say (Willig, 2003). A Foucauldian approach demonstrates how knowledge is dependent on societal influences.

Foucauldian discourse analysis shares many of the same assumptions as other forms of discourse analysis. However, Foucauldian discourse analysts tend to be more concerned with how the availability of particular discourses within a culture or society and the implications of these discourses for its members (Coyle, 2007; Willig, 2003). According to this perspective, these constructions then influence the different ways in which people can view the world (Willig, 2003). Furthermore, FDA is interested in the role that discourses have in overall social processes such as the way they may influence power relationships (Willig, 2003). It looks at how people may be positioned within a particular discourse and the implications of such positioning for how the person should respond in certain situations (Coyle, 2007). From this perspective the way participants answer questions reflect the pressures to portray a certain image that fits in with a particular discourse.

FDA offers an interesting addition to IPA in analysing the data. Through applying FDA to the data it allows the identification of discourses within the wider society, which may have influenced the participants responses. Using FDA alongside IPA takes the interpretation of participants cognitive experiences one step further by examining the ways that participants use discursive constructions to think about a good life. This allows for the interpretations and meanings gained through an IPA approach to be extended upon. FDA can offer further insight by providing an answer on how and why participants understand their life in a certain way and what may be happening in the wider society to influence this. IPA alone does not provide this sort of depth.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Kaupapa Māori research can be thought of as a general guideline or framework that can be applied to the way researchers carry out their work. Walker and colleagues (2006) offer some principles for conducting Kaupapa Māori research. The main principle 'tino rangatiratanga' involves using Kaupapa Māori approaches to oppose ideologies of superiority and power imbalances that disadvantage Māori participants. Therefore Kaupapa Māori research should be used in a way that is socially just and benefits its participants. Walker et al, (2006) also talk about recognition of Māori worldviews. Therefore, a Kaupapa Māori approach would involve acknowledgement of the different way that Māori organise their view of the world as opposed to western ideas of knowledge. It would respect the concept that some knowledge should be protected through appropriate protocol. A Kaupapa Māori approach would also use Te reo where possible and appropriate, as this would allow for the flow of knowledge and information to be treated in its rightful form (Henry & Pene, 2001; Walker et al, 2006). Lastly, whānau is also listed as another principle of Kaupapa Māori research. This is applied in the sense that Kaupapa Māori research is conducted as a shared research. The research does not belong to one person but belongs to everyone and therefore everyone involved in the research has an equal stake.

As the current research is interested in how older Māori understand a good life it is important to acknowledge that this construction is embedded within its cultural context. Furthermore, the participants are located in an isolated coastal village where traditional Māori values have remained relatively preserved (McCormack, 2011). Taking this into consideration it is important that the presence of Māori worldviews is acknowledged as being a determinant for how the participants understand a good life. It is also acknowledged that a Kaupapa Māori methodology holds different epistemological assumptions to both IPA and FDA and that has implications for the handling and analysis of data. Elements of a Kaupapa Māori approach have been integrated into the methodology through the way that the data has been considered and analysed.

The role of culture and unique Māori worldview has been taken into account throughout the research process. For example, the research visit to Waihau Bay was conducted in order to provide a deeper understanding of the participants' social and cultural context. An IPA and FDA approach may not have taken this step and therefore

would have resulted in a less holistic analysis. This process also involved consultation with a local Māori contact to determine the best research approach. The visit involved being immersed within the place and letting the social and cultural context of the area be the teacher rather than subjecting locals to further research. Principles of Kaupapa Māori research were undertaken through attempting to respect the integrity and culture of Waihou Bay and its people. Furthermore, the information shared through this trip is acknowledged as belonging to the locals and to the place itself and receiving this knowledge has been treated with privilege and care. The use of Kaupapa Māori methods has also influenced the exploration of indigenous thought, history and experience throughout the research process and used this to inform the way the data has been analysed. Lastly, although the presence and influence of wider discourses has been acknowledged careful attention has taken place not to unnecessarily dissect the data and to provide a holistic understanding where possible.

Applying a mixed method approach

Elements of IPA, FDA and Kaupapa Māori research were combined to create a pluralistic approach to examining the different ways that the participants talked about their understanding of a good life. The data analysis was mostly informed by Willig's (2003), *'Six Stages of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis'*, and Smith, Jarman and Osborn's (1999) guide for *'Doing Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis'*. With the role of Māori worldview taken into consideration when interpreting the data.

The first step of the data analysis involved shared methods from both IPA and FDA where the audio files were listened to and the interview transcripts were read and re-read numerous times. The first reading involved taking the interview transcripts in without making any preliminary interpretations. The second and subsequent readings follow the guide for coding as set out by Smith and colleagues (1999). Themes were identified in the first case by noting down on the left-hand margin things that seemed interesting or important about what the participants were saying. Taking a similar approach the opposite margin was used to note down any emerging theme titles or key words that seemed to encompass what was found in the text. The interviews were worked through one at a time reading over the transcripts numerous times to identify missed themes. After this process had been completed with each of the interviews the themes were gathered together to produce a master list of themes.

The next step of data analysis involved using the master list of themes to go back through the interview transcripts for clarity and accuracy. Following this the

emergent themes were analysed to find connections between them. By clustering the themes together superordinate themes began to emerge. The completion of this process resulted in a preliminary list of superordinate and subordinate themes. The transcripts were then re-checked against these themes once more. Lastly, a table of themes was produced with four superordinate themes and numerous subordinate themes. The table of themes was then used to go through the transcripts once more identifying extracts of the text that fit into each theme. At this stage some of the subordinate themes were deleted when minimal supporting evidence was found or supporting evidence was weak. Likewise, some of the subordinate themes were combined, as they seemed to be closely related if not the same. A final table of themes was now produced with relevant samples from the text identified in order to begin the writing stage.

The writing stage of analysis was structured by using the table of themes as a guide. Initially each theme was analysed using an IPA method and drawing on the examples from the text to support the interpretations. Multiple examples were found within the interviews to support some of the themes and in this case only the examples that were thought to be most interesting or that best reflected the theme have been included in the interpretation. An initial draft was formulated and this was then used to develop the interpretations further. As the interpretive analysis became richer different influencing discourses appeared. It was at this stage that principles of Foucauldian Discourse analysis were integrated into the interpretation of the data. The wider discourses that appeared to influence the way participants constructed a good life were identified and discussed in relation to relevant subordinate and superordinate themes. The analysis combined interpretative analysis and Foucauldian Discourse analysis to illustrate how particular discourses may have influenced the meanings that the participants had regarding a good life. Lastly, Kaupapa Māori research was drawn on throughout this process by integrating the role of place and culture into the handling, interpretation and analysis of the data. Through using this mixed method approach a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the way older Māori living on the East Cape construct a good life can be understood.

Chapter Seven: Results

The participants talked about a variety of different factors that allowed them to have a good life. As the initial intent of the interviews was to investigate the economic living standards of older adults' elements of an economic explanation could not be escaped. However, this occurred less than expected and where the question allowed, the participants generally steered away from talking about their life being determined by economic aspects. Rather the participants spoke of a variety of different factors that made their lives good and values that contributed to an ideal lifestyle. Four superordinate themes were identified and a number of subordinate themes that together construct a good life.

The four themes are broad categories that then cover a number (3-4) of more specific subordinate themes. Four superordinate themes of ageing well, social connectedness, economic wellbeing, and autonomy and control were described as being important to having a good life. A good life might therefore involve striking a balance between each of these components. There is a degree of crossover in the subordinate themes. For example, reciprocity has been placed under social connectedness, however reciprocity is often talked about as an important factor in ageing well. Furthermore, the subordinate themes of living conservatively and economising share similar approaches to living on a low income but differ in the way that living conservatively talks about preference whereas economising talks about managing income to make ends meet. This crossover is reflective of the complex way each of these themes interacts within the lives of the participants (See *Table 1* for the table of themes that were identified during the coding process). Extracts from the interviews have been integrated into the analysis of each theme. The participants have all been assigned pseudonyms in order to protect their anonymity.

Table 1

Superordinate and Subordinate Themes.

1. Ageing Well	Positive Attitude
	Hobbies
	Health & Mobility
	Adjusting to loss
2. Social Connectedness	Family
	Companionship
	Social Networks
	Reciprocity
3. Economic Wellbeing	Living conservatively
	Economising
	Unrestricted lifestyle
	Dreams vs. Reality
4. Autonomy and Control	Dependence
	Freedom
	Individual Responsibility

Ageing Well

The concept of ageing well is often talked about within ageing literature and research. Ageing well is considered to have important implications for having a good life in older age. Four subordinate themes were identified that fit in with the idea of ageing well and contributed to the construction of a good life. The first theme involves maintaining a positive attitude. Theme two includes hobbies and theme three talks about health and mobility. Lastly, adjusting to loss is also talked about as having implications for a good life.

Positive attitude. Throughout the interviews the concept of having a positive frame of mind was promoted as fundamental to having a good life in older age. The participants constructed a positive attitude as something that made older life more enjoyable. Adopting a positive attitude was constructed as being the most appropriate response to ageing in order to have a good life. The extract below demonstrates how this was presented within the data.

Interviewer: Okay so are there any things you'd like to have but you don't have at the moment?

Rangi: No, I'm doing pretty good I think. I mean I'm not starving as you can see and I've got my life organised around what I've chosen to do

Rather than telling the interview what he doesn't have or what he would like more of, Rangi reframes his answer to sound more positive by exclaiming that he isn't starving and therefore is doing pretty good. By doing this he constructs himself as someone who is grateful and appreciates what he has in life rather than dwelling on the negatives. This response fits in with philosophies such as 'always look on the bright side of life' that are promoted in popular discourse (Seymour-Smith, 2002). By drawing on this discourse Rangi constructs the idea that his life is good because he keeps a positive attitude. He also positions his identity as being virtuous by framing himself as someone who approaches life with a positive attitude. The next two participants show how humour was associated with a positive attitude and used to construct a good life.

Interviewer: So you've got a car, haven't you?

Ken: Yes I have

Interviewer: And that's, serves you well, good you know?

Ken: Yes we call it the incubator. Look at it.

Interviewer: What do you think you have that others don't have?

Ken: The sense of humour, I think, I think I follow Mum. Happiness...I don't see the bad in anybody...

In the first extract Ken uses humour to give a description of his car “the incubator” as being small rather than pointing at any downfalls. By poking fun at his car Ken constructs a virtuous and carefree identity instead of appearing as someone who complains and is unhappy with life. In the second extract this image is reinforced when Ken counts his sense of humour as an asset that allows him to perceive his life as good. In this extract Ken takes the idea of a positive attitude further by talking about how he extends positivity to his perception of other people. Ken maintains his virtuous image by constructing himself as someone who takes a positive approach not only in the way he thinks about his life but also in the way he interacts with the world.

Hobbies. The participants described hobbies as being important in contributing to a good life. Hobbies were talked about as something that the participants intended to try and maintain regardless of money, time, health or age. Striking a balance between hobbies and day-to-day life was given emphasis. Some participants spoke about older age as a time that allowed them the opportunity to fulfill hobbies and chase passions that may not have been possible in earlier life. Rangi gives an example of this in the text below where he is telling the interviewer about his writing hobby.

It's an occupation that I find that I love that in actual fact I should have been doing about 20 or 30 years earlier but my life the way it was it couldn't have worked it in.

In the first part of the sentence Rangi identifies writing as something that he loves enough to consider an occupation. He then continues by describing it as something that he should have done earlier in life. By saying this Rangi frames his writing as something that has improved his life. Rangi understands his life as being good as he has reached a time in his life where he is able to fulfill this passion. The way Rangi talks about his hobby also makes the suggestion that he is happier with his life now than

when he was younger and not able to participate in this hobby. Ken also talks about achieving a good life through his hobbies.

Interviewer: What hobbies and interests do you have?

Ken: Numerous. At the moment I'm doing what they call Sand and Eggshell art.

Interviewer: What, Oh.

Ken: And I have done quite a bit. I have sold quite a bit and not many people have ever seen sand and sea eggshell mixed together and done in...

Interviewer: Wow, you'll have to show us.

Ken: And I did, Oh I like walking, gardening, art, music. Yep all those.

Interviewer: And, what are the costs of these? Are, they, do they cost you anything or...

Ken: No the, I get the, empty eggshells from people around here and the sand I different people, I've got a cousin in Otorohanga that sends me the black...

Ken talks about having several hobbies to pass his spare time. Although this informant does not provide much information outside what has been requested by the interviewer, the text appears to become more animated when Ken discusses his hobbies. This sense of excitement suggests the important role of hobbies in his construction of a good life. At the end of the extract Ken mentions resources and networks that he has employed in order to prevent the restriction of his hobbies by money.

