

**MORE OR ENOUGH: MAXIMIZING AND SATISFICING IN  
DIFFERENT SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL CONTEXTS**

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## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this PhD thesis is my own work and that no unauthorized aids have been used. I declare that all work, quotations, and ideas of others are indicated. I give permission for this dissertation to be reviewed by qualified software as part of an investigation into allegations of plagiarism.

No part of this PhD thesis has been accepted or is currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification at this university or elsewhere.

Ajita Srivastava

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## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Literature Review.....</b>	<b>9</b>
Previous Studies.....	11
Research Questions and Predictions... ..	25
Research Design.....	35
Regional Contexts of the Study... ..	36
<b>Chapter 2: Fieldwork .....</b>	<b>39</b>
Material Preparation.....	41
RA Recruitment and Training.....	51
Sample Characteristics and Exclusion Criteria.....	53
Administering the Questionnaire .....	55
<b>Chapter 3: Study 1... ..</b>	<b>61</b>
Research Questions and Predictions... ..	63
Method.....	65
Results.....	65
Discussion.....	77
Conclusion... ..	81
<b>Chapter 4: Study 2... ..</b>	<b>85</b>
Research Questions and Predictions .....	87
Method... ..	89

Results.....	89
Discussion.....	101
Conclusion .....	104
<b>Chapter 5: General Discussion .....</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>135</b>

## **List of Tables**

**Table 1.1:** Research Design

**Table 3.1:** Socio-Demographics Characteristics of the Sample (Study 1)

**Table 3.2:** Mean Regional Differences for Cultural, Market, Economic Factors and Maximizing (Study 1)

**Table 3.3:** Correlations for Cultural, Market, Economic Factors and Maximizing (Study 1)

**Table 3.4:** Mean Differences in Cognitive and Emotional Processes in Maximizing (Study 1)

**Table 4.1:** Socio-Demographics Characteristics of the Sample (Study 2)

**Table 4.2:** Mean Regional Differences for Cultural, Market, Economic Factors and Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)

**Table 4.3:** Correlations for Cultural, Market, Economic Factors and Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)

**Table 4.4:** Regional Mean Differences in Self and Community Maximizing Situational Dilemmas (Study 2)

## **List of Figures**

**Fig 1.1:** Proposed Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency

**Fig 3.1:** Proposed Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency (Study 1)

**Fig 3.2:** Mediation Analyses for Effect of Socio-Ecological Context on Maximizing Tendency (Study 1)

**Fig 3.3:** Findings Within Overall Theoretical Framework Maximizing Tendency (Study 1)

**Fig 4.1:** Proposed Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)

**Fig 4.2:** Mediation Analyses for Effect of Socio-Ecological Context on Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)

**Fig 4.3:** Findings Within Overall Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)

**Fig 5.1:** Findings for the Overall Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency (General)





# **INTRODUCTION**



Why do people look for better and better choices? We all face the dilemma once in a while “this is a good option, but maybe I can get something better than this.” Some of us experience this more than others. This experience is even more pronounced in contexts with abundant choices like market driven societies. Searching for better options even when one has an adequate option is known as maximizing. Market driven societies have brought about growing consumerism and paradox of more dissatisfaction with decisions one puts more effort in (Ding & Li, 2018). This leads social scientists to question why do some people maximize more than others?

With increasing market competition, more and more options are available for even basic choices like shopping for daily grocery or clothes. The abundance of choice extends to important, long term choices like romantic partnerships, marriage, career, and investment choices brought to the consumer through various apps, and better and newer information technology and services. Some psychologists point out that increasing better options renders not maximizing, i.e., making a less than best choice or a bad choice, inexcusable (Schwartz, 2004).

The global market competition is a product of globalization which is increased interaction among countries in terms of goods and services (World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, 2004). This interaction takes place on cultural, economic, and political level. The resulting consumer culture pervades our daily life choices, sense of self and interactions among people (McGuigan, 2014). Capitalistic market societies, where the dominant social role is that of a consumer have also led to the development of self-reliant communities where social bonds are weak and even the most obvious role and social obligations are a matter of one’s choice. In such self-dependent scenario, maximizing becomes inevitable since bad decisions can come at a cost to oneself (Beck, 2002).

From a cultural and policy view, policy makers, especially in the Western countries equate choice with freedom and empowerment i.e., more choices are beneficial to the society. People feel more in control of their lives (Botti & Iyengar, 2006). Psychological research in Western cultures of developed countries asserts that choice is important to an individual’s concept of freedom and self-determination (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Therefore, one’s choices are an important part of their self-concept.

However, the understanding of self and freedom are not same across cultures. The idea of self is different in contexts where people predominantly identify themselves by their normative, social roles than the ones where people assert individual, aspired, unique, and achieved self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). ‘Freedom to choose’ might not hold as much importance in such collectivistic contexts.

Studies point out the above independent and interdependent self-differences in developed and developing countries (Santos et al., 2017). The developed and developing countries are also different in the economic and market structures and understanding. Developing countries have more rural agrarian population having tightly knit communities than the developed countries. The workforce also consists of larger agrarian and informal labour than the Western countries (Salim, 2015). These conditions also lead to difference in understanding and acceptance of neoliberal policies and freedom of market in these contexts. One example can be seen in the recent farmer protests to opening of markets to the agricultural sector in India and explicitly stating “We did not ask for this freedom” (Bera, 2020). It is possible that contexts where security has a high value, freedom to choose and maximizing might not be so important.

The present study takes a perspective of country in transition to understand maximizing and its implications in changing cultural, market and economic circumstances. The aim is to investigate differences in maximizing in traditional rural agrarian population and people working in corporate sector in special economic zone which is more integrated with the values of global market competition than the rural agrarian people. It is predicted that people in the corporate sector will maximize more than the agrarian labour due to differences in cultural, economic and market factors in these regions.

The project aims to address questions about socio-cultural and market factors that make people maximize more and the consequences for emotions and well-being. The broad questions on these aspects are do people in urban, consumerist cultures maximize more than in traditional, agrarian ones? Is increasing global market system priming us to maximize? Are maximizers happy to search for better options or is it leading to increasing discontent?

The main proposition of the present project is that people in the urban metropolitan region of would maximize more than people of a rural agrarian region in a country in transition.

Maximizing would also be associated with lower well-being and emotions associated with lower satisfaction. It is expected that people in the urban metropolitan region would interact more with a maximizing conducive environment, facilitated by the values of market competition and neoliberalism. These values are associated with consumer culture, increasing standards of choices and individual aspirations. However, in the rural agrarian region of traditional, tightly knit society, where social roles and role expectations are well defined, people would choose satisfactory and sufficient choices for themselves.

The thesis is divided into five chapters discussing the purpose, method, and findings from two studies done in rural and urban regions in India.

The next chapter reviews the literature about the existing studies on the topic. I intend to discuss the meaning of maximizing and how has it been understood in psychological literature and its place in decision studies. As it has already been mentioned that maximizing is searching for the best option, it is possible that people in every context or culture do not look for the best possible option. The literature review also explores the cultural underpinnings to understand the relation between Eastern and Western self-concept and differences in meanings and processes of choice, which have been the premise of the previous cross-cultural studies on maximizing. It is argued that maximizing is not only affected by culture and self-concept but is rather a product of social change including cultural, market and economic transition. Cultural change, opening of markets and economic development are associated with each other and create a climate that might be conducive to maximizing. This kind of social change is more pronounced in the developing countries or countries in transition since they have adopted free market policies relatively recently (Edwards, 1997). It is also discussed that the cultural, market and economic changes can be observed on an ecological level as well, and therefore there is a possibility that differences in maximizing due to the above-mentioned factors might occur on a within country, socio-ecological level. Studies on the effects of different ecologies like rural-urban, small-scale, industrial, and capitalistic contexts on decision preferences indicate potential differences in maximizing in rural and metropolitan settings. Lastly, the Indian context is discussed in this regard, where the study was conducted.

The second chapter discusses the method of the project. The study was carried out as quantitative assessment through field work. The data was collected through paper pencil surveys in the rural and urban population. The chapter discusses the preparation of fieldwork, which involved translation and adaptation of the measures and recruitments of RAs. Sampling and recruitment of participants is also discussed for both contexts, procedure and administration of the scales and problems encountered while conducting the study. Both of the studies were conducted through fieldwork and therefore described in the same chapter.

The third chapter is about the first study of the project. The first study assessed the macro level (societal) indicators of cultural, market and economic factors that might lead to higher maximizing the urban region than in the rural region. The prediction tested in the study was whether people in the urban metropolitan societies maximize more than people in the rural agrarian societies due to being more individualistic, neoliberal and achievement oriented than the latter. In addition, it was also investigated whether people in the urban metropolitan region experience more dissatisfaction with their choices, which was assessed through missed opportunities, and levels of happiness and well-being. The expectations in the rural region were contrary to the above, more specifically, people in the rural societies would like safer and familiar options and therefore might satisfice. The general findings were confirmed that people in the urban region indeed maximize more than the people in the rural region. The causes, mechanisms and additional findings are discussed.

The fourth chapter discusses the micro level (individual) indicators of cultural, market and economic factors that are associated with higher maximizing in the urban region. It was predicted that cultural factors reducing social conformity would be associated with a market-oriented self-interest and increased necessities. These factors would be higher in the urban metropolitan region where people would maximize. It was also predicted that although people in rural societies would not maximize for their personal choices, they would strive for better options for their community. This, however, would not be true for people in the urban metropolitan region. The broad findings were similar to the first study that people in the urban metropolitan region maximize more than the rural participants. The associated processes and other findings of the study are elaborated

The fifth and last chapter draws upon the findings and conclusions from both studies. Different factors that play a role in rural urban distinction in maximizing on macro and micro level are discussed. On the macro level, neoliberal orientation and higher socio-economic status facilitate maximizing in the urban metropolitan region. On the micro level, higher relational mobility, and higher importance of luxury in the urban metropolitan region led to higher maximizing. The findings show that a transition from traditional cultural and market values context to free market society is associated with neoliberalism and higher standards of living. These changes are also reflected in individual preferences for relationships and social circles and shift in meaning of basic necessities in a neoliberal society. These lead to higher maximizing in an urban metropolitan context compared to a traditional rural society. The findings have implications for cultural and economic changes in developing countries and their effects on people's preferences for maximizing. In the next chapter, the existing literature on the topic is discussed.



**CHAPTER 1**  
**LITERATURE REVIEW**



## **Chapter 1**

### **Literature Review**

The present project aims to investigate the relation between ecological context and maximizing. In this chapter, the theoretical arguments and framework are presented which build the basis of this premise. In the following the construct of maximizing is discussed, previous studies done on it and why is it important in the socio-cultural, market and economic framework in a country in transition. The variables taken under this framework are also discussed and in the end of the chapter, the predictions of the study and operationalization of each of the construct used are elaborated.

#### **Maximizing and Satisficing:**

Decision scientists have always deemed the purpose of any decision to get the best outcome. The classical theories of expected utility and subjective utility are based on the idea of rationality that man is a rational agent who has full information about his options and is all capable of obtaining the best outcome out of the decision (Wittek, 2013). This idea was criticised and a new approach of “Bounded Rationality” was proposed. According to this approach, the rationality of the people is constrained which makes them make suboptimal decisions or “satisfice”. Satisficing is choosing not the best but an adequate option which would be sufficient and satisfactory. The Bounded Rationality approach was followed by studies in heuristics and biases focussing on the errors and rules of thumb in making decisions (Gigerenzer, 2016).

Recent studies showed that even though it might not be objectively possible for people to attain the best possible option, they do adopt two different kinds of strategies based on trying to attain the maximum or satisfactory outcome. People who strive to attain the best possible option are known as “Maximizers” and people who choose a good enough option are known as “Satisficers”. Maximizers and satisficers differ in their threshold of acceptance. Maximizers have a higher threshold of acceptance than satisficers, which means that they take more time and effort to choose and accept an option than the latter (Roets et al., 2012).

Various studies have been conducted to determine why do people maximize and what are the psychological consequences of maximizing. One of the integral factors for maximizing is self-

determination. Self-determination theory posits that the feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness are important for one's intrinsic motivation and wellbeing (Ryan & Deci, 2000). The authors give a special emphasis on the relation between autonomy, competence and choice and its relation to self-determination. Many contemporary studies relate self determination to liberty and freedom to choose in the modern society to maximizing (Schwartz, 2000).

The findings for emotional consequences of maximizing have been found to be both, positive and negative. Studies conducted with final year college students looking for jobs show that although maximizers find objectively better prospects, they experience more distress regarding their choices. They experience more negative emotions of being tired, anxious, stressed, pessimistic, depressed, worried, regretful, disappointed, frustrated, and overwhelmed than satisficers. They also ruminate more on missed opportunities than satisficers (Iyengar et al., 2006). Some scholars also argue that although choosing is a rewarding experience in cultures where self-determination and freedom are considered important, making choices for complex decisions (e.g., investment, healthcare, schools, and colleges for one's child) can prove detrimental for one's wellbeing (Botti & Iyengar, 2006). Some studies developed a new instrument to measure maximizing that does not correlate with the experience of negative emotions (Diab et al., 2008). Therefore, the effects of maximizing might also be associated with the measure being used. The original study found higher maximizing tendency was related to higher levels of depression and lower levels of life satisfaction and happiness (Schwartz et al., 2002). However, this was not the case with the subsequent studies mentioned above that constructed alternative measures (Diab et al., 2008). They found that maximizers are more susceptible to the feelings of regret than satisficers, however their well-being is not hindered due to maximizing.

The formative studies on maximizing established a relation between self and choice. Choice is an integral part of self-determination and therefore can be considered an extension of self. In societies that value 'freedom of choice', choice, autonomy, and self-determination are considered very important for people, and as discussed before, getting the best out of one's choices, or maximizing is essential (Schwartz, 2000; Botti & Iyengar, 2006; Markus & Schwartz, 2010).

However, we will see in the upcoming sections that the notion of self is different in different cultures. This leads to cross cultural differences in relation between self and decision making.

### **Cultural Assumptions in Previous Studies**

The literature in cross-cultural psychology broadly distinguishes between two types of self construals: Independent self-construal and Interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The independent self-construal which is more prominent in Western countries considers self as a unique and individual entity. The source of this self-concept is the person or individual himself. It has been found in the studies that people having this concept of self, describe their identity through their traits or characteristics and evaluations of the self. The counterpart of this self-concept, the interdependent self is more prevalent in the Eastern countries. The source of the notion of self here is the role set and relational network, the person is a part of. It has been found that people having an interdependent self-construal express their identity as their roles towards their significant groups (e.g., family, peers, etc.) and the society (Bochner, 1994; Dhawan et al., 1995). The macro level constructs corroborating to independent and interdependent selves are Individualism and Collectivism. Independent self is more prevalent in Individualistic culture (where the source of self is the individual) and interdependent self is prominent in the Collectivistic culture (where the source of self is the collective to which the person belongs).

Given that maximizing has been found to be associated with individualistic self-concept, there is a possibility that people with non-individualistic conception of self will have a different relation with choice and decision making. Some ethnographic studies were conducted between Japanese and American students residing in Japan to find out whether there are any cross-cultural differences in perception and attitude towards choice (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). The investigators found that American students perceived about 50% more actions as choice in their daily life than the Japanese students. About 30% of them wanted to have choice for every situation, but this was not true for the Japanese students. This shows that from a young age people culturally differ in their understanding of actions as choices and people in Individualistic culture consider more actions as choices than people from Collectivistic culture. The authors followed these studies by experiments with school children in second, third and fourth grade in the age range of 7-9 years. These children were Japanese and Chinese Asian American, and

Anglo-American kids studying in an American school but spoke their native language at home. They were given anagram tasks in three conditions, in which the anagram category was either chosen by the student herself, or the experimenter chose the category for them, or their mother chose it for them. They found that Asian American children persevered longer and performed better on the category chosen by their mothers than personally chosen or those chosen by the experimenters compared to Anglo American children. Anglo American children performed better on their personally chosen category than chosen by others. This finding also extended to perceived ingroup and out group members. A follow up study with 9-11 year old Anglo American, and Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese Asian American students on arithmetic tasks found similar results. The Asian American students liked, preferred, and made more attempts for the tasks chosen by their in-group (peers) than the ones chosen by themselves, out-group members (students from different grade or school), or the computer. The Anglo-American students liked and attempted the tasks more that they chose personally than anyone else. The authors suggest that the source of intrinsic motivation is different in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. While personal choice is fulfilling for oneself and integral to self-determination in Individualistic cultures, in collectivistic cultures people show more engagement with decisions made by their in-group members or relevant others (Iyengar & Devoe, 2003). A recent similar study done between Indian and American students, shows that Americans coming from an individualistic culture construe more actions as choices than Indians regarding personal choice situations. Indians interpreted more actions as choices in an interactive and interpersonal situation (Savani et al., 2010). This shows that the meaning of choice itself varies across cultures for independent and interdependent selves.

Some studies have investigated the role and structure of agency to understand the relation between self and value of choice in different cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). They talk about 'disjoint' and 'conjoint' agency which emanate from different kinds of cultural selves. A 'disjoint' agency is sourced from personal desires and goals leading to choices that are fulfilling for the individual self. A 'conjoint' agency is a part of an interdependent self, and the choices are governed by social importance. A choice is understood as self-expression in an individualistic culture with a disjoint agency and it is assessing and adjusting one's position in a relational situation in a collectivistic culture with conjoint agency. Hence there are different consequences

for dissonance associated with these agencies. Discrepancy between one's personal preference and choice creates more dissonance for a disjoint agency but not for a conjoint agency. This shows that individualistic people with disjoint agency place more value on personal choices than collectivistic people with conjoint agency. Thus, personal choice does not necessarily determine oneself universally. It is possible that cultures where choice is seen as a manifestation or extension of self would be more particular of their choices and tend towards maximizing.

### **Cross-Cultural Differences in Maximizing**

Given the cultural differences in self and in relation with choice, it is plausible to think that there would be cultural differences in preference to maximize. Many studies have been conducted based on this premise. One of the studies that aimed to investigate cross cultural differences in relation between maximizing and well-being predicted that maximizing would have significant detrimental effect on well-being in the Western societies of U.S. and Western Europe but not in the Eastern culture of China (Roets et al., 2012). This prediction was based on the premise that the Western contexts emphasize on personal choices as they are seen as a reflection of oneself. Given that, maximizers would be dissatisfied with their choices and preference for maximizing, it would harm their well-being. However, in collectivistic cultures where personal choice is not a determinant of one's self concept, maximizing one's personal choices would be unrelated with well-being. All the participants were educated and earning adults and most of them reported an 'average' level of income. The findings showed the effect of maximizing on well-being was mediated fully by regret in U.S. American and partially in Western European contexts, but it did not play a role in the relation between maximizing and well-being in the Chinese context. The authors concluded that in Western societies where the options for personal choice are abundant and freedom of choice is highly regarded, the responsibility of being happy or unhappy with one's choices lies with the decision maker. An inadequate outcome of one's personal choice thus leads to regret and detrimental effects on well-being. However, contexts that allow lesser options for personal choice also have a weaker relation between one's own choice and happiness, therefore maximizing and regret for personal choice do not affect one's well-being. The above research did not find any significant difference in maximizing tendency between the Western and Individualistic context of U.S. and Eastern, Collectivistic context of China.

Another study was done along similar lines to compensate for the limitations of the above study. The authors claimed that the relation between maximizing, and well-being found in the previous study might be a result of not only cultural differences but also socio-economic differences in addition (Oishi et al., 2014). To control for socio-economic differences, they conducted the study with adult participants in U.S. which was taken as the Individualistic context and Japan as the Collectivistic context. These two countries are similar in their economic structures and indicators and differ only based on cultures. They found significantly higher preference for maximizing in the Individualistic societies of the U.S. than the Collectivistic context of Japan. However, the nature of relation between maximizing and well-being was different from the previous findings. Maximizing was measured through two instruments. Maximizing scale by Schwartz et al. (2002) has been found to be correlated with neuroticism and Diab et al.'s (2008) scale which does not account for the negative consequences for maximizers' well-being. It was found that in collectivistic culture, maximizing was negatively associated with well-being regardless of the instrument used. In individualistic culture, the aspect of personal standards in maximizing was found beneficial for well-being. The authors attributed the difference in relation between maximizing and well-being to difference in meaning of personal standards in different cultures. While Americans consider these standards as personal achievable goals, Japanese people consider it level of improvement which might be hard to achieve. This also affects the relation between overall maximizing and well-being in both of the cultures. Maximizers are happy in individualistic cultures but not in collectivistic cultures.

A set of studies done with 9 to 27 countries was done to find out if people differ in maximizing for life ideals e.g., freedom, health, happiness, and pleasure (Hornsey et al., 2018). It was predicted that the non-holistic societies would follow the principle of maximization while holistic Eastern societies would abide by the principle of Moderation and put a limit to even hypothetical ideals. Holistic thinking style is based on the principle of acceptance of contradiction, change and contextual embeddedness. The authors argue that acceptance of contradiction also implies that positive and negative experiences might not be in inverse relation. Positive and negative emotions and experiences can co-exist or can be seen as following each other. This also leads one to understand the experiences as ever changing. Contextual embeddedness also implies a socially embedded self-concept. These factors in a culture with

dominant holistic thinking style make maximizing inconsequential for oneself. They found that people in holistic societies have moderate upper limit for ideal state of self than non-holistic cultures. However, no difference was found in maximizing for ideals for society between the holistic and non-holistic cultures. Although there is some overlap between holistic and collectivistic cultures, the moderation and maximization principles were more affected by holistic thinking than collectivistic values. The authors note that these principles are not the same as behavioural constructs of maximizing and satisficing. However, conceptually in both sets of studies the investigators try to assess cross cultural differences in people putting a limit to the value of desired outcomes.

To summarize the above sections, we can see that core literature in maximizing distinguishes between maximizers who try to achieve the best possible option and satisficers who choose an adequate option. The cross-cultural studies predicted that people in individualistic culture would maximize for personal decisions more than people in collectivistic cultures due to difference in nature of self-construct and self-determination. Some studies found this to be the case (Oishi et al., 2014) and some did not (Roets et al., 2012) due to difference in measured neurotic attributes of maximizing. Other studies found a trend of moderating ideals for self in collectivistic and holistic cultures and emphasis on maximization principle in individualistic and analytical cultures (Hornsey et al. 2018).

The above mentioned studies also investigated relation between maximizing and well-being. It can be seen there are competing evidence for the effect of maximizing on well-being. Some scholars have argued that proliferation of choices and attempt to maximize for crucial decisions can cause detrimental effects for well-being (Schwartz et al., 2002; Iyengar et al., 2006; Botti & Iyengar, 2006). Other studies that modified the measure to control for neurotic aspects show that maximizing does not necessarily harm a person's well-being, although maximizers are more sensitive to regret (Diab et al., 2008). In cross-cultural literature, some researchers found negative effects of maximizing on well-being in individualistic cultures but not in collectivistic cultures (Roets et al., 2012). Others found maximizing to be beneficial for well-being in individualistic cultures but not in collectivistic cultures due to difference in feasibility of personal standards (Oishi et al., 2014).

