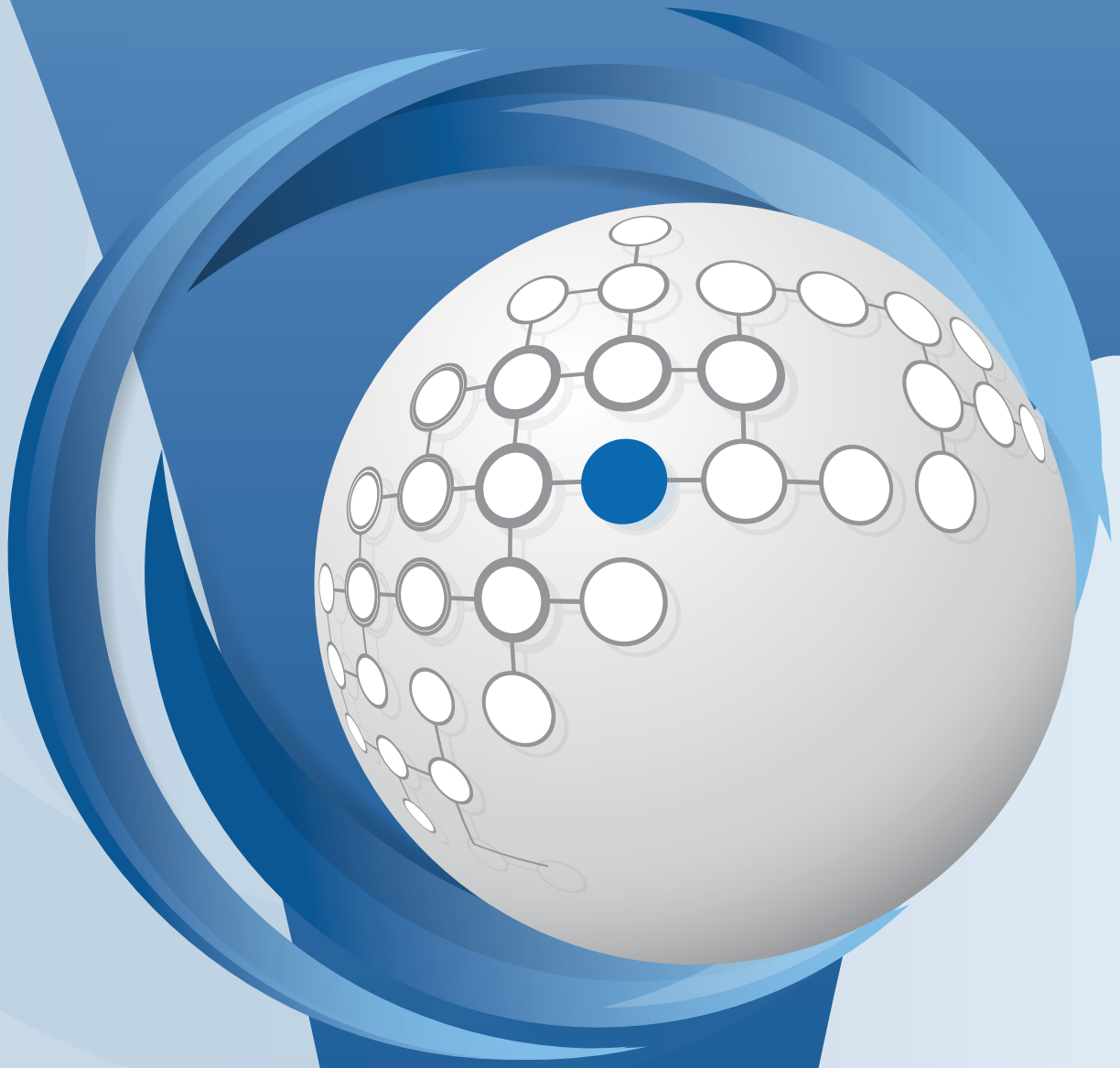


# The value of relational wellbeing theory for youth studies research in the Global South:

## A purposive review of existing evidence

### EVIDENCE REVIEW



science & innovation

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**Keywords:** relational wellbeing, young people, Global South, youth wellbeing, livelihoods, mental health, digitalisation, climate change

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# 1. Introduction

Over the past two decades, research into the wellbeing of young people has become a growing priority around the world as their potential to contribute to their nations' flourishing – the so-called "youth demographic dividend" (Bloom et al., 2003) – has been recognised alongside their vulnerability to age-based discrimination, obstacles and exclusion (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2023). This is particularly important in low-and-middle-income countries in the Global South for two reasons. First, the majority (over 90%) of the world's young people live in the Global South (Ghai et al., 2022; Orri et al., 2022). Second, in comparison to their Northern counterparts, youth in the South invariably experience adversity in ways that are deeper, more pervasive, and with fewer structural and institutional buffers and protections (Cooper et al., 2021). The COVID-19 pandemic and related restrictions exacerbated and intensified these challenges, further emphasising the need to prioritise efforts to advance the wellbeing of young people in the Global South through research, practice, intervention, and policy.

However, current research focused on young people in the Global South often stops at describing their adversity, rather than making the effort to identify the strategies

(both individual and collective) necessary to overcome these challenges (Swartz, 2021). On the other hand, approaches to wellbeing tend to have been predicated on a well-functioning, orderly, and regulated society, with strong social capital, broad participation, and notions of individual embeddedness of happiness; often derived from contexts and countries in the North. This frequently ignores the collective and cultural resources of the South that could impact on wellbeing. Thus, while attempts to positively impact the wellbeing of young people must be informed by such adverse realities, there are many ways in which studying and learning from them with new lenses will expand the ability – of researchers and practitioners concerned with young people's opportunities to thrive – to do so more appropriately.

This purposive review of literature engages with the value of an emerging perspective on wellbeing, namely relational wellbeing, for youth research in the Global South. As an approach that is yet to be grounded in extensive empirical research, it is important for the review to engage, not only with the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the approach, but also with gaps in research in key areas of impact for the wellbeing of young people.



## 2. Nature of the review

Before sharing the findings, it is important to understand the structure and methodological approach applied.

### 2.1 Structure

The review is structured in two parts: first, it provides a distinction between how a particular understanding of relational wellbeing advocated by Sarah White and colleagues (White, 2009; White, 2010; White, 2015; White, 2017; White & Jha, 2020, 2023) differs from the notion most frequently found in existing academic literature. This recognises that theories of relational wellbeing are not new, and provides details of how the concept has been applied over the last decade (Section 3.1) before distinguishing a particular understanding of relational wellbeing as a useful approach to youth wellbeing (Section 3.2). Second, the review investigates gaps in the literature on wellbeing in relation to four key

areas for young people in the current global context (namely, livelihoods, mental health, climate change, and digitalisation – Section 3.3) in order to illustrate the necessity and usefulness of a theory of wellbeing.