The examples from both Rangi and Ken indicate the way that hobbies were talked about as being important to having a good life in older age. Participants found means to participate in their hobbies by striking a balance between hobbies and their financial responsibilities. If participation in hobbies were limited then it would likely make life less meaningful. The interview data suggests that later life can be thought of as a time worth looking forward too with good life achieved through the pursuit of hobbies and interests.

Health and mobility. Health and mobility were threads that appeared to pop up in response to a number of different questions throughout the interviews. Maintaining good health, managing current health difficulties and maintaining mobility were described as being an important part of the ageing process. Maintaining health was constructed as important to ageing well and ensuring a good life. Rangi talks about maintaining health as a daily commitment in later life.

I take, I take five, eight pills a day, prescribed, and two supplements a day. That's the multi-vits, fish oil, try and keep the brain functioning and it's something that gets the blood circulation going properly anyway.

Rangi lists the medications he has to take in order to maintain his current health and then explains how he proactively looks after his health with extra supplements. Rangi's proactive health behaviour suggests that taking preventative measures to look after one's own health can ensure a good life in older age. It also implies that by engaging in health practices the natural ageing process can be slowed down or even possibly reversed. Another informant, Ellen, talks about good health as being something that can enrich life. "Your health is good. Yeah, you get that extra it's a bonus. That's how I look at it." By talking about good health as a bonus Ellen implies that health is something that not everyone gets to enjoy (particularly) in older age and therefore having good health should be appreciated. In this way good health is understood as something that can make you feel grateful for your life.

Likewise, maintaining mobility was also talked about as being an important factor in having a good life. Tamati talks about his mobility as something that allows him to continue to live an active life and participate in his hobbies. He exclaims "well...if I have to give it up its hey I can't walk." Tamati makes a direct link between his ability to live a good active lifestyle and his mobility. His understanding of a good life is therefore connected to his sense of mobility and good health. This presents a dichotomized version of ageing where Tamati presents an image of the older person who has lost their mobility and is therefore unable to live an active life compared with the fit and healthy older person who enjoys a good life and participates actively within society. Taking into consideration the type of lifestyle that Waihau Bay offers, the lack of public transport and accessibility to shops and services may mean that the participants have a unique experience of health and mobility. The area does not have the availability of residential care, hospitals or retirement care for older adults. This might motivate individuals to place more value on their health and mobility as it enables them to remain living in Waihau Bay for as long as possible.

Adjusting to loss. The ways that the participants described a good life often included responses that talked about adjusting to the loss of a spouse or loved ones. Participants acknowledged changes in the way that they lived as a result of loss. The following pieces of dialogue show how participants talked about changes in the way that they lived their life after the loss of a spouse.

Interviewer: So do you go to church?

Ken: I haven't, I haven't been since after Mum died. I haven't been since.

Interviewer: Do you share accommodation with anyone?

Wiremu: Not, not really no. Not not since my wife died.

The first participant talks about how he has stopped going to church after the death of his wife. He uses the pronoun mum to refer to his wife and establishes the important role she had in his life. Wiremu also indicates that his life has changed after the loss of his wife. Both participants talk about how their lives have changed since the death of their wives creating a sense that their life can be thought of in terms of then and now. By doing this the participants acknowledge having to make an adjustment in their day-to-day life. Tom also talks about the struggle of adjusting to life after the death of his wife. In this section the interviewer has asked Tom whether or not he has insurance.

I'm not too sure. The boys, the boys took the thing over, took it out. I'm not too sure on the paperwork and all that. Mum knew everything about it but it's finding them, is the hardest part. I'm just slowly finding her stuff now and I've sent them her, what do you call it, estate and everything.

Tom identifies difficulty in adjusting to life after the death of his wife by constructing her as the 'knowledge keeper' who handled all the paperwork for things such as insurance. He acknowledges that her death has required him to take on new roles in running the household. He talks about the difficulty of trying to get his head around these things suggesting a slow adjustment to life after loss. Tom also talks about how his sons have helped him in coping with this adjustment through supporting him with some of the work that his wife used to do. The way Tom talks about adjusting to loss suggests that making this adjustment successfully is important to having a good life.

The participants talk about adjustments in the way that they live their day-to-day life and describe these changes in a way that suggests adjusting to loss is just a natural part of ageing. Furthermore, the interview data implies that making this adjustment successfully is key to having a good life.

Social Connectedness

The majority of participants did not consider themselves to have very active social lives however, when analysing the interview data social connectedness came up in several places as being a fundamental part of the participants living experience. The ways that participants spoke about social connectedness has been categorised into four subordinate themes including family, companionship, social networks and reciprocity. These themes cover the different ways that participants are socially connected and how this contributes to their understanding of a good life.

Family. Family was spoken about repeatedly in the way participants responded to interview questions. A few of the participants also shared their day-to-day living with family members who shared accommodation or who they provided care to. The connection to family appears to be fundamental in ensuring the participants were able to have a good life. For example, Ken reported that the call of his family was what prompted his decision to return to Waihou Bay permanently. Family was often thought about as being distinct from other social relationships as can be seen in the following extract.

Interviewer: Okay, so what kind of social events do you go to or need to go to?

Rangi: I don't go to any social events. I go to tea at Mary's place sometimes, my sister's or at my brother's place and that's about it really.

Interviewer: Do you share with anyone?

Ken: No. Not at the moment.

Interviewer: Just your...

Ken: I don't share but it's open to whānau

In the first sample of text Rangi shows how the distinction between social life and family is made. Rangi responds by saying he does not attend any social events however, he continues to tell the interviewer about how he spends his time with family. This suggests that he thinks of family as being distinctly different from the social

relationships he has with other people. Likewise, Ken presents a similar understanding of family. In the extract above the last line “I don’t share but it’s open to whānau,” indicates again a distinction can be made between family and other social relationships. Both participants describe family as a type of social connectedness that becomes intertwined with daily life. From this perspective family relationships are not talked about as requiring effort rather they occur naturally. This also implies that family has a special status above anyone else. Further on in the interview Ken provides a second understanding of family.

Interviewer: So do you host, do you hold dinner parties or do anything like that?

Ken: Yes, I actually I do, yeah. I will, I do cook. I’ll invite my family next door and I’ll invite my other family, Mere down and we do this quite often.

The line “I’ll invite my family next door and I’ll invite my other family” makes the suggestion that family can have multiple meanings besides a family of kinship. Rather, family can be used to describe a group of people whom one feels a close connection too (Cunningham, Stevenson & Tassell, 2005), and engagement with either type of family can enable a good life. This also fits in with Māori values that promote whānau connectedness and participation within whānau activities (Cunningham et al, 2005). From a cultural perspective it may then be entirely natural for participants such as Ken to be largely involved in whānau activities and for this to be included in the construction of a good life.

Several of the participants also drew connections between their happiness and the role of family in their life. When the participants were asked about their ideal lives many participants responded with answers that involved family. The following three examples from the interviews illustrate how this connection was made.

Rangi: Perhaps I’m a bit weird but what makes me happy is seeing the family happy, all my family.

Hemi: We are very satisfied with what we’ve got, or with our children our grandchildren. We are very happy.

Interviewer: What’s your ideal lifestyle?

Tom: Have everything. Nothing to worry about. Long as the kids are all happy, and that's me. As long as I've got enough money to give them, or even my grandchildren.

The first piece of text shows the informant making a direct link between his happiness and the happiness of family. Hemi takes this link further by talking about his family as an asset or something that enriches his life. Lastly, Tom adds a new concept by talking about his family in economic terms. For him successful living means being able to provide for his family economically. The ability to give his family money may be held more importantly than having a high standard of economic living himself.

All three participants talk about their happiness in life as being measured by the success of their family. The connection participants feel toward their family can both enable and limit a good life. In the case of most of the participants interviewed the connection to family who lived nearby was strong and this influenced participants to assess their lives as being good. Through living in Waihou Bay many of the participants were able to access connection to whānau through their relationship with place. For example, participants talked about having connections to whānau land and their relationship with this land allowed them to connect with ancestral whānau ties, to strengthen current whānau ties and to leave a reminder of them self for future whānau (Cunningham et al, 2005; McCormack, 2011). The Raukokore church is another example where participants can reconnect with whānau through the acknowledgement of important ancestors that is marked with plaques on the walls. This goes back to the idea of Ahi Kā. Through connection with place the participants are able to keep the connection of whānau alive and this connection contributes to their construction of a good life.

Companionship. Having a companion or longing for a companion came up consistently across the interviews. Participants responded to questions about their life by noting that a companion would improve their life. Below are a few examples of how participants spoke about companionship.

Interviewer: Are there any things you'd like to have but don't have?

Ken: A mistress

Interviewer: So what do you think that, what do you think the most, well the things are that people need to be happy?

Wiremu: Like the devil said a good woman.

Interviewer: So there's, you don't think there's anything that you'd miss out on at the moment or...

Tom: No, not really. Only a woman.

In all three pieces of text the participants talk about having a companion as something that would improve their life. Wiremu makes a link between having a companion and happiness and both Ken and Tom imply that a relationship is something others have that they feel is missing in their life. Similarly, Wiremu suggests that having a good relationship is something that other people have that gives them an advantage in having a good life. In this interaction a companion is constructed as something that could improve life more than any specific material item. Tom affirms this perspective in the way he talks about a companion as being the only thing he feels could improve his life. In this construction other aspects of living and material wealth is described with indifference.

The next two pieces of text come from participants who are married and illustrate their views on the importance of their relationship to happiness. Both responses were given when the interviewer asked, "what do you think people need to be happy?"

Jack: You need a good home and you need a nice lady or yeah a nice partner and my wife and I have been married 54 years.

Hemi: Well you want, want to have that good relationship with your partner. That's most important.

Jack identifies a good relationship as being essential to happiness. He constructs the idea of a home being more than just material wellbeing and suggests that a good relationship is an important determinant of this. Jack then affirms his own happiness in life by telling the interviewer about his successful marriage of 54 years. Hemi gives a similar response and asserts that having a good relationship is the most important factor

in a happy life. The participants who talked about their happy marriages described their relationships as the ultimate achievement and evidence of a good life.

Social networks. The participants were often asked questions about how they managed their daily life such as accessibility to health services. A commonality across the interviews was that many of the participants had developed social networks within their communities. These networks helped them to access necessary goods and services and enabled participants to continue living the best life possible. The dialogue below illustrates how social networks is one aspect of social connectedness that allows participants to maintain a good life.

Interviewer: And you're able to fill out all your prescriptions?

Rangi: Yeah. As I said that sort of fits in. They're very patient with me. I sometimes and I sometimes forget. I go to the doctors I think the biggest it ever was, was \$45 at the doctors. They charge me \$10 a visit now. Which is good. And the local pharmacy is good with what I owe them too.

Rangi speaks about developing a relationship with the doctor's clinic over time and that this relationship allows him to keep up with visits even when he does not have money to pay the fees immediately. Rangi emphasizes the importance of social networking in his life as he describes a similar arrangement with the local pharmacy in Opotiki. The way that Rangi speaks about social networks suggests that this is an element of his social connectedness that supports him to have a good life. Without access to these networks Rangi may therefore experience less accessibility to services and to necessary medication, which would then limit his ability to have a good life. Tom speaks about social networks in a similar way.

See as for me well I keep going to WINZ because I know my caseworker and she helped me out quite a bit. And then all she says leave the document here, I'll fix it...and that's it. I just drop them on the table and then away I go.

Tom acknowledges the role that this social network has in helping him to get financial assistance. The relationship he has developed with his caseworker makes getting his benefit a more convenient process. They are aware of Tom's history and the fact that travelling from Waihou Bay to Opotiki is demanding given the distance, the roads and

the cost. The caseworker therefore accommodates Tom by ensuring he is well looked after and the process is as simple and stress free as possible. This type of social connectedness helps Tom to achieve a good life by making sure he receives continued access to his benefit entitlements.

As highlighted by Rangi health services in the Opotiki area have developed a local reputation for being understanding and flexible of people's individual situations. During the research trip to Waihou Bay locals highlighted the way Opotiki businesses such as the local pharmacy often accommodated customers travelling from the East Cape. The pharmacy has been known to open at special times and even deliver medication through to the East Cape. The social networks that participants living on the East Cape depend upon are invaluable. Social networks enable freer access to the important resources that participants require to live a good life such as food, income and health care.

Reciprocity. The concept of reciprocity appeared in the way that participants spoke about their roles within a family, their community and in the wider society. Helping others and concepts of give and take were often talked about as part of social connectedness. Participants emphasized the importance of helping friends and family financially, with gifts or food, or through emotional support. Participants talked about the concept of putting others ahead of their own needs as can be seen in the following extract from Tom: “ Had some good party of friends then. They got in a jam now and again but I just didn't think about myself. I thought about them, you know what I mean, yeah. ” Tom introduces the idea of helping others as being important even if it makes things more difficult for him self. He suggests the idea that helping others is a good thing to do even when they got into the situation through their own decisions. The way he talks about reciprocity suggests that helping others can be done unselfishly and that helping others does not always need to be done with expectation of something in return. Rather Tom appears to have adopted the view that the reciprocal exchange in helping others can sometimes involve just the satisfaction of knowing you helped rather than anything tangible.

