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Abstract

Generativity, concern and commitment for the next generation, is one important factor for sustainable development of a society, since intergenerational sustainability is claimed to have been compromised over the last decades. Generativity emerges through both prosocial and proself behaviors characterized by social preference, and is now hypothesized to decrease in some modern societies called “generativity crisis.” However, little is known about how ongoing modernization of competitive societies, i.e., capitalism, and social preferences affect generativity. To this end, we conduct field experiments of the social value orientation and the generative behavior checklist in the two fields of Nepalese societies: (1) urban and (2) rural areas. The analysis finds that prosociality and the rural-specific effect are the two major factors that positively affect people’s generativity, while a larger proportion of prosocial people are found in rural areas than in urban areas. Overall, these results suggest that generativity shall decrease with further modernization of societies that changes the economic culture and people’s orientation to be less concerned for future generation.

Key Words: social value orientation, prosocial, proself, generativity, future concern

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Nomenclature

GBC Generative behavior checklist

NPR Nepalese rupee

SVO Social value orientation

1 Introduction

Generativity, concern and commitment for the next generation, is one important element for sustainable development of a society, since higher generativity of the current generation induces people to educate and benefit the next generation and even the next (Erikson, 1963). Generativity is expressed through the daily practices and human interactions such as charity, mentoring, nursing, volunteering, teaching, religious movement and political activities for the next generation (McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1992). Unfortunately, it is claimed that the current generation has behaved in more selfish ways than ever, compromising generativity and intergenerational sustainability by incurring costs for the next generation, i.e., “generativity crisis” (Sasaki, 2004, Fisher et al., 2004, Milinski et al., 2006). Thus, generativity becomes an urgent issue when societies are modernized and when they are changing in favor of the current generations. Given this state of affairs, this paper addresses the generativity in relation to modernization of societies.

Generativity has been studied by many researchers, and the generative behavior checklist (GBC) is established to be one of the most reliable and internally consistent measures (McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1992, McAdams et al., 1993, McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1995). Most studies have sought to characterize the GBC as parts of innate human psychology, focusing on parenting, degree of well-being, life satisfaction and societal concerns (Peterson and Stewart, 1993, Morfei et al., 2004, Huta and Zuroff, 2007, Newton et al., 2014). In particular, Hart et al. (2001) have empirically characterized generativity and found that it has a positive association with social involvement related to parenting in both white and black Americans. Similarly, Hofer et al. (2008) have confirmed that the psychological mechanisms of the generativity model are consistently applicable even in a cross-country comparison. In conclusion, these studies have demonstrated that the GBC can explain behaviors and preferences of social involvement in relation to people’s innate psychology, concerns and actual social behaviors.

Economists and behavioral scientists have considered that the socioeconomic environment influences people’s social preferences and actual behaviors (Henrich et al., 2005, 2010, Van Lange et al., 2007, Leibbrandt et al., 2013). Schotter and Sopher (2003) and Hauser et al. (2014) have shown that the current generation can neither make sustainable decisions in an intergenerational setting, nor take

the balance of costs and benefits for future generation when facing excessive competitive economic environment. Henrich et al. (2005, 2010) and Leibbrandt et al. (2013) have demonstrated that people's social behaviors and preferences are affected by the degree of market integration in societies and workplace environment, respectively. Similarly, Ockenfels and Weimann (1999) and Brosig-Koch et al. (2011) have analyzed people's cooperative and solidarity behaviors in the eastern and western Germany, demonstrating that subjects from the eastern part act more selfishly than those from the western parts. They conclude that social histories and socioeconomic environment play important roles in shaping people's social preferences and behaviors. In summary, the psychologists have addressed how generativity is associated with people's innate psychology and actual behaviors, while the economists and behavioral scientists find how social preference and behaviors are affected by economic environment.