*Global South youth face material differences in social, economic and political contexts that distinctly shape the nature, obstacles, and opportunities for their wellbeing*

As alluded to in the introduction, Global South youth have to contend with higher levels of joblessness and poverty (Cooper et al., 2021; Ferguson, 2015), digital inequality through restricted access to digital infrastructure and services (Helsper & Smirnova, 2019; Kulkarni, 2019; Livingstone & Helsper, 2007), and higher levels of

exposure and poorer infrastructures to mitigate the effects of climate change (Bezu et al., 2020; Crandon et al., 2022; De Pinto et al., 2020; Dey & Balachandran, 2021; Ma et al., 2022; Nkrumah, 2021). Not only does this have implications for physical wellbeing, but also results in diminished mental health and more extreme social vulnerabilities<sup>1</sup> that impact on suicide and death rates (Orri et al., 2022; WHO, 2022a; 2022b; Toyama et al., 2022; Sarriera & Bedin, 2017). Based on these insights, these four focus areas offer an opportunity for this review to explore how a particular understanding of relational wellbeing may contribute to research on young people in the Global South with an aim to improve their lives and circumstances.

Section 3.3.1 thus considers the literature on youth wellbeing and livelihoods, acknowledging that regular employment is increasingly unavailable, and that young people are constructing their livelihoods amid new markers of purpose, meaning, and work identity. Section 3.3.2 surveys the literature on youth wellbeing and mental health, recognising ruptures in traditional forms of socialisation, including diminished community and face-to-face interaction, and that young people must navigate and construct wellbeing in this shifting context. Section 3.3.3 reviews the literature on youth wellbeing and digitalisation, showing that increasing digitalisation in society will significantly shape opportunities for wellbeing for young people, especially where access is unequal. Finally, Section 3.3.4 considers the literature on youth wellbeing and climate change, pointing to the relationship between the two and offering insights on the serious implications the climate emergency has for young people's physical and mental health, education pathways, and livelihood prospects. Section 4 explores the intention guiding these four investigations: how to appraise a particular understanding of relational wellbeing as an approach that might offer distinct ways in which to advance social inquiry, the understanding of problems, and the ways in which youth wellbeing can be improved.

These four focus areas are not intended to be exhaustive, but present compelling cases to ground an emerging theory of relational wellbeing in acknowledgement of a range of nested, networked, and systemic relationships and interdependencies often overlooked in current research. The aim is for this review to serve as a formative

step towards understanding the value of a rigorous relational wellbeing approach for youth studies and is thus framed according to the following key questions:

- How has relational wellbeing been described in the literature and what is distinct about relational wellbeing as an approach?
- What research exists at the intersection of young people, wellbeing, and selected areas of their lives (livelihoods, mental health, climate change and digitalisation)?
- What do the findings indicate regarding the value of a rigorous understanding of relational wellbeing for youth research in the Global South in these focus areas?

## 2.2 Methods

Both sections of the composite review broadly followed a systematic search and analysis approach that aligns with that of a scoping review. Scoping reviews are especially indicated in instances where the intention is to identify the types of available evidence in a given field and to clarify key concepts and/or definitions in the literature; to examine how research is conducted on a certain topic or field; identify key characteristics of factors related to a concept; and, finally, to analyse knowledge gaps (Munn et al., 2018). While the initial review of how the construct of relational wellbeing has been applied most closely follows that of a systematic review, the subsequent focus area reviews are closer to that of a purposive or traditional literature review. Although each started with a systematic search using the keywords of 'youth', 'relational wellbeing', 'Global South' and respectively, 'livelihoods', 'mental health', 'digitalisation' and 'climate change', due to the limited literatures at these intersections, it was necessary to broaden the scope as appropriate. The limitations of each of the separate reviews are reported in the relevant sections in footnotes.

Relational wellbeing has been described across a range of disciplines, with the conceptual underpinnings differing slightly depending on the disciplinary perspective. The first part of the review focuses on the use of the term over the last decade.



<sup>1</sup> Associated with social positionality and intersectionality – for example, gender, disability, LGBTQI, different cultures in wellbeing, religion, race and caste (see, for example, Francis, 2020; Klaasen, 2017; Neil & Shapiro, 2011).

## 3. Findings

### 3.1 Scholarship on relational wellbeing<sup>2</sup>

When considering scholarship pertaining to the term 'relational wellbeing', a strong overarching finding is that it is often used in reference to the quality of various relationships (see, for example, Bess & Doykos, 2014; Geerts-Perry et al., 2021; Joshi et al., 2021; Leavitt et al., 2019; Lévesque et al., 2020; Waid, 2021). Three further distinctions can be discerned from the reviewed literature. First, most focus on the state of the relationship that exists between a man and woman in a heterosexual relationship (Molgora et al., 2022).

*Relational wellbeing is most often used in reference to the quality of relationships (romantic, familial or work-related)*

Because the focus is on intimate relationships and their implication for wellbeing, these studies tend to focus on key periods of transition (such as parenthood or marriage) (Hellems et al., 2015; Kimmes et al., 2020; Leavitt et al., 2019; Lévesque et al., 2020; Meltzer & Davy, 2019; Khan et al., 2015), or counselling strategies employed to improve the wellbeing of couples in intimate relationships (Joshi et al., 2021; Schuhmann, 2016).

Second, a considerable section of scholarship applies the construct in reference to wider familial relationships. Here the focus tends to be on individual wellbeing and the influence, particularly, of the sibling relationship within the context of the family system (Waid, 2021), as well as distinct relationships within the family (e.g., parent-child and/or sibling-child) (Geerts-Perry et al., 2021). This work has broadened understandings of the role that family functioning plays in young people's wellbeing and assists in clarifying the complex causal relationships within family structures and the implications of these for wellbeing. Third, the literature also describes the role of relational wellbeing in the workplace in the form of collegial relationships (Jackson & Priest, 2021), although this comprises the least proportion of the reviewed literature.

A second overarching insight from the review relates to the idea of 'multi-dimensional wellbeing', which emerges as the most common and consistent understanding of the relational wellbeing construct. Multi-dimensional wellbeing recognises wellbeing as constituted by different dimensions, departing from unidimensional measures of happiness or wellbeing that were popular in the emergence of wellbeing studies historically. From

this conceptual view, relational wellbeing refers to a dimension of overall wellbeing, and a distinction is often made between relational and other (health and socio-economic) variables (Soldevila-Domenech et al., 2021). Relatedly, the term is also used interchangeably with 'social relations' and 'social relationships'.

Research applying the construct of relational wellbeing has grown in sophistication in the more recent papers; recognising not only the importance of the relational dimension of wellbeing, but also as a multi-faceted construct in and of itself which varies based on culture and other aspects. Waid (2021) for example, distinguishes between social and emotional competence as subsets of relational wellbeing. Social competence is characterised by the ability to understand oneself in relationship to others, the ability to build and maintain interpersonal relationships, and the capacity to handle oneself effectively in social interactions. Emotional competence on the other hand, is seen as referring to the ability to have insight into one's emotions, express those emotions appropriately, and effectively navigate emotional complexities of relational interactions.

*Relational wellbeing is a way of thinking about wellbeing that acknowledges the complexity of close relationships and challenges the coherence and importance of individual autonomy premised on masculinist ideals of self-sufficiency and an overly atomistic conception of the self as divorced from social relations*

A paper by Yoo et al. (2021) highlights, on the other hand, the mediating role of culture and social motives towards relational wellbeing by exploring whether materialism hinders relational wellbeing. The findings show how culture and motives can determine whether materialistic values are in fact driven by collective or individualistic motives, and argue that materialism is thus not necessarily in contrast to an approach to wellbeing that is relational. Carbonell (2018) also offers a valuable set of insights along a similar vein. In her evaluation of sacrifice, she offers relational wellbeing as a construct analogous to relational autonomy that can help account for loving sacrifices without undermining wellbeing or minimising the very real sacrifices made by an individual in caregiving situations. She explains relational wellbeing as "a way of thinking about wellbeing that acknowledges the complexity of close relationships" (Carbonell, 2018, p. 336) and aligns this with feminist philosophers that have "challenged the coherence and importance of

<sup>2</sup> This section of the review is based on 49 articles selected from a search on the construct of relational wellbeing on EbscoHost academic search premier, searching in the abstract, limiting to 2012-2022, full text, resulting in 1293 records. Limiting the selection to the use of the construct in the title resulted in 119 available records, further delimiting the search to boolean phrases (relational and wellbeing used together) resulted in 49 records



individual autonomy ... premised on masculinist ideals of self-sufficiency and an overly atomistic conception of the self as divorced from social relations" (Carbonell, 2018, p. 344).