The concept of helping others because it is a good thing to do appeared further on in the same interview. Tom talked about reciprocity as being something as simple as offering time and company with the example of visiting an older lady who had been diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease. Tom also talked about taking on a job purely to help the owner of the business who was getting old and less physically able. In this way

reciprocity was thought about as not necessarily meaning an automatic return in favour. Rather, Tom helped these people by choice, perhaps with the motivation that when he was less physically able someone else may also pay it forward and help him. The way Tom talked about his life suggested that reciprocity is an aspect of his social connectedness that enhances a good life.

Other participants talked about reciprocity in terms of a give and take relationship. Participants were asked questions about gift giving and the importance of helping friends and family. The response below shows some of the ways participants thought about reciprocity.

Rangi: I was trying to teach her English. And I think I, she was improving but she speaks Spanish and Portuguese but not much English. But she, she's very nice. She bought me a gift.

Rangi introduces the idea of reciprocity by talking about how he helped his landlord with English lessons and in return she bought him a gift. This example promotes the concept that reciprocity can involve helping others in non-economic ways. Rangi was able to offer his landlord something that was not tangible and that she did not have herself and in return she thanked him with a gift. Reciprocity could also be seen to fit in with traditional Māori values that promote helping others and collective responsibility (Cunningham et al, 2005). The participants who attributed their desire to help family and friends as being intertwined with their identity as Māori often made this connection.

Economic Wellbeing

The participants spoke about their economic wellbeing as contributing to a good life in four different ways. Firstly, the participants spoke about their preference for living a conservative life where they are frugal with their money. Secondly, participants spoke about economising as a way of maintaining a good life. Thirdly, the participants talked about having a lifestyle that is unrestricted. Lastly, the participants spoke about having financial freedom as a dream rather than something that could be a reality.

Conservative lifestyle. An interesting thread that ran throughout the interviews was the way the participants presented them self as a careful and responsible spenders. Elements of this theme appeared in the way that the participants spoke about their spending habits; with some participants asserting that they preferred a conservative lifestyle.

Wiremu: I hate spending money now unnecessarily. I'm sure you do too.

Ken: That's what it's like. Although I have got, I'm not crying poor. I have got money set aside for, for really important things like I've got money set aside for my funeral and I've got money if anything, well the house is insured but if there were other things that insurance doesn't cover, got money for that. But I just won't touch it.

Interviewer: What would you do with an extra 50 bucks a week?

Tamati: I'll hang on to it and I'd be...for when you really want it. Yeah.

In the first extract Wiremu presents himself as a person who does not spend money unnecessarily. By doing this he maintains his identity as being positive through presenting the image of someone who is financially responsible. The comment "I'm sure you do too" made by Wiremu makes an interesting point as it assumes that living frugally is a more appropriate or preferential lifestyle. Ken talks about being responsible with his money and making sure he is prepared for the unexpected. He presents himself as a financially responsible individual that has planned for his future and has money set up for contingencies. Lastly, Tamati presents his identity in a similar manner by telling the interviewer that he would also save extra money for contingency sake. By doing this he too presents himself as the responsible individual who is frugal and lives a conservative lifestyle. The way that the participants describe their spending habits suggests that living a conservative lifestyle should be preferred. The participants also describe that this type of life allows them to feel personally in control of their money. From this perspective the participants construct a good life as being an individual responsibility that can be achieved through a conservative approach to spending.

Economising Participants spoke about economising and living on a budget in order to maintain a good life. Participants often came to a compromise and prioritized how they spent money in order to make sure their income covered all of their needs. Through budgeting and striking a balancing between needs and wants the participants were able to ensure they did not consume more than they could afford. Furthermore, the participants described fitting hobbies and interests into their weekly budgets with whatever was left after covering essential needs. The following sample of text illustrates how one informant spoke about economising.

Interviewer: Okay so what sort of things would you change if you had less to spend?

Hemi: Or, then I suppose it would be oh to monitor what was really, what we really needed and like we didn't, so we like to know, make decisions on what is it that we really need and cut out what we don't need.

In the above extract Hemi describes monitoring his spending and prioritising what he really needs if his current income were to be reduced. Hemi speaks about economising as a way that he could continue to have a good life even if with less money than he currently depends on. The way Hemi describes economising suggests that consumption and spending is something that can be managed and if managed properly a person can still live a good life despite economic restraints.

Similarly, several of the participants talked about how they manage their money through a budget. Budgeting was talked about in a way that implied it to be a reality of daily life for most of the participants. This can be seen in the following extract.

Interviewer: So do you have to, do you often have to go without some of the things or activities that you like to do?

Rangi: Yeah. Oh yes you do but you regulate yourself. On off-pay weeks, no say over a month you try and spend your, like electricity and your internet and telephone bills and everything else so that you spread the cost over but of course once a month interest aid comes out on your card and so that pay day is a particularly tight one.

In this piece of text Rangi talks about spending within his means and the idea of things balancing out. He adopts the view of a rational spender by speaking about some weeks being better than others and trying to spread payments across a month in order to manage on his income. Rangi acknowledges that some paydays juggling the bills can be harder than others. However, he appears to try and maintain the upbeat image that he set out in the start of his response and avoid constructing his identity, as someone who struggles more than what is socially acceptable or normal for the area he lives in. Rather, he presents the idea that through economising and balancing his budget he

maintains a reasonably good life. The following extract talks about budgeting as a necessity in order to have a good life.

Interviewer: How well do you manage on your current income? Cause you said you're both on pensions.

Tamati: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: You manage okay with that?

Tamati & Ellen: Oh a case of having to, yeah. Yeah case of having to.

The response “a case of having to” suggests that for Tamati and his wife spending according to a budget is necessary in order to maintain their current standard of living. Furthermore, they introduce the concept of budgeting as being something that can be done in order to avoid struggle. For example, if they did not budget then this would be reflected in their ability to enjoy life. They suggest a good life is determined by their individual responsibility to budget well and economise where necessary. By talking about their own successful budgeting the participants' position themselves favourably as someone who can be viewed as self-reliant and capable of looking after their own wellbeing.

Unrestricted life. A good life was commonly constructed as occurring when preferred ways of living, eating and social life, were not restricted in any way. Participants mentioned several examples that could limit a good life through restricting the way that they lived. In the following extracts the participants describe restrictions on their lives, and through doing so illustrate a good life as free from these restrictions. This is illustrated in the following piece of text.

Interviewer: If you had to go without some things, what would upset you the most? What would you find the hardest to go without?

Rangi: The hardest to go without now would be losing that computer, or losing the ability to write on the computer because that's what I've always done. And that would affect me the most.

In this extract Rangi identifies the importance of his computer to enabling him to have a good life. Rangi describes his computer as an important material item in his life because it allows him to pursue his passion for writing, which he has earlier described as giving

his life purpose or meaning. In this sense Rangi understands a good life as having unrestricted access to his computer. The following example illustrates another way that restrictions in living have impacted Rangi's ability to live a good life.

Interviewer: So what things would you go without that you really like to do?

Rangi: Well you limit yourself to the amount of, to the amount and the types of meats you buy for instance. Vegetables, you have more rice dishes than you would normally have. That sort of thing.

In the above dialogue Rangi suggests that his day-to-day living is a struggle, as he has to limit his diet to fit in with his budget. Rangi is unable to eat the types of foods he would like, or would have previously eaten due to his economic restraints. The way he talks about managing his diet suggests that in an ideal life Rangi would be able to live without having to restrict the type of foods he cooks. In the next sample of text Rangi is talking about a childhood friend who has recently died, "He died a few weeks ago and I couldn't go to his funeral. I didn't have the money for the petrol and that, that really, you know that really hurts, it sucks." Rangi makes a direct comparison between his lack of money and being socially restricted. He continues by expressing the emotion he felt as a consequence of missing the funeral. Rangi connects his lack of financial freedom as restricting the choices he has and his ability to live his life in a way that is meaningful. Acknowledgement of a psychosocial reaction is present in the way that Rangi talks about his life. He speaks about feeling hurt at not being able to attend the funeral and gives emphasis to the concept that through social exclusion lack of money can influence psychological and/or emotional distress. Tom also spoke about restrictions in the way that he lived.

We don't use the hot water as much as a lot of people do. But it would be very nice to use now and again but you know you just got to sort of work things out that it coincides with the water and the power.

This was an interesting response as in the first line Tom acknowledges that he lives differently to others. The next line suggests that this is not by choice and his life would be easier if he didn't have restrictions. Lastly, Tom speaks about using less hot water as a way of managing consumption so that it falls within his income. The way that Tom

speaks about restrictions in living along with the examples from Rangi create the concept that having low economic resources can result in people having to make restrictions in the way that they live. These restrictions involve having to live differently to ones preferences and therefore impacts the ability to live a good life.

An unrestricted life could also be thought about in terms of accessibility to necessary goods and services. Many of the participants described being extremely satisfied with the services they received in Waihau Bay. The ease of accessibility to services and the quality of the services available appeared to cancel out some of the inconvenience of living in an isolated rural location. The next interview extract talks about how accessibility can be restricting.

Interviewer: So is there anything that's hard, hard about it, harder to access, lack of anything like that?

Wiremu: Well yeah there is that side of it, yeah. I mean to, to get whatever you really need, for instance household furniture you have to travel at least a hundred, hundred kilometres to, to get all the necessary...

Wiremu acknowledges that restricted access to shops in Waihau Bay is one limitation to having a good life. He describes the inconvenience of the long trip between Waihau Bay and Opotiki and/or Whakatane if he needs anything. The comments preceding the extract above described Wiremu's love for the place and its natural beauty, however as prompted by the interviewer he offers an alternative view of the area. The way that he says this implies that although the lack of access to shops can be restricting a more positive side to life in Waihau Bay balances it out. In this sense, Wiremu described an unrestricted life as contributing to a good life but that the advantages of living in the area made up for its inconveniences.

Satisfaction with the health services in the area was often talked about as helping participants to have a good life. Having unrestricted access to health care was something that participants' felt advantaged their life. Mobile clinics visit both Waihau Bay and Cape Runaway one day a week and offer publicly subsidized health care. However, participants can also access doctor services in nearby Te Kaha or travel through to Opotiki. Public funded health care is targeted in the area due to its high deprivation index, which means that accessibility to health services is considered to be

good by many locals. Hemi compares the health services in Waihou Bay against those in another city.

Well yeah it's better than Palmerston North. You don't have to pay. You don't have to pay the doctor's fees. You don't have to pay to see the doctor and then we, you get the minimal rate for your prescriptions so it's it's beautiful.

Hemi talks about how living in Waihou Bay means that he is unrestricted in his access to good health care and medication. Hemi describes access in the area as being beneficial by the fact that it is both accessible and also more affordable than other places. Having easily accessible and affordable health care may therefore allow extra money to be spent in other areas of the participants' life. Accessibility may be particularly important for these participants on the East Cape who experience greater limitations to accessibility as residents of a rural area. The interview data suggests that a good life is enabled through having as little restriction to ones preferred lifestyle as possible.

Dreams versus reality. An interesting finding in this study was that many participants talked about not needing much to get by and preferring to live a conservative life but then joked about winning the lottery, or living like the rich and famous. However, the participants seemed to conclude that this sort of lifestyle should be thought about as a dream and so had come to accept their own reality. The following dialogue shows how this was presented within the data.

Interviewer: So there's no one you could, you would like to live like or...

Ken: No

Interviewer: Have what they have or anything like that?

Ken: No. If I was keen then maybe Paris Hilton

Interviewer: You want to be like Paris Hilton?

Ken: Live like that

Interviewer: Okay. Fair enough.

Ken: No.

Interviewer: You can be our local Paris Hilton

Ken: No there's, no, not really.

Ken begins by stating that he would not like to live his life like anybody else. However, he then uses humor to suggest that if in fact he did want to live a different life to his own, perhaps it would be Paris Hilton. Ken is careful to avoid sounding like he is unhappy with his own life. Identifying a celebrity who he considers to live a good life might be easier and safer than telling the interviewer that he would like to live like someone within the community. He then continues by reaffirming that he would not like to live like anyone else as if to assert his acceptance of his own life as being good. Both the following informants talk about lotto as being something that would improve their life.

Interviewer: So how could it be improved, do you think?

Rangi: Can win Lotto.

Wiremu: Oh I think I've got, yeah I think I've got everything I need

Interviewer: Yeah, what about like, want. No likes or wants?