Cultures gradually propagate through various ways such as success-bias transmission in societies and even affect human preferences and behaviors (Henrich et al., 2005, Dawkins, 2006, Richardson and Boyd, 2008, Wilson et al., 2009). Likewise, generativity is hypothesized to be affected by cultures, as it is manifested through both prosocial and proself behaviors originating from people's social preferences (Kotre, 1984, McAdams, 1985). Since societies are becoming more competitive and modernized in the globalized market economy under capitalism, it is expected that such changes in societies as part of cultures affect not only preferences but also generativity. However, no previous researches address how generativity is evolving with economic development of societies and a change in preferences. In this research, we consider ongoing modernization of competitive societies as part of culture and address how generativity changes with such modernization and social preferences. To this end, we conduct field experiments of the social value orientation (SVO) and the generative behavior checklist (GBC) in the two fields of Nepalese societies: (1) urban and (2) rural areas.

2 Methodology

We implemented field experiments and surveys in the rural and urban areas, and employed different approaches of random sampling, because they possess distinct economic and socio-demographic

characteristics. Kathmandu and Pokhara are chosen as urban areas that are the first and second largest urban societies in Nepal (figure 1). In the urban areas, we administered field experiments and surveys with 268 subjects. These cities are highly populated where most people engage in business, service and government sectors. To maintain random sampling of subjects, a occupation-based randomization procedure was taken. First, we identify a proportion of each occupational category in total population of the urban areas by referring to governmental and international non-governmental reports such as Central Bureau of Statistics (2011) and UNDP (2014). After that, we randomly select a number of organizations or companies for each category. Based on their compliance, we select individuals from these organizations in the way that subjects do not know one another in the same session. Our field experiments and surveys have been carried out in the city and community halls of the urban areas.

[Figure 1 about here.]

In the rural areas, we conducted field experiments and surveys with 260 subjects. Chitwan and Prabat are chosen as rural areas (figure 1). These districts consist of many small villages and are known as the least populated areas where most people engage in agriculture and forestry for their livelihood. In rural areas, we conducted a household-level randomization procedure. First, we designate the number of samples for the selected villages based on the total number of households provided by each village development committee office. After that, we select the household number and randomly invite the household heads by sending them invitation letters. Our monetary incentives and the conditions in invitation letters enabled to collect an enough number of subjects. The field experiments and surveys were conducted in the schools of the rural areas.

The SVO of the “slider method” has been conducted to identify subjects’ social preferences as prosocial or prosself in urban and rural areas (Murphy et al., 2011). Figure 2 shows six items of the slider measure that gives numbers to represent outcomes for oneself and the other in a pair of two persons where the other is unknown to the subject. Subjects are asked to make a choice among the nine options for each item. Each subject chooses her allocation by marking a line at the point that defines her most preferred distribution between oneself and the other. The mean allocation for oneself $\bar{A}_s$ and the mean allocation for the other $\bar{A}_o$ are computed from all six items (see figure 2). Then, 50 is

subtracted from $\bar{A}_s$, and $\bar{A}_o$ to shift the base of the resulting angle to the center of the circle (50, 50). The index of a subject's SVO is given by $SVO = \arctan \frac{(\bar{A}_o) - 50}{(\bar{A}_s) - 50}$. Depending on the values generated from the test, social preferences are categorized as follows: 1. altruist: $SVO > 57.15^\circ$, 2. prosocial: $22.45^\circ < SVO < 57.15^\circ$, 3. individualist: $-12.04^\circ < SVO < 22.45^\circ$ and 4. competitive types: $SVO < -12.04^\circ$.

[Figure 2 about here.]

The SVO framework assumes that people have different motivations and goals for evaluating resource allocations between oneself and others. Also, the SVOs or social preferences are established to be stable for a long time (see, e.g., Van Lange et al., 2007, Brosig-Koch et al., 2011). Responses that are yielded from six primary items gives complete categories of social preferences. A major reason for using six primary slider measures by Murphy et al. (2011) is due to its simplicity and easy to implement in the fields of Nepal. It is very intuitive for participants to understand even with a limited level of education. As is done in psychology research, we further simplify the four categories of social preferences into two categories of prosocial and proself types; “altruist” and “prosocial” types are categorized as prosocial subjects, while “individualistic” and “competitive” types are categorized as “proself” subjects (see Murphy et al., 2011).