These studies above discuss cross cultural differences in relation between maximizing and well-being, however many of them do not directly address the differences in maximizing across cultures. Some of them explicitly mention that relation between culture and economy that might affect maximizing and its emotional consequences (Oishi et al., 2014) but do not explain how. In the next sections, discuss the implications of these gaps and possible explanations to understand them are discussed.

### **Relation between Culture and Economy**

The mixed findings from the above studies show that it is unclear how culture affects maximizing. It is possible that culture on its own is not an adequate explanation to understand differences in decision making, and other factors of cross-cultural differences should be revisited for a more accurate explanation of differences in maximizing.

A recent study examined various ecological factors that lead to cross-cultural differences (Santos et al., 2017). The authors examined 51 years of data from 78 countries for changes in Individualistic values and practices with possible predictors of pathogen prevalence, disaster frequency, climatic stress, and socio-economic development. They found that there has been a significant shift towards individualism in all the countries which was explained more by socio-economic development than any other factor.

The interaction between culture and economy and its psychological consequences is not a new idea. It has been studied by social scientists at various time points on macro and micro level. One of the primary studies to investigate relation between religion and economy is of Protestant values and economic advancement. The author observes that Protestant religion imbibe work values and ethics that are integral to the development of organized labour and capitalistic economic practices (Weber, 1930/2001). He argues that the economic activities related to capitalism in themselves are not in pursuit of gain, but the Protestant values are unique in morally and religiously justifying the work practices and ethics that have a by-product of accumulation of wealth.

This was followed by a cross-cultural analyses of socialization practices that leads to development of achievement motivation and entrepreneur orientation (McClelland, 1961). The authors did multiple studies to investigate the cultural differences in socialization practices and

parent child relations in Western and Eastern developed and developing countries. They found that the children who were reared with values of early independence and mastery orientation had more inclination towards achievement motivation and entrepreneurship, than children who were brought up with more authoritarian parenting styles. A cultural environment conducive to achievement motivation was found to increase the pace of economic development.

Studies in Modernization and Postmodernization attribute social change to cultural, economic, and political transition taking place together. Modernization is the process of politically and economically enabling people of a society (Inglehart, 1997). The authors assessed this through changes in values over generations. The findings show that when societies go through economic changes from agricultural economy to industrialization, they also go through a transition from collectivistic tendencies and security needs to individualism and achievement orientation and democracy. Though there is no consensus whether cultural changes precede economic changes or vice versa, it is quite certain that they coexist (Inglehart, 1997; Hayward & Kemmelmeier, 2007).

Many sociologists have also recognized the individual value shift with economic development and modernization as ‘Individualization’ (Beck, 2002). It is an institutionalized transition towards individualism, in which social and communal values and practices, and ‘collective habits’ transform to individual choices. Thus, even basic community traditions or practices like marriage and the concept of family which were guided by the principles of socially prescribed role sets and were accepted for granted become individual choices and responsibilities (Beck, 2002). Thus, individualization is also a cultural and economic social change of a traditional, collective values-based society to a personal choice-based society, which occurs through modernization.

### **Cultural Economic and Market Transition at Socio-Ecological Level**

Research also shows these cultural and economic changes at socio-ecological level. A socio-ecology consists of immediate social, cultural, economic, political, environmental, and demographic context that affect a person’s values and behaviour (Oishi & Graham, 2010). In the present study the socio-ecology has been taken of rural agrarian and metropolitan context.

Studies have found that urbanization, technological development, education, and changes from a

rural, subsistence to commercial economy leads to a change from collectivistic to individualistic socialization practices, showing that individualism as a social change can also occur as process on an ecological level, and not only as a cross country categorization. (Greenfield, 2009).

Research shows that the ecological difference reflects in the nature of relationships for urban and rural societies. People in urban regions have higher relational mobility i.e., have more opportunities to form new relations and leave undesired ones than in rural societies where kinship is an important value that governs relationships (Yuki & Schug, 2012). People in farming societies also report their social norms to be tighter than people in urban societies (Thomson, 2018). This might have consequences for maximizing for oneself since tight societies emphasize on social constraints and monitoring and reduces the chances of personal choice. Studies related to relational mobility and residential mobility have found that people in metropolitan cities make more individualistic and self-expressive choices than rural traditional people (Yamagishi et al., 2012). It is possible that these individualistic tendencies in metropolitan region will also lead to higher maximizing for oneself than in the rural region.

Socio-ecological contexts also differ in market systems and perceived necessities. Studies show that people distinguish between goods to be necessity or luxury (Kemp, 1998). However, the meaning of need varies in traditional and consumer society (Bauman, 2001). The author points out that needs and desires are not distinguished in a consumer society and needs are not finite or satiable in capitalistic economy. Therefore, maximizing is unavoidable in such contexts. Some scholars make similar arguments that free market societies are driven by ‘wants’ than needs (Tripathi & Mishra, 2012), and wants unlike needs cannot be fulfilled. It is possible that the above-mentioned aspirations beyond needs in market societies might lead to higher maximizing compared to traditional societies.

The choices of people in traditional farming societies are guided by values of subsistence and security in contrast to capitalistic society. Classic studies with South East Asian farmers show that the social and economic decisions are governed by concern for ‘safety first’ than better payoffs (Scott, 1976). This risk aversion takes precedence over profit concern and capital maximization and also reflects in the social system and transactions. In traditional societies, the social and work networks provide a safety net against crisis. Relatives and friends in farming community provide financial support in difficult times and expect the same when they are in

trouble. The village officials are also obliged to provide a piece of communal land or tenancy to the poor in villages and can ask for labour in return (Scott, 1976). This economic interaction guarantees minimum subsistence for agricultural labour, although reducing free choice, better individual prospects and maximizing one's own outcome. Such moral reciprocity and interdependence are absent in an individualized, modern society having increasingly loosening social bonds and a dominant neoliberal market ideology, where people are expected to take care of themselves, construct their own ways of life and take the responsibility of success and failures of their decisions by themselves (Beck, 2002). Failing in such contexts has higher costs than in contexts with higher interdependence, therefore it becomes a compulsion to maximize.

The above mentioned cultural and market factors in socio-ecological contexts have also been found to play a role in resource decision making in interpersonal situations. Experiments with people in small-scale societies show that people's decisions in traditional and non-industrial societies vary more than in large scale industrial societies, due to differences in social norms, daily interactions, and market integration (Henrich et al., 2005). A small-scale society has been used synonymously to "traditional", "non-industrialised" society or a primary group, in which the members interact on daily basis (Reyes-García et al., 2017). The researchers conducted a series of economic games in 15 small scale societies and found accepted and proposed offers to be very different from large scale industrialized Western societies. People in these societies offered and accepted more unequal amounts than one would in an industrialized, modern society.

Studies in transitional countries also show difference in social value orientation which leads to differences in decision for oneself and for interpersonal gains (Shahrier et al., 2016). The researchers conducted the study in Bangladesh where they did experiments and surveys in rural transitional and capitalistic regions, where they found that people in capitalistic societies make more pro-self decisions compared to rural and transitional societies where people make more prosocial decisions. These studies show that socio-ecological context plays an important role for an individual's decision due to cultural and economic factors.

The next sections discuss the context of the research. Maximizing was investigated in rural and metropolitan contexts of a country in cultural and economic transition in the present study. It will

be discussed what role the context plays in shaping people's values and preferences in decision making.

### **Background, Scope and Novelty of the Research**

So far, it has been established that culture and economic development go together to shape not only individual values and behaviour but also decision preferences. In the present study, maximizing and satisficing has been investigated in the context of a developing country. To understand the relevance of the context, it is important to delineate the cultural and economic differences between developed countries and countries in transition which might serve as potential factors for differences in maximizing in rural and metropolitan contexts.

Developed and developing countries differ in many cultural and economic aspects. As discussed in studies about achievement motivation earlier, independence socialization practices, achievement motivation and Protestant ethics are conducive to the pace of economic development and are found to be higher in the Western developed countries (McClelland, 1961). The author also points out that developing countries report high need for affiliation and less market morality, i.e., they give more preference to ascribed status and relations than to strangers on the basis of their performance in the market or work settings, which hinders the pace of economic development by reducing the efficiency of economic transactions (McClelland, 1961).

The previous sections already discussed the global scale increase in individualization, even in the collectivistic countries (Santos et al., 2017). Among many cross-cultural distinctions of climate, pathogen, disaster frequency etc., economic development was found to be the most robust predictor of cultural change. Thus, increase in white collar jobs over agricultural work, occupational prestige, education, income, and urbanization have been found to be key indicators of increase in individualism in all the countries, including countries in transition. The next sections discuss the workforce aspects of the transitional or developing countries.

Studies in globalization and development show that one of the major distinctions between the developed and developing countries is of the workforce type. In the developing countries, about 35-50% of the workforce is involved in agricultural practices, however only 1-5% of workforce is in agricultural sector in the developed countries. Also, most of the farmers in the developing

countries are small or marginal landholders (i.e., have a landholding smaller than 2 hectares), while the farmers in the developed countries have large landholdings. Thus, about half of the workforce is in the rural agrarian system in the developing countries (Salim, 2015).

The relation between shift to individualistic values and practices due to socio-economic changes of urbanization and increase in white collar jobs has been already pointed out, and therefore it is also important to discuss the urban sector in respect to the changes in workforce. Since the liberalization reforms in 1980s and 1990s (Edwards, 1997), there has been an increase in multinational corporation (MNC) branches in the developing countries. This has also led to the development of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) where trade restrictions are relaxed to encourage foreign direct investment and global businesses. The SEZs have a high number of MNC branches and outsourcing companies, and the majority of workforce is employed in the private sector (Akinci & Crittle, 2008).

Many studies have argued that the underlying values of Globalization related socio-economic system are of capitalism, neoliberalism, and competition (Kotz, 2002). Neoliberalism endorses and encourages market competition and freedom of choice for the consumers (McGuigan, 2014). These market values also affect the social values of the context. People in free market-oriented societies show dominant values of competition, individualism, success, and achievement orientation (Hagen et al., 1999). However, the beliefs about competition are affected by one's culture and therefore competition is not as accepted in many non-Protestant cultures (Hayward & Kemmelmeier, 2007). Some scholars point out to the development of a 'neoliberal self' characterized by inherent dissatisfaction and self-interest (McGuigan, 2014). It is predicted that this will lead to higher maximizing orientation in market-oriented context of SEZs, in contrast to rural agrarian context based on subsistence values, where people will satisfice. It is also possible that the priorities in these contexts might differ. Studies have emphasized on hierarchy of needs and shift in necessities, depending on the level of economic development and fulfilment of needs (Inglehart 1997, Maslow, 1954). Thus, people who do not have to be concerned about basic necessities will aspire more and therefore maximize more than people in a rural traditional society context.

The following sections elaborate on the context of the present study, which is the developing country of India.

### **Indian Context**

This study was conducted in the developing country of India. The country has an economy in transition. It was predominantly an agricultural economy and gradually industrialized, but after liberalization policies in 1990s, the country opened its markets to foreign trade and global economy (Mukherjee, 2009). The next sections briefly discuss the cultural, market and economic background of the Indian context.

The Indian cultural context has produced mixed findings regarding the Individualism-Collectivism distinction. On world-wide level of ranking of cultural dimensions of Individualism, India lies on the middle score of 48, highest being 91 for the United States and lowest being 6 for Guatamala (Hofstede, 2015). Another similar study of GLOBE project shows similar findings. India scores slightly above medium for institutional collectivism practices and values. Both are almost equal to the average GLOBE score for all the countries. The in-group collectivism practices score is quite higher than the overall GLOBE score, but the values score is much lower than the average GLOBE score (GLOBE 2020, data visualization for 2004). Thus, the individualism-collectivism dimension is not very clear for the Indian context. Some scholars argue that Indians have coexisting individualistic and collectivistic tendencies (Sinha & Tripathi 1994; Sinha, 2014). This might lead to within culture differences in maximizing.

From an economic and market point of view, the Indian economy has gone through some important developments in the past few decades which affect its national economy and its interaction with the global market. The Indian economy has been primarily an agricultural economy. Since its Independence in 1947, the government invested in the development and enabling of the agricultural sector through land reforms and Green Revolution. This was followed by a state governed socialist set up of industries. Thus, the government focused more on the banking and public sector. In 1990s the service sector started to take precedence in the GDP growth, due to increase in interaction with the global market (Kotwal et al., 2011). Even though the service sector contributes the most to the country's GDP, the agricultural sector employs the largest proportion of workforce, which was about 41% in 2020 (Neill, 2021). The

service sector employs 32.33% of workforce in India. The rural population of India comprises of 68.84% and the urban population of 31.16% approximately. The sex ratio is 943 women per 1000 men and about 74.04% population is literate (Census, 2011).

It can be concluded from the above discussion that the region of SEZs in the developing countries are more integrated with global market competition than the rural agricultural sector. This makes these contexts more aligned with the values of neoliberalism and competition. Some studies in the Indian context argue that the state of agriculture has deteriorated after free market policy reforms (Sahay, 2010). The agricultural societies in developing countries are not compatible with the global market competition and its free market principles (Salim, 2015). In the present study, attempt has been made to understand these cultural, market and economic distinctions and how do they affect differences in maximizing of decisions. The present study is situated in India. The broad prediction in the project is that people living and working in metropolitan SEZs would maximize more than rural agrarian labourers, since the cultural, market and economic values of the metropolitan inhabitants would be more conducive to market competition.

The above arguments and evidence about the factors of social change in a transitional country that affect societal and individual values and behaviour lead to the following research questions and predictions.

### **Research Question and Predictions**

The overall study predicts that there will be people in metropolitan region would maximize more than rural agrarian participants. The dependent variable is maximizing decision making, which has been addressed in three aspects:

- 1) Maximizing tendency
- 2) Cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing
- 3) Self and collective maximizing dilemmas

Maximizing tendency here refers to a general disposition to strive for better options. It is a non-specific tendency to maximize. The cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing address how people address the cost of maximizing and satisficing in terms of risk and missed

opportunity. This also includes levels of well-being of maximizers and satisficers. Maximizing dilemmas refer to specific situations in which both maximizing and satisficing involve cost in terms of efforts, time, or outcome. These situations involve decision for oneself or one's community.

The independent variable is the socio-ecology of rural and urban metropolitan settings. The rural region is characterized by the workforce of agrarian labourers and the dominant workforce in metropolitan SEZ is that of corporate employees.

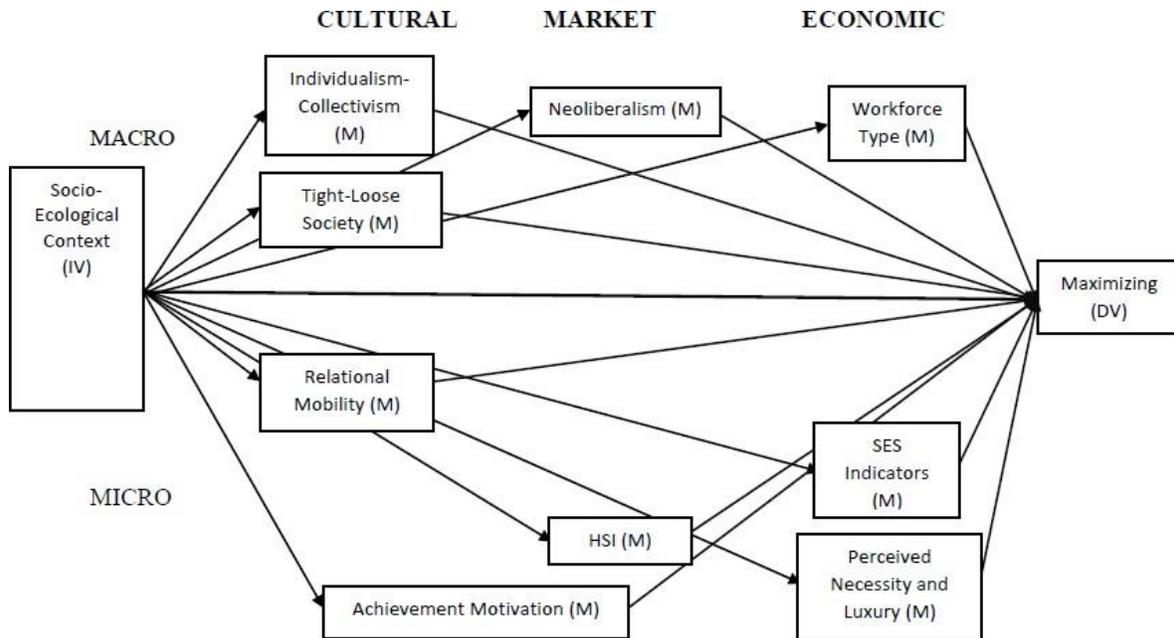
The mediating variables are cultural, market and economic factors, which have been assessed on two levels: macro and micro. Macro-level phenomenon takes place on a societal level, while micro-level phenomenon takes place at individual level. The macro level mediators in the study are cultural factors of individualism-collectivism and tight-loose perception of society and the market factor of neoliberalism. Micro level mediators are the cultural factor of relational mobility, market factor of hierarchic self-interest and economic perception of range of necessities. It is predicted that the rural-urban contexts would differ on these factors which would lead to socio-ecological difference in maximizing.

It is important to note that although the explanatory factors in the present study are macro and micro level, the unit of analysis of the dependent variable is the individual. Therefore, maximizing has been investigated at the micro level of general tendency, decisions in different situations and the cognitive and emotional processes of the individual.

Given on the next page is the model proposed to explain the contextual differences in general maximizing tendency.

**Figure 1.1**

*Proposed Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency*



*Note.* The above model explains the theoretical framework for understanding the socio-ecological differences in general maximizing tendency in the present project. It is predicted that people in urban metropolitan region would maximize more than people in the rural agrarian due to the above given mediating factors. The mediating factors are classified into cultural, market and economic factors on macro and micro level. The macro level mediating factors are individualism-collectivism, perception of tight-loose societal norms, neoliberal orientation, and nature of employment of the participants. The individual level factors consist of relational mobility, hierarchic self-interest, achievement motivation, perceived necessity and luxury and socio-economic indicators. Achievement motive has been treated as both cultural and market (entrepreneurial) orientation in literature (McClelland, 1961), hence the overlap in the model between cultural and market factors.

The research problem of how cultural, market and economic factors affect maximizing in a country in transition/context going through socio-cultural and economic change has been addressed through the following research questions:

**RQ1: How do rural-urban ecological differences in cultural, market and economic factors affect one's general maximizing tendency?**

It is predicted here that the rural and urban ecologies would differ on societal (macro) and individual (micro) level cultural, market, and economic factors which would lead to differences in maximizing tendency. The specific hypotheses based on Fig. 1.1 are given below:

*Overall Prediction*

**H1:** Urban participants will maximize more than the rural participants.

*Prediction for Mediators*

**Cultural:**

**H2:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher individualism, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants. (*Macro*)

**H3:** People in the metropolitan region would report lesser tight perception of society, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants. (*Macro*)

**H4:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher relational mobility, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants. (*Micro*)

**Market:**

**H5:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher neoliberal orientation, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants. (*Macro*)

**H6:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher hierarchic self-interest, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants. (*Micro*)

**H7<sup>1</sup>:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher achievement motive, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants. (*Micro*)

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<sup>1</sup> Since achievement motive has been treated as both cultural and market (entrepreneurial) orientation in literature (McClelland, 1961), it has been treated as both, a cultural and market predictor in the present study.

## **Economic:**

**H8:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher standards of living, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants. (*Micro*)

**H9:** People in the metropolitan region would report broader range of necessities, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants. (*Micro*)

### **RQ2: How do rural-urban ecological differences affect one's cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing?**

The cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing has been assessed as experience of negative and positive emotions following maximizing and satisficing decisions. The specific hypotheses are:

**H10:** The urban metropolitan participants will be more sensitive to cost of satisficing in terms of opportunity cost than the rural agrarian participants.

**H11:** The rural agrarian participants will be more sensitive to cost of maximizing in terms of risk aversion than the urban metropolitan participants.

**H12:** Higher maximizing in urban metropolitan participants will be related to lower happiness and life satisfaction than the rural agrarian participants.

### **RQ3: How do rural-urban ecological differences affect one's maximizing preference for self-regarding and collective decisions?**

It is predicted that rural and urban participants would differ in maximizing their decisions for personal, self-regarding decisions and collective, community-regarding decisions. The specific hypotheses are:

**H13:** People in urban metropolitan region will maximize more for self-regarding decisions than people in the rural agrarian region.

**H14:** People in the rural agrarian region will maximize more for community related decisions than people in the urban metropolitan region.

The above research questions and predictions have been assessed in two studies. The first research question has been divided into two parts: macro level mediators and micro level mediators were measured in separate studies. Research question two was a part of the first study and three of the second study. The research questions for each study, summary of predictions, operationalization and control are given below:

### **Study 1:**

#### **RQ 1 (part 1): How do rural-urban ecological differences in cultural, market and economic factors affect one's general maximizing tendency? (*Macro*)**

The prediction here is that people in the urban metropolitan context would maximize more than people in rural agrarian context due to higher individualism, neoliberal beliefs, achievement motivation, and standard of living (H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>5</sub>, H<sub>7</sub>, H<sub>8</sub>)

#### **Operationalization of the Key Concepts:**

##### Independent Variable:

*Socio-Ecological Context:* A socio-ecological context is understood as one's social and physical environment comprising of a range of social, institutional, political environmental features that are directly or indirectly associated with one's values and behaviour. In the present study the socio-ecology is classified into rural and urban contexts of the participants.

##### Dependent Variable:

*Maximizing and Satisficing:* Maximizing is striving for the best possible option and satisficing is choosing a good enough option. In the study it has been measured as a tendency to keep search and try to avail better options and as a behaviour to choose the better outcome even when there is a trade-off.

##### Mediator Variables:

Cultural

*Individualism-Collectivism:* This construct is a cultural distinction between societies that facilitate independent and interdependent self-concept. An individualistic society is characterized

by people having an independent self-concept, which is seen as unique and independent of others or group. A collectivistic society facilitates an interdependent self-concept, in which the self is predominantly a part of the relational matrix of one's group. In the present study, individualism and collectivism has been measured in four levels: vertical individualism, horizontal individualism, vertical collectivism, and horizontal collectivism. Vertical individualism has been measured as one's self concept being independent of others and competition being an important part of the social system. Horizontal individualism also emphasizes independence but being competitive is not important. Vertical collectivism is having a self-concept in relation to others and acceptance of authority and hierarchy in relations. Horizontal collectivism also emphasizes on relational part of the self but does not necessarily underline authority.

#### Market Orientation

*Neoliberal Orientation:* Neoliberal orientation was measured as the social aspect of market system in terms of competitiveness, acceptance of inequality and belief in personal wherewithal i.e., people have capability and means to achieve what they want regardless of social constraints.

*Achievement Motivation:* Achievement motivation has been understood as entrepreneurial abilities and independent self-concept. It has been addressed as a cultural construct which is also conducive to market societies. In the present study it has been assessed as how important does one consider a set of personal and social goals.