### *Relational wellbeing is increasingly argued as not synonymous with collective and social wellbeing*

Finally, the review highlighted that while the notions of 'social' and 'collective' have been used interchangeably with relational wellbeing, more recent papers tend to distinguish between 'collective' and 'relational'. These authors define the constructs as quite distinct from each other. Notable here is Valcke et al. (2020) who, through evaluating the 'need to belong' scale (a scale commonly used to measure wellbeing), probe the importance of distinguishing between relational and collective perceptions of self, arguing that the need to belong is distinctly different from the need for inclusion. The former is defined by a "psychological need to establish or maintain warm and friendly social relationships" (Valcke et al., 2020, p. 579); whereas the latter refers to "a fundamental human motivation reflecting the desire to maintain at least a minimum quality of positive, continuous and significant interpersonal relationships" (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, as cited in Valcke et al., 2020, p. 579).

### *Wellbeing is accepted as inherently relational, co-constructed in the relationships between people, their environment and institutional contexts*

Ferrari (2022) also emphasises the need to differentiate between the terms 'collectivist' and 'relational', through analysis of focus group discussions with rural South African women. She draws on a selection of authors to distinguish between different perceptions or views of self, that range from individualist to relational and collectivist. She indicates that a person with "a predominantly individuated self-construal feels independent from others, finds self-realisation by pursuing their inner talent and associates with individuals with similar interests" (Kitayama, 2007, as cited in Ferrari, 2022, p. 3). On the other hand, "a person with a predominantly collective self-construal feels part of a monolithic community from which the self is not distinct, finding self-realisation in the harmony and achievements of the community as a whole" (Markus et al., 2006, as cited in Ferrari, 2022, p. 3). Finally, "a person with a predominantly relational self-construal feels connected to others via a network of dyadic relationships that imply reciprocity and are mostly predetermined, finding self-realisation by fulfilling their role relationships" (Brewer & Chen, 2007, as cited in Ferrari, 2022, p. 3).

In sum, many applications of the term relational wellbeing overlook the importance of contextual, institutional, societal or ecological influences, interactions, and the collective co-creation of wellbeing. Thus, while the term relational wellbeing appears frequently in current academic literature, it is often in reference to the quality of relationships rather than as an encompassing framework or theory that positions relationality at the centre of how wellbeing should be understood, engaged with, studied, promoted, and prioritised by, and in collaboration with, various stakeholders and beneficiaries. This leads the discussion to an emerging conceptualisation of relational wellbeing as both a theoretical framework and as an approach to research.

### **3.2 What is distinct about the relational wellbeing approach?**

White's (2010, 2017, 2020) conceptualisation of relational wellbeing asserts that wellbeing is more than subjective happiness, material assets, or the quality of relationships. Rather, wellbeing is relational in a collective and multidimensional way as it emerges through "the inter-relations of personal, societal and environmental structures and processes" (White, 2020, p. 204). In this regard, it expands the approach of McCubbin et al. (2013) which combines the various dimensions of wellbeing into a unified theory to understand and research wellbeing (from a theoretical and methodological perspective) and to address the interrelated factors that compromise or diminish wellbeing (through intervention).

From an ontological position (theory of being), this means that wellbeing is accepted as inherently relational, co-constructed in the relationships between people, their environment, institutional contexts and the like. It recognises that individuals are relational beings existing within a multi-dimensional ecology (White, 2020). Wellbeing is also viewed through an ecological lens (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) that shapes and re-shapes subjective and collective interactions with a multifaceted world which includes individuals, families, communities, structures, spaces, beliefs, norms, cultures, traditions, laws, regulations, politics, assets, and risks.

Since ontology, epistemology (theory of knowledge), and methodology are linked, a relational wellbeing orientation emphasises the importance of relational thinking and methodologies that prioritise full, active engagement and involvement of community members (beneficiaries and subjects of research) to facilitate the co-production of knowledge, empowerment, capacity building, and co-ownership of research or interventions (van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2010; Viljoen & Eskell-Blokland, 2007). It follows then that if wellbeing is located in an understanding of personhood as inherently relational and co-constructed, then methodologies are required that can reflect and 'access' that relationality and co-constructed-ness. A

similar point can be made for the emancipatory objectives of associated methodologies. These emerge from and align with a tradition of scholarship that understands the purpose of research and intervention as a tool towards achieving social justice (Swartz & Nyamnjoh, 2018).

In summary, this particular conceptualisation of relational wellbeing as a framework aligns with four key assertions: (1) relational wellbeing must be engaged with as an ontology; (2) epistemologically, it should embrace a relational theory, relational thinking, and relational working; (3) methodologically, it should embrace tools that facilitate co-creation, co-investment, and collaboration towards participatory and perhaps emancipatory outcomes (in research or intervention); and finally, it is intended that (4) research findings emerging from this recognition and emphasis on societal structures, policy making (aiming to positively impact on young people) is likely to be more effective.

### **3.3 What research exists at the intersection between young people in the Global South, relational wellbeing, and key areas of their lives?**

To consider whether such a conceptualisation of relational wellbeing could offer value for youth studies in the Global South, existing research on young people and relational wellbeing at the intersections of selected issues confronting young people in the Global South, namely livelihoods, mental health, climate change, and digitalisation are explored.

#### **3.3.1 Livelihoods<sup>3</sup>**

'Work', 'employment' or 'livelihoods' is increasingly occurring at the margins of traditional understanding of the 'formal' labour market<sup>4</sup>. Livelihoods research, especially from the Global South, challenges the dichotomy between 'informal' and 'formal' since most people in the Global South are engaged in informal work, rendering the distinction moot. As Ferguson (2015, p. 102) asserts, "such forms of [informal] labour ... are important everywhere, but in southern Africa they are in fact central to the entire regional political economy."

*Studies of youth interventions need to view and measure livelihoods as part of wellbeing*

Youth in particular navigate their livelihoods outside of this convention of 'formal work'. These changes to the nature of work challenge the traditional constructs used to analyse and describe how people navigate their lives and survive – including within the so-called transition from childhood to adulthood. Academic research on youth livelihoods, particularly in the Global South, offers a

unique opportunity to expand and sharpen understanding, not only of livelihoods, but also of the individual versus relational efforts of wellbeing in this domain.