The GBC developed by McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992) checks the frequencies of generative behaviors each individual has taken in the past. Specifically, the GBC asks how many times a person has performed for 50 different behaviors, among which the only 40 behaviors are suggestive of “generativity.”¹ The examples are “taught somebody a skill,” “read a story to a child,” “served as a role model for a young person” and “made something for somebody and then gave it to them.” Subjects need to write “0” if they have not performed a specific generative behavior, “1” if they have performed the behavior once and “2” if they have performed the behavior more than once for the last one year. Scores on the 40 generative behaviors were summed for each subject to compute a total generativity score.

We have implemented the questionnaire surveys and the SVO game with monetary payments.

¹The remaining 10 behaviors in the GBC questionnaire that are not counted for generativity are “fillers.”

This is because we needed to attract people to the experimental sites and motivate subjects to seriously participate in the surveys and games, considering opportunity costs of time. In each session, we have collected 20 to 40 subjects in a site, gave experimental instructions to subjects, and the experimenter (the first author) orally made presentations to confirm subjects' understanding. We also used six research assistants and helped subjects. After eliciting subjects' SVOs, we conducted questionnaire surveys to collect individual socio-demographic information. At the end, we randomly matched one subject with another to make pairs and calculated the total payoff for each subject to make payment on the basis of their earnings in the SVO game. One session took 40 to 60 minutes, and the average payment was NPR 200 (approximately USD 2.10) with a show-up fee of NPR 100 (USD 1.05).

This study finally analyzes the association of generativity with people's social preferences and the locations of two different areas. A dummy variable for controlling the urban and rural areas in the analysis is intended to represent different degree of modernization (equivalently, the degree of capitalism) in societies. To characterize which social preference and society lead to higher levels of generativity, nonparametric statistical and regression analyses are employed. The Mann-Whitney test is used to identify the distributional difference of generativity across the two areas and their social preferences. The regression model estimates the marginal impact on generativity when a key predictor, such as SVOs and an area dummy, increases, holding other factors fixed. The set of independent variables includes SVOs, area dummy, household income, age, education, gender and employment.² Table 1 summarizes the definition of the variables in the analysis.

3 Results

Tables 1 and 2 summarize the statistics of subjects' socio-demographic information and generativity, respectively. Table 1 shows that 38 % of the subjects are male in the rural, while 58 % of the subjects are male in the urban. With respect to education, more than 50 % of subjects in the urban have an undergraduate degree in universities (16 years of schooling as the median in table 1). On the

²Individual social preferences are established to remain the same for a long time (Van Lange et al., 2007, Brosig-Koch et al., 2011), while the GBC is a behavior checklist for the actions that subjects have taken over the last one year. Therefore, taking SVOs as an independent variable in the regression of generativity does not cause any endogeneity problem or reverse causality.

other hand, subjects in the rural possess 10 years of schooling as the median. Regarding occupation, 90 % and 6 % of subjects in the rural and the urban engage in agriculture, respectively. It implies that the urban areas in our field do not depend on agriculture anymore, but rural areas are still agriculture-based societies. Reflecting this difference of dependency on agriculture, household income is higher in the urban than in the rural (table 1). Overall, the summary statistics of socio-demographic information in table 1 are in line with our initial expectations that urban societies are more advanced and modernized (or urbanized) in many aspects. On the other hand, in the rural areas, people mainly engage in agriculture and forestry.

[Table 1 about here.]

Table 1 also shows subjects' SVOs to be prosocial or proself between the rural and the urban. A significant difference can be seen in the "SVO" variable, exhibiting that 76 % of subjects in the rural are prosocial, while only 39 % of subjects are prosocial in the urban. Specifically, 197 people out of 260 rural subjects are prosocial in the rural, while 105 people out of 263 urban subjects are prosocial in the urban (table 2). This implies that prosociality among people is different between the rural and urban areas, and prosocial (proself) people are dominant in the rural (urban) areas. This SVO result appears to suggest that people tend to be more proself as societies are more modernized and developed.