#### **RQ2: How do rural-urban ecological differences affect one's cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing?**

The prediction here is that people in the rural region would experience more risk aversion associated with maximizing and metropolitan participants would experience more opportunity cost associated with satisficing than the rural participants. The urban participants will also show generally lower happiness and life satisfaction in association with higher maximizing tendency.

(H<sub>10</sub>, H<sub>11</sub>, H<sub>12</sub>)

## **Operationalization of the Key Concepts:**

### Independent Variable:

*Socio-Ecological Context:* Same as described in RQ1

### Dependent Variable:

*Opportunity Cost:* Opportunity cost has been addressed in the literature as one's fixation with a good option that has been missed because of a choice already made (Iyengar et al., 2015). In the study, it has been measured as a set of negative emotions of regret, envy, anger, and frustration due to experience of losing a better option than one has chosen.

*Risk Aversion:* Risk aversion is avoiding an uncertain outcome even if it is a better option than the sure one. In the present study, it has been measured as a set of negative emotions of regret, envy, anger, and frustration following losing a certain good enough option while searching for the better ones.

*Life Satisfaction:* This construct is a self-evaluation of how happy or satisfied one is with his/her life.

*Happiness:* In this study has been operationalized as one's general level of elation or distress.

## **Study 2:**

### **RQ 1 (part 2): How do rural-urban ecological differences in cultural, market and economic factors affect one's general maximizing tendency? (*Micro*)**

The prediction here is that people in the urban metropolitan context would maximize more than people in rural agrarian context due to higher relational mobility, less tight perception of society, hierarchic self-interest, and broader range of necessities (H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, H<sub>4</sub>, H<sub>6</sub>, H<sub>8</sub>, H<sub>9</sub>).

## **Operationalization of the Key Concepts:**

### Independent Variable:

*Socio-Ecological Context:* Same as described in RQ1

Dependent Variable:

*Maximizing and Satisficing:* Same as described in RQ1

Mediator Variables:

Cultural

*Relational Mobility:* Relational mobility has been measured as the frequency of opportunities one's immediate social setting affords to make new relationships and choose to stay or leave relationships according to one's personal preference.

*Perception of Tight-Loose Society:* Perception of tight or loose society has been understood and assessed as one's perception of social norms being strict or relaxed and if deviances are punished frequently in the society or not.

Market

*Hierarchic Self Interest:* Hierarchic self-interest has been studied as a market rationality, in terms of an individual's level of competitiveness, individualism, achievement and success orientation, and acceptance of inequality.

Economic

*Perceived Necessity and Luxury:* Necessity has been considered as basic requirements of one's life or negative reinforcement, the lack of which can hamper one's daily functioning. Luxury is considered a non-necessity, similar to positive reinforcement, having which can make one happy, however its absence does not cause any pain or discomfort (Kemp 1998).

**RQ3: How do rural-urban ecological differences affect one's maximizing decision for self-regarding and collective decisions?**

The prediction here is that people in the metropolitan contexts would maximize more for self-regarding decision and people in the rural context would maximize more for community related decisions (H<sub>13</sub>, H<sub>14</sub>).

## **Operationalization of the Key Concepts:**

### Independent Variable:

*Socio-Ecological Context:* Same as described in RQ1

### Dependent Variable:

*Maximizing for Self and Community Regarding Decisions:* Maximizing is striving for the best possible option and satisficing is choosing a good enough option. Maximizing for self indicates trying to find better options for personal choices. Maximizing for community regarding decisions indicates striving for better options for one's community.

### **Control Factors:**

*Age:* Since the study was done with workforce population, the age range of the sample was accordingly decided to be kept between 20-65. OECD (2021) data suggests age criteria for labour force from 15 years to 64 years of age. This age range was taken to accommodate adult working population between secondary school education and are eligible in outsourcing companies, which is around 20 (Jensen, 2010) and the maximum retirement age of 65 (Reddy, 2016).

*Language:* The medium of administration was Hindi. This is also the native language of both of these regions like many other districts in Northern India. The districts fall into the linguistic area of Northern Hindi Belt.

*Choice Constraint:* This was introduced in the second study to see if maximizing was hindered due to experienced choice constraints stemming from lack of availability or capability to make maximizing choices.

Age and language were control factors in both studies. Choice constraint was used as a control only in the second study.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

The project is divided into two studies done with different samples of the same population. The objectives, sample and method used in each of the study are given below:

**Table 1.1**

### *Research Design*

Study	Aims	RQ and Hypotheses	Sample	Method
Study 1	1) To understand differences in maximizing in rural and urban regions due to macro-ecological factors of individualism-collectivism, neoliberal orientation, and achievement motivation	RQ 1.1: H <sub>1</sub> *, H <sub>2</sub> , H <sub>5</sub> , H <sub>7</sub> , H <sub>8</sub> *	200 agricultural workers and 200 corporate employees	Survey
	2) To understand cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing-satisficing assessed as opportunity cost and risk-aversion and well-being	RQ 2: H <sub>10</sub> , H <sub>11</sub> , H <sub>12</sub>		
Study 2	1) To understand differences in maximizing in rural and urban regions due to micro-ecological factors of relational mobility, perception of tight-loose society, hierarchic self-interest and perception of necessity and luxury	RQ 1.2: H <sub>1</sub> *, H <sub>3</sub> , H <sub>4</sub> , H <sub>6</sub> , H <sub>8</sub> *, H <sub>9</sub>	200 agricultural workers and 200 corporate employees	Survey
	2) To understand differences in maximizing in rural and urban regions for individual self-regarding decisions and collective decisions.	RQ 3: H <sub>13</sub> , H <sub>14</sub>		

*Note.* The above table represents the research design for the whole dissertation. The three research questions have been addressed through two studies. The first study aims to assess maximizing through socio-ecological differences in macro level cultural, market and economic factors. The first study also aims to understand the cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing in terms of opportunity cost, risk aversion and well-being. The second study aims to understand the socio-ecological differences in maximizing through micro or individual level cultural, market and economic factors. It also aims to understand socio-ecological differences in personal and community regarding maximizing. The sample for each of the study was taken to be 400 participants, 200 farmers and 200 corporate employees. The method for both studies was the quantitative survey approach and the responses were taken on standardized scales.

H<sub>1</sub>\* regarding general prediction about rural-urban differences in maximizing, and H<sub>8</sub>\* regarding socio-economic status is common in both studies.

It can be seen in the table that the project is divided into two studies. The first study addresses the cultural, market and economic factors at the macro level that might affect maximizing in the rural and urban regions. The prediction is that people in the urban region would maximize more than people in the rural region due to higher individualism, neoliberal values and achievement motivation (H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, H<sub>5</sub>, H<sub>7</sub>, H<sub>8</sub>). The first study also addresses the cognitive and emotional processes of opportunity cost and risk aversion, and well-being associated with maximizing, predicting that people in the urban metropolitan region would be more sensitive to missed opportunities associated with satisficing and lower happiness and well-being. In the rural region, people would report more risk aversion associated with maximizing. People in the urban region would also report lower levels of happiness and well-being due to maximizing than the rural participants (H<sub>10</sub>, H<sub>11</sub>, H<sub>12</sub>).

The second study predicts the relation of individual or micro level cultural, market and economic factors that might lead to differences in maximizing in the rural and urban region. It is predicted that people in the urban region would have higher maximizing tendency than the rural people due to higher relational mobility, more relaxed social norms, higher hierarchic self-interest, and a broader range of necessities (H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, H<sub>4</sub>, H<sub>6</sub>, H<sub>8</sub>, H<sub>9</sub>). The rural-urban differences in maximizing for personal and community decisions are also assessed predicting that people in the rural region would maximize more for the community decisions, while people in the urban region would maximize more for personal decisions (H<sub>13</sub>, H<sub>14</sub>).

## **REGIONAL CONTEXTS IN THE STUDY**

The study was carried out in two districts in Northern India. The rural participants were from the district of Bhadohi and the urban participants were from the district of Gurugram. Bhadohi is a district in Uttar Pradesh, which is primarily an agrarian state (Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Department of Agriculture, Government of India, 2018). According to the agricultural census 2015-16, Uttar Pradesh has the highest number of agricultural landholders among all the states. About 80% of the agricultural labour are marginal farmers and approximately 12% are small farmers (Agriculture Census Division 2019), both having land holding below 2 hectares. The rural population is about 77.73%, and 22.27% lives in the urban region (Census, 2011).

Bhadohi is one of the districts in Uttar Pradesh. The economy is primarily agriculture based with 70% population involved in farming and most of them are small or marginal farmers (Krishi Vigyan Kendra, Bhadohi 2015). There are 1217 villages in the district and 14.53% population is urban. The sex ratio is 955 women per 1000 men and about 69% population is literate (Census, 2011)

The metropolitan context taken in the project is the SEZ of Gurugram. Gurugram is a district in the state of Haryana in Northern India. It is also a part of National Capital Region (NCR) of India, which is a special area of focus for regional planning and urban development. The NCR has the urbanization level of 62.6% and was the most urbanized region of India according to the 2011 National Census. The NCR is characterized by the planned land use pattern, and the development of metropolitan regions and SEZs through developed transport and industrialization (National Capital Region Planning Board, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, 2015).

Gurugram is a special economic zone in the NCR and is an urban and industrial centre of Haryana. Gurugram has the third highest per capita income in the country and is the core of many IT and outsourcing companies. It is also a known centre of multinational companies, many Forbes listed companies, automobile industries, software companies and call centres. The city is characterized by shopping malls and skyscrapers (Census 2011). The sex ratio is 848 women per 1000 men. The skewed sex ratio is possibly due to job migration reasons. More men migrate to cities and metropolitan regions in search of employment than women (Singh et al., 2015) and most of them leave their families at their native place (Desai & Banerji, 2008). The literacy rate in the district is 87.37%.

Both regions are situated in Northern India and are linguistically and politically similar to each other. They are situated in the 'Hindi Belt' of India, which comprises of 9 states, including Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, where the dominant language is Hindi (LaDousa, 2020). The study was carried out with farmers in the rural region of Bhadohi, where the primary occupation is agriculture. In Gurugram, which is an SEZ, the participants were corporate employees.

The next chapter elaborates and discusses the fieldwork. The preparation for the fieldwork and how it was conducted is discussed. It is also described how the participants were approached and recruited, and what were the challenges in the field.

**CHAPTER 2**  
**FIELDWORK**



## Chapter 2

### Fieldwork

The broad prediction of the study was that there will be differences in maximizing in rural and urban participants due to cultural, market and economic characteristics of the context, hence the study was carried out in rural and urban parts of northern India, in the rural districts of Bhadohi and in the special economic zone of Gurugram. Since the chosen sample was that of workforce, survey in the field seemed to be the most appropriate method of the study. The study was conducted as paper pencil survey in both of the regions in Hindi. To conduct the study in the Indian context, the following steps were taken for preparation and administration.

**Material Preparation:** Measures were prepared separately for each study. Standardized scales were used in both studies. All the scales were translated in Hindi for participants of both regions and the difficult or non-applicable items were either adapted or removed from the scales. Scenarios were constructed to assess maximizing dilemma and they were contextually adapted to suit both contexts. The scales were analysed for reliability after translation and back translation by conducting pilot with Hindi speaking Indian students in Bremen, Germany. The details of material preparation for each study are given below:

#### Materials (Study 1)

Standardized scales were used for this study. Eight scales, two scenarios and demographic questions were translated in Hindi in this study. All the scales were translated, back translated, and scrutinized by three bilingual people, proficient in Hindi and English to check if the original and back translated scales matched with each other. The people who matched the original and back translated scales were not involved in any part of translation and back translation. The translated scales were then checked for contextual applicability by three people who had experience of living and interacting with the rural and metropolitan population. One of them had hometown in one of the rural regions of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.), and two of them lived near Gurugram, (where the field work for urban population was carried out) working and studying in New Delhi. The researcher also sought advice from the above mentioned people on the linguistic understanding of the questions in the regions and if the words were colloquial and familiar

among the non-student sample. Changes were made in the questions according to the advice received. All the below given measures for the first study were assessed on 7-point rating scales, excluding the demographics.

*Neoliberal Beliefs Inventory (Bay-Cheng et al., 2015, adapted)*: The neo liberal beliefs inventory (Bay-Cheng, et al., 2015) has 4 dimensions of beliefs regarding existence and implications of social inequality; beliefs about competition being natural, fair, and beneficial; personal wherewithal and government interference. Sample item: “People should be allowed to compete to ensure that the best person wins”. It has 25 items. In the present study, 5 items on the dimension of government interference were removed since they focused more on the political perspective than on the psychological perspective. The term ‘affirmative action’ was substituted by ‘reservation’ which is the local form of affirmative action in India. Item words for ‘USA’ were replaced with ‘my country’.

*Brief Maximization Scale (Nenkov et al., 2008)*: The brief maximization scale consists of 6 items from the original Maximization Inventory (Schwartz et al., 2002) which is considered an improvement on the psychometric properties of the original scale (Nenkov et al., 2008). Sample Item: “No matter what I do, I have the highest standards for myself”. 2 items were removed, that were not context appropriate for the rural sample (renting videos, listening to the radio in a car). In addition, an item (buying a gift for a friend) was omitted by mistake and replaced with an item (I often fantasize about living in ways that are quite different from my actual life) from the longer scale (Schwartz et al., 2002).

*Maximizing Inventory (Diab et al., 2008)*: The 9 items scale was designed by Diab, Gillespie and Highhouse (2008) to improve the previous version by Schwartz (2002). It also assesses maximizing and satisficing separately from the neurotic aspects. Sample item: “No matter what it takes, I always try to choose the best thing.” One item was removed “I am a maximizer” due to lack of Hindi equivalent.

Both scales were administered together as one in the pilot and the fieldwork.

*Situational Dilemmas (Diab et al., 2008; adapted)*: This consists of 2 out of the original list of 5 hypothetical scenarios (Diab et al., 2008), to which questions were added to assess emotional and

cognitive processes of sensitivity to opportunity cost and risk aversion. The scenarios in the original list consisted of decisions regarding buying a car, buying clothes, searching for a better job, finding a house, and finding a suitable graduate school. The authors introduce three options for each scenario. One is to maximize and continue search for better options even though an adequate option that satisfies the minimum criteria is available, other is to satisfice by choosing the available adequate option and the third is to wait for the best option or choose the satisficing option, but it might result in wondering later, whether it was the right decision to make. One of the original scenarios is given below for illustration, which was later adapted for the present study:

*“You go shopping for clothes because you have a formal event coming up this weekend. You walk into a store and find something that you like. You try it on, and it fits well. You can also afford to buy it.*

*(a) You buy the clothes because you need them for a coming event, and you feel satisfied with the decision you made. (measures satisficing)*

*(b) You buy the clothes because you need them for a coming event, but you wonder whether you made the right decision later.*

*(c) You check out more stores to see if you might like something else better, for this was the first store you walked into. (measures maximizing)*

*Which behaviour are you MOST LIKELY to do?  
Which behaviour are you LEAST LIKELY to do?”*

The maximizing option is scored as +1 and satisficing option is scored as -1 and the third option is scored as 0. The sum of all the five scenarios in the original scale ranges between -2 and +2. In the present study, two scenarios of buying clothes and job search were chosen since other scenarios were not applicable in the rural region. The decision options were limited to two, which measured maximizing and satisficing. They were presented with 7-point rating from least likely to most likely to introduce higher variance for the two scenarios. These were followed by possible costs of maximizing and satisficing in terms of opportunity cost and risks. The sensitivity towards these costs were assessed through positive and negative emotions one might feel in these situations. The emotions were measured on 7-point scale. For example, in this

scene, it was asked how you would feel if: a) *You buy clothes from the first shop and then find some better clothes in another shop* (shows opportunity cost caused by satisficing decision), b) *You found some clothing in other shops, they are not as good and when you come back to the first shop, the clothes that you saw have already been sold* (shows risk caused by maximizing decision). Each of these options were followed separately by the emotions of *happy, content* (positive), *regretful, envious, frustrated, and angry* (negative) on a 7-point scale from 1= not at all to 7= a lot.

In the second scenario regarding job search, the word 'job' was replaced with 'work' to suit the farming population as well. The Hindi translation of the word 'job' refers to formal work, which is not very frequent in the rural region. The original scenario of "*You are currently working. Although you are satisfied with your job, you feel that you can find a better one.*" was expanded by adding more features to the trade off for work situation: "*You are currently working in which you get a salary. Your work has some pluses and minuses. Your work is engaging and challenging but the work hours are very long. You have the opportunity to be creative but many colleagues are not cooperative. Also, the pay is modest but meets all your needs. But now your boss wants to give you more responsibilities. You have appealed for a raise to your boss, but you don't know if and when you might get it.*" This was followed by the options of satisficing: "*You stay in your current work, despite all the minuses.*" and maximizing: "*You actively look for other work because you feel that there must be a better opportunity out there.*" The sensitivity to opportunity cost was measured by emotions to the statement: "*You commit to your work, but then you get a better offer and you can't leave your work*" and sensitivity to risk aversion by the emotions to "*You leave the work. You find a new work where work hours are less and the colleagues are nice. After one year, the person who got your got more pay.*"

*Self-Construal Scale (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998)*: The self-construal scale is a 16 items scale with four dimensions of vertical individualism, horizontal individualism, vertical collectivism, and horizontal collectivism. Sample item: "My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me."

*Happiness measure (Fordyce, 1988)*: is a single item measure with 11 scale points having varying levels of unhappiness ranging from 0= Extremely Unhappy (utterly depressed, completely down) to 10 = Extremely happy (feeling ecstatic, joyous, fantastic!)

*Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985)*: This scale has a Hindi translated version available. It has 5 items for 2 components: affective and cognitive. Sample item: “In most ways my life is close to my ideal”.

*Achievement Goals and Means Measures (Agarwal & Misra, 1986)*: The measure aims to understand the goals and means of achievement from an Indian perspective. The measure consisted of 32 items for goals and 37 items for means of achievement. For the present study, 30 items from the list of achievement goals were chosen. Sample item for achievement goal: “Be a good person”. Two items were removed due to not being applicable (success in sports, lead a struggling life). One item ‘success in examination’ was replaced by ‘success in occupation’ to make it compatible with the work population. Another item ‘be religious’ was changed to ‘practice my own faith’.

*Socio-Economic Status (Psaki et al., 2014)*: This socio-economic status measure was developed to assess poverty in the developing countries. It included the household assets e.g., separate kitchen, improved water and sanitation facilities, maternal education in years and people per room.

*Contextual Socio-Economic Indicators*: Since the regions differed in their socio-economic indicators, contextual measures were also included. In the rural region, the participants were asked how much land they own and in the urban region, they were asked of their income, if they own a house or live in a rented place, how many BHK (Bedroom, Hall, Kitchen), if it is an independent house or a flat and how much wealth estimate (in terms of savings and assets) do they have.

All the measures were tested for reliability after conducting pilot on 91 Hindi speaking students following the translation and adaptation process. Among these, 45 participants were Indian Hindi-speaking students recruited from University of Bremen and Jacobs University Bremen, and 46 were recruited from University of Allahabad.

## **Materials (Study 2):**

The material preparation was similar to study 1. Seven scales, four scenarios and demographic questions were translated to Hindi and back translated to English separately by two bilingually proficient people and then the original and back translated forms were matched by three other people who were not involved in the translation process. The contextual applicability was checked differently in the second study. The researcher conducted a pre-test with nine participants in the rural region.

*Scenarios for Individual and Community Maximizing (constructed by the researcher):* Four scenarios were prepared to assess maximizing decisions for oneself and one's community. It has already been discussed that the remaining existing scenarios after the first study (Diab et al., 2008) were not applicable for the present study. Therefore, the researcher constructed new scenarios for maximizing satisficing decisions that would be potentially applicable in both regions. Two scenarios were constructed for self-regarding decisions in which one could choose to either maximize or satisfice and similarly two scenarios were constructed to maximize or satisfice for community-regarding decisions.

The self-regarding decisions were about choosing a mobile and a piece of land. In the first scenario, the participants in both regions had to choose between an old model phone which would serve the basic purpose and a newer model with more features like better camera and memory. The trade-off was that either the participant could buy the older available version but with less features or wait for the newer model. Choosing the newer mobile showed maximizing and choosing the older version reflected satisficing.

The second scenario was about choosing a piece of land. The researcher construed it as selling a piece of land. The trade-off was either finding a potential buyer through a broker who would take commission to benefit himself or the participant finds a buyer himself, for which he would have to spend his own time and effort. Maximizing was assessed by finding a buyer with possibly the most profitable deal on one's own and satisficing was characterized by finding a buyer through a broker. This version was used in the pilot with Indian Hindi speaking students. The scenarios were again pre-tested with nine participants in the rural population. After the pre-test, the

decision was changed from ‘selling to ‘buying’ a piece of land, since the rural participants in the pre-test became sceptical that maybe the researcher is actually trying to buy their land.

The measurement for maximizing in scenarios in the first study did not yield a conclusive structure or relation with the maximizing tendency. Therefore, in the second study the scale was simplified by presenting the options from satisficing to maximizing on one continuum. One of the examples of the scenarios with options is presented below:

*You need to buy a mobile phone for yourself. You checked many options in stores near you. You found that the **older versions are available and the latest, expensive ones haven’t arrived yet. The latest ones have better camera and more storage capacity than the older versions.** You have the options of buying the available one immediately and wait for the new one that has more features.*

*How likely is that:*

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>You will definitely buy the older version</i>	<i>You will most probably buy the older version</i>	<i>You might buy the older version</i>	<i>You might buy the newer version</i>	<i>You will most probably buy the newer version</i>	<i>You will definitely buy the newer version</i>

Two more scenarios were constructed to assess maximizing for community related decisions. The community decisions situations involved hiring contractors for building a community centre and choosing material for repairing roof of the primary school. In the first community related decision, regarding the community centre, the participants had to choose between the known contractors and new contractors. The known contractors can make the community centre, but they cannot build all the facilities that the community members want in the community centre. The new contractors promise to make the community centre according to expectations of the people, but since they are new and less experienced, it is hard to predict how the centre would look like once built. Since going with the old and known contractors means settling for a community centre having only basic facilities, it represented satisficing and going with the new contractors meant striving for more facilities, it represented maximizing.

The second scenario in this set was about repairing the roof of a primary school. The participants had to choose between building a tin roof and a tiled roof. The tiled roof is time taking and hard to make but would provide a safe and comfortable environment for the students. Tin roof would not be comfortable during summers, however, would not take much time and resources. The trade-off was between maximizing by choosing the tiled roof, which might not be completed by the time school opens and satisficing by choosing tin roof, which might make the class hot during summers. Like the self-regarding scenarios, the community related scenarios were also assessed on 6-point options from satisficing to maximizing.

*Relational Mobility Scale (Thompson et al., 2018)*: The measure has 12 items measuring whether people have opportunities to make new relations, friendships and if they can change their social groups for more desirable and beneficial groups. The scale has Hindi translation available. The original instructions were simplified and shortened after the pre-test in the rural region. The new instructions are attached in the questionnaire for study 2 in the appendices.