The literature that considers youth livelihoods together with some form of wellbeing is scant (a systematic search for literature resulted in just over 100 papers). Attempting further disaggregation specifically on relational wellbeing resulted in only a few relevant papers. Some African studies are available and offer an indication of what the key focus areas and gaps are. For example, DeJaeghere et al. (2020) reflect on recent research in Tanzania and Uganda, noting an emergent body of literature examining the impact of training interventions on livelihoods and wellbeing outcomes for young people in the Global South. They noted the extent to which findings are mixed regarding the relationship between efforts to secure livelihoods and wellbeing (see Chigunta et al., 2005). A key insight from this work is that the evaluation of the success and impact of programmes aimed at improving youth's livelihoods still tend to have a narrow focus on understanding employability or formal labour market outcomes and a short-terminist view to measuring outcomes. Many interventions do not immediately result in improved formal employment outcomes and thus measurements shortly after the interventions, usually highlight poor outcomes for youth livelihoods.

At the same time, these studies tend to ignore negative, but also relational ways in which young people access employment and livelihoods, such as referral networks of family and community and collective forms of entrepreneurship. In many Global South contexts, youth navigate livelihoods in negative social conditions and networks such as gangs and drug cartels. Consequently, livelihoods research that ignores relationality will result in inadequate understanding, not only of the true outcomes of livelihoods intervention, but also how to positively contribute to youth wellbeing through fostering livelihoods. The suggestion by DeJaeghere et al. (2020, p. 671) that "studies of youth interventions need to view and measure livelihoods as a part of wellbeing, which plays out in complex ways over time" is important for guiding work in this area. This aligns with insights from Dolan and Rajak (2016) who found that a specific livelihoods programme in Kenya had minimal effect on improving actual work opportunities or incomes, but it shifted young people's mindsets towards being more responsible, enterprising, and ambitious. Without employing a relational lens, such an intervention would be deemed ineffective and incorrectly dismiss its positive impact on wellbeing. The opposite is also true, as illustrated by Blattman et al. (2014) in Uganda, when measuring the impact of cash transfers for young people.

<sup>3</sup> The process of selection for these papers involved searching in Academic Search Complete in the Libraries Worldwide database with the following search terms: youth livelihoods only which resulted in 60 papers, which narrowed down to 41 results when the search was limited to the last 10 years.

<sup>4</sup> Ferguson (2015, p. 90) argues that we need to critically evaluate the very premise of 'productive' labour, as many people are actually "largely excluded from any significant role in the system of production, [and] may often be found engaged in tasks whose fundamental purpose is not to produce goods at all but to engineer distributions of goods produced elsewhere by accessing or making claims on the resources of others."

Their study showed that while there was positive change for economic attitudes and outcomes, there was little to no change in socio-political attitudes, social cohesion, and anti-social behaviours.

This lack of change was not expected, but also not explained by the study designed to test the impact of the intervention. Another recent paper bringing the constructs of youth livelihoods and wellbeing together (Renzaho et al., 2020), also from the Ugandan context, highlighted the positive effects of a programme on quality of life, psychological wellbeing, and self-esteem, but negative effects on personal independence and no impact on social relations. Similar findings were reported by Katz et al. (2014). These examples illustrate the importance of relational approaches and research designs to more clearly understand the relationship between interventions aimed at improving livelihoods and impacts on wellbeing. It is clear that more work needs to be done in framing impact and effects in relation to youth livelihoods and wellbeing – both economically and socially.

In sum, the small body of research evaluated at the intersection of young people, livelihoods, and wellbeing raises the need for further work to conceptualise livelihoods as a term, and its relationship to different aspects of wellbeing. It emerged that livelihood studies conventionally focus on measuring the employment outcome of particular interventions, leaving an unclear understanding of the myriad of factors that come together to frame livelihoods outcomes more generally and the implications for the wellbeing of young people particularly. The review also showed how this excludes from view the potentially negative implications for youth wellbeing deriving from livelihoods interventions that do not acknowledge context, networks, and relationships.

### 3.3.2 Mental health<sup>5</sup>

Mental health has become a growing public health priority worldwide and is increasingly recognised as multifaceted and more than the absence of psychological disease (WHO, 2022a; Galderisi et al., 2015). Rather, it encompasses the ability to subjectively and collectively engage with everyday life to make decisions and enact behaviours or practices that can move towards realising capabilities, confronting obstacles, and fostering positive outcomes (WHO, 2022a; Dhami et al., 2021).

*Among the global youth population the prevalence of mental health conditions is about 14%*

The importance of assuring mental health and addressing its determinants lies not only within the widespread implications of these conditions for overall individual, family, community, and societal wellbeing, but also economic development.

The recent World Mental Health Report (WHO, 2022b) indicates that approximately one in every eight individuals (12.5%) worldwide live with a mental health disorder while among the global youth population the prevalence of mental health conditions is about 14%. Depressive and anxiety disorders are also more commonly experienced in younger and older populations, and one in every 100 deaths worldwide are attributed to suicide, with people living with severe mental health conditions dying about 10-20 years earlier than the general population (WHO, 2022b). Of note, is that in the broader scope of mental health literature, fewer studies have explored the mental health of youth in the Global South or the factors that implicate or promote their mental health. Indeed, as Pendse et al. (2019, p. 2) point out, “little work has been done to consider mental health in more challenged, resource-constrained, and ‘developing’ contexts.”

*Suicide is disproportionately higher in low- and middle-income countries where most youth live and where 78% of global suicides occur*

Perhaps to address this gap, there is evidence more recently of a growing body of literature on youth mental health in the Global South, with the majority of the studies stemming from India, Sub-Saharan Africa (South Africa, Ghana, and Tanzania most prevalently), and South America (Colombia and Ecuador specifically). The literature calls attention to the high prevalence of depression and anxiety among young people in these regions (Singh et al., 2017; Hill et al., 2020; Lugata et al., 2020; Das-Munshi et al., 2016; Nzeadibe et al., 2018). Kuringe et al. (2019), in their recent narrative review of adolescent depression, highlight depression as one of the top five causes of death amongst young people and a strong predisposing factor for suicide in this cohort. With suicide being disproportionately higher in low- and middle-income countries, where most youth live and where 78% of global suicides occur (Orri et al., 2022), prevention and interventions for suicidal ideation are imperative. Yet, there is a paucity of empirical studies on youth suicide and suicidal ideation in the Global South compared to research on depression or anxiety.

In addition to documenting prevalence, studies have also considered the factors that implicate mental health disorders, such as substance use in the family, adverse childhood events (such as exposure to and experiences of violence), lack of access to psychosocial support, unhappy interpersonal relationships, and previous mental illnesses (Singh et al., 2017; Barhafumwa et al., 2016; Hill et al., 2020; Lugata, et al., 2021). Similar predisposing factors for suicidal ideation have been reported, such as experiences of being bullied, diminished mood and constant worry, problematic family relationships, having no close friends, and previous mental illness diagnoses

<sup>5</sup> The review focused on the scope of mental health research involving young people in the Global South. Articles and reports were selected where there are clear implications for young people navigating their mental health in current Global South contexts. As with the initial search on relational wellbeing, young people, and mental health did not result in many papers, hence the scope was broadened to include any papers on mental health, wellbeing, and young people and the Global South.



(Arias-Gallego et al., 2021; Lie & Liou, 2012). Healthy, supportive networks and access to support within the family and social relationships have been identified as important protective factors for wellbeing (Arias-Gallego et al., 2021; Hill et al., 2020).