Table 2 presents the summary statistics of subjects' generativity. An interesting feature can be found in the central tendency of the median (and average) between rural and urban areas. The median (average) of generativity in the rural is 42.00 (42.05), while that in the urban is 38.00 (37.91). It implies that the central tendencies (both the median and average) of generativity in the rural are higher than those in the urban. However, this tendency does not hold when we further categorize subjects by SVOs in each area of the rural and urban. For instance, the median generativity of prosocial subjects in the rural is 43.00 (the average of 43.05) which is higher than that in the urban (the median of 41.00 and the average of 40.23 for prosocial subjects in the urban). The median (average) generativity for proself people in the rural is 34.00 (37.41), while that for proself subjects in the urban is 37.00 (36.41). Put simply, prosocials in the rural, prosocials in the urban, proselves in the urban and proselves in the

rural are the descending orders of groups with respect to the central tendencies of generativity. These tendencies can be confirmed from visual observations. Figures 3(a) and 3(b) are the associated box plots, demonstrating that the medians of generativity scores are different between urban and rural areas as well as across people's social preferences (prosocial and prosself) in these two areas. Overall, table 2, figures 3(a) and 3(b) suggest that prosociality and the urban vs. the rural areas are the keys to characterize generativity.

[Table 2 about here.]

[Figure 3 about here.]

To check whether the distributions of generativity differ from one another by areas and SVOs, we run a Mann-Whitney tests. The null hypothesis is that the generativity distributions are the same across two areas and SVOs (See figures 4(a) to 4(c) for the frequency distributions of generativity). We have confirmed that all of the following pairs reject the null hypothesis: 1) the urban vs. the rural, 2) the prosocial vs. the prosself, 3) the prosocial in the rural vs. the prosself in the rural, 4) the prosocial in the urban vs. the prosself in the urban, 5) the prosself in the urban vs. the prosocial in the rural and 6) the prosocial in the urban vs. the prosocial in the rural. These results of Mann-Whitney tests statistically confirm that generativity may be affected by prosociality and areas between the rural and urban areas. Given the statistical significances of the generativity across areas and SVOs, we further characterize generativity by running regression model, taking the generativity as a dependent variable and the area dummy between the rural and the urban, SVOs and other socio-demographic information as independent variables.

[Figure 4 about here.]

[Table 3 about here.]

Table 3 reports the estimated coefficients and their respective standard errors with statistical significance in the regression of generativity. Model 1 in table 3 contains SVOs and the area dummy of the rural as independent variables. The result reveals that both variables exhibit statistical significance

of 5 % and 1 %, respectively, and positively affect the generativity. To further confirm the robustness of our result, we add socio-demographic variables such as gender, education, age, employment, number of household members, income level in model 2 of table 3. We find that the SVOs and the area dummy remains statistically significant with the same sign and magnitude, and education is statistically significant to positively influence generativity at 5 % level. However, the magnitude of education is rather small compared with that of the SVOs and area dummy. There are no significant associations of gender, employment, income and age in model 2.

In model 3 with adding age squared, both age and its squared variables are significant with positive and negative signs at 10 % level, respectively. This result implies that generativity reaches its peak in midlife and starts to decline with old age. This is consistent with McAdams et al. (1993), Newton et al. (2014) and Schoklitsch and Baumann (2012) demonstrating that this single-peaked nature in generativity is due to health or physical weakness. Considering the consistent results across models 1, 2 and 3, it appears that SVOs and the area dummy are strong predictors for generativity. More specifically, in model 3, the generativity increases by 4.77 with a change in SVOs from being in the proself to being in the prosocial, and the generativity increases by 3.13 if the individual resides in the rural as compared with residing in the urban. Education is statistically significant in model 3, however, the magnitude remains small.

In summary, our results find that there are more prosocial people in the rural areas, and prosocial and rural people possess higher generativity. This suggests that as societies become more modernized and competitive in a capitalistic way, people tend to be less concerned about future generations. It appears that there are two channels to affect generativity. One channel is a direct effect of modernization on generativity which comes from the difference between the rural and the urban areas. The second channel is an indirect effect of modernization on generativity, that is, modernization of societies induces people to be more proself, and generativity decreases through such a change in social preference. Since the magnitudes of the impacts from both SVOs and area dummy are dominant, generativity crisis in urban areas may be well explained by these two factors.