Wiremu: Well, yeah the Lotto.

In the first extract Rangi implies that winning the Lotto is something that would improve his life. Likewise, Wiremu comments that he has all the things he needs to have a good life however, when prompted he reports that he would like to win the Lotto. In the way that the participants include winning Lotto in their responses suggests that similarly, to Ken with Paris Hilton it is easier for the participants to link themselves to the dream of winning lotto rather than mention ways that their life could be improved that are grounded in reality. One reason for this could be that it allows the participants to avoid disclosing too much about their lives that they think may make them appear to *not* live a good life.

However, thinking about the fact that living standards can be thought of as relative and that the locals who participants socialise with live in similar circumstances, it is probably easier to identify a lifestyle that appears within the media as being appealing, than somebody within a close proximity. In this sense the participants understand their life to be good as they view this as being realistic and relative to others around them. However, if dreams were possible a good life might be constructed differently.

Autonomy and Control

The participants talked about their life as being good as they had autonomy to live in a way that suited them and control over decision-making. The participants talked about having autonomy and control as adding value and meaning to their life. Knowing that they were in charge of their futures and had the freedom to live life in a way that they preferred was constructed as being important for a good life. Three subordinate themes were identified as common ways that participants spoke about having autonomy and control in a good life. First of all, participants talked about having the security of dependence on the land and others within their life. Secondly, participants spoke about having freedom. Lastly, the participants spoke about having control of their lives through individual responsibility.

Dependence. A common understanding of a good life included the concept of being able to rely on both the land and other people, for security and nourishment. Participants rejected the convenience of town and a consumer lifestyle as being essential to having a good life. Rather the participants took merit in being able to provide for themselves and their families through other means. As can be seen in the follow extract this was not spoken about as a necessity that is determined by low income. Rather, living in this way was valued as a characteristic that made people's life good through providing autonomy and control.

Interviewer: So what do you find the best about it? What's most convenient, what's easiest for you here?

Ken: The best I think is the people that's around, the whānau, the, you don't need to be running into town all the time. You can depend, you know you've got food, you've got the ocean there or you can get food from the forest. You have your own garden, whereas in the city it'll probably cost you to do all these things.

Interviewer: So describe your ideal lifestyle?

Hemi: Ideal lifestyle is just exactly what we're doing now; we've got a garden. You grow your own vegetables. There's the sea out there, you get your own seafood...

The above two extracts display how dependence is talked about as something that can improve life. Ken speaks about the concept of being able to depend on the natural resources of the land. To him the land provides the security of always having food available at little or no cost. Similarly, Hemi also speaks about depending on the land as a resource for nourishment and directly connects it to his concept of an ideal lifestyle. This suggests that dependence aligns closely with the values that Hemi holds as important in his life. Both participants talk about how they can be self-sufficient through depending on the land and the natural resources that it has on offer. This dependence allows the participants to have greater control over their life. For instance they do not need to go without food because even if they do not have much money they have the ability to gather food from the ocean, hunt game, or as was seen on the visit to Waihou Bay, many of the locals grow their own vegetables, poultry, eggs or meat. This gives them greater control over their accessibility to food and this can also be traded within the community to get hold of different resources. In this sense the participants live a life where they have a high degree of autonomy and control over consumption and the way that they use their resources. In this way dependence is described as contributing to a good life.

Freedom. Freedom was commonly mentioned as a feature that made participants current life fit in with their definition of an ideal lifestyle. Participants enjoyed having the freedom to be in charge of their own choices and live their lives in the way that suited them. This can be seen in the following dialogue between Rangi and the interviewer “what do you like about living in this community?” “It’s quiet, where I am it’s very quiet and it gives me the freedom to do what I want.” Rangi talks about being able to have control over the choices he makes and associated this freedom with his construction of a good life. Rangi also hints at the appeal of living in the area as people leave him alone to do what he wants. Through being awarded this autonomy Rangi experiences a sense of freedom that enables him to consider his life as good.

Interestingly, some participants spoke about freedom being connected to the rejection of material values. Participants made comments such as “those are just material things” or “I don’t care about material things.” A tone was felt within the interviews that suggested the rejection of material values enabled freedom for the participants to live a meaningful life. The participants rejected the importance of material possession and the pressure to participate in a consumerist culture. A good

example of how this played out in the interview data can be seen in the following extract.

Interviewer: So what would, what would you, what would Ken's ideal lifestyle be?

Ken: The way I'm living at, I'm living now. Free and easy. I'm my own boss. I come and go and if I need that I'll buy it, if I don't need it I can go without. Yeah.

In this extract Ken speaks about how his ideal lifestyle involves having the freedom to be autonomous and do what he likes. Furthermore, this includes only buying what he needs. Ken links the rejection of material values with a sense of freedom, concluding that this adds value to his life. Ken constructs a good life as being free from the pressure of consumer culture and having control over consumption. Barry talks about the freedom that makes his life enjoyable in a similar way:

So I don't even have, this is how thing, bogged down I am, all I got is two four wheel bikes to go to the shop and go somewhere or go eeling, go hunting on a four wheeler. I got, I sold, got rid of my car...

Barry talks about how he intentionally got rid of material items such as his car in order to live a freer, more meaningful life. In the way that Barry speaks about not being bogged down he constructs the image of a good life as being one that is free from material ties. The way the participants talk about freedom challenges discursive constructions that equate a good life with material wellbeing.

Individual responsibility. A good life was often talked about as being determined by individual responsibility. Participants talked about life as being shaped through the types of decisions people made for themselves. From this perspective having a good life was thought of as something that was the responsibility of the individual and a reflection of how they chose to live their life. The following text is an example of how this theme was presented in the interviews. *Interviewer:* "This home are you satisfied with it? I mean it certainly is lovely. Is it suitable for all your needs?" *Hemi:* "Absolutely. Made sure it would be." Hemi's response reflects the concept of individual responsibility by stating that he made sure himself that his house would

satisfy his needs. This sends the message that a good life can be ensured through taking personal control of decision-making in life. The following sample of text extends this concept further.

Interviewer: Is there anybody that you admire that you'd like to live like they do or...

Barry: I always believe that there's nobody better than me.

Interviewer: Oh fair enough. Yeah. So what sort of things do others have that you don't have. Have you noticed?

Barry: I don't like to see anything that somebody's got. No I don't know. I don't know...I don't look into other people's business or what makes them tick or whatever.

In this extract Barry shares a similar view to Hemi by suggesting that people can be personally in control of their own living standards. He also makes an acknowledgement that a good life is subjective and by making a statement such as "I always believe that there's nobody better than me" Barry expresses that having a good life is determined by one's personal choices and preferences. Furthermore, through this statement Barry constructs his identity as being someone who is content with his life and avoids sounding ungrateful or projecting a negative image of himself. He attempts to construct this image of his identity further by asserting that he does not like to focus on what others have. Barry's views reflect the concept that it is immoral to envy others. In the above extract Barry is careful to not sound like he is unhappy with his own life and defends his moral character by claiming that he is not the sort of person who judges or is envious of others. He reinforces the idea of personal choice and individual responsibility for a good life by saying "other people's business and "what makes them tick." Furthermore, through the way that Barry speaks about other people he positions them in a less moral social position. However, he then reinforces his positive identity by attempting to avoid sounding judgmental and not expanding on his comments. Rangi provides a similar response in the way that he talks about other people's life.

Interviewer: Is there anything that other people have that you'd like. You know you don't look at...

Rangi: Envy

Interviewer: Yeah.

Rangi: Not really. I got what I want. I mean good on them.

By establishing himself as having “what he wants” Rangi illustrates the view that having a good life is connected to personal choice. Likewise to Barry he also rejects the concept of envy and works hard to promote his identity as not being this type of person. He does this through attributing a good life to individual responsibility and therefore commends them for their good decision-making. Rangi extends on this concept further.

I don’t envy anybody. I’m glad for them because they’ve done the things that I didn’t feel I could do at the time. I know the process I went through to get where I am so I got no complaints.

The line “they’ve done things that I didn’t feel I could do at the time” has the individual responsibility thread running through it. It suggests that people enjoy a good life as a reflection of good decisions made throughout their lifetime. Rangi continues by saying that he knows how he got to be where he is today so has no complaints. This suggests that although having a good life might require making good decisions, good decisions are subjective from person to person and perhaps having the freedom to be in charge of those decisions is most important. However, similarly to Barry, Rangi avoids sounding like the type of person who is envious or dissatisfied with life.

Jack and Wiremu give further examples of how the participants make sense of a good life by attributing it to personal responsibility.

Interviewer: So you don’t think that you’ve got anything that others would want?

Jack: Well they might but they probably could have it if they change their lifestyle or whatever eh, yeah they probably could have the same, or they might have more.

Interviewer: You don’t look at others...

Wiremu: There is, no I don’t judge others as, they’ve got their, they run their own lives and I know some, I do know that some of them are in a struggle but yeah that’s life. And that’s their choice.

In the first piece of text Jack makes the comment that others could have equal standards of living if they changed the way that they lived. This reinforces the construction of inequality as being associated to individual responsibility. This discursive construction also locates Jack in a virtuous social position through suggesting that his life is good due to the fact that he has taken control over his life and lives it in a way that is moral. The second piece of text also displays this view with Wiremu suggesting that struggle is a choice rather than something that is a result of social structure or beyond personal control. The participants use the concept of individual responsibility as a rhetorical device to construct their identities as being virtuous. The way the participants have spoken about individual responsibility constructs a good life as something that is achieved by a series of good decisions, personal choice, hard work and living a life that fits in with the morals determined by society.

Influential Discourses

The presence of different discourses can be seen in the ways that the participants understood a good life. Identifying these discourses is important as it reflects what may be happening within the wider society that could have an influence on the way participants can understand a good life. Through identifying the influential discourses the analysis moves from giving an answer of how older Māori understand a good life and goes one step further to help explain why the participants construct a good life in this way. Furthermore, it acknowledges the fact that language can be understood as having a moral dimension (Pond et al, 2010b). The language participants use to talk about their life allows them to maintain their identity as morally virtuous. Identifying the influential discourses therefore gives a more comprehensive answer to the research question. The discourses identified in the construction of a good life were a positive ageing discourse, an anti-consumption discourse, family discourse and a neo-liberal discourse. The participants used these discourses to negotiate their understanding of a good life in a way that presented their identity as positive.

Positive Ageing Discourse. Ageing is often talked about in two contrasting ways showing the old and frail versus a youthful more active older person. In this sense the two views of ageing represent common ways that ageing is talked about, and are considered opposing discourses. The first discourse presents the older person as a problem in terms of the economic strain that they place on the state through greater need for health and social services (Hodgetts, Chamberlain & Bassett, 2003; Townsend, Godfrey & Denby, 2006). In popular media older people have typically been represented through stereotypes that show them as ill, senile, dependent, lonely, unproductive and incapable individuals (Hodgetts et al, 2003). Thus, presenting a depiction of older age that is unappealing. In recent years a second discourse has emerged presenting an alternative view of the older person. This new discourse depicts the older person as a hero who can somehow defy age and continue to live a youthful existence (Hodgetts et al, 2003; Townsend et al, 2006). Within western society is the existence of two views of ageing that presents older life as a dichotomy.

Positive ageing strategies have been adopted in several countries as prevention against becoming old and frail. Goals of positive ageing strategies include developing financial security, health and social participation for older people (Chong, Ng, Woo & Kwan, 2006; Ministry of Social Development, 2009; Pond et al, 2010b). New Zealand's

own *Positive Ageing Strategy* is designed in order to promote self-reliance, independence and aims to have older adults participating in the workforce for longer (Ministry of Health, 2002; Pond et al, 2010b). Positive ageing discourse is aimed at identifying both individual and societal aspects of ageing well. It acknowledges the stress associated with various changes in growing old, and the pressure on health care as the need of the population continues to change (Beswick, Gooberman-Hill, Smith, Wylde & Ebrahmin, 2010; Chong et al, 2006; Gillsjo et al, 2011; Jorgensen, Thomas & Parsons, 2009). Although positive ageing discourse provides a more inclusive and engaged perspective on ageing it too has been subject to a number of criticisms.

Positive ageing discourse has been criticized by a number of researchers who argue that these strategies are not necessarily as positive as they first appear. Criticisms surround the fact that within a positive ageing discourse is an ideology that the responsibility for health and wellbeing lays within the individual (Beswick et al, 2010). Presenting older life in this way may promote a view of ageing where the individual could be seen as at fault if they fail to comply with the values set out by positive ageing discourse (Beswick et al, 2010; Hodgetts et al, 2003). Furthermore, promotion of an idealized view of the active older person could lead to the marginalization of older adults who do not fit the positive ageing criteria (Hodgetts et al, 2003). In this sense positive ageing has the power to increase inequality and social exclusion by framing ageing well as an individual responsibility (Beswick et al, 2003; Breheny & Stephens, 2010; Coburn, 2000; Hodgetts et al, 2003). The focus on positive ageing may therefore help to minimise the effects that an ageing population has on the state. However, positive ageing discourses also have potential to increase inequalities in older life.