*Tight-Loose Society Scale (Gelfand et al., 2011)*: The measure has 6 items that assess whether the person's society is perceived to be tight or loose. In a tight society, norms are perceived to be stronger and there is low tolerance for deviance, while in a loose society, norms are perceived to be relatively weak and there is higher tolerance for deviance.

*Hierarchic Self Interest Scale (Hagan et al., 1999)*: The measure consists of 15 items measuring market orientation through dimensions of achievement, individualism, competitiveness, and acceptance of inequality. The item "We need nuclear power plants" was removed from the scale to make the instrument suitable for illiterate and semiliterate population. 14 items were left in the scale.

*Perception of Necessity and Luxury Scale (Kemp, 1998)*: The measure has been taken from Kemp (1998), which measures how people differentiate between necessity and luxury. The scale has 21 items, on which people rate from complete necessity to complete luxury. The word 'luxury' was replaced with 'pleasure' in translation, since luxury has similar connotation to 'indulgence' in Hindi, which is not considered socially desirable in traditional societies. Since both words included the connotation of non-necessity, it did not affect the purpose of the measure. The scale was contextualized to suit the rural and metropolitan contexts. The adaptation

was done before pilot testing, and then again after pre-testing with rural participants. The detailed list of changes from both versions is attached in appendix (Table B2)

*Brief Maximizing Scale (Nenkov et al., 2008)*: The scale consists of 6 items, out of which the following two were removed “When I am in the car listening to the radio, I often check other stations to see if something better is playing, even if I am relatively satisfied with what I’m listening to.” and “Renting videos is really difficult. I’m always struggling to pick the best one.” to make it suitable for the context.

*Maximizing Inventory (Diab et al., 2008)*: The scale consists of 9 items, from which one item was removed “I am a maximizer” due to lack of Hindi equivalent.

The items were selected in the same way as in the first study, by conducting pilot study and then analysing the scales for reliability. Additional translation was added in brackets for one item of “I don’t settle for the second best” in the second study, due to difficulties in explaining ‘second best’ in Hindi, since no direct translation is available. The added wording in the bracket was (less than the best). Both scales were combined before administration.<sup>2</sup>

*Choice Freedom/Constraint Items (construed by the researcher)*: The researcher intended to measure if there is a difference in the experience of freedom or constraint in exercising choice in rural and urban region. Lack of freedom or constraint in exerting one’s choice can be a potential confound leading to satisficing rather than the factors predicted in the study. Since the existing literature does not provide with such a measure, the researcher constructed two items herself. The items of “I feel that I don’t have many options in my life” and “I feel that I am not able to attain the desired options in my life” were measured on 7-point scale from totally disagree to totally agree.

All the above measures were assessed on 7-point rating scales, except for necessity-luxury scale which was assessed as a 6-point rating measure.

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<sup>2</sup> One item from the longer version of the Schwartz scale “I often fantasize about living in ways that are quite different from my actual life.” got included in the place of a short version item “I often find it difficult to shop for a gift for a friend” in the last study. To correct this mistake, both items were used in the present study.

*Socio-Economic Indicators:*

Common: Number of Co-Dependents, Monthly Income, Number of people living in each room.

Contextual:

Rural region: Size of land holding, number of cattle, number of occupations, house structure, vehicle, amenities (electricity, water connection, handpump, gas cylinder connection, and television)

Urban region: Region of residence (living in the region or nearby city), professional experience, house (own/rent), shared or private living, amenities (air conditioner, LCD television, number of bedrooms, hall, kitchen), rural-urban migration

The process for material preparation was same for both studies, the only difference being in assessing the region-specific applicability of the questions. The scales for the first study were consulted with a researcher working in Department of Psychology, University of Allahabad, having hometown in one of the villages in U.P. and two other people working in private sector near Gurugram. In the second study a pre-test was done with 9 participants in the one of the villages in rural region after the student pilot to see if the participants understood the questionnaire and changes were made accordingly. Instructions were added to the scales which did not have any prior ones before the pilot in both studies.

**Pilot Study and Preparation for Fieldwork:** To prepare for the pilot study, the researcher conducted a pre-test with 3-5 Indian students for both studies to assess the time taken by participants to fill in the survey. Since the questionnaire took longer than 30 minutes both of the times, some of the questions were removed and modified after receiving feedback from the participants. To assess whether the constructs chosen for the study at all made sense in the Indian context, pilot study with Indian Hindi speaking students in Jacobs University Bremen, University of Bremen, and Hochschule Bremen. A total of 157 students participated in the pilot study across both studies, 91 in study 1 and 66 in study 2. There were 46 participants from University of Allahabad who participated in the pilot of the first study. The mean age was 22.58 in the first study and 25.02 in the second study. There were more male participants than female participants in both pilot studies (m/f: study 1= 64/27, study 2= 51/15). Most of them were either Bachelors

or Masters students. The participants were recruited through flyers, various pages on Facebook for Indian students in Bremen. The students in India were approached one by one in the central library by permission of the officials. On average the participants took about 20 minutes to fill the questionnaire. All of them were paid volunteers. The German students were paid 5 euros each for their participation and the Indian sample was paid Rs. 50 each for their participation for the half an hour task. The participation fees were decided according to the minimum student wages in Germany and the minimum participation fees in Centre of Behavioural and Cognitive Sciences, University of Allahabad. The data collected was analysed for reliability and the problematic items were removed according to the analyses attached in the appendix.

**Research Assistant (RA) Recruitment and Training:** Four RAs were recruited for the first study and six RAs were recruited in the second study. Since the RAs were recruited separately for both studies, the recruitment and training are discussed separately for each study in the following paragraphs.

In the first study, four research assistants were recruited for rural region and one of them was also recruited for the data collection in the urban region. All of them had completed their Masters. All of them were proficient in both English and Hindi. They were asked to fill in the questionnaires before the study, so that they understood the questions and express their doubts and suggest on any potential confusion or difficulty they thought might arise in the field and if any important information to be included in the questionnaire that they would like to suggest. They were told to approach with questionnaire as paper pencil task, however they could assist the participant by reading out the questions and taking the responses, in case there the participant asked to or needed help. They were also told to probe and explain when the participant showed any difficulty in understanding the question and note down the comments provided by the participants. In the rural region, there were three male RAs and one female RA. Two of the male RAs had experience of living and interacting in rural context. Two interviews were conducted in the rural region, in the beginning of the data collection with all the RAs and the principal investigator together to get an insight into the potential problems of conducting the study in the rural population. These interviews were removed later from the analyses since the participants were above the decided age range. The investigator and RAs anticipated that some participants might require explanation, examples, and contextualization. It was also found during these

interviews that participants were not familiar with rating scales, and this would also require some clarification. The RAs decided to break down the rating into agree and disagree and then to what extent for the participants who would have difficulty in understanding the scales. The detailed description of how the survey was carried out is given in the administration section. Regarding the compensation, it was agreed upon that the participation fees should be offered only after the survey is over, in case it creates bias for the participant to respond and agree with the investigator even if the question was not understood. It was also discussed with the RAs that if the participant could not understand the questions after probing and explanation, the RA would discontinue the interview and note the difficulties. For the fieldwork in the urban region, one female RA was recruited, who had assisted in the fieldwork in the rural region. Although, administration of the questionnaire was easier in the urban region, it was decided that like the rural region, if the participants required assistance in understanding the questionnaire (e.g., questions being read out, or explaining an unfamiliar Hindi term), since the corporate employees were more used to read and interact in English in their workplace, it would be explained and noted down in comments in the dataset.

In the second study, five RAs were recruited in the rural region and two in the urban region, including one who had assisted in the rural region (therefore six in all in study 2). Among the RAs in the rural region, there were three female RAs and two male RAs. Except for one of the male RAs (who was pursuing his Master's course), all of them had completed their Masters. The female RAs had experience of conducting fieldwork with rural participants in other projects. One of the male RAs was from one of the villages in the state and had experience of living and interacting in the rural context. Among the female RAs, two were proficient only in Hindi and one was proficient in both English and Hindi. Among the male RAs, one was proficient only in Hindi and one was proficient in both English and Hindi. However, since the participants in the rural region required only Hindi proficiency, it did not hinder the study. Like the first study, the RAs were familiarized with the questionnaire and their suggestions were taken into account. Then the investigator and RAs conducted a pre-test with nine rural participants to find out if the questionnaire was applicable in the rural region. Some changes were required in the questionnaire (discussed in the material section for study 2) and the RAs and investigators discussed potential problems. It was again found that some participants might require

explanation, example, and contextualization. The participation fees were also decided to be offered only after the survey is over. In the urban region, two RAs were recruited. One of them was male, who helped in the data collection in the rural region, and another was female who was living in New Delhi, which is adjacent to region of the metropolitan context of the study. The male RA was pursuing Master's degree and the female RA was pursuing PhD. Both were proficient in both English and Hindi. Regarding the anticipated problems in administering the questionnaire, it was expected like the previous study, the participants might need some assistance with filling the questionnaire. The RAs could read out to the participants and explain the terms and words that the participants had difficulty in understanding with simpler and more common synonyms and/or examples and note down these issues.

**Sample Characteristics and Exclusion Criteria:** Both of the studies were conducted in the rural region of Bhadohi and the SEZ of Gurugram. Since the samples for both studies were drawn from the same population of rural and urban metropolitan contexts, the characteristics of the rural-urban samples are discussed together for both studies in the following paragraphs.

Most of the farmers in Bhadohi are small landholders and have a secondary occupation to support their families (e.g., owning a small shop or working part time in the nearby carpet factory, since it is difficult to do so by farming only). People reported to have started farming by an early age of approximately 10-11 and pursue it until the old age of 75-80. The age criteria were taken to be 20-65, which as discussed in the previous chapter, is the formal working age and was kept constant in both rural and urban region.

The urban participants were employees in a multinational company or worked in a start-up in Gurugram. Most of them had migrated to the SEZ from different parts of the country for jobs and were within the age range decided for the study. The job designation varied from clerical level to the vice president. All the employees were white collar, desk job employees.

The data was collected in different villages in Bhadohi and different sectors in Gurugram for each of the studies, to assure that no participants are repeated. The participants were from the adult population, age range between 20-65. In the rural region, the studies were conducted with agricultural labourers, most of them were small farmers and participants in the urban region were corporate employees. The aforementioned age range and profession was the exclusion criteria for

both of the studies. The data was collected for 893 participants across both studies for both of the regions. Overall, 466 participants participated in the first study. There were 238 participants in the rural region (m/f = 197/40), and 228 participants in the urban region (m/f = 167/58). In the second study, there were overall 427 participants. In the rural region, 216 people participated in the study (m/f = 137/79) and in the urban region, 211 people participated (m/f = 134/76, one missing). The data was cleaned according to the exclusion criteria before the analyses. The final data comprised 417 for Study 1 and 378 for Study 2 after excluding for age (if they were below 20 years or above 65 years of age), profession (if they reported not being engaged in farming or not being a corporate employees during the demographic questions in the end of the study), and interference (if they changed their response due to a bystander) The sampling technique was different in the rural region for both studies. In the second study, the participants were recruited through random sampling (N+1), which was not the case in the first study. Hence data for some participants had to be excluded in the rural region for the size of land holding, if they were not small farmers, but rather medium land holders or in some cases, large land holders.

### **Sampling in the Region:**

Since there was difference in accessibility of the samples, the techniques of sampling and recruitment were different in both of the regions. The data was collected in 16 villages in the rural region overall study. Almost all the participants were recruited by approaching them door-to-door for both studies. In the first study, the researchers selected participants by their house size (between 1-3 room area) to assure recruiting middle income farmers and avoid large land holders who have the capacity to hire people to work on their farms and therefore would be more prone to capitalistic tendencies and landless labourers who are in abject poverty and administering the questionnaire would prove difficult with them.

To have a more unbiased sampling technique in the second study, the participants were recruited by N+1 random sampling, i.e., participant in every alternative house was approached for the study (except for a few houses in scattered settlements that were conveniently selected, due to larger distances between houses). The data for medium and large land holders was later removed while cleaning the data. However, it proved to be a difficult trade-off between preparation and careful recruitment, and data loss due to dropping them out later.

Since the access was relatively more restricted in the urban region, the participants were approached in a different way. In the first study, list of companies and contacts were obtained through internet and through informal sources. The primary investigator sent mails beforehand to the company addresses and to informal sources. The response was received from one company and the request was denied. After reaching Gurugram, the researchers also visited local companies and branches of MNCs and talked to the officials about the study. Though officials from 3 companies obliged to circulate the survey among the employees, they asked for online version of the survey. This presented potential bias due to difference in modality of the instrument and hence the data was not collected inside the organisations. The permission was granted by only one company to conduct it in paper and pencil format through informal sources and data was obtained from 11 participants in the organization by permission. As an overall participant recruitment strategy, obtaining formal access of corporate employees proved to be difficult. The investigator and RAs decided to keep trying to get permission, but meanwhile also keep recruiting participants through convenience sampling around office complexes and in various residential complexes. Therefore, the primary method of recruiting participants was by approaching them out of the company buildings in cafeterias and smoking zones where they usually gather for a break, lunchtime or to relax. Other participants were recruited from residential complexes, by approaching people from door to door.

In the second study, all the participants were recruited by convenience sampling due to lack of access to residential complexes and organizations. They were approached in organisation complexes, outside the company buildings, common spaces for employees and public to relax, cafeterias and smoking zones. Although the sampling strategy was similar to the first study, the second study was carried out in a different sector in Gurugram to assure that the participants do not get repeated from the first study.

**Administering the Questionnaire:** As mentioned above, both studies were conducted as paper pencil survey in both regions. The participants were approached one-to-one by the RAs and prior consent was obtained before the study. The rural participants took longer than urban participants to fill the questionnaire in both of the studies. The urban participants took 15-20 minutes on average to fill the questionnaire. The rural participants took between 30-40 minutes for the same. There were some problems encountered in administering the questionnaire in both rural and

urban regions. Since the first part of fieldwork was conducted in the rural region for both studies, the problems in the rural region are discussed first. The participants were approached door-to-door by the RAs. The RAs informed the participants that they were University students working on a study to understand about lives of people living in villages. The purpose of the study was conveyed to the participants, but they were not told explicitly about the institution of the researcher to avoid prejudice or bias<sup>3</sup>. An additional step was taken in the second study by adding the name of the local institution of University of Allahabad in the participant information document itself. Prior permission was taken from the head of department of Department of Psychology of the institution for this.

The administration of the questionnaire resembled a census, in that the researcher would read out and, occasionally, explain the questions to some participants, while others preferred the questionnaire in themselves. Therefore, there were some differences in administration of the questionnaire. The rural participants needed more explanation and colloquialisation than the urban participants. Studies in comparative emics show that differences in wording of the same questions are acceptable in some circumstances, when they convey the same meaning (Boehnke, 2012). There were other difficulties in administering the questionnaire as well. One of the issues was familiarity with Likert scale. Many of the participants in the rural region were not familiar with a rating system and the range from disagreement to agreement. This might be due to differences in cognitive complexity afforded by one's environment. Studies show that people with higher cognitive complexity can categorize into more constructs than lower cognitive complexity (Biere, 1955). Cognitive complexity is also associated with differentiation between field and object (Ridgeway, 1977). Previous developmental studies have shown that the environment in the rural context and the socialization practices afford less differentiation among the rural participants than urban participants (Kagan, 1974). This might be the reason that the rural participants took some time to understand response range on a 7-point Likert scale because in their natural state of thinking and everyday interactions they are used to a lesser range

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<sup>3</sup> A couple of participants were sceptical and hostile towards the investigators after knowing about the researcher being from a foreign university.

response (e.g., yes, no, maybe, etc.). To resolve this, the participants were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement and then after they told whether they did or not, they were asked to what extent (e.g., “do you absolutely agree, somewhat agree, you agree but a little or do you absolutely disagree, somewhat disagree etc”).

Since self-expression is not a common behaviour in collectivistic societies (Iyengar & Devoe, 2003), getting authentic responses was one of the challenges in the rural region due to several reasons. Sometimes people in rural region agree with the researcher due to “courtesy effect” (Sinha, 1983) i.e., to be polite to the researcher. This is similar to ‘demand characteristics’ (Orne, 1996) where the respondent tries to give the researcher’s expected response (i.e., perceived as ‘demanded’ of the study situation) even if it is not his genuine response. Other times it is possible they do not understand the question but do not want to say it, or probably expect an incentive from the researcher, especially in very low socio-economic class. To curb this problem, RAs sometimes cross checked the responses by asking separately if the participant agreed or disagreed. If both of the times the participant said ‘yes’, then it was inferred that the participant did not understand the question and was explained by examples and/or in colloquial terms. If still there were issues, then the study was stopped, and problems and comments were noted and added in the dataset. In both of the studies there were some terms and items that needed explaining and examples for some participants like “reservation<sup>4</sup>” (neoliberal beliefs inventory) and “what is good for our industries is also good for us” (HSI scale).

The participants were compensated for their time and effort by giving them INR 100 (EUR= 1.12 approx.) as participation fees after the study. Since there is no fixed minimum wage system on a national level in India (Minimum Wages Act, 1948; Wages Bill India, 2019), the participation fees were adjusted for the cost of living of the region. INR 100 is close to the cost of 1 kilogram of pulses, legumes, and beans in the rural region (Mamkoottam & Kaicker, 2017) and one cup of a regular cappuccino in the metropolitan region (NUMBEO, 2018). The participants were not promised any incentive beforehand, in case money might bias their participation (e.g., giving response or agreeing even though did not understand the questions) especially in very low socio-economic conditions.

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<sup>4</sup> Reservation is used synonymously for affirmative action in India

In the urban region, participants were informed that this is European Union project in which the researchers are trying to understand the lives of people living in the Gurugram and working in the corporate sector through pre-meditated questions. Compared to the rural participants, administering the questionnaire had less problems in the urban region. But the refusal rate and drop-out rate were high since the employees did not have much time. Some of them were reluctant due to the questionnaire being in Hindi since they are more used to reading in English because of their nature of job and educational background. Many times, the RA read out the questions to the participant to make it easier for them. Certain terms like “performance” and “standards” (maximizing scale) had to be explained since the Hindi terms are not used much for these words. This was similar (although not same) to the survey interview approach in the rural region. Some of the participants asked for English version, however agreed to respond to the Hindi questions after they were told that the study is being conducted in other Hindi speaking regions, therefore the language could not be changed. There were also similar questions regarding the availability of the questionnaire on an online platform. Again, it was explained to the participant that the questionnaire had to be kept compatible. To match for the effect of incentive in the rural region, the monetary compensation was not promised beforehand but offered after the study.

The researchers tried to maintain the similarity of administration in both of the contexts, but due to differences in the contextual issues, there were some differences. However, the researchers tried to assure that the participants understood the questions and eliminate any biases.

**Contextual problems in data collection in rural region:** There were some issues context specific issues in the rural region. The participation of women was low in the rural region. The data was collected by permission and/or under supervision of a male member of the family or the elders of the household. Previous studies in methodology in the Indian context point to majority of male participants in both rural and urban context which limits the generalizability of the findings from a gender point of view (Sinha, 1983). The gender of the RA was also one of the things to be considered. Most of the participants preferred, especially women to respond to same gender RA. There were about 5-7 bystanders in each interview for both of the studies in the rural region. The interference by encountered was dealt with on the field by offering the participant’s acquaintance (who tried to intervene the response of the participant) to participate in the study

separately. In the second study the people intervening were additionally told that the investigators are formally not allowed to record more than one person's responses on one form. Recruiting bystanders has potential implications for sampling. However, most of these people did not wait to participate, and decided to leave the interviewer and the actual participant, to carry on their daily activities, therefore having limited effect on sampling.

There were some incidents during the second study which did not take place in the first phase. There had been communal tension during the second study in the district of rural region during the data collection. This however did not directly affect the study since the RAs decided to approach the villages further from the area of incident

**Contextual problem in data collection in urban region:**

The main issue in the urban region that the investigators faced was high refusal and drop-out rate. Also, more participants in the urban region were reluctant to fill in the demographics than in the rural region, even after repeated assurance of data protection and anonymity.

During the second study, student protests were going on in some areas of the district, due to which the security was tightened in the data collection areas. A few interviews were interrupted by the security even in the common public areas of the organizational complex. However, later the RAs were able to get permission in some cafeterias and smoking spots for employees.

**Data Preparation for Analyses:** To ensure anonymity, the data were coded for each participant in an alpha numeric combination and this id code was used during analyses. All the data were manually entered in SPSS software for analyses.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **STUDY 1: MACRO-ECOLOGICAL FACTORS OF MAXIMIZING TENDENCY AND COGNITIVE AND EMOTIONAL PROCESSES IN MAXIMIZING**



## Chapter 3

### **Study 1: Macro-Ecological Factors of Maximizing Tendency and Cognitive and Emotional Processes in Maximizing**

This chapter describes the first study of the project that addresses the macro level causes leading to socio-ecological differences in maximizing tendency and the cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing based on study one discussed in the first chapter. As it was proposed in the review section that maximizing in a transitional society would be affected by factors of modernization, the first study aims to look at the cultural, market and economic aspects that would lead to higher maximizing in a modern market-oriented society than in a traditional agrarian society. The study addressed two questions about maximizing tendency, situational maximizing decisions, and emotional and cognitive processes involved in it. The broad questions and related predictions of the study are given below:

#### **RQ1: How do rural-urban ecological differences in cultural, market and economic factors affect one's general maximizing tendency? (*Macro*)**

The prediction here is that people in the urban metropolitan context would maximize more than people in rural agrarian context due to higher individualism, neoliberal beliefs, achievement motivation, and standard of living.

#### *Overall Prediction*

**H1:** Urban participants will maximize more than the rural participants.

#### *Prediction for Mediators*

**H2:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher individualism, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants.

**H5:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher neoliberal orientation, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants.

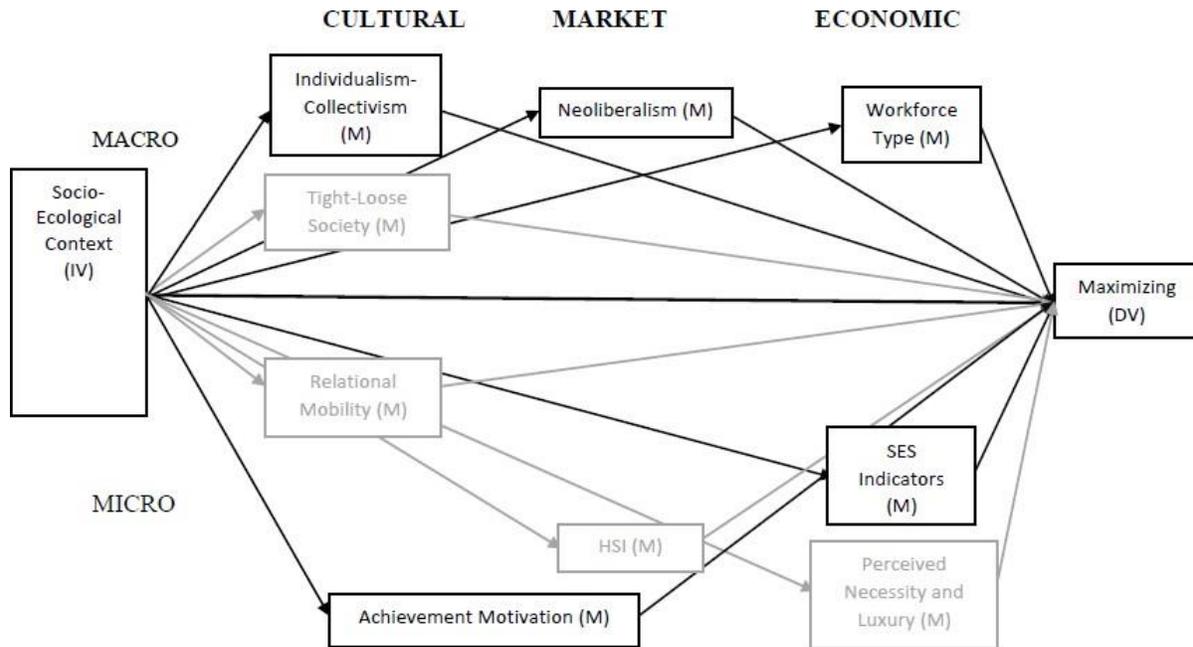
**H7:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher achievement motive, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants.