A key question is “what does the area dummy truly capture in this regression?” Urban areas significantly differ from rural areas in many aspects such as environment, customs technologies, physical

211 space and architectures that influence social interactions among people. On a daily basis, urban peo-
212 ple come across numerous strangers and colleagues. However, there are no human interactions with
213 strangers and no intimacy with colleagues in many cases. To make matters worse, there may be even
214 suspicion with strangers or competition with colleagues. It is a basic city life in Kathmandu. On the
215 contrary, there are close interactions with strangers and intimacy with neighbors in rural areas. For
216 instance, people even greet strangers in rural areas when they come across.

217 In rural societies, both cultural learning and vocational training also come from families, relatives
218 and neighbors because they live in agriculture-based life and the transfer of skills and knowledge is
219 made through close interactions in local human network. In such a situation, young people mimic
220 and learn standard behaviors, belief and strategies of survival from local communities, in particular
221 from older people in previous generations. Such transmission can also be considered conformist
222 biases that they accumulate from their previous generations and neighbors (See, e.g., Henrich and
223 McElreath, 2003, Sasaki, 2004). We conjecture that such human network of intergenerational linkage
224 and interactions in rural areas corresponds to a rural-specific effect on generativity in the regression.
225 Rural life in Nepal induces people to interact with neighbors and others on a daily basis, while urban
226 life does not. With these realities, it is our belief that the difference of how people interact with others
227 affects social preferences and behaviors, leading to a change in generativity with modernization.

228 **4 Conclusion**

229 This paper has analyzed how generativity changes with social preference and the degree of capi-
230 talism in the society. To this end, we implemented a social value orientation (SVO) experiment and
231 surveys of generative checklist questionnaires in two fields of Nepal: (i) urban and (ii) rural areas.
232 The results reveal that there are mainly two channels to positively affect individual generativity, i.e.,
233 prosociality and rural-specific effect. Since a higher proportion of prosocial people are found in rural
234 areas than in urban areas, we conclude that when societies get more modernized and developed in a
235 capitalistic way, generativity shall be further compromised through changes in social preference and
236 economic environments.

Our research shows the evidence that economic environments affect people's preferences and even behaviors that are important for intergenerational sustainability. We conjecture that the difference of daily life between rural and urban areas influences how people interact with others including families, relatives, neighbors and strangers. Rural areas induce people to interact with others for success and survival, and we consider such interactions as main factors for higher generativity. On the other hand, in urban areas, social network and the degree of interactions may be weak, although more people happen to meet or come across one another. We believe that such difference of human interactions or network between urban and rural areas is a key to explain generativity.

Finally, we note some limitation of our study. This research does not fully address the details of rural-specific effects on generativity. In reality, rural-specific effects may be decomposed of not only the ways of human interactions in daily life but also other factors. In the future, we should collect more detailed data of human interactions and other possible factors that may represent the differences between rural and urban areas. If such rich data are successfully collected, new methodologies such as social network methods can be utilized (Kim et al., 2015). We did not conduct such analysis and data collection because the main purpose of this research is to establish the relation between generativity and modernization of societies as a first priority. These caveats notwithstanding, it is our belief that this research is considered an important step when societies are changing to be more modernized and intergenerational sustainability is claimed to be a pressing issue.