While the literature thus sheds light on the prevalence and determinants of mental health conditions, the review found a paucity of studies that explore youth mental health and mental health conditions within the relational ecology of experience and development. Applying a relational lens to research in this domain would mean exploring the interplay between various factors that promote or hinder mental health. For example, a study conducted in Vietnam showed that school-going youth who experienced bullying were almost twice as likely to experience depressive symptoms than those who had not been bullied (Le et al., 2019). While this knowledge is important for understanding the factors that predispose depression amongst adolescents, a relational approach would also consider the role of the context (e.g., school environment) within which the bullying occurs, and the factors within the context that may facilitate or prevent bullying behaviours. These may be individual factors, socio-cultural factors, or gendered norms that perpetuate violent behaviours. The adolescent's relationship to the context, such as the availability of mental health-directed support networks to protect the adolescent, could also be unpacked. It is also not only about identifying spaces of support, but also about building collaborations with different change agents within the context and beyond to facilitate positive change, both for the adolescents who are experiencing depression and/or bullying and the perpetrators of bullying.

Overall the review at the intersection of young people, wellbeing, and mental health indicates: 1) a focus on prevalence and perspectives on mental health conditions, rather than situating mental health within the relational ecology of experience or development; 2) a strong focus on anxiety, depression, and psychological distress, but fewer studies on suicides in low- to middle-income countries where most youth live; and 3) a focus on disconnected social relationships, adverse conditions, and individual factors as drivers of mental health conditions, rather than better understanding protective factors and how mental health is understood, prioritised, and promoted.

### 3.3.3 Digitalisation

Research into digitalisation<sup>6</sup> covers a broad range of independent subjects which separately influence the lives of young people. The reviewed literature was categorised into four main areas emerging as foci in digitalisation research: digital inclusion, online learning, the future of work, and online behaviour. Despite the complex set of factors affecting young people in the digital age in the Global South, the review confirms digitalisation research

to be focused mainly on the developed world, with limited attention given to issues of digital inequality. This ignores the reality that internet access is not evenly distributed in communities across the world, with many young people navigating limited data bundles and infrequent internet access resulting in usage patterns divergent from norms in the Global North. It is thus not surprising that most policies and interventions are constructed with a developed world focus, ignoring the unique local conditions and inequalities of the Global South (Kuehn, 2021) – and, by extension, the youth in such countries.

*Most digitalisation-related policies and interventions are constructed with a developed world focus ignoring the unique local conditions and inequalities of the Global South*

In the Global South, issues about digital access dominate the discourse as countries continue to grapple with digital inequality, where pervasive social inequalities (by income, age, gender, and socio-economic status) are represented digitally (Livingstone & Helsper, 2007). For example, Mohanty et al. (2021) examine how medical students in India must manage their internet needs with only 4 GB of data each month. Such frugal usage influences how much information the student can consume. Chetty et al. (2011) and Siaw et al. (2020) describe similar experiences in South Africa and Ghana, respectively. Digital inequality depends on various factors involving the ability to access the necessary infrastructure and effectively use the relevant products and services and thus usage is influenced by issues such as possessing the necessary skills, affordability, and relevance in one's environment (Helsper & Smirnova, 2019). The young person with limited digital capabilities and scarce resources must choose between their basic needs and digital connectivity. In addition, digital services are not ubiquitously distributed across and within countries of the Global South. Digital opportunities for young people are also largely dependent on their state of wellbeing, which is affected by various systems and relationships, including policy frameworks, budgetary support, communication systems, and the efforts of public and private sectors to invest in accessible infrastructure.

For instance, Kulkarni (2019) describes the accessibility barriers in India after engaging with a diverse pool of stakeholders. Similarly, Joseph and Nath (2012) describe India's challenges and unpack the options available to the country's information, communication and technology (ICT) policymakers after engaging representatives from the state governments and local communities. It is crucial to recognise that digital inclusion exists on a spectrum, with some communities and individuals, including young people, benefiting from greater opportunities to access digital infrastructure and services. In this light, further

<sup>6</sup> The term digitalisation is used to reflect the ability of digital technology to collect data, establish trends, and make better decisions as a key and deepening trend globally. It does not refer to the transformation of information into a digital form, which is referred to as digitisation.

studies into the influence of culture, gender, mobility, disability, and especially age, on digital economic participation need to be undertaken.

*Coupled with the advances in digital technology and the adoption of social and work-related platforms, individuals' interactions and relationships with their peers, supervisors or subordinates have changed, influencing the behaviour of young people who, as a cohort, have often embraced new technology strongly*

A substantial proportion of the literature engages with the implications for young people in relation to the emergence of the digital platform economy. This has resulted in a shrinking of social protections afforded to workers in general, including young workers. For example, Reilly and Lozano-Paredes (2019) examine the influence of ride-hailing platforms in Colombia on workers. Given their limited social protection, Colombian workers have self-organised and developed innovative methods to address their precarity. The Fairwork Foundation has systematically evaluated platforms and how workers are treated in South Africa. Heeks et al. (2021) document these experiences and have developed a framework to rank platforms regarding worker treatment policies. The literature indicates that a key concern for young people is the changing definitions of employment. Through internet access and payment services, platforms have created new opportunities to connect with prospective employers; however, the work exists on a spectrum of formality. The prospective employee is referred to as an independent contractor by the platform and most refuse to refer to themselves as employers, preferring the moniker of service provider, given their role in collating the data gathered by the platform (Collier et al., 2017; Prassl, 2018). The changing nature of work must be more closely examined to understand the fluidity of formality, precarity, and access to social protection for young people. In addition, there is a need to explore how such platforms should be regulated to ensure that all groups of workers are treated fairly.

Beyond the advances in platform technologies, businesses across industries are contending with the rapid advancements of automation and other technologies. The fourth industrial revolution (4IR) narrative concentrates on these innovations, job destruction, and their influence on the corporate sector, with a strong focus on the Global North. Coupled with the advances in digital technology and the adoption of social and work-related platforms, individuals' interactions and relationships with their peers, supervisors, and subordinates have changed, thereby influencing the behaviour of young people

who, as a cohort, have often strongly embraced new technology. These relationships are complex and require a detailed exploration of the nuances of technology usage. Problematic internet usage has been linked to various mental health concerns including eating disorders, access to psychiatric outpatient facilities, compulsive internet usage, increased anxiety, and substance abuse (Ioannidis et al., 2016; Kamal & Kamal, 2018; Mathew & Krishnan, 2020; Nguyen et al., 2022; Balhara et al., 2020; Singh et al., 2021). However, none of these studies examined how social media adoption might influence one's identity or sense of humanity and the focus of research is spread across India, Egypt, and Colombia. For instance, Mathew & Krishnan (2020) explore how internet use in a private school in Kerala has contributed to impaired psychological wellbeing among students, given their exposure to unrealistic images of an ideal lifestyle which is not consistent with the local culture. Within this literature positive implications have also been highlighted, for example in Ghana, where technology usage in rural and under-resourced contexts was found to contribute to addressing food security challenges. In this study Twumasi et al. (2021) examine how finding information on the internet has helped a rural community increase the productivity of their fish farms. Such studies highlight the divergent impact technology usage could have on under-resourced Global South communities, but these studies are few and far between.

The review confirms how access to and participation in the digital economy is unequal, and digital economic participation is not automatic (Livingstone & Helsper, 2007). Thus, while much of the Global North literature focuses on the very important social implications of digitalisation, the review shows that for the Global South, much of the concern of young people and their wellbeing is structured around inequality of access to even basic information technology infrastructures.