**H8:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher standards of living, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants.

The predictions from the overall framework to be studied in the present study are given in the model below:

**Figure 3.1**

*Proposed Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency (Study 1)*



*Note.* The above model intends to place the present study for maximizing tendency in the overall theoretical framework of the project. The black boxes represent the ‘active’ variables in the study, i.e., the variables and relation to be tested in the current study. The grey boxes show the variables that are not going to be tested in this study. The independent variable in the study is the socio-ecological context of rural and urban metropolitan region and the dependent variable is maximizing decision strategy. It is predicted in the present study that people living in metropolitan region working in the corporate sector will prefer to maximize more than people living in rural region working as agrarian workers. It is also predicted that people in the urban region would maximize more due to higher individualistic orientation, achievement motivation and stronger neoliberal beliefs.

## **RQ2: How do rural-urban ecological differences affect one's cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing?**

The cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing has been assessed as experience of negative and positive emotions following maximizing and satisficing decisions. The specific hypotheses are:

**H<sub>10</sub>:** The urban metropolitan participants will be more sensitive to cost of satisficing in terms of opportunity cost than the rural agrarian participants.

**H<sub>11</sub>:** The rural agrarian participants will be more sensitive to cost of maximizing in terms of risk aversion than the urban metropolitan participants.

**H<sub>12</sub>:** Higher maximizing in urban metropolitan participants will be related to lower happiness and life satisfaction than the rural agrarian participants.

### **Method**

The study was administered in two rural and urban regions of Northern India. The administration was done as a combination of paper pencil surveys and interviews, since absolute rural localization of the measures and administering in both of the contexts was not possible. Standardized scales were used in the study. All the scales were translated to Hindi by the process of translation and back translation by people proficient in both Hindi and English and then checked by three other people if the original and back translation matched. The finalized scales were checked for contextual understanding by people who had lived in a rural region in the state and two people who were working in the metropolitan region. Changes were made in the questions according to the advice received. The details of the measures preparation for this are given in material section of the first study in the fieldwork chapter.

### **Results**

A total of 466 data was collected, 238 in the rural region and 228 in the urban region. The data was cleaned, and participants were excluded based on age, profession, and interference from other people during data collection. 43 data were excluded in the rural region and 6 in the urban

region. The final sample consisted of 417 participants. The descriptive of the sample characteristics are given below:

**Table 3.1**

*Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Sample (Study 1)*

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Rural (n=195)</b>	<b>Urban (n=222)</b>
Profession	Agricultural Labourers	Corporate Employees
Gender		
Male	165	165
Female	29	54
Mean Age	39.8	30.4
Religion		
Hindus	192 (99.5%)	178 (84.4%)
Other	1 (0.5%)	33 (15.6%)
Marital Status		
Single	35	127
Married	150	80
Other	8	2
Education	High School-Higher Secondary	Bachelors-Masters
Type of Family (Joint/Nuclear)		
Joint	153 (79%)	96 (45%)
Nuclear	41 (21%)	117 (55%)
Mean Number of Family Members	9.12	4.79
Mean Number of Co-Dependents	4.42	1.65
Mean SES Amenities	6.24	8.72
People Living in Each Room (Mean)	3.04	1.50
Maternal Education Years	1.39	11.05

*Additional SES Measures*

***Rural region:***

Land Holding (Mean sqf): 70250.63

***Urban region:***

Monthly Income (Mean): Rs. 35141.00 (missing 16.2%)

Rented House: 25.2% Own House: 68.0% (missing 6.3%)

Flat: 32.9% House: 62.2%

BHK (Mean): 2.93 (missing 7.2%) Area of the House (Mean): 912361.35 sqf (missing 31.5%)

Land (Mean): 662904.24 sqf (no land: 70.7%, missing: 9.9%)

Total Wealth Estimate (Mean): 40 lakhs (missing 28.4%)

As it can be seen above, similar number of men and women participated in both regions. However, the female participation was less in both of the regions. As mentioned in the fieldwork section, there were some difficulties in interviewing the women in the rural region and due to lack of proper access to organizations in the urban region, most of the participants were recruited through convenience sampling. The rural participants were significantly older than the urban participants. Most of the participants in both rural and urban region were of Hindu religion. More participants in the urban region were unmarried, relatively more educated and had nuclear families than people in the rural region.

The socio-economic indicators of number of co-dependents, number of people living in each room, maternal education and socio-economic amenities show that the urban participants were economically more well off than the rural participants. It is also important to note that there was more significantly missing data (more than 5%) on socio-economic indicators in the urban region than in the rural region. Non-reporting of income and socio-economic indicators is a common issue in survey studies (Kim et al., 2007). Previous studies with rural-urban sample using face-to-face interviews show that people with higher socio-economic are less likely to report their income (Turrell, 2000). The investigators found that people find income related information too sensitive to disclose and are concerned with the taxation authorities getting their information. This was also evident in the present study. The participants in the urban region were sceptical about confidentiality and anonymity even after repeated assurance. Another possible reason might be framing of the question. Recall questions asking about exact income are less likely to

get responses from people who do not have fixed income (Turrell, 2000). To curb this issue in the second study, the income questions were framed as recognition questions with income class intervals. Many participants were not aware of the information regarding area of the house and total wealth estimate since these are shared resources within the family, or other family members deal with these assets. Therefore, giving an individual or personal estimate was difficult for them, which led to high proportion of missing values.

### *Measures Validation*

*Neoliberal Beliefs Inventory (Bay-Cheng et al, 2015, adapted)*: Factor analysis with final sample with Varimax rotation for each of the region and overall sample retained 13 items that had loadings more than .40 and no loadings on two factors. One factor was obtained by the rotation. The reliability for overall sample was 0.87. It was 0.84 for the rural sample and 0.88 for the urban sample. The measure explains 40.02% of variance for the overall sample, 36.55% for the rural sample and 43.16% of variance for the urban sample.

*Brief Maximization Scale (Nenkov et al., 2008) and Maximizing Inventory (Diab et al., 2008)*:

Both maximizing scales were collapsed into one measure and the pilot and factor analysis with Varimax rotation based on actual sample got 7 items with high loadings on one dimension. The Cronbach Alpha for overall sample was 0.79. It was 0.71 for rural and 0.84 for the urban sample. The factor analyses for overall sample showed that the measure explained 44.98% of variance. Factor analyses for the rural sample showed that the measure explained 36.97% of variance and 52.64% for the urban sample.

*Situational Dilemmas (Diab et al., 2008; adapted)*: This consists of 2 out of the original list of 5 hypothetical scenarios in which people have options to maximize their choice or satisfice (Diab, 2008). The original scale was modified to have a Likert scale of 7 points separately for maximizing and satisficing for each of the scenarios. Maximizing for scene one (shopping scenario) was found to be uncorrelated with maximizing for scene two ( $r = 0.01, n.s.$ ), but it was significantly correlated with maximizing tendency ( $r = 0.12, p = .013$ ). Maximizing for scene two (searching for job) was also significantly correlated with maximizing tendency ( $r = 0.18, p = .000$ ). Satisficing for both scenes were highly correlated with each other ( $r = 0.17, p = .001$ ).

Satisficing for scene two (searching for job) was also significantly correlated with maximizing tendency ( $r = 0.10, p = .034$ ). Maximizing and satisficing within the scenarios show significant negative correlation for scene one ( $r = -0.16, p = .001$ ) and no significant correlation for scene two ( $r = -0.09, p = .063$ )

*Self-Construal Scale (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998)*: The self-construal scale is a 16 items scale with four dimensions of vertical individualism, horizontal individualism, vertical collectivism, and horizontal collectivism. The reliability analysis after pilot and factor analysis with the actual sample retained 9 items. The factor rotation obtained two-factor solution for the overall, rural, and urban sample. The reliability score for the overall sample was 0.68. It was found to be 0.62 for the rural sample and 0.74 for the urban sample. The factor solution yielded two factors for individualism and collectivism. For the overall sample, the factor of collectivism explained 33.59% of variance and individualism explained 15.97% of variance. For the rural sample, collectivism explained 32.37% of variance and individualism explained 14.93% of variance. In the urban setting, collectivism explained 35.91% variance and individualism explained 16.95% variance.

*Happiness measure (Fordyce, 1988)*: is a single item measure with 11 scale points having varying levels of unhappiness ranging from 0= Extremely Unhappy (utterly depressed, completely down) to 10 = Extremely happy (feeling ecstatic, joyous, fantastic!). Since it is a single item measure, it could not be validated in the conventional manner and was used directly in the analyses.

*Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985)*: has 5 items for 2 components: affective and cognitive. A single factor was obtained through factor rotation. The Cronbach Alpha for the overall sample was 0.78. It was 0.74 for the rural sample and 0.82 for the urban sample. Factor solution with Varimax rotation showed 55.18% of variance explained for the overall sample, 50.54% for rural sample and 59.92% for the urban sample.

*Achievement Goals and Means Measures (Agarwal & Misra, 1986)*: The measure aims to understand the goals and means of achievement from an Indian perspective. The measure consisted of 32 items for goals and 37 items for means of achievement. For the present study, 30 items from the list of achievement goals were chosen. The reliability analyses after pilot and

Varimax factor rotation with the regional and overall samples retained 26 items. The reliability score for overall sample was found to be 0.95. It was 0.94 for the rural sample and 0.95 for the urban sample. The factor solution yielded one factor which explained 46.45% variance for the overall sample, 45.46% for the rural participants, and 49.25% for the urban sample.

*Socio-Economic Status (Psaki et al., 2014)*: This socio-economic status measure included the household assets e.g., separate kitchen, improved water and sanitation facilities, maternal education in years and people per room. Being demographic measures, the items could not be validated in the conventional way and were applied directly to the analyses.

Since the regions differed in their socio-economic indicators, contextual measures were also included. The detailed items are described in the materials section of study 1 of the fieldwork chapter.

The two research questions about maximizing tendency (RQ 1, part 1) and emotional and cognitive processes involved in maximizing and satisficing, in terms of sensitivity to opportunity cost, risk aversion and well-being (RQ 2) were addressed in this study. The results are presented below according to each question and related predictions.

**RQ 1 (part 1): How do the cultural, market and economic factors affect maximizing in transitional societies (*Macro*)?**

*Prediction: People living and working in metropolitan region will maximize more than people in rural agrarian regions due to higher individualism, neoliberal orientation, achievement motivation and higher standards of living. (H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>5</sub>, H<sub>7</sub>, H<sub>8</sub>)*

To understand regional differences in maximizing, t-test for maximizing tendency and situations, individualism-collectivism, neoliberal orientation, and achievement motivation were calculated. Given on the next page are the descriptives show differences in rural and urban population in the variables mentioned above.

**Table 3.2***Mean Regional Differences for Cultural, Market, Economic Factors and Maximizing (Study 1)*

Variable	Rural (n= 195)		Urban (n= 222)		Comparison	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t	Cohen's d
Maximizing (Tendency)	4.96	1.22	5.56	1.19	<b>5.06***</b>	<b>0.49</b>
Buying Beh. Satisficing (unequal variances assumed)	5.71	1.57	5.09	2.06	<b>3.41***</b>	<b>0.33</b>
Buying Beh. Maximizing	3.89	2.25	4.33	2.23	<b>-1.97*</b>	0.19
Job Search Satisficing	4.60	1.98	4.75	1.83	-0.79	0.07
Job Search Maximizing	4.96	1.95	5.10	1.87	-0.74	0.07
Individualism	5.22	1.28	5.14	1.39	0.55	0.05
Collectivism	6.08	0.88	6.17	0.85	1.09	0.10
Neoliberal Orientation	5.22	1.11	5.71	1.08	<b>4.55***</b>	<b>0.44</b>
Achievement Motivation	6.29	0.80	6.38	0.73	1.28	0.11

*p < .05\*, p < .01\*\*, p < .001\*\*\**

It can be seen in the above table that the overall prediction was confirmed that people in urban region maximize more than people in the rural region. Urban people also reported significantly higher neoliberal orientation than people in the rural region. The mean difference is small but relatively stable as can be seen in Cohen's values showing medium effect size. The participants from both regions did not report any significant difference in individualism and collectivism and achievement motivation. The within differences were significant for individualism ( $M = 5.21$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ) and collectivism ( $M = 6.07$ ,  $SD = 0.87$ ) among the rural participants ( $t(192) = -8.70$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This was also true for the urban participants. They had lower mean scores for individualism ( $M = 5.14$ ,  $SD = 1.39$ ) than collectivism ( $M = 6.17$ ,  $SD = 0.85$ ), resulting in significant mean difference ( $t(221) = -10.66$ ,  $p = .000$ ). To further understand the relation among the cultural and market variables proposed that would affect maximizing, correlations were calculated with region and maximizing

**Table 3.3***Correlations for Cultural, Market, Economic Factors and Maximizing (Study 1)*

Variables	Place	Maximizing Tendency	Satisficing Buying Beh.	Maximizing Buying Beh.	Satisficing Job Search	Maximizing Job Search	Individualism	Collectivism	Neoliberal Orientation	Achievement Motivation
Place	-	<b>0.24***</b>	<b>-0.17***</b>	<b>0.10*</b>	0.03	0.04	-0.03	0.05	<b>0.22***</b>	0.06
Maximizing Tendency	<b>0.24***</b>	-	-0.02	<b>0.12*</b>	<b>0.10*</b>	<b>0.18***</b>	<b>0.51***</b>	<b>0.37***</b>	<b>0.53***</b>	<b>0.37***</b>
Satisficing Buying Beh.	<b>-0.17**</b>	-0.02	-	<b>-0.16***</b>	<b>0.17***</b>	<b>0.13**</b>	0.02	<b>0.14**</b>	0.04	0.08
Maximizing Buying Beh.	<b>0.10*</b>	<b>0.12*</b>	<b>-0.16***</b>	-	-0.04	0.01	0.05	-0.03	<b>0.12*</b>	0.02
Satisficing Job Search	0.04	<b>0.10*</b>	<b>0.17***</b>	-0.04	-	-0.09	0.08	<b>0.13**</b>	<b>0.20***</b>	0.08
Maximizing Job Search	0.04	<b>0.18***</b>	<b>0.13**</b>	0.01	-0.09	-	<b>0.12*</b>	0.05	<b>0.10*</b>	0.04
Individualism	-0.03	<b>0.51***</b>	0.02	0.05	0.08	<b>0.12*</b>	-	<b>0.24***</b>	<b>0.32***</b>	<b>0.31***</b>
Collectivism	0.05	<b>0.37***</b>	<b>0.14**</b>	-0.03	<b>0.13**</b>	0.05	<b>0.24***</b>	-	<b>0.43***</b>	<b>0.64***</b>
Neoliberal Orientation	<b>0.22***</b>	<b>0.53***</b>	0.04	<b>0.12*</b>	<b>0.20***</b>	<b>0.10*</b>	<b>0.32***</b>	<b>0.43***</b>	-	<b>0.41***</b>
Achievement Motivation	0.06	<b>0.34***</b>	0.08	0.02	0.08	0.04	<b>0.31***</b>	<b>0.64***</b>	<b>0.41***</b>	-

Place: Rural = 0, Urban = 1;  $p < .05^*$ ,  $p < .01^{**}$ ,  $p < .001^{***}$

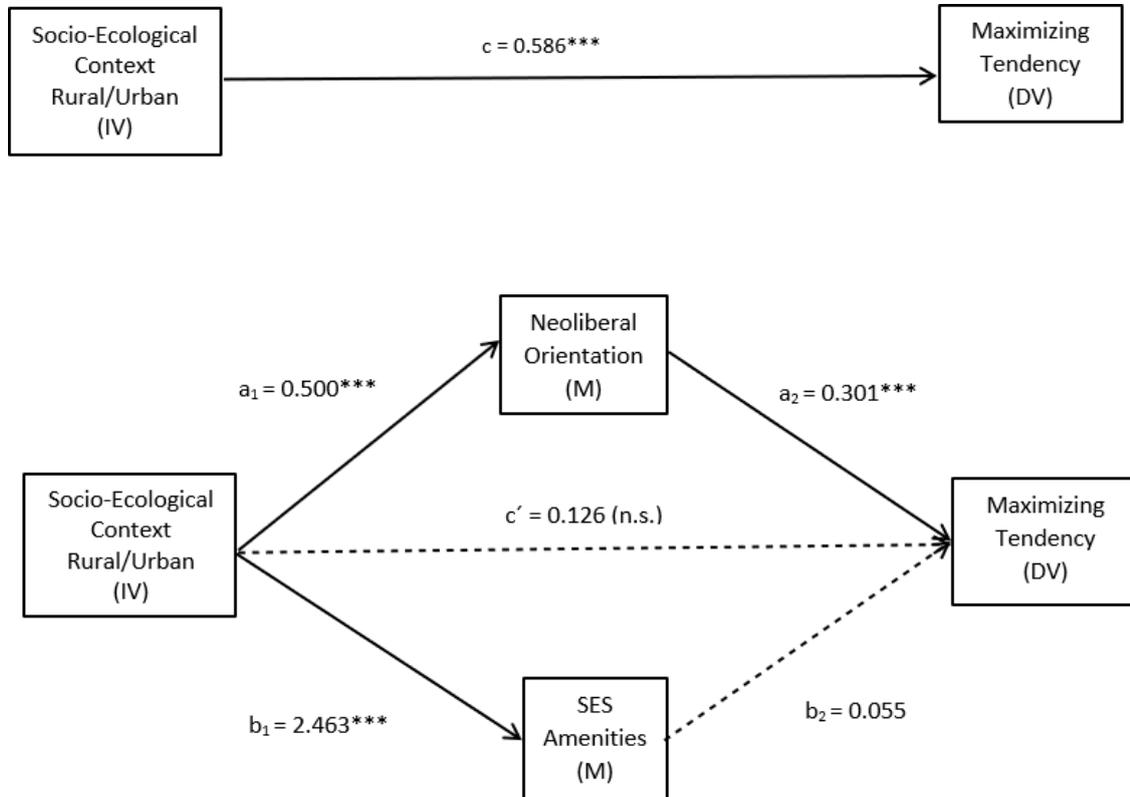
There are some important points to be observed in the correlation matrix. Maximizing tendency and situational maximizing decisions are positively correlated with each other for both scenarios, but only satisficing for job is correlated with it. Also, not all the factors that are correlated with maximizing tendency are correlated with situational maximizing. Maximizing tendency is positively correlated with individualism, collectivism, neoliberal orientation, and achievement motivation. Satisficing for buying clothes is negatively correlated with maximizing for the same. It is positively correlated with both maximizing and satisficing for jobs. It is also positively correlated with collectivism, which shows that people who report higher collectivism are satisfied for adequate options for shopping. Maximizing for shopping is correlated only with neoliberal orientation, showing a relation between neoliberalism and market behaviour. Satisficing for jobs is positively correlated with collectivism and maximizing for jobs is positively correlated with individualism, showing that people reporting collectivistic tendencies would choose to be in an existing job instead of looking for better opportunities, but people showing individualistic tendencies would prefer to actively search for better jobs even if they are already employed. Both maximizing and satisficing options for jobs were positively correlated with neoliberal orientation. Happiness had a non-significant correlation with maximizing, and therefore was not analysed further.

#### *Mediation Analyses:*

The mediation analyses were done using SPSS Macro, Model 4 (Hayes, 2013-16). It was predicted that people in the urban region will maximize because of being more individualistic, having higher neoliberal orientation and achievement motivation. As it can be seen in the diagram on the next page, the socio-ecological context had a significant effect on maximizing tendency, showing that people differ in maximizing tendency significantly because of the difference in rural and urban environment. This was fully mediated by neoliberal orientation and socio-economic amenities.

**Figure 3.2**

*Mediation Analyses for Effect of Socio-Ecological Context on Maximizing Tendency (Study 1)*



*Note.* The above figure shows mediation analyses for the effect of socio-ecological contexts of rural and urban regions on maximizing tendency. The solid lines show significant relation between the variables and the dashed lines show nonsignificant relation between the variables. The total effect of the mediation is 0.59 ( $p = .000$ ). The relation between the context and maximizing tendency loses its significance in the mediation analyses ( $r = 0.13$ ,  $p = 0.40$ ). The mediation was done with mediators of individualism, collectivism, neoliberal orientation, achievement motivation, education, age, number of family members, socio-economic amenities, and number of co-dependents. The mediators of neoliberalism, achievement motivation and individualism had significant relation with maximizing tendency but the indirect effect for all of them except for neoliberal beliefs ( $r = 0.15$ ,  $CI = .1709; .7476$ ) was non-significant. The diagram above shows neoliberal beliefs and SES amenities, since separate mediation analyses showed that neoliberal orientation fully mediates the relation between contexts and maximizing tendency only in combination with SES amenities (total effect = 0.59,  $p = .000$ ; direct effect = 0.19, n. s.; indirect effect of neoliberalism = 0.26,  $CI = .1446, .3834$ ; indirect effect of SES amenities = 0.14, n. s., contrast = 0.12, n. s.) out of all the mediators that had significant relation with maximizing tendency. However, the indirect effect of the socio-economic amenities is nonsignificant on maximizing tendency in the above mediation model ( $r = 0.07$ , n. s.). This can also be seen in the contrast analyses among the mediators. Subtracting the effects of socio-economic amenities from neoliberal orientation gives a nonsignificant contrast of -0.01 (n.s.).

It can be seen in the above diagram that the relation between the rural-urban contexts and maximizing tendency is fully mediated by neoliberal orientation and socio-economic amenities, rendering the direct effect of socio-ecological context as insignificant. All the other mediators also lose significance in combination with these two mediators.

**RQ2: How do rural-urban ecological differences affect one’s cognitive and emotional processes involved in maximizing?**

*Prediction: The urban metropolitan participants will be more sensitive to cost of satisficing in terms of opportunity cost than the rural agrarian participants, and the rural participants will be more sensitive to cost of maximizing in terms of risk aversion than their urban counterparts. Also, higher maximizing in the urban region will lead to lower happiness and life satisfaction than the rural participants ( $H_{10}$ ,  $H_{11}$ ,  $H_{12}$ ).*

To understand the sensitivity to opportunity cost and risk aversion, the participants were presented with two hypothetical scenarios. One of them was about buying occasional clothes and the other one was about looking for better job opportunities even if one is already employed.