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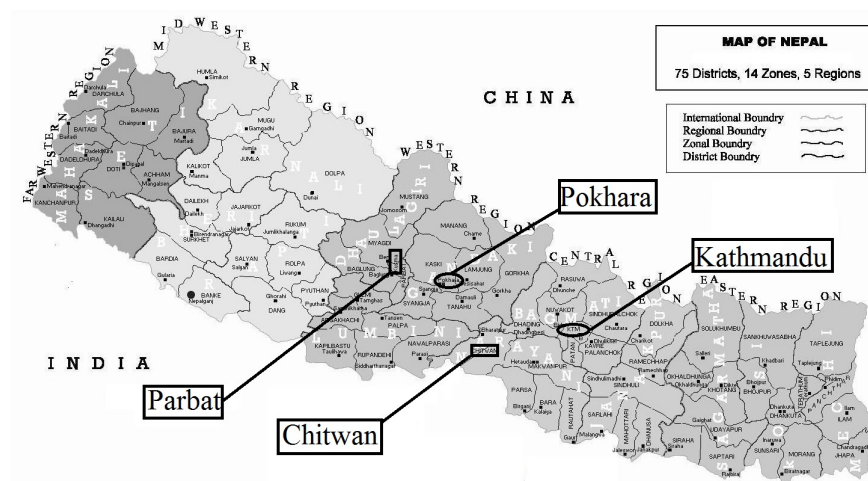


Figure 1: The Map of Nepal

Figure 2: Social value orientation measure by the slider method

Instructions

In this task you have been randomly paired with another person, whom we will refer to as the **other**. This other person is someone you do not know and will remain mutually anonymous. All of your choices are completely confidential. You will be making a series of decisions about allocating resources between you and this other person. For each of the following questions, please indicate the distribution you prefer most by **marking the respective position along the midline**. You can only make one mark for each question.

Your decisions will yield money for both yourself and the other person. In the example below, a person has chosen to distribute money so that he/she receives 50 dollars, while the anonymous other person receives 40 dollars.

There are no right or wrong answers, this is all about personal preferences. After you have made your decision, **write the resulting distribution of money on the spaces on the right**. As you can see, your choices will influence both the amount of money you receive as well as the amount of money the other receives.

Example:

You receive	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									You 50
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									Other 40
Other receives	80	70	60	50	40	30	20	10	0	

1

You receive	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									You _____
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									Other _____
Other receives	85	76	68	59	50	41	33	24	15	

2

You receive	85	87	89	91	93	94	96	98	100	
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									You _____
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									Other _____
Other receives	15	19	24	28	33	37	41	46	50	

3

You receive	50	54	59	63	68	72	76	81	85	
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									You _____
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									Other _____
Other receives	100	98	96	94	93	91	89	87	85	

4

You receive	50	54	59	63	68	72	76	81	85	
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									You _____
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									Other _____
Other receives	100	89	79	68	58	47	36	26	15	

5

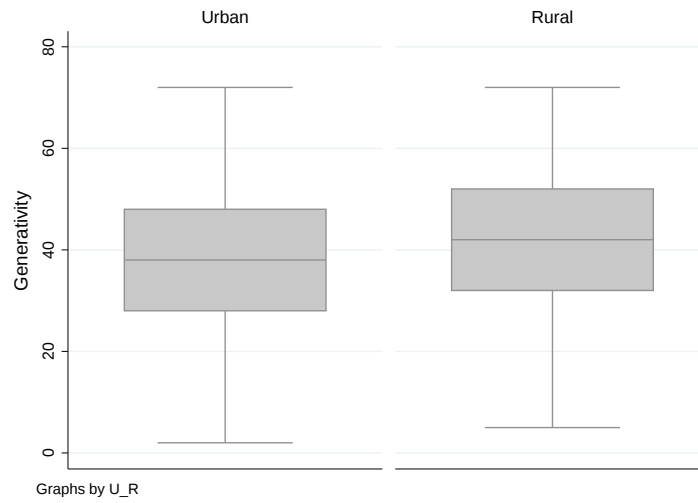
You receive	100	94	88	81	75	69	63	56	50	
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									You _____
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									Other _____
Other receives	50	56	63	69	75	81	88	94	100	

6

You receive	100	98	96	94	93	91	89	87	85	
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									You _____
	----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----									Other _____
Other receives	50	54	59	63	68	72	76	81	85	

Figure 3: Boxplot of generativity across urban and rural areas along with people's social preferences