### 3.3.4 Climate change<sup>7</sup>

Climate change refers to long-term shifts in temperatures and weather patterns. These can be the result of natural processes; however, since the 1800s, human economic and related activities have become the main drivers of climate change. Recent reports of the UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) highlights a multitude of climate impacts on land, freshwater, and ocean ecosystems, and on human systems, settlements, and infrastructure due to rising temperatures and the increasing frequency of extreme weather events. The reports also note that the hardest hit by climate impacts are regions in the Global South and vulnerable groups, including youth.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Currently, there is little research combining relational well-being and climate change, and young people appear to be sidelined in it. A qualitative systematic review thus worked to firstly compile research evidence from primary qualitative studies, and secondly to draw these findings together using an interpretive approach. The resultant scope of the papers included highlights existing understandings of intersections between youth wellbeing and climate change, as well as opportunities for future research. The review has not been exhaustive but instead highlights the scope and focus of topics at the intersection of young people, climate change, and the Global South.

<sup>8</sup> The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is the United Nations body for assessing the science related to climate change. IPCC has recently produced a series of reports which constitute the most up-to-date and comprehensive scientific evidence about the causes and impacts of climate change. Working Group I examined the physical science underpinning past, present and future of climate change: Climate Change 2021: The Physical Science Basis; Working Group II assessed the impacts, adaptation and vulnerabilities related to climate change: Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability; Working Group III focused on climate change mitigation, assessing methods for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and removing GHGs from the

In the context of increasing awareness of climate risk and vulnerability, the concept of wellbeing as “the balance point between an individual’s resource pool and the challenges faced” (Dodge et al., 2012 p. 230) takes on new meaning. The quality of relationships between people across a society – including relations with organs of state and the fairness of how resources are distributed amongst people – have real implications for the planetary resource pool, and young people are affected by this in numerous ways. The myriad impacts of environmental degradation associated with climate change demand consideration of physical concerns such as diseases associated with pollution, water scarcity, poor hygiene, and other public health risks. Much of the literature on climate change and wellbeing is centred on health, but with a specific focus on mental health.

*Evidence suggests a range of mental health conditions resulting from direct exposure to climate change events, including, but not limited to post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and anxiety.*

In a recent scoping review, Charlson et al. (2021) further observed that the bulk of research on climate change and mental health is focused on assessing risks; with limited attention directed towards identifying the interventions, policies, and decision-making mechanisms that can be put in place to mitigate the mental health impacts of climate change. As such, analysis of what is happening in research on climate change and wellbeing specific to young people in the Global South needs to be mindful of the existing focus on mental health risks; and the dearth of research beyond this.

Climate change has long been considered as psychologically distant from many people and therefore as a relatively non-emotional problem. Increasingly however, more and more people across the globe are experiencing climate change first-hand via both acute events, such as wildfires and flooding, and slower environmental changes like drought and sea level rise. Evidence suggests a range of mental health conditions resulting from direct exposure to climate change events, including but not limited to post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and anxiety (Cianconi et al., 2020; Doherty & Clayton, 2011; Gifford & Gifford, 2016). Moreover, increasing temperatures significantly reduce wellbeing, while increasing mental health hospitalisation rates (Noelke et al., 2016; Chan et al., 2018).

Additionally, many people experience climate change indirectly. Ma et al. (2022, p. 2) describe indirect exposure pathways as “perceiving, observing, and thinking about climate change without experiencing climate change events in person”; that is, through viewing climate change-related media content or noticing climate change-related changes in both physical and social environments.

Indirect exposure can evoke a range of negative emotions like guilt, sadness, anger, fear, anxiety, and hopelessness, and lead to mental disorders. There is already an established and expanding vocabulary associated with indirect exposure and negative emotional responses to it; such as ‘climate anxiety’<sup>9</sup> (Clayton, 2020) or ‘eco-anxiety’<sup>10</sup> (Pihkala, 2018) or ‘ecological grief’ (Cunsolo & Ellis, 2018) and ‘solastalgia’ (Albrecht, 2019), which denotes the distress caused by observing changes to an environment with which one is connected.

While young people are susceptible to all the aforementioned mental health risks, Ma et al. (2022) also identify emerging research suggesting that broader climate change impacts – that is, impacts on physical health, food shortages, and increasing intergroup conflict – can have flow-on adverse effects to a young person’s mental health. These often work in combination with the impacts of direct exposure to climate change events and increase the likelihood of young people experiencing a larger range of psychological consequences. Young people (both children and youth) are less well equipped to deal with deprivation and stress, as Bartlett (2008, p. 502) explains: “their more rapid metabolisms, immature organs and nervous systems, developing cognition, limited experience and behavioural characteristics are all at issue here.”

Crandon et al. (2022) draw on a social–ecological theoretical framework to discuss how children and adolescents may be uniquely predisposed to climate anxiety; examining factors that may increase or reduce climate anxiety in children and adolescents. While this is one of many possible emotional experiences that may influence youth wellbeing, it is worth considering the use of a social–ecological perspective. This proposes that everyone’s development is shaped by the environment and involves an interplay between an individual’s genetic and psychological traits, their immediate physical environment, relationships, the environments that directly surround them, and the broader systems within which these are nested. As this structure of systems is subject to climatic changes over time, the social–ecological theoretical framework is useful for thinking systematically about the relationship between climate change and youth wellbeing, helping to categorise where key gaps in the literature might be identified as well as starting to align with the more systemic and interdependent approach suggested by relational wellbeing.

According to Ma et al. (2022), most research focuses on risk and protective factors at the individual level, within young people’s immediate surroundings (the micro-system). Relatedly, stable family environments and peer support and cultural identity were found to be protective factors for young people’s wellbeing following climate change impacts. Nonetheless, there is limited research on this from the Global South, and the authors stress the need for more inter-disciplinary research to

atmosphere: Climate Change 2022: Mitigation of Climate Change.

<sup>9</sup> Anxiety associated with perceptions about climate change, even among people who have not personally experienced any direct impacts.

<sup>10</sup> Grief in response to ecological loss, and one that may become more common as climate impacts worsen.

better understand how risk and protective factors affect young people's likelihood of experiencing wellbeing impacts from both direct and indirect exposures to climate change. This requires closer attention to some of the more specific experiences of youth in the Global South to begin working towards a systemic, comparative approach to understanding the risk and protective factors influencing young people's wellbeing. Further review of impacts in Global South countries starkly illustrates these realities with clear implications for youth wellbeing.

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*For East Africa's youth population, the most numerous on the continent, existing empirical literature shows that climate change is expected to trigger unprecedented levels of migration in the coming decades*

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In the South African context, Nkrumah (2021) observes that shortages in quantity and changes to quality of water are some of the most evident manifestations of climate change faced by youth, impacting food production, water supply, and access to water for proper hygiene. Rising temperatures also pose serious risks to school-going youth as many schools are built with corrugated iron roofs, sheeting, or shipping containers, known for their poor ventilation and insulation, and proven to result in thirst and drowsiness among learners (Kutywayo et al., 2022). Worse, many schools are near sources of toxic substances, including industrial plants, mine dumps, congested traffic and exposure to hazardous gases, and heat waves, which can have dire consequences for youth wellbeing. A concentration of CO<sub>2</sub> in classrooms produces three key effects: 1) an increase in youth's vulnerability to asthma attacks; 2) a contribution to declining student attendance; and 3) impacts on teaching and learning abilities. In the long term, these effects will impact young people's ability to compete fairly with their more advantaged peers for university placement or employment (Dladla & Ogina, 2018). Additionally, climate impacts in the agricultural sector directly affect South African youth, many of whom operate in rural contexts as smallholders or are employed in large-scale farming, making their livelihoods particularly susceptible to extreme weather events and conditions (Metelerkamp et al., 2019).