These situations were followed by a negative consequence of satisficing in terms of opportunity cost (e.g., you buy the clothes from the first shop and then find some better clothes in another shop) with a list of positive emotions (happy, content) and a list of negative emotions (regret, envy, frustrated, angry). Likewise, maximizing option was followed by the same set of emotions to assess risk aversion (e.g., you found some clothing in other shops, they are not as good and when you come back to the first shop, the clothes that you saw have already been sold). The participant had to report how much each of the emotions would they experience if they are faced with the mentioned consequences. The correlations among all the emotions for satisficing and maximizing for each of the scenario show that happiness and contentment are positively correlated with each other in each of the variation: opportunity cost by satisficing and risk aversion of maximizing for each of the scenario. Same was the case with all the negative emotions (refer to Table A7a, A7b, A7c, A7d). Regret, envy, frustration, and anger were found to be positively correlated with each other but were either uncorrelated or negatively correlated with happiness and contentment. Since positive emotions had significant intercorrelations with each other and so did the negative emotions, the mean scores

were calculated for positive and negative emotions for the cost of maximizing and satisficing for each of the scenario.

In addition to the above emotional and cognitive processes, well-being was also measured in terms of levels of happiness and life satisfaction, predicting that people in the urban region would report lower levels of happiness and life satisfaction due to higher maximizing tendency.

The mean difference for rural and urban regions are given below:

**Table 3.4**

*Mean Differences in Cognitive and Emotional Processes in Maximizing (Study 1)*

	Rural		Urban		Comparison	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t	Cohen's d
Buying Beh. Opportunity Cost	2.65	1.67	3.02	1.74	<b>-2.23*</b>	<b>0.21</b>
Buying Beh. Opportunity Cost Control	3.47	1.55	3.57	1.90	-0.55	0.05
Buying Beh. Risk Aversion	3.30	1.69	3.55	1.75	-1.43	0.14
Buying Beh. Risk Aversion Control (unequal variances assumed)	2.44	1.31	2.62	2.01	-1.12	0.10
Job Search Opportunity Cost	3.05	1.71	3.31	1.70	-1.56	0.15
Job Search Opportunity Cost Control (unequal variances assumed)	3.35	1.67	3.70	1.88	<b>-1.97*</b>	0.19
Job Search Risk Aversion	2.77	1.76	2.82	1.79	-0.29	0.02
Job Search Risk Aversion Control	4.06	1.87	4.24	1.95	-0.97	0.09
Life Satisfaction	4.94	1.32	5.00	1.36	-0.42	0.04
Happiness	7.27	1.91	7.77	1.78	<b>2.75**</b>	<b>0.27</b>

$p < .05^*$ ,  $p < .01^{**}$ ,  $p < .001$  and above $^{***}$

It can be seen in the above table that only opportunity cost for maximizing for scenario one was significant and in predicted direction. This shows that urban people experience relatively more loss for missing out on a better option for buying clothes in the first or second store. Also, the satisficers in the urban region report significantly reduced opportunity cost associated with higher satisficing ( $r = -0.19$ ,  $p = .006$ ). No relation was found in the rural region between the satisficing and emotions for this scenario. Maximizing for buying behaviour was found to be significantly correlated with the emotions of risk aversion in the

rural region ( $r = .14, p = .045$ ) but not in the urban region. In the job search situation, participants in both contexts show significant relation between the control emotions (positive: happy and content) and missing on a good opportunity by satisficing (rural:  $r = 0.21, p = .003$ ; urban:  $r = 0.16, p = .015$ ). It is possible that due to perceived economic uncertainty, job stability is more important for the participants than better prospects.

To see whether maximizers are happier than satisficers or vice versa, regional differences in general happiness and life satisfaction in rural and urban participants were calculated. There was significant mean difference in happiness in the favour of urban participants. There was a significant difference in the scores for rural ( $M = 7.27, SD = 1.91$ ) and urban participants ( $M = 7.77, SD = 1.78$ ) for happiness ( $t(398) = 2.75, p = .000$ ). However, the significant difference has a small effect size (*Cohen's d* = 0.27) showing that the mean differences are significant but not very robust. The scores for life satisfaction were similar for rural ( $M = 4.94, SD = 1.32$ ) and urban participants ( $M = 5.00, SD = 1.36$ ) and hence there was no significant mean difference ( $t(414) = 0.42, n. s.$ ).

Correlations among happiness, life satisfaction and maximizing tendency were also calculated. Happiness and life satisfaction are positively correlated to each other ( $r = 0.40, p = .000$ ). No correlation was found between maximizing tendency and happiness ( $r = 0.09, n. s.$ ), but maximizing tendency and life satisfaction are positively correlated with each other ( $r = 0.22, p = .000$ ).

## Discussion

It can be seen in the above results that the overall hypothesis holds. Maximizing is indeed higher in the urban region than in the rural region. The results show market values of neoliberalism and higher socio-economic status to be positively associated with urban metropolitan region and maximizing. More options in free market-oriented societies lead to increasing standards of choice and hence the maximizing. Previous findings show the difference in maximizing on cross-cultural level, where people in individualistic cultures reported higher maximizing than people in the collectivistic cultures (Oishi et al., 2014). The present study found differences on a within-country, socio-ecological level due to socio-market values and economic differences. The findings show that an economy in transition from primarily agrarian to opening of its markets to the global trade is associated with increased market values and looking for better choices. The shift in macro level neoliberal

values is robust enough to be seen on a socio-ecological level. The relation among market competition, related social values and maximizing have been discussed in the individualization literature, where it is argued that market competition is associated with reduced interdependence in the society and increased self-reliance (Beck, 2002). In such contexts, maximizing is not a choice rather a compulsion since bad choices have high cost for the self, given the lack of the safety net provided by one's close ones.

There was no significant difference in individualism-collectivism for both contexts. This was the case probably due to the difference in scope of the construct and the context.

Individualism-collectivism is mostly measured on a cross-cultural level, and the investigator in the present study tried to assess it on a within culture socio-ecological level, predicting metropolitan people to be significantly more individualistic than the rural people. This created an 'etic-emic' incompatibility. Studies have found that value research, especially individualism-collectivism can be assessed on both etic (where meaning of construct is same in different cultural contexts) and emic level (where the meaning of the construct is different in different cultural contexts). The results are different depending on the approach one takes. Previous studies in East-West Germany show that etic approach inherently reduces the between-context differences, while the emic approach increases the difference for individualism-collectivism, using the same dataset for both approaches (Boehnke & Merkens, 1994). Given that an etic approach was taken in this study, assuming equivalence of meaning for individualism-collectivism between rural and urban people, it is possible that the between-context difference was underestimated and therefore was insignificant. Other studies in social change argue that the meaning of a value changes over time and across regions (Boehnke & Merkens, 1995). Since the researcher is measuring effects of changes through individualism, it is possible that the concept might have a different meaning in both of the contexts and in both of the populations which are significantly different in age. The metropolitan participants are considerably younger than the rural population. Although age is not correlated with the reported scores on individualism-collectivism, it is possible that there might be intergenerational differences in the meaning of the construct. Studies in Indian context also argue that the traditional measures of individualism-collectivism do not assess the concept in the way they do in the Western and the responses to individualism-collectivism are context-sensitive (Sinha, 2014). Some studies in Indian context also suggest that individualism-collectivism are understood as two mutually exclusive constructs in the Indian mindset, and

therefore are not in conflict with each other (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). The findings for the present study also show individualism-collectivism to be positively correlated with each other.

Achievement motivation also did not differ significantly between the contexts. The measure used to measure achievement motivation was constructed in the Indian context and the authors conceptualized achievement motivation to suit the cultural sensitivity (Agarwal & Misra, 1986). Hence most of the achievement goals and means to achieve them were socially oriented e.g., goals for respect and serve elders; family success; sibling progress and, means of becoming influential; good company and, cooperation. The authors argue that most of the achievement motives in the Indian context are non-competitive and involved 'social concern', which is unlike the traditional conceptualization of achievement motivation by McClelland (1961). He equated achievement motivation with entrepreneurial skills which are business related, profit seeking activities. It is possible that the people in the two contexts would have differed on the Western traditional conceptualization, as predicted that people in the traditional rural setting would be less concerned with profit and people in the metropolitan region to be more profit oriented, but the difference was not significant due to a different conceptualization used. The original study also found the substance of social concern to be common among rural and urban students (Agarwal & Misra, 1986). In the present study also, no significant difference was found in rural and urban participants for achievement motivation. However, in the previous study, the authors found difference in the nature of social concern. The urban students were found to have more prosocial orientation than the rural students, and rural students reported higher approval orientation than the urban students. The participants in the present study did not differentiate in the factor structure of the achievement goals. The analysis showed a single dimension structure, on which there were no significant differences between rural and urban participants.

Regarding the situations assessing emotional and cognitive processes involved in maximizing, it was found that maximizing and satisficing for buying clothes had regional differences in the predicted direction, i.e., people in the urban region preferred more to maximize and look for better options than the people in the rural region, and people in the rural region preferred more to satisfice and stop their search once they found something good enough than people in the metropolitan region. Maximizing in buying behaviour was positively related to neoliberal beliefs, showing that neoliberalism plays a role in maximizing in market situations.

Satisficing for buying clothes was positively associated with collectivism. During the survey, some participants in the rural region also mentioned that they would buy clothes from the same shop they have been buying even if they do not get a better option to maintain their relation and loyalty with the shopkeeper whom they have known for a very long time. This to some extent corroborates with the premise of the present study that people with collectivistic or interdependence orientation would satisfice more than individualistic or independent population. Maximizing and satisficing in searching for a job did not show any significant regional differences. This shows that concern for job and economic opportunities are perceived to be equally necessary in both contexts, regardless of the cultural, market and economic differences. Maximizing for job was also significantly related to individualism and satisficing for job was found to be related to collectivism, but both decision preferences were significantly related to neoliberal beliefs. Neoliberal ideology has been found to have an integral principle of ‘maximizing economic freedom’ (Bal & Dóci, 2018). In this aspect, association between neoliberal beliefs and searching for better economic prospects is understandable, since people are trying to maximize their economic opportunities by searching for better jobs. This seems to be the case not only in the urban but also rural region.

The emotional cost of maximizing and satisficing in terms of sensitivity to opportunity cost and risk aversion was assessed for these situations. It was found that the urban people who chose to maximize more in the buying behaviour were more susceptible to opportunity cost caused by satisficing (manifested through regret, envy, frustration, and anger) i.e., if one misses better options by deciding on an adequate one. For the job-related scenario, the results show no significant regional difference in risk aversion that comes with maximizing and opportunity cost that comes with satisficing. However, the rural people reported being significantly less happy and content if they satisfice and lose a better opportunity. Therefore, they do not suffer opportunity cost, but they do get affected and feel somewhat more dissatisfied with the situation than the urban participants. Regarding well-being of the participants, no difference was found in life satisfaction, but the urban participants were significantly happier than the rural participants.

## Conclusion

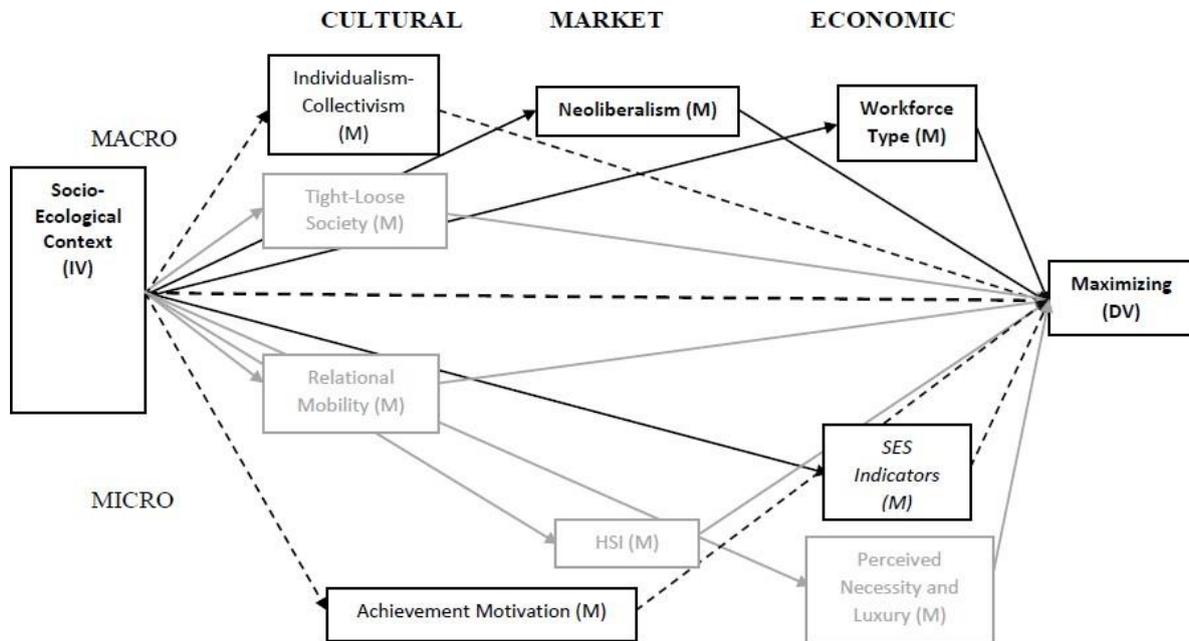
In this study, the question that was addressed was do people in an urban metropolitan region maximize more than rural agrarian people? Also, if cultural, market and economic factors play a role in this. Macro level explanatory factors of individualism-collectivism, achievement motivation and neoliberalism as cultural and market factors respectively were assessed, assuming these factors would lead to higher maximizing in the urban region. It was found that metropolitan people do have a higher tendency to maximize than the rural people, due to stronger neoliberal beliefs and partly due to better socio-economic conditions.

Higher maximizing tendency in urban people does not fully translate into behaviour. Maximizing in situational decisions is probably guided by the necessity of the decision object. This might be a reason why the findings show significantly higher maximizing for shopping behaviour in the urban region than the rural region, but this was not the case for job related scenario. Shopping for better clothes was probably considered necessary in the urban region but probably a luxury in the rural region, and therefore people in the rural region significantly satisfied in this situation. Concerns for economic opportunities hold equal necessary value for people in both regions, and therefore they report no difference in maximizing. The findings for the overall theoretical framework from the first study are given in the model on the next page (*Fig. 3.3*).

There were also findings for cognitive and emotional processes related to maximizing. The urban people showed higher opportunity cost for shopping related scenario, in which they also maximized more than the rural people, but there was no difference in opportunity cost and risk aversion in the job search situation. The rural and urban participants also did not considerably differ in their life satisfaction, but urban participants were happier than the rural participants.

**Figure 3.3**

*Findings Within Overall Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency (Study 1)*



*Note.* The above model shows findings from the first study of the project for maximizing tendency. The solid lines show significant relation between the variables, while the dashed lines show nonsignificant relation between the variables. The grey boxes show the predictions that were not tested in this study. The tested relations were between socio-ecological context and maximizing tendency, mediated through individualism-collectivism, neoliberalism, achievement motivation and socio-economic indicators. It can be seen that neoliberal beliefs and socio-economic indicators differed significantly across the regions, and therefore have significant relation with the context. However, only neoliberal beliefs have significant indirect effect on maximizing tendency. The relation between rural-urban contexts and maximizing is fully mediated, which is also represented by the dashed line between the contexts and maximizing tendency. Individualism-collectivism and achievement motivation do not have significant relation with the socio-ecological contexts or maximizing tendency, showing neither they significantly differ across rural-urban regions, nor they affect maximizing tendency significantly.

Going back to the schematic framework that was proposed in the literature review, we find that the relations in the upper half of the model, that constituted mostly of the macro factors (achievement motivation is one of the micro factors in the lower half of the model) were partially confirmed. This can also be seen in the above diagram. The mediation analyses show that the urban metropolitan participants indeed maximize more than the rural participants. The

higher maximizing tendency in the urban region was explained by stronger neoliberal beliefs and partly by socio-economic amenities in the context. Neoliberal beliefs significantly mediated the relation between rural-urban context and maximizing in combination with socio-economic amenities partially affecting the relation (had non-significant indirect effects, refer to *Fig. 3.2*). Achievement motivation and individualism-collectivism had confirmed non-significant effects on the relation between the context and maximizing. In the next chapter, the grey boxes, i.e., untested effects of the micro level factors on the relation between rural-urban context and maximizing are addressed.



**CHAPTER: 4**

**STUDY 2: MICRO-ECOLOGICAL FACTORS IN MAXIMIZING  
TENDENCY AND SITUATIONAL MAXIMIZING FOR SELF AND  
COMMUNITY**



## Chapter: 4

### Study 2: Micro-Ecological Factors in Maximizing Tendency and Situational Maximizing for Self and Community

This chapter addresses the follow up study of the previous one and attempts to understand the individual level cultural, market and economic factors that lead to differences in maximizing in rural and urban regions. In the last study it was found that general maximizing tendency was higher in the urban metropolitan people compared to rural agrarian people due to higher neoliberal orientation and socio-economic amenities. The situational maximizing measures partially supported the finding for urban people maximizing more than their rural counterparts. In the second study, it was attempted to find out individual level factors in cultural-market and economic framework that would explain higher maximizing in the urban region. Additionally, the study also tried to assess if there is any difference in maximizing for decisions regarding maximizing for the self and for one's group. The research questions and the related predictions for the study were the following:

#### **RQ 1 (part 2): How do rural-urban ecological differences in cultural, market and economic factors affect one's general maximizing tendency? (*Micro*)**

##### *Overall Prediction*

**H<sub>1</sub>:** Urban participants will maximize more than the rural participants.

##### *Prediction for Mediators*

##### **Cultural:**

**H<sub>3</sub>:** People in the metropolitan region would report lesser tight perception of society, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants.

**H<sub>4</sub>:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher relational mobility, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants.

##### **Market:**

**H<sub>6</sub>:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher hierarchic self-interest, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants.

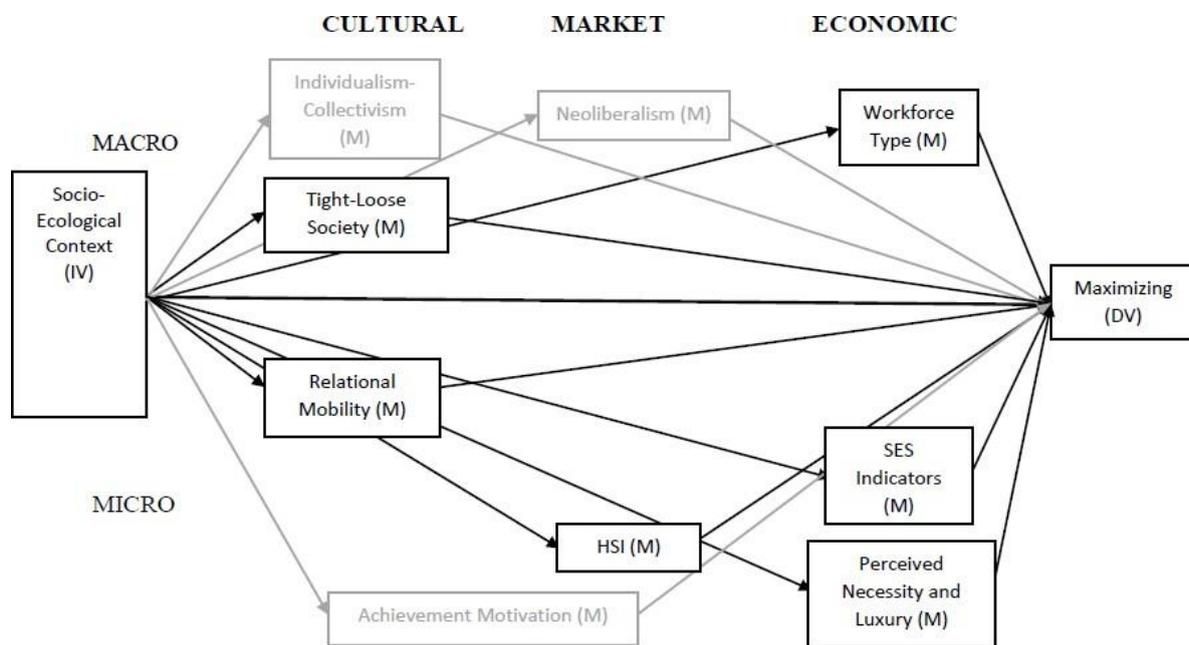
**Economic:**

**H8:** People in the metropolitan region would report higher standards of living, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants.

**H9:** People in the metropolitan region would report broader range of necessities, which would lead to higher maximizing compared to rural participants.

**Figure 4.1**

*Proposed Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)*



*Note.* The above diagram shows the proposed theoretical framework for the present study for maximizing tendency. The grey boxes show the variables from the previous study, which have not been used in this study. The boxes at left and right end of the diagram show the independent and the dependent variable. The ecological context of the rural and urban setting is the independent variable and maximizing is the dependent variable. It is proposed that maximizing would be higher in the urban context, and this relation between the context and maximizing would be explained by the socio-cultural, market and economic factors of relational mobility, hierarchic self-interest, necessity-luxury, and socio-economic indicators, respectively.

**RQ3: How do rural-urban ecological differences affect one's maximizing for self-regarding and collective decisions?**

**H13:** People in urban metropolitan region will maximize more for self-regarding decisions than people in the rural agrarian region.

**H14:** People in the rural agrarian region will maximize more for community related decisions than people in the urban metropolitan region.

**Method**

The data was collected by using standardized survey scales through paper pen format in fieldwork done in rural and urban regions in Northern India with farmers and corporate employees. The scales were translated into Hindi and backtranslated into English by two people fluent in English and Hindi, and the original and backtranslated scales were checked by three other bilingual people separately. The pilot was conducted with 66 Hindi speaking students in Jacobs University Bremen, University of Bremen, and Hochschule Bremen. The measures were adapted and scrutinized for validity and reliability based on the pilot data and improved accordingly. This was followed by a pre-test with nine rural participants who were not part of the actual study. The details of the preparation of measures are given in the materials section for study 2 in the fieldwork chapter.