(a) Urban Vs Rural



(b) Urban: Proself Vs Prosocial

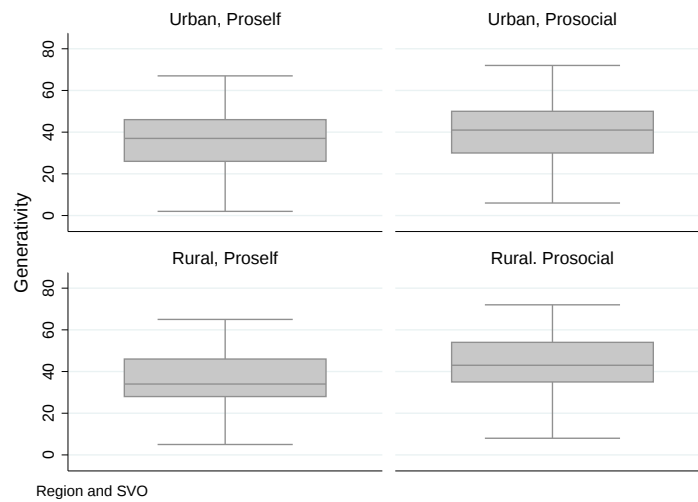
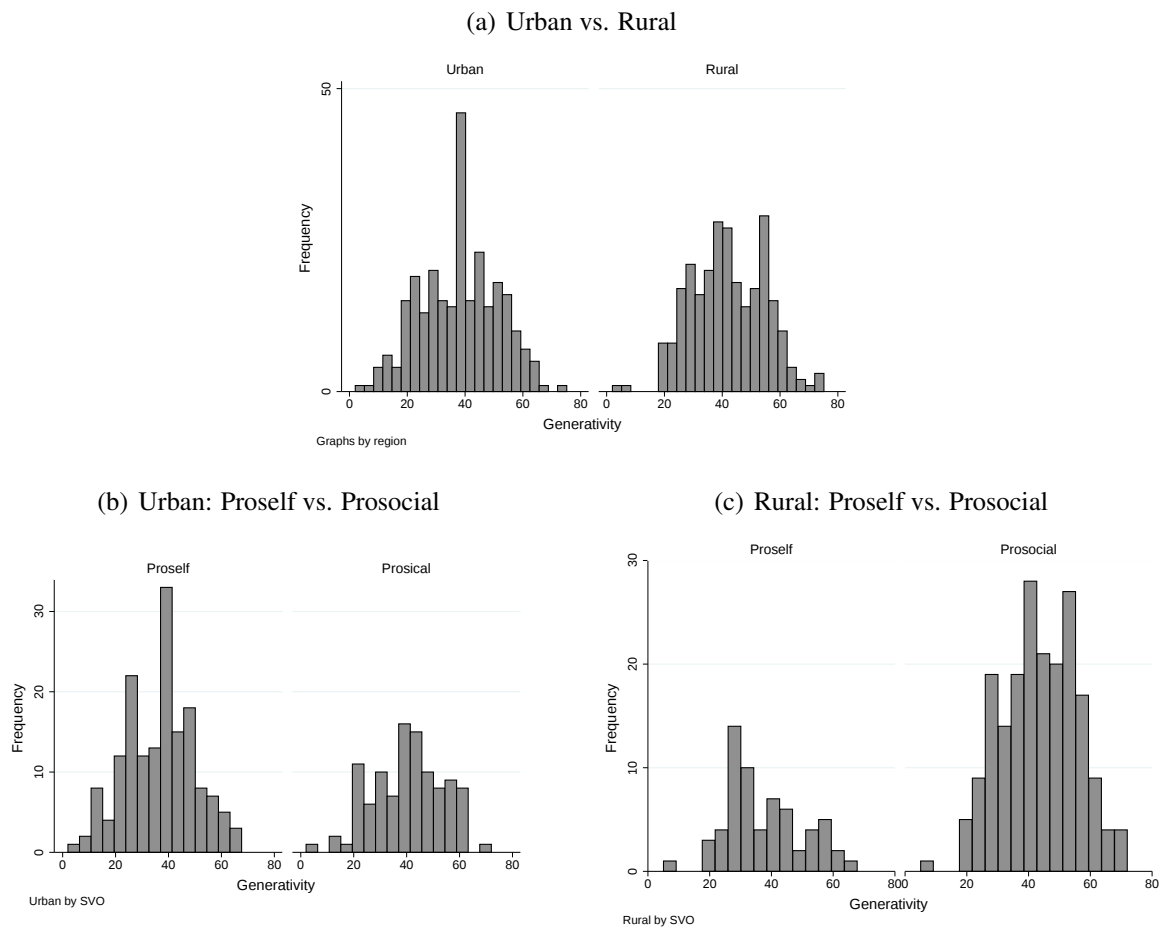