Participants constantly drew upon concepts related to a positive ageing discourse in the ways that they talked about a good life. The participants acknowledged the dichotomy of ageing and attempted to manage their identities so that they presented a positive view of their life (Hodgetts et al, 2003; Townsend et al, 2006). The superordinate theme of ageing well encompasses several elements of positive ageing discourse. For example, the first subordinate theme, a Positive attitude can be viewed as being influenced by this discourse. Positive ageing discourse typically promotes the concept of positivity as being an important component to ageing well (Ministry of Health, 2002; Pond et al, 2010b). The participants demonstrated the rhetoric of older life being a time of opportunity where the older adult can enjoy having goals, remain active and participate in hobbies (Breheny & Stephens, 2009; Pond et al, 2010a). An

older person with a positive attitude and who lives an active life is seen to reflect the more virtuous image of ageing (Pond et al, 2010; Townsend et al, 2006). Participants may be more inclined to describe a positive outlook and an active life, than risk marginalization through appearing as if they do not fit in with the virtuous image of ageing.

Positive ageing discourse also influenced the way that participants talked about health and mobility. Participants rejected an “ageing as decline” discourse by presenting their health as being good and something to be grateful for. Participants with existing health issues were careful to construct this as being managed and as not preventing them from an active life. Health in this sense was talked about as a self-project, which was a responsibility of the individual (Pond et al, 2010a). One participant in particular demonstrated the powerful influence of a positive ageing discourse. Barry talked about him self, as a fit, healthy and active older person who did not believe in medical care so would never be a strain on the health system. Toward the end of the interview it was revealed that Barry was recovering from an accident and was having problems with his mobility. Throughout the interview Barry intentionally avoided constructing his identity in a way that would fit in with an “ageing as decline” discourse. Rather he dismissed his mobility issues through a positive attitude and actively constructed himself as an “ordinary, happy and healthy guy.” By doing this he aligned himself within the more virtuous position of a positive ageing discourse.

Participants identified a number of changes and difficulties following the death of their spouse and/or loved ones. Loss of loved ones in later life can be thought about as an inevitable part of ageing. It also represents an extremely difficult and stressful event (Yarnal, Chick & Kerstetter, 2008; Pond et al, 2010a). The participants talked about loss in a way that aligned with concepts of remaining positive in older life. The participants did not dwell on the distress and sadness felt by the loss of loved ones rather spoke briefly about the fact that their life had changed due to this event. A positive ageing discourse may therefore make the assumption that an older person will just cope with the loss, as it is a natural part of ageing. The dominant values such as having a positive outlook on life and personal responsibility may also promote the idea that a good life involves adjusting well to loss in later life (Pond et al, 2010a). The participants may have found it hard to admit difficulties in adjusting to loss as the positive ageing discourse places a restraint on what is considered socially appropriate.

From this perspective the participants were influenced to understand a good life as being associated to making a good adjustment following the loss of a loved one.

Anti-consumption discourse. An anti-consumption discourse is concerned with engaging in behaviours that resist the values of a consumer culture. Anti-consumption discourse has been theorised as a resistance to the dominant culture that places constraints on freedom. From a Foucauldian perspective resistance to domination is undertaken by individuals in order to create autonomy. Resistance can be seen as a process of self-reflection and self-expression rather than an attempt to gain power over the dominant discourse (Cherrier, 2009). Certain forms of consumption can contribute to a person's moral identity. For instance, consumers take part in practices of consumption that are consistent with their values and that present themselves in a particular way (Gaviria & Bluemelhuber, 2010 cited in Rey & Ritzer, 2012). This could be particularly relevant to the way that participants spoke about their consumption habits. By talking about not needing material things the participants presented a consumer-resistant identity and constructed an image of their life that was 'free and easy'.

Experiences of consumption fit in with what is described as a creative consumer in anti-consumption discourse. A creative consumer gains no meaning from copying the consumption lifestyles that can be seen through avenues such as the media. Rather, they construct the self as a being able to reformulate cultural meanings, practices and traditions through their personal preferences and social history (Cherrier, 2009). Participants do not purposely rebel against a consumer identity rather they feel free to express themselves in a way that is not determined by social pressures. This is described by Cherrier (2009) as "consuming to *be* rather than to *display having*" (pg.188). From this perspective living an individualist consumer lifestyle with high material consumption does not fit with the values of the participants. Nor does it contribute meaning to their life. Evidence of this can be seen in the way that they talked about freedom. Meaning was gained in their lives through the freedom that the participants found from not having the social pressures to live a consumer lifestyle. Barry talked about ridding himself of material possessions in order to be less tied down. He linked an anti-consumption lifestyle with greater freedom and happiness asserting that this contributed to a good life. Through adopting an anti-consumption discourse participants were able to understand their own life as good as the material components associated with the dominant constructs of a good life were rejected and held meaningless.

Family Discourse. The role of family has been identified as being a distinct aspect of social connectedness that has contributed to the participants understanding of a good life. Participants talked about family connections in a way that acknowledges the influence of a family discourse. Family discourse in older age partly stems from concepts around citizenship (Gilbert & Powell, 2005; Kerr, 2002). Gilbert and Powell (2005), assert that for example one way that children learn to become citizens is because of the direction, training and support they receive in the private life of a family. From this perspective older adults may hold a very unique role within the family based on their position as a citizen of that family, their community and the wider society. Citizenship can be thought about as an active relational process (Somers, 1994 cited in Kerr, 2002), which takes place through various facets of social connectedness and both social and political realms. Family participation therefore is an integral platform where citizenship is enacted in everyday life (Kerr, 2002). Through this participation people learn what is involved in becoming a responsible citizen (Gilbert & Powell, 2005). For Māori the obligations defined by being Kaumātua is an example of how a family discourse may influence interactions with older life.

The participants provide numerous examples of where relationships with family and citizenship must be negotiated in order to maintain a good life. In 1996 the United Kingdom Prime minister of that time, Tony Blair made the statement “The most meaningful stake anyone can have in society is the ability to earn a living and support a family” (Gilbert & Powell, 2005, pg.55). This statement describes well the relationship between family and citizenship. The participants support this statement through the way that they have constructed a good life as involving active participation with family and continual support of family both emotionally and financially in older life. Participants described having an obligation to their families to offer this continued support. In addition their understanding of family as holding a special and distinct status also fits within a family discourse (Cunningham et al, 2005). The participants assessed the value of their own lives against the success of their children and grandchildren. Discourse that promotes citizenship through economically and emotionally supporting ones family as a pathway to a meaningful life, is evident in these extracts. This would also fit in with Māori understandings of whānau and the obligations, beliefs and values that are ingrained in Māori culture (Cunningham et al, 2005). From this perspective it would have been difficult for the participants to construct a good life without reference to family connections.

Neo-liberal Discourse. The influence of a Neo-liberal discourse can be seen in the way the participants responded to a number of the interview questions. Neo-liberalism is based on a number of assumptions about the way society operates. Neo-liberalism is concerned with the market place and asserts that markets are the best avenues for the allocation of resources, and that societies consist of responsible individuals who are motivated solely by material or economic factors (Coburn, 2009). Essentially neo-liberal discourse promotes individual adherence to a market economy asserting that the ability to access resources necessary for a good life is an individual responsibility (Coburn, 2000). From this perspective the participants use the theme individual responsibility to construct their lives as good.

A rational approach to spending and presenting the image of a conservative spender is another way that a neo-liberal discourse appears to influence the way participants understand a good life. Participants use this rhetoric to construct themselves as a morally virtuous person who is economically responsible. Similar to a positive ageing discourse, neo-liberalism also involves a dichotomy. This involves the contrast of a good citizen as someone who adheres to neo-liberal values over a less virtuous citizen who has less resources, may experience material deprivation, and relies more on the state. In this sense as a neo-liberal discourse endorses individualism, it also promotes an unequal society (Coburn, 2000; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2007). This may have influenced participants to assess their life as good despite the presence of inequalities as they attempt to maintain a positive image of the good older person who takes responsibility for their own life. This also reflects the fact that even those who sit toward the bottom of the social gradient are bound by the same moral expectations than the people who sit at the top of the gradient. However, when people at the bottom of the gradient are already disadvantaged in terms of their economic and social wealth they are required to work harder to present themselves as good people, according to the morals defined within society. The participants therefore used neo-liberal values as linguistic resources to present their identity as a moral citizen.

Summary

Analysis of the interviews identified four superordinate themes and a number of subordinate themes that contribute to the participants understanding of a good life. The first superordinate theme, ageing well, consisted of the following themes: a positive attitude, hobbies, health and mobility, and adjusting to loss. A positive attitude and active participation in hobbies were talked about as enabling people to age well. Managing health and adjusting to loss were talked about as inevitable parts of ageing that required participants to take care of themselves, be proactive and to cope well with the different changes brought about by ageing. The second superordinate theme, social connectedness, consists of four subordinate themes including family, companionship, social networks, and reciprocity. Family and companionship were talked about as enhancing a good life; where as social networks were described as enabling greater access to resources. Reciprocity not only offers a platform where resources can be traded but provided a way to live a life that is meaningful. The third theme of economic wellbeing also covers four subordinate themes. These are a conservative lifestyle, economising, unrestricted lifestyle, and dreams versus reality. A conservative lifestyle was constructed as being a preferred way to live. Economising was understood as a way that participants could maintain a good life. Restrictions to a preferred lifestyle were something that was understood as having the power to undermine a good life. Lastly, participants spoke about the dream of lotto however, asserted that a good life in their world meant accepting this as a dream and not a reality. The final superordinate theme of autonomy and control has been used to talk about three subordinate themes. Participants spoke about dependence in the way that they described their relationship with the land. Secondly, the participants connected freedom with their understanding of an ideal life. Lastly, the participants constructed the concept that a good life was achieved through personal responsibility and the choices one made as an individual.

The participants drew on a number of different discourses including a positive ageing discourse, an anti-consumption discourse, a family discourse and a neo-liberal discourse. These different discourses allowed the participants to make sense of their lives in a way that locates them within a wider social structure. Through using these discourses as a rhetorical device the participants presented their understanding of a good life in a way that upheld their image as a moral citizen.

Chapter Eight: Discussion

The findings suggest that the participants understand a good life through a balance of the four superordinate themes of ageing well, social connectedness, economic wellbeing, and autonomy and control. Each of the four superordinate themes includes more specific subordinate themes, which represent elements of the way the participants constructed their understanding of a good life. All of these elements contribute to how the participants are able to understand their life as good in relation to their identity as older Māori, and within their physical and social context.

Ageing Well

Four elements of ageing well were identified as being important to the way that older Māori constructed their understanding of a good life. The findings suggest that older Māori must balance each of these four elements in order to age well. Balancing these elements successfully is key to having a good life in older age.

Positive attitude. A positive attitude was included in the way that the participants understood ageing well to be part of a good life. The findings suggest that a positive attitude could be used to overcome psychosocial effects related to low economic resources and the changes that are associated with later life (Dolan, 2007; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2001; Pond et al, 2010b). The participants made the suggestion that a positive attitude was an asset that they had as an older adult, which protected them against factors that might restrict a good life. A positive attitude was understood as a naturally occurring approach to life that the participants were fortunate enough to possess. However, the literature suggests that a positive attitude is something that can be acquired as a defense against ageing and can be fostered through promotion of positive ageing (Ministry of Health, 2002; Pond et al, 2010b). From this perspective if an older adult does not possess or acquire a positive attitude this could be seen as compromising their ability to have a good life.

Hobbies. Hobbies were talked about as an element that enriched later life through providing meaning. Previous research has found participation in hobbies is important for ageing well. This is also a concept that is continuously promoted in positive ageing discourse (Breheny & Stephens, 2010; Pond et al, 2010b). In this theme

the experience of older age is socially located. Although the participants describe their enjoyment of hobbies and interests, these experiences are located within their particular social location in which to age well they *must* participate in hobbies and interests (Breheny & Stephens, 2010). The current study suggests that within this social location active participation in hobbies is understood by older Māori to be a key element of ageing well, and is therefore included in a good life.