**Results**

The data was collected for 427 participants in all, 216 in the rural and 211 in the urban region. After cleaning the data for age, profession, interference and landsize in the rural region, 378 were left for the final analyses. the data was entered and analysed in SPSS

Given on the next page are the demographic characteristics of the participants in the study:

**Table 4.1***Demographic Characteristics of the Sample (Study 2)*

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Rural (n= 182)</b>	<b>Urban (n= 196)</b>
Profession	Agricultural Labourers	Corporate Employees
Gender		
Male	118	129
Female	64	66
Mean Age	33.18	28.42
Religion		
Hindus	180 (99.5%)	164(89.1%)
Other	1 (0.5%)	20 (10.9%)
Marital Status		
Single	46 (27.4%)	91(52%)
Married	122 (72.6%)	82 (46.9%)
Other		2 (1.2%)
Education	Secondary-Senior Secondary	Graduate-Post Graduate
Type of Family (Joint/Nuclear)		
Joint	141 (78.8%)	84 (43.5%)
Nuclear	38 (21.2%)	109 (56.5%)
Mean Number of Family Members	9.39	5.38
Mean Number of Co-Dependents	3.81	1.83
Monthly Income	5, 000-25, 000 INR	50, 000-75, 000 INR
People Living in Each Room (Mean)	2.29	1.37

***Additional SES Measures******Rural region:***

*Land Holding (Mean sqf):* 67606.32

*Average number of cattle:* Between 2-3

*Primary Occupation:* Although all of them were involved in farming, most of them also had another job. 78.6% considered agriculture as their primary occupation and 20.9% considered it their secondary occupation

*Caste:* 42.2% were from the higher caste, while 57.8% were from lower caste

*House Structure:* 65.5% had a concrete house and 70.3% had a concrete roof.

*Vehicle:* 66.5% participants have two-wheeler and 14% have a four-wheeler

*Amenities:* Most of the rural participants have between 3-4 amenities (mean = 3.66) among the five amenities of electricity, water connection, handpump, gas cylinder connection, and television

***Urban region:***

*Inhabitants:* 90.8% participants were inhabitants of the region, while 8.7% commuted each day from a nearby city.

*Professional Experience:* On average the participants had 5.51 years of professional experience in their field.

*House (Own/Rent):* 43.7% reported having their own house in the region, while 56.3% lived on rent

*Shared/Private Living:* 12.2% lived in a shared arrangement, while 20.4% had a private apartment. (67.3% missing)

*Amenities:* 73.8% reported to have an air conditioner at home, and 82.3% reported to have an LCD television at home. 43.5% reported to live in a 2 BHK house (13.3 missing %)

*Rural-urban migration:* Among the participants, 38.2% reported to have stayed for some time in rural region and on average of 2.24 years ( $SD = 4.94$ ). 61.8% never had lived in a rural region.

It can be seen in the above table that the rural participants are older, more of them are married and have more family members and co-dependents than the urban participants. Urban participants are more educated and report higher income. It can be seen that there is a high missing percentage in information regarding the number of bedrooms, hall and kitchen in the house (13.3%). As discussed in the previous chapter, participants in the urban region find questions regarding some of the socio-economic indicators to be too private and sensitive to be answered, which leads to significant proportion of missing values. Both groups are similar in terms of gender distribution and religion. The next sections discuss the structure and validation of measures used in the study.

### **Measures Validation:**

*Scenarios for Individual and Community Maximizing (self-construed by the researcher):* Four scenarios were prepared to assess maximizing decisions for oneself and one's community. The details of the construction of the scenarios are given in the materials section for study 2 in the chapter of fieldwork. The scenarios were constructed to assess maximizing for oneself and maximizing for the community. The self-maximizing scenarios consisted of buying a mobile phone and buying a piece of land. The community maximizing scenarios consisted of hiring contractors to build a community hall and choosing material to repair roof of a primary school. The self-maximizing scenarios were significantly correlated with each other ( $r = 0.18$ ,  $p = .000$ ), and the community decision scenarios were significantly correlated with each other ( $r = 0.18$ ,  $p = .001$ ). The self-maximizing scenario of buying mobile was also significantly correlated with the community scenarios (community hall:  $r = 0.11$ ,  $p = .032$ ; school roof:  $r = 0.18$ ,  $p = .001$ ). None of the scenarios were significantly correlated with maximizing tendency.

*Relational Mobility Scale (Thompson et al., 2018):* The measure has 12 items measuring whether people have opportunities to make new relations, friendships and if they can change their social groups for more desirable and beneficial groups. Final analyses for factor rotation and reliability yielded five items. Factor solution was found for two factors with 37.35% and 21.83% variance explained by each of them. In the rural region, 35.56% and 22.71% of variance was explained by the two dimensions obtained and in the urban region, 37.01% and 22.78% of variance was explained. Reliability score was also similar for the overall, rural, and urban samples (overall sample  $\alpha = 0.57$ , rural sample  $\alpha = 0.53$ , and urban sample  $\alpha = 0.57$ )

*Tight-Loose Society Scale (Gelfand et al., 2011):* The measure has 6 items that assess whether the person's society is perceived to be tight or loose. In a tight society, norms are perceived to be stronger and there is low tolerance for deviance, while in a loose society, norms are perceived to be relatively weak and there is higher tolerance for deviance. Factor solution for the overall, rural, and urban samples yielded one factor with 5 items. The final list of items explained 55.27% of variance for the overall sample ( $\alpha = 0.79$ ), 53.35% for the rural sample ( $\alpha = 0.77$ ), and 46.42% for the urban sample ( $\alpha = 0.70$ ).

*Hierarchic Self Interest Scale (Hagan et al., 1999):* The measure consists of 15 items for the dimensions of competitiveness, success orientation, individualism, and acceptance of

inequality. One item of “We need nuclear power plants” was removed for contextual adaptability. To assess the structure of the HSI scale for the remaining 14 items, structural equation modelling was done, which yielded two factors of competitiveness and success orientation. These were the only dimensions that had similar understanding in the overall, rural, and urban contexts. The fit indices showed moderate fit for overall sample, unsatisfactory fit for rural sample and good fit for the urban sample. The details of analyses are attached in the appendices (refer to *Fig. B1, B2, B3*). Good fit of the model in the urban region even with less than adequate sample shows that metropolitan participants have a better understanding of capitalistic tendencies than the rural participants.

*Perception of Necessity and Luxury Scale (Kemp, 1998)*: The measure has been taken from Kemp (1998), which investigates that how people differentiate between necessity and luxury. The scale has 21 items, on which people rate from complete necessity to complete luxury. The factor analyses yielded two factors for necessity and luxury with a total of 18 remaining items. The necessity factor explained 35.63% variance in the overall sample and the luxury dimension explained 15.79% variance in the same ( $\alpha = 0.85$ ). In the rural region, necessity dimension explained 28.87% of variance and luxury dimension explained 16.05% of variance ( $\alpha = 0.80$ ). In the urban context, necessity explained 38.46% of variance and luxury factor explained 14.57% of variance ( $\alpha = 0.88$ )

*Brief Maximizing Scale (Nenkov et al., 2008) and Maximizing Inventory (Diab et al., 2008)*: Both scales were combined before administration. The final list for maximizing scale comprised of 6 items, which yielded one factor solution explaining 40.86% of variance for the overall sample ( $\alpha = 0.71$ ). In the rural context the factor structure explained 39.42% of variance ( $\alpha = 0.69$ ) and, in the urban context, the explained variance was 43.69% ( $\alpha = 0.74$ )

*Choice Freedom/Constraint Items (construed by me)*: Two items on 7-point scale from totally disagree to totally agree measured the experience of freedom and constraint experience in exercising choice. The inter-item correlation was 0.46 ( $p = .000$ ) for the overall sample. In the rural region it was 0.41 ( $p = .000$ ) and in the urban region it was 0.45 ( $p = .000$ ).

The analyses for the present study are presented according to the research questions and predictions below.

**RQ 1 (part 2): How do rural-urban ecological differences in cultural, market and economic factors affect one’s general maximizing tendency? (*Micro*)**

*Prediction: People living and working in urban metropolitan area will maximize more due to higher relational mobility, perception of relatively loose social norms, more hierarchic self-interest, and a broader range of necessities than people in the rural agrarian region (H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, H<sub>4</sub>, H<sub>6</sub>, H<sub>8</sub>, H<sub>9</sub>).*

To understand regional differences in maximizing tendency and the individual level ecological factors leading to it, firstly t-tests were calculated to assess rural-urban comparisons in maximizing; cultural factors of relational mobility, tightness-looseness perception of one’s society; market orientation of hierarchic self-interest; and economic perception through necessity and luxury. The following table shows the results for mean comparisons for the above-mentioned constructs

**Table 4.2:**

*Mean Regional Differences for Cultural, Market, Economic Factors and Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)*

Variable	Rural (n= 182)		Urban (n= 196)		Comparison	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t	Cohen’s d
Rmob	3.69	1.21	4.29	1.06	<b>-5.11***</b>	<b>0.53</b>
TTLS	5.61	1.25	4.23	1.22	<b>10.81***</b>	<b>1.11</b>
Competitiveness (standardized scores)	0.54	0.80	-0.50	0.90	<b>11.42***</b>	<b>1.21</b>
Success Orientation (standardized scores)	0.18	0.99	-0.17	0.98	<b>3.29***</b>	<b>0.34</b>
Necessity (unequal variances assumed)	5.40	0.79	4.88	1.11	<b>5.12***</b>	<b>0.52</b>
Luxury	2.67	1.16	3.26	1.05	<b>-5.12***</b>	<b>0.52</b>
Maximizing Tendency	4.19	1.30	4.50	1.18	<b>-2.43*</b>	<b>0.25</b>
Choice Constraint (Control Variable; unequal variances assumed)	3.94	1.78	3.05	1.51	<b>5.29***</b>	<b>0.54</b>

*p < .05\*, p < .01\*\*, p < .001\*\*\**

The table shows regional differences in the cultural, market and perceived economic indicators of the maximizing tendency. It is important to note that all the dimensions of hierarchic self-interest were not equally understood in both contexts. Two dimensions of competitiveness and success orientation from hierarchic self-interest worked equally well for both of the regions, and hence were used in the further analyses. Most of the significant differences are in the predicted direction, except for competitiveness and success orientation

and necessity. The rural participants reported less relational mobility, tighter society, less importance of luxury and lesser maximizing tendency than the urban participants. The rural participants also reported higher competitiveness, success orientation and more emphasis on necessities than the metropolitan participants. There was also choice constraint as a control variable in this study which was found to be higher in the rural region.

Next, correlations were calculated to understand the relation among the ecological, market and economic indicators of maximizing to understand relationship among them and their effect on maximizing

**Table 4.3***Correlations for Cultural, Market, Economic Factors and Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)*

Variables	Place	Rmob	TTLS	Competitiveness	Success Orientation	Necessity	Luxury	Maximizing	Choice Constraint
Place	1	<b>0.26***</b>	<b>-0.49***</b>	<b>-0.52***</b>	<b>-0.17***</b>	<b>-0.26***</b>	<b>0.26***</b>	<b>0.12*</b>	<b>-0.26***</b>
Rmob	<b>0.26***</b>	1	<b>-0.32***</b>	<b>-0.34***</b>	<b>-0.24***</b>	-0.01	<b>0.21***</b>	-0.03	<b>-0.27***</b>
TTLS	<b>-0.49***</b>	<b>-0.32***</b>	1	<b>0.58***</b>	<b>0.44***</b>	0.06	<b>-0.30***</b>	0.09	<b>0.34***</b>
Competitiveness	<b>-0.52***</b>	<b>-0.34***</b>	<b>0.58***</b>	1	<b>0.44***</b>	0.02	<b>-0.24***</b>	0.06	<b>0.35***</b>
Success Orientation	<b>-0.17***</b>	<b>-0.24***</b>	<b>0.44***</b>	<b>0.44***</b>	1	0.09	<b>-0.22***</b>	<b>0.25***</b>	<b>0.17***</b>
Necessity	<b>-0.26***</b>	-0.01	0.06	0.02	0.09	1	0.06	<b>-0.13*</b>	<b>-0.11*</b>
Luxury	<b>0.26***</b>	<b>0.21***</b>	<b>-0.30***</b>	<b>-0.24***</b>	<b>-0.22***</b>	0.06	1	0.07	<b>-0.15**</b>
Maximizing	<b>0.12*</b>	-0.03	0.09	0.06	<b>0.25***</b>	<b>-0.13*</b>	0.07	1	0.08
Choice Constraint	<b>-0.26***</b>	<b>-0.27***</b>	<b>0.34***</b>	<b>0.35***</b>	<b>0.17***</b>	<b>-0.11*</b>	<b>-0.15**</b>	0.08	1

Place: Rural = 1, Urban = 2;  $p < .05^*$ ,  $p < .01^{**}$ ,  $p < .001^{***}$ 

It can be seen in the above table that all the constructs vary with place. The nature of change for each construct with region has been discussed in the previous table. The ecological indicators of relational mobility and tight-loose perceptions of society go together in the predicted direction i.e.,

higher relational mobility is negatively associated with tight society. Relational mobility is also positively associated with urban context and importance of luxury but does not have a significant correlation with maximizing. Tight perception of social norms was found higher in the rural region than in the urban region. Perception of tight social norms has been found to be associated with farming societies previously (Gelfand, 2012). Perception of tight society was also negatively associated with importance of luxury, indicating subsistence orientation in rural context. This finding is also substantiated by correlation between rural context and importance of necessities. Emphasis on necessities is also negatively correlated with maximizing, showing subsistence orientation is associated with satisficing. Luxury orientation is positively associated with urban context and relational mobility but not with maximizing. The maximizing tendency is positively associated only with place i.e., is higher in the urban context, and with success orientation which is lower in the urban region.

The components of HSI of competitiveness and success orientation were not in the predicted direction. It was expected that the urban people would be more competitive, and success oriented than the rural people, but this was not the case. The rural people reported higher competitiveness and success orientation than urban people. Some studies show that although HSI was originally conceptualised as capitalistic market orientation, it can also be understood as a value system similar to achievement orientation and competitiveness, imbibed through authoritarian parenting practices in traditional societies (Hadjer et al., 2008). Competitiveness and success orientation are positively correlated with each other. Both are also positively correlated with perceived tightness of the society and negatively with luxury orientation. Competitiveness is not correlated with maximizing, but success orientation is positively correlated with maximizing.

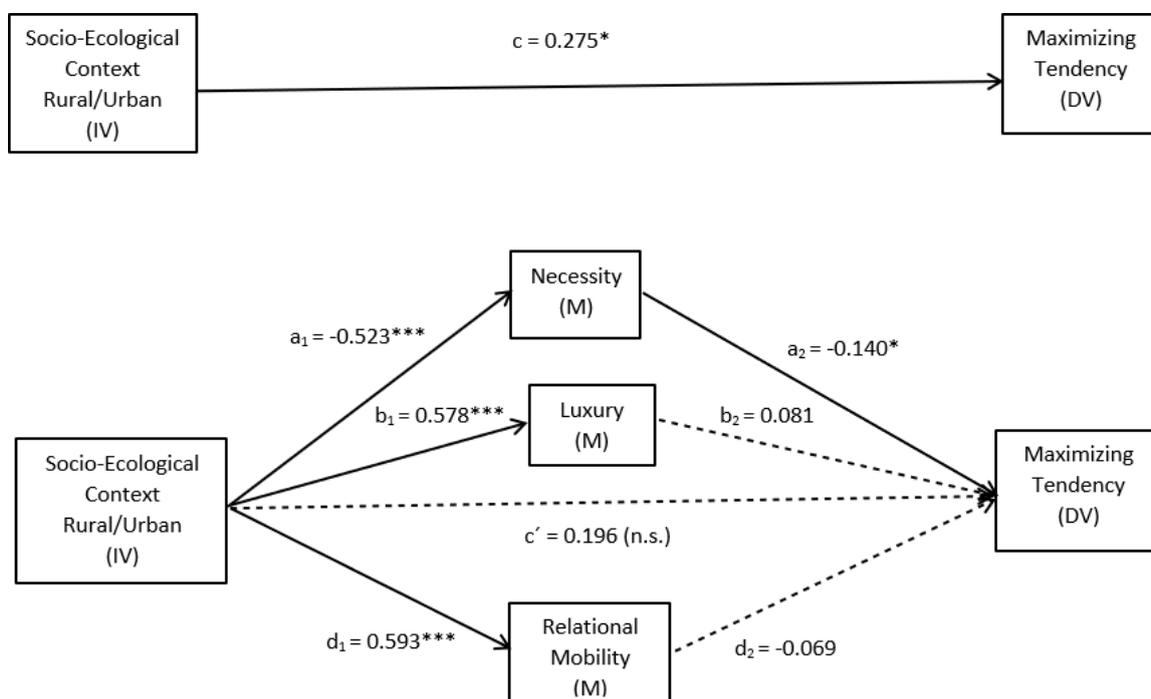
In the study, a control variable of choice constraint was also measured, to see if choice constraint reduces maximizing, but it was not correlated with it. It was found that choice constraint is less in the urban region and reduces with increasing relational mobility, importance of necessity and luxury, but it increases with tightness of social norms, competitiveness, and success orientation. It should be noted that although choice constraint was lower in the urban region, but it was significantly correlated with maximizing. This was not the case in the rural region (rural  $r = 0.07$ ,  $p = n. s.$ ; urban  $r = 0.17$ ,  $p = .016$ ).

To understand how the regional variation of the ecological, market and economic factors affect maximizing, a mediation analyses was done. In the analysis, the rural and urban context

was taken as predictor and maximizing as the outcome variable. As it can be seen in the above table 4.2 that the contextual difference maximizing had a small effect size, many combinations of mediators led to full mediation, but with varying reduction in the direct effect. The model below reduces the direct effect the most and explains the relation between context and maximizing tendency better than the other combinations.

**Figure 4.2**

*Mediation Analyses for Effect of Socio-Ecological Context on Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)*



*Note.* The above model shows mediation relation between socio-ecological contexts of rural-urban settings and maximizing tendency. The total effect of the model is 0.275 ( $p = .032$ ). The indirect effect of importance of basic necessities was 0.073 (CI = .0022; .1505). The indirect effect of importance of luxury is 0.047 (n. s.) and the indirect effect of relational mobility is -0.041. The contrast analyses show non-significant effect of subtracting the effect of luxury from necessity (contrast = 0.03, n. s.), and relational mobility from luxury (0.09, n. s.). However, the contrast of subtracting relational mobility from necessity is significant (contrast = 0.11, CI = .0143; .2215) showing that although relational mobility has a non-significant indirect effect, it has a significant relation with necessity dimension in mediating the relation between rural-urban ecology and maximizing tendency.

It can be seen in the mediation diagram that there was a full mediation explaining the relation between the context and maximizing tendency. The mediators in the above model are perception of necessity, luxury, and relational mobility. All the mediators significantly regress with the context, however only necessity has significant indirect effect on maximizing. The contrast analyses of the mediators show that the difference between necessity and luxury is non-significant and same is the case with luxury and relational mobility. However, the contrast between necessity and relational mobility is significant showing that removing relational mobility would significantly affect the model.

### **RQ3: How do rural-urban ecological differences affect one’s maximizing for self-regarding and collective decisions?**

*Prediction: People in urban metropolitan region will maximize more for self-regarding decisions than people in the rural agrarian region, while people in rural agrarian region will maximize more for the community related decisions than the urban participants (H13, H14).*

The self-collective situational maximizing was analysed separately since it is not correlated with maximizing tendency. The situational maximizing was measured through four scenarios, two for decisions for self ( $r = 0.18, p = .000$ ) and two for decisions for community ( $r = 0.17, p = .001$ ). The table below shows regional differences in maximizing for oneself and maximizing for the community. The mobile and land scenario are for self-regarding decisions and common hall and school scenarios are decisions regarding community.

**Table 4.4**

*Regional Mean Differences in Self and Community Maximizing Situational Dilemmas (Study 2)*

Scenario	Rural		Urban		Comparison	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t	Cohen’s d
Mobile (unequal variances assumed)	3.52	2.11	4.21	1.71	<b>-3.45***</b>	<b>0.36</b>
Land	4.61	1.85	3.95	1.82	<b>3.48***</b>	<b>0.36</b>
Common Hall	2.43	1.98	3.66	1.80	<b>-6.32***</b>	<b>0.65</b>
School (unequal variances assumed)	3.48	2.13	4.80	1.66	<b>-6.63***</b>	<b>0.69</b>

$p < .05^*, p < .01^{**}, p < .001^{***}$

The above table shows differences in maximizing situations for oneself and for the community. In the first scenario, participants had to decide whether they want to buy the latest

mobile with new and better features or an older version which would have less features and just serve the purpose. The latest mobile represented maximizing and the older one satisficing. The responses were measured from satisficing to maximizing on one continuum for all the scenarios. It can be seen that urban participants maximized for the mobile more than the rural people. Higher maximizing for this situation was highly correlated with luxury orientation ( $r = 0.12, p = .026$ ), higher education ( $r = 0.28, p = .000$ ) and income ( $r = 0.26, p = .000$ ), and lower age ( $r = -0.18, p = .001$ ). Maximizing for this self-decision was also related to a significant decrease in choice constraint ( $r = -0.17, p = .001$ ). The urban participants reported higher preference for better mobile phones due to more importance for luxury, and being younger, more educated, and richer than the rural participants.

The second scenario was about buying a piece of land either yourself or through a broker. Buying the land, oneself represented maximizing since the participant had to consider all the options himself, while buying the land through a broker showed satisficing since the broker would save time but would make profit for himself. It was predicted that urban people would maximize more than the rural people, but we can see in the above table that the rural people maximized more than their urban counterparts. It is possible that since land is their main source of income for them and for their family, they were more particular about the decision than the urban people. The preference of rural participants to maximize and search for a seller themselves to buy land was correlated with tightness of society ( $r = 0.23, p = .000$ ), higher success orientation ( $r = 0.20, p = .000$ ) and lower luxury orientation ( $r = -0.12, p = .016$ ).

The next two scenarios were about maximizing for one's community. In one of the community scenarios, the participants were asked about their decision for building a community hall. They had to decide if they would give the contract to their known old contractors who can build the hall within the given time but with less facilities than planned. The other option was to get it built by new contractors who can build the hall as planned but since they are new, it is hard to say how the hall would look like. The decision for the old contractors showed satisficing and the decision for new contractors meant maximizing. It was predicted that the rural people being more community oriented would maximize more on this decision, but most of them chose in favour of old contractors than the new ones. Maximizing for community hall was associated with higher relational mobility ( $r = 0.11, p = .036$ ), reduced tightness of the social norms ( $r = -0.13, p = .014$ ) and reduced competitiveness ( $r = -0.24, p = .000$ ). It was also related to decreasing choice constraint ( $r = -0.19, p = .000$ ). It was

also found that men maximize significantly more for this decision than women ( $r = -0.15, p = .004$ ). Choosing a better community hall was also associated with higher income ( $r = 0.25, p = .000$ ), ease of expense ( $r = 0.19, p = .000$ ) and higher education ( $r = 0.17, p = .002$ ).

The fourth scenario was about repairing a roof for a primary school in the area. The participants had to decide if they wanted to make a tin roof which would take less time and effort but make the classrooms very hot in summers or a tiled roof which would take more time and energy but would be comfortable in summers. The tin roof represented satisficing and the tiled roof represented maximizing. It was expected that more rural people to choose the tiled roof for the school and the urban people to choose the tin roof, but the findings were not in the expected direction. More rural people chose tin roof instead of the tiled roof and more urban people chose tiled roof over tin one. Maximizing for repairing primary school was related with higher relational mobility ( $r = 0.13, p = .010$ ) and lower competitiveness ( $r = -0.16, p = .003$ ). It was also related to lower choice constraint ( $r = -0.16, p = .002$ ) and lesser number of co-dependents ( $r = -0.11, p = .037$ ). Choosing a better and more comfortable roof was also associated with higher income ( $r = 0.38, p = .000$ ), ease of expense ( $r = 0.24, p = .000$ ), and education ( $r = 0.33, p = .000$ ). It was also found that more married people maximized for the school roof than the unmarried people ( $r = -0.17, p = .001$ ). This was possibly because of more probability of having children for the married participants than the unmarried ones.