Figure 4: Histogram of generativity across urban and rural areas along with people's social preferences



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Table 1: Summary statistics of subjects' socio-demographic information and SVOs

Variables	Rural (260 subjects)					Urban (268 subjects)				
	Mean	SD ¹	Median	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Median	Min	Max
Age ²	2.27	1.09	2.00	0.00	5.00	1.62	1.25	1.00	0.00	5.00
Gender ³	0.38	0.49	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.58	0.49	1.00	0.00	1.00
Education ⁴	9.58	3.40	10	1.00	16.00	13.07	3.57	16.00	1.00	16.00
Employment / Agriculture ⁵	0.90	0.27	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.63	0.48	1.00	0.00	1.00
Income ⁶	4.20	2.10	5.00	1.00	6.00	4.80	2.02	6.00	1.00	6.00
SVO ⁷	0.76	0.43	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.39	0.49	0.00	0.00	1.00

¹ The "SD" stands for standard deviation.

² The variable of age is defined as categorical variable of 0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5 where 0 is under 20 and 5 is above 60 and rest is with interval of 10 years.

³ The variable of gender is dummy variable that takes 1 when the subject is male, otherwise 0.

⁴ The variable of education is defined as years of schooling.

⁵ The variable of employment/agriculture is defined as 1 if engage in agriculture or have an employment.

⁶ The variable of income is defined as categorical of 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6 with an interval of \$250, where 6 represents as earning more than \$1800 per year.

⁷ The "SVO" represents a dummy variable taking 1 when a subject is prosocial, otherwise 0, based on SVO games.

Table 2: Generativity across regions and prosociality

	<i>N</i>	Mean	Median	SD ¹	Min	Max
Urban	268	37.91	38.00	13.34	2.00	72.00
Prosocial	105	40.23	41.00	13.35	6.00	72.00
Proself	163	36.41	37.00	13.17	2.00	67.00
Rural	260	42.05	42.00	12.63	5.00	72.00
Prosocial	197	43.53	43.00	12.32	8.00	72.00
Proself	63	37.41	34.00	12.57	5.00	65.00
Prosocial	302	42.39	42.00	12.76	8.00	72.00
Proself	226	36.69	37.00	12.99	2.00	67.00
Overall	528	39.95	40.00	13.15	2.00	72.00

¹ The “SD” stands for standard deviation.

Table 3: Regression analysis of generativity

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	36.026*** (0.937)	33.378*** (3.061)	31.730*** (3.207)
SVOs ¹ (Prosocial = 1 & Proself = 0)	4.810*** (1.226)	4.889*** (1.227)	4.773*** (1.232)
Area dummy ² (Rural = 1 & Urban = 0)	2.383** (1.208)	3.294** (1.415)	3.129** (1.410)
Gender		-1.845 (1.164)	-1.445 (1.182)
Education		0.419** (0.171)	0.391** (0.171)
Employment		0.414 (1.641)	-0.380 (1.662)
No of household members		-0.387 (0.598)	-0.282 (0.592)
Income		-0.343 (0.272)	-0.270 (0.274)
Age		-0.039 (0.556)	2.718* (1.586)
Age squared			-0.630* (0.328)
Observations	528	528	528
R^2	0.053	0.071	0.077

¹ The SVO represents a dummy variable of individual social value orientations that takes 1 when the individual is prosocial. Otherwise zero.

² The area dummy takes 1 when the subject resides in the rural area, otherwise, 0.
The variables other than the SVO and area dummy follow the descriptions in table 1.
Numbers in parentheses are robust standard errors

***significant at the 1 percent level, **significant at the 5 percent level and *significant at the 10 percent level.