Health and mobility. Similar to a positive attitude, good health was described as an asset that is highly valued. This provides evidence to support the concept that for some older adults a good life might include greater appreciation of non-material resources such as health and mobility. For instance, being more active and independent are two factors that have been found as significant indicators of a high life satisfaction (Good, LaGrow & Alpass, 2008). Likewise, research suggests that greater appreciation of health and mobility in older life can be a reaction to impending mortality (Pond et al, 2010a). The findings support this research in the way that participants described good health and mobility as being the most important determinant of a good life. Secondly, the participants adopted the concept that health is a self-project (Pond et al, 2010a), and taking preventative measures such as multi-vitamins, exercise and monitoring diet were ways of slowing down the ageing process. The findings suggest that maintaining good health and mobility were understood as being a critical element of ageing well and having a good life.

Adjusting to Loss. Loss of loved ones is an inevitable part of older life and the research findings suggest such events produce considerable changes in the life of elders. The findings imply that this is a normal aspect of ageing that the older person must take in their stride. The findings echo the evidence that shows loss of a loved one can be both a difficult and stressful event in the older persons life (Yarnal et al, 2008; Pond et al, 2010a). In fact research suggests that loss in older age can be just as traumatic as in earlier life, yet it occurs much more frequently (Bennett & Vidal-Hall, 2000). However, the way loss was talked about within the context of the participants lives implied that a good life in older age required the older adult to adjust well to such changes. Literature on loss in later life talks about this as the assumption that grief is a phase with a recognizable set of emotions, psychological reactions and behaviours that the grieving will eventually 'recover' from (Bennett & Bennett, 2001). This assumption is reflected in the way that participants presented themselves as 'recovering' to life after the loss of a spouse. Furthermore, models of bereavement make the assumption that a good

adjustment to loss can be measured through the older persons level of independence and reintegration into the community (Bennett & Bennett, 2001). These assumptions may be problematic as they risk marginalizing the older person who doesn't recover and/or adjust from loss in this way. Older people may downplay the difficulties of adjusting to loss in their construction of a good life in order to present the image of the moral older person who has recovered from grief.

Social connectedness

Four elements of social connectedness were included in the way that participants constructed their understanding of a good life. These included, Family, companionship, social networks and reciprocity. Each of these themes covers elements of social connectedness that participants described. The way older Māori construct their understanding of a good life is connected to how they access and manage each of these four elements.

Family. Family was constructed as being essential to a good life. Findings show that participants measure the success of their own lives against the success of their family. The results emphasise the ability to support family is one of the most important indicators of a good life. This finding fits in with ideas around citizenship that have been discussed in previous research (Cunningham et al, 2005; Kerr, 2002). The theme of family illustrated how participants made sense of a good life in the context of their identity as citizens within society. In this sense they talked about the role that they have as an older person within their family and the idea that with this comes particular obligations (Cunningham et al, 2005; Gilbert & Powell, 2005). The concept that family was not just a commitment but an obligation appeared in the way participants did not think of participation in family as constituting a social life. Furthermore, the way participants constructed their understanding of family aligns with the *Te whare tapa wha* model, which identifies whānau as one of four fundamental components for wellbeing (Durie, 1994; McPherson et al, 2003). The findings reflect the concept that family is a critical component to a good life.

Companionship. Companionship can be thought about in a similar way to family. Several participants described companionship as a factor that could improve their life. Previous research has identified companionship in older life as having positive benefits. For instance, companionship has been identified as important as it allows the older adult to share their life with somebody, to have someone they can depend on and to feel more secure (Bowling & Gabriel, 2007). Companionship in older life has

previously been understood as alleviating social isolation, loneliness and providing increased social support. It is also believed to provide increased benefits for the health of older adults. Having a companion in older age is understood as enhancing social connectedness and is therefore viewed positively within ageing literature (Cornwell & Waite, 2009). In the current study the findings reflect this literature with the participants constructing companionship as an aspiration for a good life.

Social networks. Having good social networks were described by the participants as enabling greater access to the resources necessary to have a good life. The findings suggested that social networks allowed participants to both access and manage their resources so that they could maintain a good life despite their circumstances. Several researchers have identified the role of social networks in later life (Breheny & Stephens, 2009; Stephens, 2008; Ziersch, 2005). Recent qualitative research with older adults in New Zealand has found that older people who had community focused social networks were resilient in the way that they had become accustomed to searching out and gaining access to support and services. However, this study also found that older adults might become dependent on a small number of key support people (Ministry of Social Development, 2009). The current study provides further evidence for these findings. The participants gave examples of how they had identified key relationships within their community that they were able to depend on. The findings suggest that the participants were comfortable accessing these relationships in order to obtain necessary support for a good life.

Reciprocity. Reciprocity is a further element of social connectedness that appeared in the way that the participants constructed their understanding of a good life. Reciprocity is similar to social networks in the sense that one of its outcomes is obtaining access to resources. The participants highlighted this in the way they talked about reciprocity involving the trading of resources. Previous research has found that older adults use reciprocity as a way of managing their social connectedness and gaining value in their life (Breheny & Stephens, 2010). The results of this study reflect this finding by showing reciprocity to be an action that can provide older adults with increased company. The results also support previous research that understands reciprocity as involving a shared sense of support, and assurance of continued support across time (Breheny & Stephens, 2010). The current study echoed this finding in the way that reciprocity was constructed as resulting in non-tangible outcomes such as the satisfaction of providing support, and the security of knowing support could be accessed

freely at a later time. The findings from the current study suggest that reciprocity is used by the participants as a way of managing their social connectedness and that through these actions they can have a good life.

Economic wellbeing

A good life was understood as having a connection to economic resources. However, the participants did not construct a good life as being determined by the level of economic opportunities that one had access to, or the amount of income. Rather the participants talked about a good life as being dependent upon *how* the economic resources people had were used to have the most meaningful life that is possible. This fits in with theories about what constitutes a good life as described in previous research (Marmot, 2007; Perry, 2002; Sen, 2000). Support for this finding can be seen across all four of the subordinate themes.

A conservative lifestyle. Participants talked about being responsible with their income and preferring a conservative lifestyle. The findings suggested that participants constructed a good life as including preparation and planning for unexpected and future costs. Avoiding unnecessary spending was a method participants used to maintain their preferred lifestyle. Qualitative research with older adults has previously shown that they tend to present themselves as being financially responsible by making provisions for the future and demonstrating this through examples of how they have planned and saved (Breheny & Stephens, 2010). The participants of the current study also reflect this in the way that they talk about living a frugal lifestyle and setting aside extra income for contingencies. From this understanding a good life is constructed as being achieved through frugality and a conservative lifestyle.

Economising. Similar to a conservative lifestyle, the findings also show that the participants understand a good life as including the ability to economise. The findings suggest that economising is a method that allows a preferred lifestyle to be maintained. The role of preference in what constitutes a good life, has been identified as problematic by researchers who acknowledge that ownership, consumption and participation assumes everyone holds the same aspirations regarding a good life (Hazelrigg & Hardy, 1997; McKay, 2004). The findings suggest that this is not the case. In fact the participants highlight that their aspirations for a good life are distinctly different from what may be considered typical within a consumer society (Cherrier, 2009). The findings question the idea that economising is evidence of a low standard of living as has been argued by research that measures standard of living (Cunningham et al, 2002).

Rather, the participants have included economising in their understanding of a good life through asserting its role as a capability (Morris, 2009), which enables management of the resources necessary for a meaningful life. Economising is framed as a choice with positive consequences in their lives.

Unrestricted life. The analysis revealed that within the descriptions that participants gave of their life, examples of struggle were evident. Although participants did their best to economise, they provided examples where their preferred lifestyles were restricted. The participants talked about these restrictions as being difficult and distressing. For example, hurt and sadness at not being able to afford petrol to attend the funeral of his friend or the need to restrict water usage in order to manage the cost of the power bill was spoken of with hurt and regret. These findings suggest that restriction of a preferred lifestyle can limit a good life through the distress that it creates. This fits in with theory that talks about a psychosocial pathway in inequality. The psychosocial pathway asserts that there affects outside of the direct consequences of just being simply restricted that are psychosocial in nature (Dolan, 2007; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2001; Wilkinson, 2006). The emotions that the participants feel in response to being restricted represent a psychosocial response. A good life can therefore be understood as living a preferred lifestyle that is unrestricted.

Dreams versus reality. The research findings also suggest that the way a good life is understood can be altered depending on economic circumstances. For example, winning the lottery was joked about as a way that participants could live their ideal life. However, it was concluded that the unlikelihood of this happening does not stop people from assessing their life as good. Rather, the participants altered their minimum level of needs to fit in with a lower aspiration and therefore accepted their current circumstances as good. Again this points to the fact that aspirations for a good life cannot be assumed as being constant, or as equal across society. When setting their aspirations for a good life people ask the question of “how well *should* I be doing, given my biography and historical context?” (Hazelrigg & Hardy, 1997 pg. 77). The findings suggest that the participants use this question to guide the way that they think about a good life. For instance, they imply that in a dream world their aspirations for a good life would be much higher. However, given their biography and historical context, in reality their aspirations for a good life are set lower.

Autonomy and Control

Three subordinate themes related to autonomy and control were identified in the way participants understood a good life. Participants spoke about a good life as involving dependence, having the freedom to live life in a way that is meaningful, and as having the responsibility to be in control of the decisions one makes in their own life. Balancing each of these elements allowed the older adult to have a good life.

Dependence. Dependence was constructed as a way that participants could maintain a good life regardless of their circumstances. Participants gained value from being able to rely on the land as a place for sustenance and nourishment. The findings also suggested that dependence on others within the whānau and/or wider community is understood as contributing to a good life for older Māori. This provides further support for the theory of capabilities and functionings. In this case the natural resources of the land are what offers participants the capabilities to achieve their desired functioning. This allows individuals to participate within their society in a way that is considered customary (Morris, 2009). Ageing literature typically talks about a good life being constructed as involving independence, with independence being linked to a higher satisfaction of life (Good et al, 2008). However, as the results of the current study promote dependence as important in a good life for older Māori this may reflect the fact that Māori and non- Māori have different values that constitute how a good life is understood. Within Māori worldview is the understanding that autonomy is a necessary component of a good life. One way of achieving autonomy is through having control over ones own aspirations. This can be achieved through access to reliable whānau and dependence on the environment (Durie, 1999). Western understandings of a good life promote the concept of being independent in older age (Ministry of Health, 2002). This highlights a dissonance between Māori and non- Māori values for a good life.

Freedom. Freedom was constructed as an essential element in the way older Māori understood a good life. The participants talked about having freedom to live the way that they wanted to and not having to adhere to the social pressures within the wider society, such as consumerism. From a capabilities approach freedom is understood as involving a range of opportunities and the capability to participate in a variety of functionings that enhance the quality of life experienced by the individual. Increased freedom means that people can enjoy greater control over their life and live it in a way that makes them happy (Morris, 2009). Examples from within the data where participants explicitly linked freedom to an ideal life support this theory. The

participants have the freedom to live a good life as they gain capabilities through their physical environment. Living outside of this place may therefore compromise freedom and would likely change the way that they understood a good life.

Individual responsibility. Individual responsibility was understood as an important facet of a good life. The results suggest that a good life is understood by older adults to involve taking responsibility for outcomes experienced in their life, due to the individual choices that they make. Previous research suggests that this is a common understanding amongst older adults where the outcomes of a person's life is understood as being determined by choice (Breheny & Stephens, 2009; 2010; Pond et al, 2010a; 2010b). The participants asserted this understanding through describing their satisfaction within their own life as being connected to knowledge of their experiences, and the decisions that they have made throughout their life. This study illustrates that older adults understood a good life through establishing individual responsibility over life experiences.

Discursive Resources

The findings identified a number of different discursive resources available to participants that influenced the way a good life was constructed. Positive ageing discourse is widely available in everyday life. This is reflective in the fact that New Zealand like other western countries has developed its own positive ageing strategy. Encouraging older people to remain healthy, active and working longer is a core objective of the government as publicised in this strategy (Ministry of Health, 2002). Taking this into consideration it can be understood why participants may use a positive ageing discourse as a linguistic resource to make sense of a good life in older age. Participants used this discourse to manage their identity in a way that reflected the virtuous older adult and avoided aligning themselves within an "ageing as decline" discourse (Breheny & Stephens, 2010; Pond et al, 2010b). Presence of positive ageing discourse is influential in the way participants understand a good life. A danger of this is that participants may report their life as good whilst downplaying difficulties. The findings suggested that some older people might have minimised injuries or difficulties to present themselves as fit and healthy. This is evidence to support the ways that positive ageing is a discursive construction that older people manage rather than a reflection of the material conditions of their lives.