For East Africa's youth population, empirical literature shows that climate change is expected to trigger unprecedented levels of migration in the coming decades (Bezu et al., 2020). This brings with it a bevy of considerations for youth wellbeing as many resort to migration as a response to environmental shocks

and as an income diversification strategy in the face of risk; but many more are not able to migrate proactively but are forced to do so after exhausting their resources and capacity (Bezu et al., 2020). This trend is mirrored in West Africa. In Ghana for instance, seasonal drought and flooding in rural areas is causing an increasing exodus of youth from rural to urban areas, with implications for food security across the country (De Pinto et al., 2020). Devonald et al. (2020, p. 7), with reference to low- and middle-income countries, find that "climate-related impacts intersect with existing social characteristics such as gender, age, location, refugee status, and disability, leaving the most vulnerable adolescents more at risk of – and less able to adapt to – the adverse impacts of climate change."

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*Stable family environments and peer support and cultural identity were found to be protective factors for young people's wellbeing following climate change impacts*

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One issue that surprisingly did not arise in the research was the intersection of these impacts with children and youth with disabilities. Salvatore and Wolbring (2021) confirm this gap in existing research, noting that despite children and youth with disabilities being disproportionately impacted by environmental problems, there is very limited research on the impact of climate change on them. While this is one area for future research, it is worth noting that other forms of wellbeing – physical health, livelihoods, etc. – are occluded by the focus on mental health as well as the emphasis on individual wellbeing.

In sum, this review points to both the limited scope of research combining relational wellbeing and climate change, and that young people seem to be side-lined in it. Meanwhile, research on young people and climate change is dominated by a focus on activism. In this regard, of interest is research on the communicative power of youth activism as an example of the dynamic formation of 'relational publics' that emphasises the need to understand better the networked communication landscape where climate politics is debated (Eide & Kunelius, 2021). While investigations into youth agency and political participation are pivotal for understanding global climate action, exploring the risks to and opportunities for youth wellbeing as it relates to climate change might benefit from a move away from this focus only on youth activism to more systemic and relational approaches to understand and study the impact of climate change on the wellbeing of young people.



## 4. What the findings suggest about the value of relational wellbeing for youth studies research

Research on wellbeing offers an important departure from more negatively oriented conceptualisation and interventions towards ensuring quality of life, resulting in important measurement and conceptual advances. It also paves the way for an increasingly relational approach towards understanding and exploring wellbeing. That said, relational wellbeing as a framework for research is a relatively new cross-disciplinary field and thus testing and engagement on its value across different fields is necessary. Through this purposive review, and through suggesting the ways in which it could advance inquiry in selected focus areas of young people's lives, the aim has been to stimulate further engagement on its potential. There are four possible ways in which a particular and bounded understanding of relational wellbeing can be employed to advance youth studies in the Global South. Each will be described in turn.

### *4.1 Relational wellbeing theory can shift youth livelihoods research towards clearer understanding of the social impact of interventions*

Existing livelihoods research already acknowledges, at a conceptual level, the complex relations and interrelations between people, systems, and networks that contribute to specific livelihoods and wellbeing outcomes. It incorporates a systemic approach to analysis of the contextual facilitators and inhibitors for different livelihoods; acknowledges the social and relational in the diverse sets of resources available to particular groups of people (especially social capital); and recognises different types of wellbeing outcomes resulting from implementing different livelihood strategies. As such, it offers a valuable basis for research on how young people navigate their lives and work in the Global South. However, reflecting on the gaps and limitations noted, employing a relational wellbeing approach to research on young people, wellbeing, and livelihoods thus offers the opportunity to: 1) generate more comprehensive knowledge on the relation between youth livelihoods, different dimensions of wellbeing, and how these interact; 2) engage and define explicitly how the concept of 'young people' is understood/applied in livelihoods research; and 3) expand the limited work at the intersection of youth livelihoods and wellbeing in the Global South. For understanding livelihoods and the wellbeing of young people, relational wellbeing allows the varied contexts within which young people navigate livelihoods to be brought into focus with insecurity, territorial inequality, social status, collective effort, and labour precarity that

frame the potential for the wellbeing of young people in the Global South.

### *4.2 Relational wellbeing theory challenges mental health research to think beyond the individual*

While mental health literature sheds light on the prevalence and determinants of mental health conditions for young people, there is a paucity of studies that explore mental health and mental health conditions within the relational ecology of experience and development. Applying a relational wellbeing lens to the mental health of young people, means exploring the interplay between various factors that promote or hinder mental health. In this way, the factors which predict mental health outcomes can be considered as well as how these factors interact (or not) to influence mental health or illness. Conceptually, the application of such an approach nests youth mental health within an ecology of bi-directional systems, pushing researchers, intervention practitioners, and policymakers to think beyond the individual domain, to uncover collective ways of promoting healthy environments and happy lives.

Adopting a relational wellbeing approach to research and promotion of youth mental health offers greater opportunities for more robust investigation and consideration of interconnected factors contributing to wellbeing, but also holds the potential for better policy and intervention. Policy derived from decontextualised research findings tends to ignore the current networks and capacity (or lack thereof) within communities to benefit from or adopt particular mental health interventions.

### *4.3 A relational wellbeing approach shines a spotlight on the role of digital inequality in youth wellbeing*

Research into how young people engage with technology is primarily focused on developed countries, resulting in policies that ignore the unique local conditions and inequalities of the Global South. Employing a relational wellbeing approach offers important opportunities to strengthen the understanding of the impacts of digitalisation on youth wellbeing as it allows for: (1) fuller examination of digital inequalities, and identification of how digital transformation policies can recognise and address such disparities; (2) understanding the nuances of knowledge transfer and strategies crucial for the Global South to take advantage of existing knowledge advances through South-South and North-South partnerships; (3)

exploration of inclusive, high quality online learning that could address some social disparities in contexts where institutions contend with minimal resources; (4) showing how digital work will continue to evolve, but equally how jobs should ensure decency and dignity, and how young people conceptualise and experience these; and (5) clearer understanding of how sustained technology usage impacts how young people engage their peers and situate their identities, and how this interfaces with their relational wellbeing from Global South contexts.

**4.4 A relational wellbeing approach has the potential to move climate change research on youth beyond a focus on mental health and activism**

The broader understanding offered by a relational approach to wellbeing is an opportunity to respond to key research gaps, including but not limited to: 1) moving

beyond activism in research on youth and climate change; 2) expanding the focus from mental health to a more encompassing understanding of youth wellbeing; and 3) identifying the interventions, policies, and decision-making mechanisms that can be put in place to mitigate the impacts of climate change on young people.

Avenues for organising future research responses include first, distinguishing between the impacts of direct and indirect exposure to climate change, and the different ways in which these impact young people’s wellbeing; and, second, with respect to climate change, adopting more systemic and social–ecological frameworks for more targeted research interventions into the individual characteristics of young people and how these interact relationally with a structure of systems.