Participants drew on anti-consumption discourse to explain how a good life involved freedom from adhering to the social pressure of a consumer culture. An anti-

consumption discourse is concerned with consumer-resistant behaviours and can be seen as gaining more followers through increased awareness of the environmental and social impacts of a consumer culture (Cherrier, 2009), thus making it an available discursive resource for participants to use in their construction of a good life. Drawing on an anti-consumption discourse to construct their understanding of a good life also reflects the participants' unique identity as older Māori living on the East Cape. For instance, older Māori have been characterized as experiencing material hardship at a considerably higher level than non-Māori (Cunningham et al, 2002), and the East Cape is classified as one of the most deprived communities in New Zealand (Opotiki District Council, 2011). Due to its lack of accessibility to goods and services the area could be seen as somewhat shielded from the consumerist culture that exists within the wider society. The participants may therefore use an anti-consumption discourse to construct their understanding of a good life as its values match their experiences as older Māori living on the East Cape. Through drawing on this discourse the participants avoid appearing as the older person who experiences material deprivation, and instead promote a more virtuous image of someone who chooses to live their life free from social pressures to adhere to a consumer culture.

Participants drew on a family discourse to justify the inclusion of family and companionship in their understanding of a good life. Participants used this discourse to present their role as citizens within their family and wider communities (Kerr, 2002; Cunningham et al, 2005). In this sense the participants presented themselves as a good citizen who honoured their responsibility to their family and fulfilled their obligations as husband or wife as expected within the wider society. The participants portrayed what it means to be a grandparent, parent, husband or wife, or sibling. Participants used a family discourse to construct the family as a support system that could be accessed by members of the family (including them self) when in need. The current study suggests that the fulfillment of family roles was constructed in the understanding of a good life as providing value and meaning.

Neo-liberalism as one of the dominant discourses available within society is immensely influential on the way participants understand a good life. This was evident in the way that the participants worked hard to promote a good life as involving individual responsibility, a positive attitude and as an outcome to personal achievement. Neo-liberal discourse influenced the way participants were able to think about inequalities between their own life and others in society. Participants presented their life

in a way that aligned with these values. The findings suggest that participants use a neo-liberal discourse to construct their identity as morally virtuous. This is reflected in the way that they promote individual responsibility in their understanding of a good life. Previous studies have shown neo-liberal discourse to be a discursive resource that is often drawn on by the older adult in an attempt to present a virtuous image of later life (Breheny & Stephens, 2009; 2010; Pond et al, 2010a; 2010b). This was emulated in the results of the current study. Previous qualitative research has found that individuals draw on neo-liberal discourse by describing a life of frugality, honesty and morality (Storrs, 2007). In the face of material hardship people talk about their own life by making reference to the non-deserving and the deserving poor. For example, the non-deserving poor included examples of lazy drug abusers and people who misused the system (Storrs, 2007). The findings of the current study also reflect neo-liberal discourse in this way. For instance, the participants talked about being personally responsible for a good life through building their life up to reflect frugality, honesty and morality and then suggesting that people who struggle live a less moral life. By aligning themselves as the moral citizen who makes good life decisions and placing others in a less moral position, the participants were able to construct a good life within the context of neo-liberalism.

The availability of discursive resources within the wider society influenced the way participants constructed their understanding of a good life. From a Foucauldian perspective these discourses influence, allow, restrain and determine the way the participants are able to make sense of their life (Willig, 2003). Foucauldian discourse analysis is concerned with the role that discourse has in wider social processes of legitimization and power. Discourses promote a version of social reality that fits in with existing power relations and dominant social structures (Willig, 2003). Therefore some discourses are so embedded within society that they are relatively unchallenged and are considered common sense (Willig, 2003). However, it is within the very nature of language and human understanding that alternative discourses will emerge. This is reflected in the way that participants have promoted a good life that fits in with ideas of the dominant neo-liberal discourse yet provided alternative constructions that position themselves outside of a neo-liberal discourse.

Taking the relationship between legitimization, power and discourse into consideration the participants can be seen as experiencing constraints in the way that they can make sense of their social reality. The interviews required the participants to

present an image of their life and in a sense assess how their life fitted into the wider society. The dominance of neo-liberal ideology in western social structure made it hard for participants to describe their lives outside of these values. The results suggest that participants constructed their understanding of a good life through negotiating how neo-liberal values fitted their own life and drawing on counter-discourses where they viewed a mismatch. Doing this allowed them to justify an assessment of their life as good through finding a positive identity at the intersection of competing values.

Indigenous identity

Māori worldview and indigenous identity meant that the participants held unique values regarding what makes a good life. Furthermore, the participants had to manage the influence of the available discursive resources in combination with their values, traditions and history as Māori. The way the participants described interacting with the world acknowledges the role of tikanga in guiding their behaviour as Māori citizens. Participants described notions of reciprocity, supporting whānau and friends and participating in the wider community as a collective responsibility and ingrained in their identity as Māori (Durie, 2005; Walker et al, 2006). Active participation within the whānau unit can be seen as a way of embracing whakawhanaungatanga. Obligations to provide care, support, nurture and feel a collective responsibility toward family reflects Māori worldviews about what it means to be part of a whānau (Bishop, 1999; Cunningham et al, 2005; Walker et al, 2006), and it is both healthy and customary that older Māori construct a good life with frequent reference to whānau. The way the participants talked about these concepts suggested that it would be outside of their identity as Māori to think of a good life as not including aspects of reciprocity and collectivity. This highlights a contradiction between a good life being understood to involve individual responsibility or collective responsibility. This contradiction may explain why participants looked to alternative linguistic resources from the dominant neo-liberal discourse in order to construct a good life.

Māori worldview regarding the concept of self-determination may have also influenced the way that participants constructed their understanding of a good life. The value placed on tino rangatiratanga within Māori society has promoted the concept that having autonomy is important for the future wellbeing of Māori (Bishop, 1999; Walker et al, 2006). Taking this into consideration it makes sense for the participants to have drawn on themes such as freedom in their construction of a good life (Durie, 1994). One outcome of self-determination movements by Māori is less dependence on the state.

These values were visible in the way participants talked about gaining security and nourishment from the land and their use of anti-consumption discourse. The participant's identity as Māori may place greater value on living a lifestyle that promotes self-determination and could therefore influence how they understand a good life.

The way that elder Māori construct a good life might also be influenced by their unique experiences as an indigenous people. As a cohort that was born between 1930 and 1940 it is likely the participants have felt the prolonged impacts of colonisation and the struggle of Māori as an indigenous people to protect their land, culture and heritage (Kingi, 2007; McCormack, 2011). This cohort have been alive to witness and/or experience continued betrayal of the Treaty of Waitangi and the impact of land alienation (Durie, 1994; Kingi, 2007). It is important to note that the current political climate within this place is still unsettled. Evidence of this was seen on the trip to Waihau Bay with the numerous political protest signs that were posted along the cape (as can be seen in *Figure 4.*). The current protest against oil company petrobas drilling off the East Cape (Weir, 2011), highlights the fact that for Māori living on the East Cape access to the natural resources of place, which have been included in the construction of a good life are not certain (See *Appendix A.* for a News article regarding East Cape protests against oil mining). This also highlights further disregard by the government for the principles outlined in the Treaty of Waitangi, such as protection (Durie, 1994). As suggested by literature on place attachment, the continual threat of loss of land and foreshore is bound to influence the identity of older Māori and how they can understand a good life.

As indigenous people, the participants have been treated with suspicion throughout their life course (Nairn et al, 2006). Additionally, society has expected them to succeed within western institutions and social structures, and have disregarded Māori worldview and indigenous thought (Kingi, 2007; Nairn et al, 2006). Their experience as Māori being forced to assimilate into the dominant western society may influence the way they construct a good life. Through years of struggle and prolonged inequality as a people the participants may have come to form lower expectations for a good life than what would be seen within the general population (Hazelrigg & Hardy, 2006; Lewis et al, 2009; Perry, 2002; Stephens, 2009). Furthermore, use of neo-liberal discourse may reflect assimilation as older Māori. The findings suggest that due to the prolonged

impact of discrimination as an indigenous people older Māori may be more inclined to understand their life as adequate in the face of material hardship.

How place influences a good life

Attachment to place contributed to the way that participants constructed their understanding of a good life. For the majority of the participants living on the East Cape held special meaning and allowed access to resources that placed significant value on their life. For example, the participants spoke about place allowing them to have closer participation with their whānau and to acknowledge their ancestral links. This reflects concepts regarding place attachment and identity that identify place as involving personal memories, symbolic meanings and culture (Kyle & Chick, 2007; Scannell & Gifford, 2009). Many of the participants had left the area as young adults to find work and support their families. However, the strength of these connections had influenced participants to return to the area in later life. The findings reflect the concept that identity, place and living have an interdependent relationship that can be understood as having constant movement (Dale et al, 2008; Easthope, 2009). This study suggests that for participants who hold ancestral links to place, living in that area strengthens this link in a way that promotes a good life. Recognising the relationship between Māori and the land and the results of the current research, it does not make sense in terms of their identity for Māori to be disconnected from these ancestral links (Kearns et al, 2009; Panelli et al, 2008). Furthermore, as Māori are believed to belong to the land as reflected in the dual meanings of whenua, it is not only culturally appropriate but promoted within Māori worldview that Māori return to their homeland in later life (Durie, 2005; Kepa, 2007). The way participants constructed their understanding of a good life is therefore dependent on their relationship with the East Cape.

The results highlighted the unique relationship that participants shared with the land. Participants valued their life due to the ability to gain sustenance from the land, in particular the ocean. This reflects a common finding amongst indigenous cultures (Cajete, 1999; Walters et al, 2011). Sustenance from the land was not only gained through the provision of food but through the security of having a home to live in, land to build on, and a place of cultural sustenance (Panelli et al, 2008). The findings suggest that the unique features of the East Cape enabled this connection, as the area remains fairly undeveloped the natural environment is relatively protected (Durie, 1999; McCormack, 2011). The preservation of the area in its natural form has positive benefits for the participants in terms of their cultural identity and overall wellbeing (Durie,

1999). The rural seclusion of Waihau Bay has meant that in some sense the traditional Māori values have been excluded from the pressure to assimilate. The empowerment the participants experience from living on the East Cape allows them to view their life as good regardless of material wellbeing. Furthermore, it would be expected that if the participants were removed from this area, or had the natural features of place impinged upon then this would likely damage their ability to have a good life. Understanding what makes life good for elder Māori involves recognition that indigenous identity is anchored in relationships with place.

Limitations

Several limitations have been identified in the current study. Firstly, the questions that were asked limit the current study. Interview questions were developed as part of a larger study looking at the economic living standards of elders and were intended for interviewing older adults from a variety of different locations, cultures and backgrounds (refer to Appendix B. for a copy of the interview schedule). Because of this, participants on the East Cape had trouble understanding some questions, as they did not make sense within their social, cultural and historical contexts. This limited the type of data that was available for analysis. However, this limitation influenced the decision to approach the data differently and look at the way a good life was understood by the participants rather than examining how the participants talked about economic living standards. This also became an analytic lever that justified the mixed methods approach to data analysis.

Another limitation was that the interviews were conducted in varied locations within the East Cape. Some interviews took place within participants' homes whereas other interviews took place at a location provided by the interviewer. The provided location could be considered as extravagant compared to the homes of locals in the area. This might have influenced the way these participants talked about their own house. Participants commented that they had never seen a house like this before, suggesting that it may have made the presence of inequalities more obvious for these participants. However, this could also be seen as a reflection of everyday reality for the participants. In Waihau Bay, extravagant houses are located alongside more modest homes owned by locals. The participants were able to draw on this when making comparisons between their own life and others. In this way the interview situation highlighted this comparison but did not create it.

Limitations were present within the sample. For instance the interviews that were analysed were all with men except for one interview that involved husband and wife. This limits the study as previous research supports that men and women tend to experience inequalities in their living standards in different ways (Cunningham et al, 2002; Marmot, 2007). Furthermore, as the research question was interested in the relationship participants had with place it made sense to analyse interviews of participants from only one area. One limitation of this approach is that the sample included eight participants who currently lived in Waihou Bay and one participant who had relocated from Waihou Bay to Opotiki. Due to similarities between the two places and their proximity it was decided to continue with inclusion of this interview in the analysis. The findings will be helpful for thinking about how Māori elders in general understand a good life but cannot be assumed to represent all Māori. This may be particularly the case for elder Māori who reside in urban areas and/or who do not identify highly with their culture.

Using a mixed methods approach allowed a more holistic analysis of the interview data. IPA revealed interpretations that could be made about the way participants think about and experience their life. It allowed for aspects of the participants experience as older Māori such as adjustment to loss and dependence to be included in their construction of a good life. It also allows for the inclusion of other factors such as place to be included in the analysis. FDA added social structural aspects to the analysis through the identification and discussion of the role that discursive resources had in the way participants were able to construct their understanding of a good life. In this way the mixed methods approach is extremely advantageous. Using elements of IPA as an approach for analysis allowed for cognitive elements of a good life to be highlighted that may have been ignored through FDA analysis. Where as the combination of FDA allowed the cognitive elements that were identified to be located within wider discourses. For example, through IPA themes such as adjusting to loss could be interpreted and their meaning in the context of a good life for older Māori understood. FDA then placed this theme within the wider discourses to explain why and how it is drawn upon in the way older Māori understand a good life. In this sense a mixed methods approach has been viewed as an advantage for understanding the particular topic under investigation.