# 5. Conclusion

Relational wellbeing, as a theoretical framework, carries a more inclusive, rounded sense of what it means to experience, research, and intervene in wellbeing. It offers a unique perspective to researching the challenges facing young people given the extent of social, political, and economic vulnerabilities, but especially in recognition of the intersectional nature and complexities of how these vulnerabilities impact on their wellbeing. For youth research in the Global South, this is a much needed approach that needs to be strengthened across a wider range of focus areas to understand how it might better promote youth wellbeing. This is of special importance and interest for young people living in fast-urbanising contexts, where previously relied upon supports are eroding, and where comparative, systemic, and relationally informed analysis could contribute to understanding the risk and protective factors affecting young people’s likelihood of experiencing wellbeing.

This review confirms that most of the existing scholarship using ideas of relational wellbeing tends to overlook the importance of contextual, institutional, societal or ecological influences, interactions and the collective co-creation of wellbeing. Mostly, relational wellbeing is not portrayed as an encompassing framework that positions relationality at the centre of how wellbeing should be understood, engaged with, studied, promoted and prioritised by, and in collaboration with, various stakeholders and beneficiaries. The four focus areas of young people’s lives that the review addressed further reveal the gaps in scholarship that need to be investigated. The intersection of young people and their wellbeing in relation to livelihoods, mental health, digitalisation, and climate change has great potential for further research. Collectively, these insights offer guidance for prospective scholars hoping to expand research that applies a relational wellbeing theoretical framework to understanding and positively impacting young people’s outcomes in the Global South.



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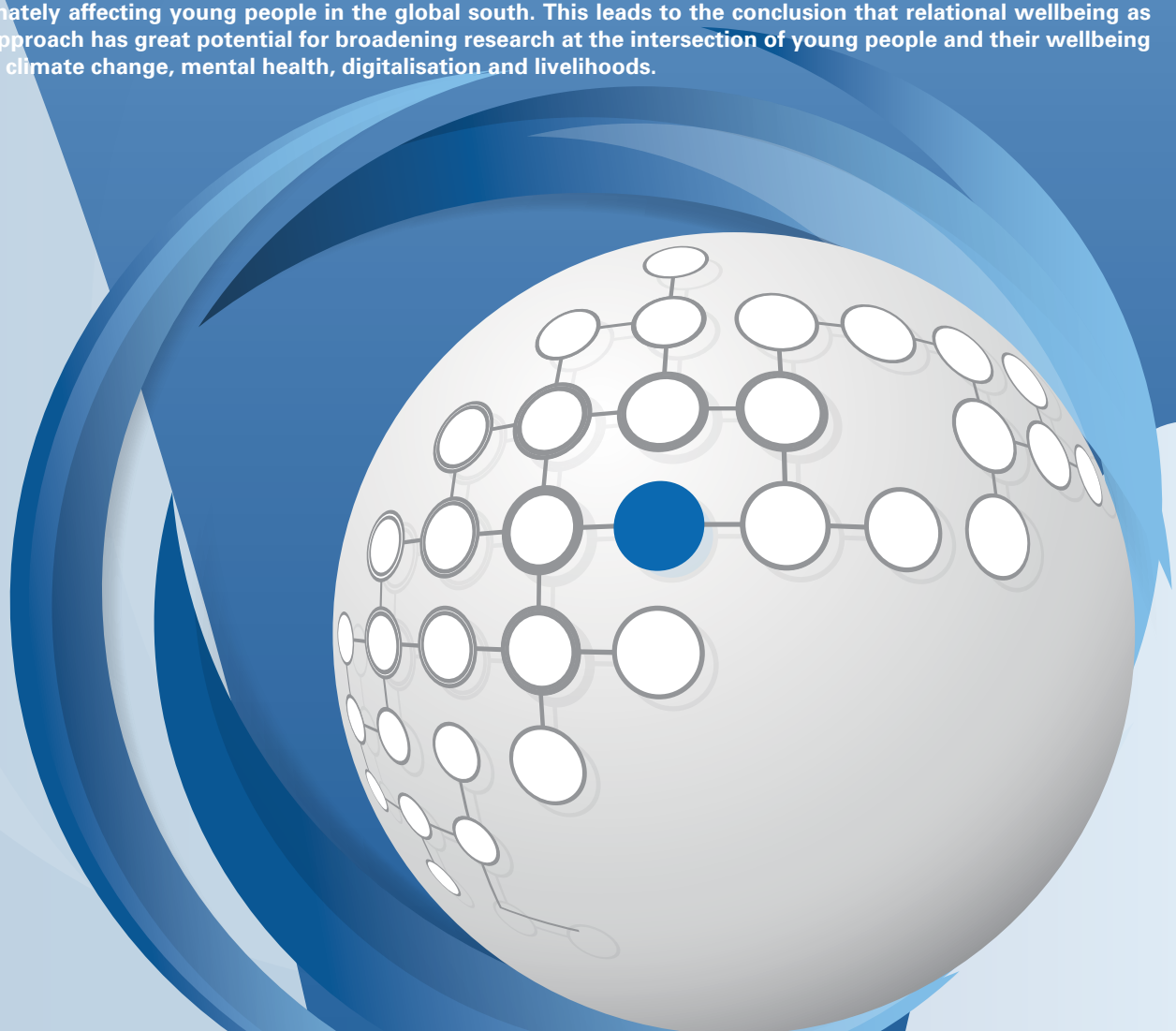


## Abstract

Current research focused on young people in the Global South often stops at describing their adversity, rather than making the effort to identify the strategies (both individual and collective) necessary to overcome their challenges. On the other hand, approaches to wellbeing tend to have been predicated on a well-functioning, orderly, and regulated society, with strong social capital, broad participation and notions of individual embeddedness of happiness; often derived from contexts and countries in the North. This frequently ignores the fact that the South has collective and cultural resources that could impact on wellbeing.

This purposive review of literature engages with the value of an emerging perspective on wellbeing, namely relational wellbeing, for youth research in the Global South. The review is structured in two parts: first, it provides a distinction between how a particular understanding of relational wellbeing differs from the notion most frequently found in existing academic literature. Second, the review investigates gaps in the literature on wellbeing in relation to four key areas for young people in the current global context (namely, livelihoods, mental health, climate change and digitalisation). While the initial review of how the construct of relational wellbeing has been applied most closely follows that of a systematic review; the subsequent focus area reviews are closer to that of a purposive or traditional literature review. Although each started with a systematic search using the keywords of 'youth', 'relational wellbeing', 'Global South' and respectively, 'livelihoods', 'mental health', 'digitalisation' and 'climate change'; due to the limited literatures at these intersections, it was necessary to broaden the scope as appropriate. The limitations of each of the separate reviews are reported in relevant sections.

For youth livelihoods research the review confirmed a tendency to focus on formal labour market outcomes and neglect social outcomes. For youth mental health research the review confirms a paucity of studies that explore mental health within the relational ecology of experience and development, rather the focus is on the determinants and prevalence of mental health disorders. For digitalisation research the review confirms a focus on developed countries and issues around identity, mental health and work, while the impact of digitalisation on young people in the Global South are framed primarily by inequality in access to digital infrastructure and connectivity. For climate change research, the review confirmed a focus on youth activism and mental health, sidelining the physical impacts of climate change, disproportionately affecting young people in the global south. This leads to the conclusion that relational wellbeing as theory and approach has great potential for broadening research at the intersection of young people and their wellbeing in relation to climate change, mental health, digitalisation and livelihoods.



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