However, mixing these methods and integrating values of Kaupapa Māori research may be limited by the fact that the epistemological and underlying theoretical

assumptions clash (Chamberlain et al, 2011). Kaupapa Māori rejects the concept that knowledge is socially constructed as is understood within FDA. Rather it asserts the grounding of knowledge within its cultural and historical context (Bishop, 1999; Henry & Pene, 2001; Walker et al, 2006). This therefore presents incongruence between the two differing theoretical assumptions and what can be considered legitimate. However, this study has taken a similar stance to Chamberlain et al (2011) and instead looks at these differences as being a strength that offers a more complete understanding of the way Māori elders on the East Cape construct a good life.

Implications and Recommendations

The findings of this study have implications for the way that living standards of elder Māori can be thought about, assessed and measured. First of all the different themes that were identified during the analysis phase suggest that the participants understanding of a good life involves a balance of ageing well, social connectedness, economic wellbeing and autonomy and control. The findings suggest that income-based measures will not adequately measure how older adults experience a good life, particularly older Māori. A good life for older Māori may be better understood through a capabilities approach. The findings suggest that the capabilities that participants have within their unique identity as older Māori provided the necessary resources required from them to live a life of meaning and value (Morris, 2009). Furthermore, the way a good life is constructed can be thought of as reflecting physical context and relationship with place. This has important implications for how both researchers and policy developers should think about and approach the living standards of older Māori.

As has been suggested by existing living standards research Māori experience material hardship at a higher rate than non- Māori with at least 20% of Māori elders reporting severe material hardship (Cunningham et al, 2002). Cunningham and colleagues (2002) have suggested the strengthening of an economic base for Māori as a focus for policy development alongside additional policies targeted at dealing with those in hardship. The findings of this study support these suggestions as advantageous. Likewise, the current government strategy of promoting positive ageing represents an already existing approach aimed at enabling older adults to age well (Ministry of Health, 2002). It is suggested that policy developers must be careful not to overuse ideas of positive ageing and acknowledge that decline is a normal and healthy part of the ageing process. Furthermore, economic wellbeing and ageing well represent just two of the four superordinate themes identified in this study. Given this it is important that

both researchers and policy developers do not focus solely on solutions aimed at ageing and material hardship. Rather, encouraging increased autonomy and control and strengthening of social connectedness deserve equal attention. Furthermore, the findings of the study may assist in the development of more accurate measures for material deprivation and/or economic living standards of older Māori through providing an in depth insight into the ways older Māori themselves understand a good life.

The findings of this study suggest there is a need for research to look more closely at the connections between place, culture and standards of living. It is recommended that these aspects are an important element of the living experience for older Māori and therefore need to be taken into consideration in future research and policy development. Lastly, this study has identified a gap in that Kaupapa Māori research has not yet been applied to the field of economic living standards. Future research with older Māori on topics related to living standards and inequalities with a Kaupapa Māori methodology is recommended. This approach would have the advantage of yielding results that are more aligned with the aspirations of older Māori. Through developing research objectives, approaches to research and methodologies for analysis in partnership with Māori, a deeper understanding of living standards and inequalities in the life of Māori elders would be gained. Furthermore, this method may allow a greater flow of knowledge through trust created in shared understandings and worldview.

Position as the Researcher

The experience of conducting this research can be thought of as a journey. This journey began with the quest to explore the wider question “How do older Maori talk about their economic living standards and inequalities?” by analysing existing interview transcripts with older Maori living on the East Cape. After review of the literature and an initial analysis of the data it became apparent that the original approach did not give the most comprehensive reflection of what was occurring within the interviews. This was further emphasised during the visit to Waihou Bay, where the incongruence between what happens within the physical and social context of this place and how the literature theorised economic living standards for elders was experienced. This visit refocused the research to examine the ways that Maori elders on the East Cape construct a good life with reference to the importance of place.

This journey has highlighted the complexities of being a researcher in a world with multiple obligations. My personal background and experiences enabled me to

share similarities with the participants of this study. For example, I share the knowledge of what it means to live within the Opotiki District, and can relate to their experiences as rural citizens. Furthermore, I understand the competing demands of being Maori within a wider bicultural society. However, my position as the researcher is also subject to differences. Although, I have a personal connection to the Opotiki area, I am an outsider within the East Cape and Waihou Bay. This has given me a unique position as the researcher. Allowing me to at times approach the analysis with both an insider and outsider perspective. However, my position as the researcher can ultimately be seen as an outside position due to the age gap of at least 40 years that separates me from the participants of this research. Maori identity is static rather than fixed and is therefore understood as a reflection of history and place (Durie, 2005). I cannot relate to the meaning that this cohort derive from their identity as an older adult in their construction of a good life. This generational gap also strengthens this research, by allowing the participants role as Kaumātua to be a teacher that guides this thesis through a journey from start to end, and from the past to the present and into the future.

Conclusion

For indigenous people such as Māori connection to place is considered to be a fundamental aspect of life that is deeply intertwined with identity and culture. For the participants of this study living on the East Cape provided them with the capabilities to live a life of freedom where they were able to access the resources necessary for a meaningful life. Older Māori on the East Cape understood a good life as involving the balance between ageing well, social connectedness, economic wellbeing and autonomy and control. Resources that enable these factors can be gained through connections that exist in both their physical and social environment. For older Māori to achieve a good life they must balance competing demands. Firstly, they must adhere to the demands of being an older person within the wider society and attend to the obligations, rules and constrictions that this brings. Secondly, they must adhere to the demands of being an older person within their identity as Māori. This means they must balance their role as Kaumātua and their obligations to whānau, hapū and iwi, as well as their own aspirations for a good life connected to Māori worldview. The physical context of the East Cape provides a platform where these demands can be managed. Through connection with place the participants are able to access resources such as security and nourishment, which enable them to negotiate the demands of the wider social world with their identity as Māori in order to understand a good life.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Chilly welcome for Apache on East Coast

JAMES WEIR

Last updated 05:00 07/09/2011

Giant United States-based independent oil and gas company Apache will not get an easy ride in its search for oil and gas on the East Coast, environmental group Greenpeace says.

A local Maori group is also planning to protest and keep explorers off tribal lands.

Over the weekend, Apache said it had joined the search for oil and gas in the East Coast Basin with small operator Tag Oil.

Seismic testing will start this month. Four initial wells are planned, the first early next year. Apache will spend up to US\$100 million (NZ\$120m) to earn as much as half of the exploration prospects.

Brazilian oil giant Petrobras did seismic testing off East Cape last summer and faced a small flotilla of protesters from Greenpeace and Maori group Te Whanau a Apanui.

The groups were concerned about the risks of deepwater drilling in the wake of BP's Gulf of Mexico oil spill disaster, which has cost about US\$26 billion.

Greenpeace's Simon Boxer said its main concern was deep-water drilling, but there was also concern about Apache's exploration on land.

"There are community groups mobilising, both iwi and Pakeha, and some of that opposition is strongest on the East Cape and East Coast.

"I would predict this will be a highly controversial development and I don't see Apache will have an easy ride," Boxer said, because of the risks to fresh water from hydraulic fracturing, or "fracking", of wells to encourage the flow of gas and oil.

Te Whanau a Apanui lawyer Dayle Takitimu said yesterday that the iwi "certainly opposed" Apache and Tag's exploration on the East Coast and had told the Government that many times. "But they seem hell-bent on this agenda of extraction at all costs, so they have granted an [exploration] permit despite our objections," she said.

Although there had been protests at sea, she expected those on land to be "more vigorous" against Apache and Tag. "Most of the land in our area is tribal land and the only land that isn't is DOC [Conservation Department] estate.

"So access will be a major issue and our point of leverage and we will look to exclude access whenever we can," Takitimu said. "We will vigorously oppose it any way we can."

There were risks from possible deepwater drilling and onshore drilling in "both our front yard and our back yard". "We are under siege by these oil and gas companies, who are encouraged by the Government," Takitimu said.

Apanui has about 12,000 members, relatively small compared with a major tribe such as Ngati Porou, which has 64,000.

For both offshore and onshore exploration, there were "huge" issues about the consultation process with Maori and other local communities, Takitimu said.

The first plans for seismic testing were heard this month, before any consultation with locals.

"Extremely disappointing but par for the course, [for the Government]. We get to be the naughty, unreasonable, obstructive Maoris and we don't have a lot of space for constructive dialogue, with Government."

The Apache exploration area goes down to the back of Gisborne and so involves many iwi groups, which have been in Treaty negotiations.

Takitimu will hold talks with other Maori groups in Gisborne this week.

Boxer said oil companies were also starting to look at oil shales, using hydraulic fracturing – water pumped under high pressure – to open up seams to get oil and gas more easily.

After a recent hui, there was a "lot of concern" about the limited amount of fracking already happening in Taranaki.

"And huge areas [for fracking] are now being talked about in Southland and on the East Cape," he said. This posed a risk of groundwater contamination.

In the US some states had placed a temporary ban on fracking, with the US Environmental Protection Agency now doing a scientific review of the practice. France had banned fracking. The practice of fracking showed that the oil industry was reaching the limits of easy-to-get oil and gas and so was turning to high-risk deepwater drilling, and onland fracking and unconventional sources such as oil shale, which is present on the East Coast permits where Apache and Tag are exploring.

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Appendix B

Living Standards for Elders Study Interview Schedule

The aim of the interview is to explore the living standards of older people. We are interested in knowing both about people's current situation and their ideals and aspirations in aspects such as living situations, housing, material goods, transport, and socialising. We will be focussing on experiences, and descriptions of the living standards of older people in the context of their everyday lives and choices. Consequently, the participants will be encouraged to expand, to give examples, and to tell stories in response to each of these blocks of questions. If people focus on telling stories about particular aspects they do not need to be asked about every question. The questions are to be used as prompts by the interviewers and it will depend on how the interviewee responds as to how the questions are asked.

Topics will include:

- Can you tell me about the area you live in?
 - What do you like about living in this community? Why did you choose this area? What things are easy and convenient?
 - What things are harder to access? How could it be improved?
 - Do you own your house, or rent?
 - Are you satisfied with your house? Is it suitable for your needs? Is it warm? In good repair?
 - What sort of house would you like? Are you able to decorate your house how you would like? Do you have insurance?
 - Are you sharing accommodation?
 - Do you prefer to share?
 - Do you own your house, or rent? What is your preference and why?
- What things do you need to have?
 - What food and drink do you need to have each week?
 - What personal items could you not do without? Clothing? Shoes? Toiletries? Medications?
 - What household things do you need to have?
 - Would you be able to replace your refrigerator if it broke down?
 - Do you think your house is well heated? Would you prefer more warmth in winter? Can you use all the hot water you want?
 - Do you keep pets?
 - Do you find some of their expenses difficult to meet?
 - Would you like a pet? Why don't you keep one?
- What things do you need to do?
 - What social events do you need to go to? Going out with friends or family? Attending church services? Hosting a meal? Social clubs?
 - What about formal occasions? eg weddings, Christenings, funerals? What about gift giving? Tithing?

- Is it important to be able to help out friends and family (eg with food, gifts or money)?
- Can you go to the Doctor when you want to? Are you able to fill all your prescriptions?
- Are there any other services or utilities you could not do without?
- What transport do you need? What about visiting friends or family?
- What hobbies or interests do you have? What are the costs of these hobbies or interests?
- How well do you manage on your current income? Do you have to take care with spending?
 - Do you have to do without some of these things or activities sometimes? Which things? How often do you have to go without them?
 - If you had to choose between your essential activities and household needs, how would you choose?
 - What sort of things or what activities would it really upset you to have to go without? Why would you find that hard?
 - What sort of things would you change if you had more money per week to spend? (eg an extra \$50 per week).
 - Can you describe your ideal life style?
 - What sort of things would change if you had less to spend?
 - What is the first change you would make? How would you economise?
 - What activities would change? What would you do differently then?
- What things are nice to have or do, but not necessities for you?
 - Are there any things you would like, but don't have? Are there any things you would like to do but aren't able to afford to? What sort of things? (eg spending, activities, hobbies, housing, giving, saving, treats)?
 - Why don't you have or do them? Do you think you will ever be able to have or do them?
- How does the way you live compare to other people you know of?
 - Can you tell me about differences in living standards that you have noticed?
 - Can you think of someone else you would like to live like? What do they have or do that you can't?
 - What sort of things do others have or do that you don't?
 - What sort of things do you have or do that others can't?
 - What are the important things that people need to be happy?
 - How happy are you with your overall living standard?