It can be seen that the urban people maximized in all of the situations for self and community decisions except for buying land. The rural participants maximized significantly more for land than the urban participants. None of the maximizing scenarios were significantly correlated with maximizing tendency scale. The correlations also show that maximizing for most of the situational decisions are affected by higher income, education, and lower choice constraint. Maximizing for community decisions is also related to higher relational mobility and lower level of competitiveness.

### **Discussion**

The broad prediction for the present study was same as in the previous study that people in the urban metropolitan region would maximize more than the people in the rural agrarian region. This was found to be true for the maximizing tendency and most of the situations. It was also predicted that rural people would maximize more for community decisions than the

urban people. However, this was not found to be true. The findings for maximizing tendency and situational maximizing will be discussed separately in the following paragraphs.

Regarding the finding for maximizing tendency, it was found that people in the urban region maximized more than people in the rural region due to a more relationally mobile society, relatively less concern for basic necessities but more for luxury. It has been found in previous studies that a shift in basic concerns of people from survival to self-expression is accompanied by changes in styles of interdependence (Inglehart & Oyserman, 2004). In the case of the present study, it was found that this change in priorities was associated with a change in relational fixedness, which led to urban people maximizing more. Thus, urbanization is associated with more choices in relationships beyond role sets of a traditional society, more opportunities to meet new people and change or leave undesired relations. This personal preference is associated with relatively less survival concern and maximizing i.e., aspiring beyond what is merely adequate. Some researchers have also drawn similarity between necessity and luxury as positive and negative reinforcement (Kemp, 1999). Thus, lack of basic needs causes discomfort, but lack of luxury does not. However, attaining luxury leads to happiness. The fulfilment of basic needs makes the next level of needs a primary requirement, which were until now considered as luxury or non-necessities. This shift was found with urbanization, and hence perceived luxuries became more important in the urban region than in the rural one, therefore higher the maximizing tendency.

In the rural region this indicates a relation between fixed role set and subsistence orientation i.e., more concern for the basic necessities, which was found to be associated with satisficing. Previous studies have found that only when basic and safety needs are fulfilled, social needs start gaining priority (Maslow, 1954). This might be the reason of fixed role sets, lower relational mobility and subsistence orientation in traditional societies that lead to satisficing.

Market orientation of HSI was not understood equally well in both of the contexts. As found in structural equation analyses, participants from both contexts understood success orientation and competitiveness from the four dimensions. However, the rural people did not show a significant understanding of individualism and acceptance of inequality (refer to *Fig. B2* and *B3* in the Appendices). It is possible that individualism and acceptance of inequality do not exist in the rural region in the way the researcher attempted to measure. It was also found that people in the rural region reported higher success orientation and competitiveness than the urban participants. Studies show that people in the tight societies compare themselves with

others more with each other than people who perceive their social norms to be relaxed (Baldwin & Mussweiler, 2018). Social comparison is known to foster competitiveness which might be the case here (Garcia et al., 2013). Studies also show that competitiveness and success orientation are also a product of authoritarian parenting style in traditional patriarchal and lower socio-economic societies (Hadjar et al., 2008). This might be the reason for these aspects to be higher in the rural region. Success orientation was positively related to maximizing tendency but had to be removed from the final analyses since it reduced the mediation.

Another interesting outcome is regarding the choice constraint. The findings show that rural participants relatively feel more constrained in their choices than the urban participants, and individual choice constraint is associated with tightness of the society and decreases with relational mobility and importance of both necessity and luxury but has no effect on maximizing. However, a significant increase in choice constraint was found to be associated with maximizing in the urban region.

In the self and community situations for maximizing, it was predicted that urban people would maximize more for self-regarding decisions, but rural people would maximize more for community related decisions due to more community spirit. The results point in a different direction. Thus, people in the urban region maximized more than people in the rural region in one of the self-regarding decisions and both community decisions. The rural participants maximized more for the self-regarding decision of buying land. This might be due to the importance of land in the rural community as a primary source of sustenance for oneself and one's family. This also might be the reason why maximizing for land is positively related to tight societies and lower luxury orientation. The other self-maximizing decision of buying a mobile was related with higher luxury orientation and more choice constraint. It was also found that younger, educated, and well-off people preferred to maximize for the self-regarding decision of buying mobile phone. Maximizing for both community decisions was related to higher relational mobility and lower level of competitiveness. Previous studies show that social support is higher in societies with higher relational mobility than relationally fixed societies (Kito et al., 2017). The authors argue that relations are more delicate in societies with higher relational mobility, therefore require more effort in making and maintaining them.

It is important to note that situational maximizing was not related to maximizing tendency. Also, the factors that explain maximizing tendency are not the same that explain situational

maximizing in the rural and urban region. It has been found in previous studies that people in collectivistic cultures do not experience dissonance when their values and behaviours do not match (Iyengar & Devoe, 2003). Therefore, it is possible that maximizing value translates differently to behaviour. However, measuring this phenomenon was beyond the scope of this study but can be investigated in the future studies.

As discussed already, the broader context of the study is one of a country in economic and cultural transition. The implication here is that on an individual level, the socio-cultural and economic change is reflected through an increase in relational complexity and moving away from concern for basic needs to non-essential facilities and amenities. This change is also associated with change in tendency for decision preferences from satisficing to maximizing on a societal level.

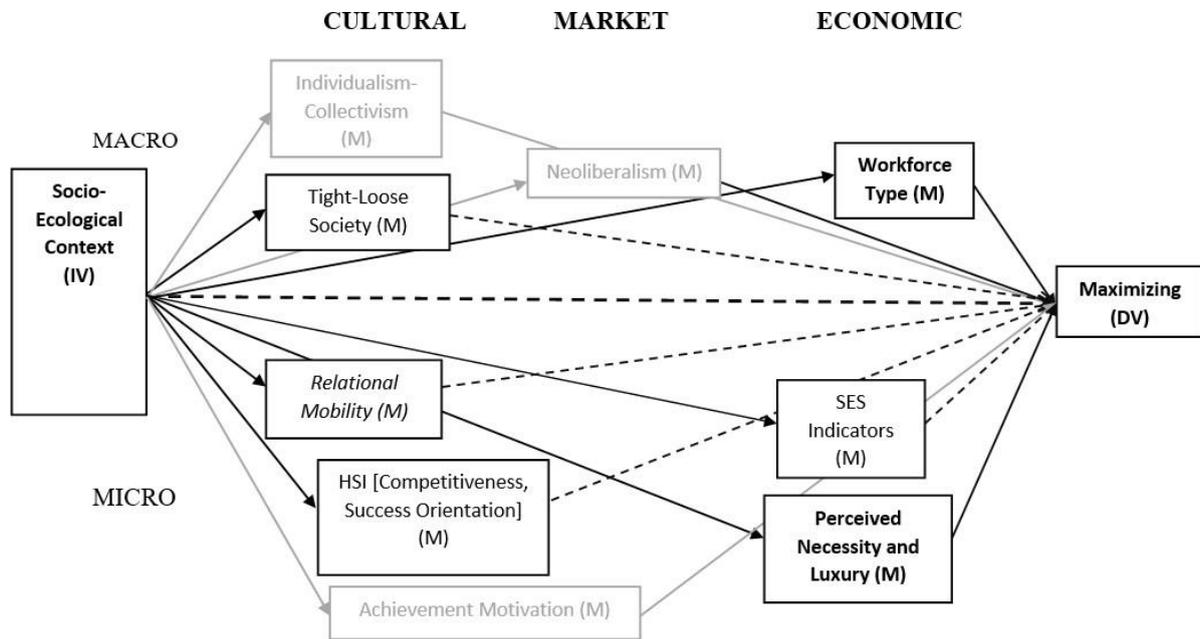
### **Conclusion**

In the second study, the aim was to understand the individual level cultural, market and economic factors that might lead to higher maximizing among the urban participants than the rural participants. It was predicted that people in the urban region would maximize more for themselves due to the cultural factors of higher relational mobility and social norms being perceived as relatively relaxed. It was also predicted that urban people would also maximize more due to more hierarchic self-interest and more perceived necessities than the rural people. The prediction was partially fulfilled through the finding that urban metropolitan people maximize more due to higher relational mobility and more importance for luxury than the rural people. This finding was also supported by higher importance of basic necessities in the rural community, which shows the relation of subsistence orientation with satisficing.

It was also predicted that people in the urban region would maximize more for their personal decisions but satisfice for community decisions. The prediction for the rural people was that they would satisfice for self-regarding decisions but maximize for community decisions. Findings, however, show that urban people maximized for all the decisions regardless of self or community, except for land which is essential as a means of living in farming societies.

**Figure 4.3**

*Findings Within Overall Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency (Study 2)*



*Note.* The above diagram shows the relation between the context and maximizing tendency and the factors explaining this relation for the theoretical model of the overall project from study 2. The boxes on extreme left and right show the independent and dependent variables of socio-ecological context of rural and urban region and maximizing, respectively. The solid lines show significant relations among the constructs, while the dashed lines show non-significant relations. The model was explained significantly by necessity and luxury perceptions (therefore in bold) and partially by relational mobility (hence italicized). Perception of tightness and looseness of the society, socio-economic indicators, and HSI did not work for the model. HSI was shifted in the cultural domain, since the findings show that it was more understood as a cultural aspect than market orientation.

The above figure depicts the relation between rural and urban contexts and maximizing tendency explained through cultural, market and economic processes on the micro (individual level). The findings from the mediation analyses (*Fig. 4.2*) show that importance of necessity, luxury and relational mobility explain higher general maximizing tendency in the urban region. The importance of necessity was higher in the rural region, while the importance of luxury was found to be higher in the urban region. Relational mobility was also higher in the urban region. These factors together mediate the relation between the contexts and maximizing tendency more than any other factors.

The findings from both studies and implications for the overall model are elaborated in the next chapter.



**CHAPTER: 5**  
**GENERAL DISCUSSION**



## Chapter: 5

### General Discussion

In this project, the question that was addressed was how people in a metropolitan versus a rural context choose between maximization and satisficing, and if this has to do with the cultural, market orientation and economic differences in both regions. Both studies suggest that people in metropolitan region indeed strive more for better options than people in rural agrarian regions and due to some of the reasons that were considered. The explanation for each of them of them is discussed in the following sections in the order of cultural, market and economic factors.

**Cultural Factors:** A broad macro level prediction was that people showing individualistic tendencies will maximize more for their own decisions than people showing collectivistic tendencies. Results show that individualism-collectivism do not significantly differ in rural and urban region, and they do not affect maximizing. This can be attributed to various reasons. One possibility is that since it is a cultural level construct, the regional differences among people are not so significant that they could be seen on a macro level measure. A study comparing individualism and collectivism in East and West Germany found similar findings (Boehnke & Merkens, 1994). The authors argued that etic or macro constructs underestimate mean differences between groups. Since individualism-collectivism is a cultural level macro construct, which in the present study was measured on an ecological level, probably led to an underestimated non-significant difference between the regions.

Another prediction was about perception of tight and loose society, that people who perceive the social norms to be more relaxed will maximize more for personal decisions. The people in the metropolitan region do see their social norms as less strict than people in the rural region, but this does not say anything about higher maximizing tendency in the metropolitan region.

Since both of the above cultural level constructs did not reveal much about regional differences in maximizing tendencies, it can be understood that probably there is a macro-micro level inconsistency between the predicting and the affected variables. Both individualism-collectivism and tight-loose society are macro level indicators and maximizing tendency is an individual level construct. Possibly due to incompatibility of scope, they do not significantly explain about maximizing.

Relational mobility explained higher maximizing in the metropolitan region more significantly than individualism-collectivism and tight-loose perception of norms. It was predicted that people in metropolitan regions would show higher relational mobility and therefore would maximize more than the rural people. The mediation analysis shows that together with economic factors, relational mobility leads to higher maximizing in the metropolitan regions than in the rural regions. Thus, more choices and opportunities in relationships and social circles partially explain readiness towards more and better choices for oneself in general.

It can be seen above that macro level cultural factors do not significantly explain higher maximizing tendency in the metropolitan region, but the individual level factor partly explains it. The other part of explanation is market and economic reasons. Let us discuss each of them respectively.

**Market Orientation Factors:** Another general prediction was that people in the metropolitan region will have social values and preferences that would benefit a competitive market system. These values and preferences would in turn make the people in metropolitan region maximize more than people in the rural agrarian region. The market orientation was measured as neoliberal orientation on a macro level and hierarchic self-interest on an individual level. It was predicted that people in the metropolitan region would have higher neoliberal orientation and hierarchic self-interest which would lead to more maximizing. The findings show that metropolitan people are more neoliberally inclined than rural people. The results also show that people who are more accepting of neoliberal values also like to maximize their choices more as predicted.

Looking at the individual level explanation of market orientation, hierarchic self-interest did not turn out in the predicted direction. The structural equation analyses shows that the measure of hierarchic self-interest was moderately understood by all the participants ignoring for the rural-urban background. However, a comparison of structural equation analyses done separately for rural and urban participants showed that people did not understand the measure equally well. The people in the metropolitan region, although less than ideal in sample size, show a significantly better understanding of the instrument than the people in the rural region. Hierarchic self-interest was measured through four dimensions of competitiveness, success orientation, individualism, and acceptance of inequality. The analyses show that individualism and acceptance of inequality could not be measured as accurately in the rural region as in the

urban region. Therefore, only competitiveness and success orientation were analysed separately. People in the rural region valued competitiveness and success orientation more than people in the metropolitan region. Studies have found that people in collectivistic and tight norms-based societies have higher tendency for social comparison than individualistic and loose norms-based societies (Baldwin & Mussweiler 2018). Some studies also show that competitiveness and success orientation as measured in HSI are also prominent socialization values in traditional patriarchal societies and low-income households (Hadjar et al., 2008). This might be the reason for higher competitiveness and success orientation in the rural region.

Success orientation was most significantly correlated to maximizing among all the predictors, which makes sense since people who value success will try to choose the best option. Surprisingly, success orientation was also found to be higher in the rural participants, although maximizing was not. However, it did not work with the present model.

*Achievement Motivation:* Achievement motivation has been addressed as both cultural and market orientation in the literature (McClelland, 1961). It was found in the previous studies that people in modern societies are more entrepreneurial than people in conservative societies. In the present study, the multi-dimensional approach to achievement motivation was used, which has been studied with rural and urban students in the Indian context (Agarwal & Misra, 1986). There were 10 broad goals studied in the original study which meant to understand achievement motivation towards social concern, personal and family related success, materialistic goals, happy life, independence and community concern, social harmony and development, social progress, independence, duty, and success in sport. It was predicted that people in the urban region would be more achievement oriented in general and specifically for materialistic goals and independence. The participants in the present study did not distinguish into various goals, but rather understood them as one-dimensional goal and they did not significantly differ in their achievement motivation towards it. The results also show that achievement motivation and maximizing tendency are related, but as a mediating explanation, achievement motive does not account for maximizing.

**Economic Factors:** One of the intuitive non-psychological predictors of maximizing is how many resources the person has at his disposal. One would predict that more resources would make one capable of maximizing. The results are mixed regarding the socio-economic explanation of maximizing. In the first study, it was found that socio-economic amenities

partially explain maximizing but in the second study, income was not directly related with maximizing. However, ease of expense was correlated to maximizing but the mediation analyses show that it was not directly related to maximizing tendency.

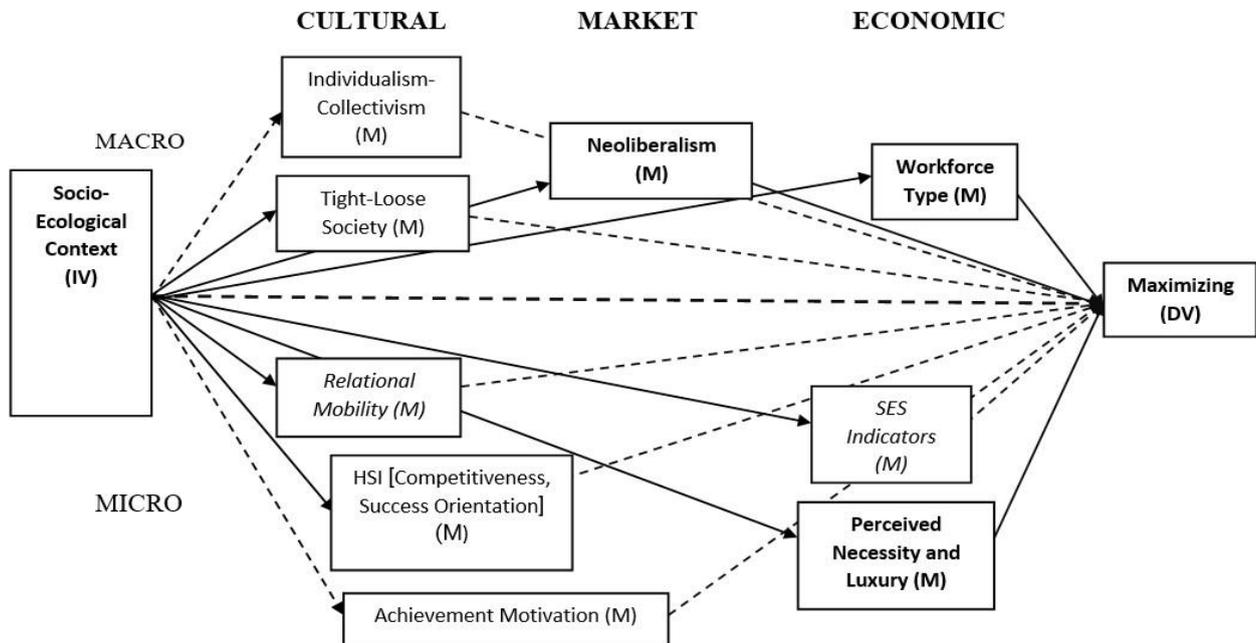
Among the psychological indicators of economic assessment, it was also measured how necessary would one consider basic needs and luxury, expecting that urban participants would have a broader range of necessities which would make them maximize more. The findings show that rural people find basic needs more necessary than urban people (e.g., public transport, electricity, staple food items etc.) but urban people consider luxury items (going out with friends, movies, holidays etc.) more necessary than the rural people. This is in line with previous findings about hierarchy of needs (Maslow 1954) that fulfilment of basic necessities leads to higher necessities of esteem and belongingness. Thus, it can be inferred that in different social ecologies people associate different values with the object of decision which explains maximizing.

A within context necessity-luxury comparison shows that people from both regions consider basic needs more necessary than luxury but differ when compared across regions. The necessity-luxury difference also explains the relation between the contexts and maximizing fully and gets strengthened when combined with relational mobility in the second study.

*Overall Findings:* The overall findings for maximizing tendency from both studies can be seen in the schematic model on the next page:

**Figure 5.1**

*Findings for the Overall Theoretical Framework for Maximizing Tendency (General)*



*Note.* The above model shows the findings for the theoretical framework for both studies. The solid lines show significant relation among the constructs and the dashed lines show non-significant relation among the constructs. The variables in bold indicate the factors that significantly explain the relation between the contexts and maximizing. The italicized variables show factors that explain the relation partially. The factors in the upper half are macro level and in the lower half are the individual level. It can be seen in the above model that the cultural factors of tight-loose societies and relational mobility varied with the contexts, but individualism-collectivism did not. Hierarchic self interest was originally a part of the market factors. However as found in the second study, it played a more significant role of a cultural indicator and since only the two dimensions of competitiveness and success orientation were identified equally across the contexts, they have been specified in the model. They varied with the contexts, and the market factor of neoliberal values also varied with the contexts. The socio-economic factors of SES indicators and necessity-luxury orientation also varied with the contexts. However, only neoliberal orientation and necessity-luxury dimensions have significant indirect effects in the first and second study, respectively. Thus, in the first study neoliberal beliefs in combination with socio-economic amenities fully mediate relation between socio-ecology and maximizing, however the contrast shows non-significant effect of removing socio-economic amenities (see *fig. 3.2*). In the second study, necessity orientation, in combination with luxury and relational mobility fully mediate the relation between ecology and maximizing tendency (see *fig. 4.2*).

It can be seen in the model that only neoliberalism explains maximizing on the macro level and ecological factors of relational mobility and priority of necessity and luxury explain it on an individual level. Thus, people in market societies make more personal choices and consider things beyond basic necessities to be more necessary than people in the rural region and therefore maximize more. It can also be inferred that in a developing country on a within country level, transition in market and necessity orientation is a more robust explanation of how people make choices than culture and economic resources.

*Demographic Characteristics and Maximizing:* There was also relation between some of the demographic characteristics of the people and their maximizing tendency. It was found in both studies that younger people maximized more than the older people. Similarly, more educated people maximized more than less educated people and some socio-economic indicators show higher status leads to more maximizing. However, when combined or compared with the predicted factors, the value of their relations with socio-ecological difference in maximizing reduced. Thus, in the first study, all the demographic characteristics lost significance when combined with the cultural and market factors, except for socio-economic amenities which although contributed to the explanation with neoliberalism by leading to a full mediation, it did not significantly affect the relation between the context and maximizing tendency. In the second study, demographics could not be understood in combination with the predicted factors since the model would not work. The relation between predictors and demographics, and ecological differences in maximizing was inconclusive. Education was an exception in this regard, since it fully mediated the relation between the rural-urban contexts in combination with necessity and luxury. Future studies can also look into the role of cognitive and information mobilization in maximizing. Since it was not a predictor in the present study, it has not been discussed in detail in the results. The above findings show that the psychological value that people assign to their decisions have more potential to provide a clearer explanation about why people tend to maximize than the objective resources. This psychological value depends on the cultural, market and necessity orientation of the person.

The researcher also tried to see whether people in the rural region experience more constraints in making their choices than people in the metropolitan region and hence *cannot maximize*. For this, choice constraint was measured as a control in the second study. It was found that the urban people do experience less constraint than the rural people. However, this did not affect

maximizing tendency. Interestingly, people who maximized more in the urban region felt more constrained in their decisions, but no relation was found in the rural region.

**Situational Maximizing:** Pragmatic maximizing was measured in both studies by assessing decisions in hypothetical situations. In the first study, there were two scenarios for decisions for oneself. It was predicted that the rural participants would show less maximizing preferences than the urban participants for two situations of buying clothes and searching for job. Rural participants maximized less than the urban participants for buying occasional clothes, but there was no significant difference in searching for a better job opportunity while being already employed compared to urban participants. The situational maximizing in the first study was also positively associated with maximizing tendency and neoliberal orientation. Satisficing in job search had stronger association with neoliberalism than maximizing, showing that economic security has a stronger association with neoliberal beliefs than searching for better opportunities.

In the second study, there were four scenarios, two for decisions for oneself and two for community related decisions. It was predicted that rural participants would maximize less for self-related decisions but maximize more for the community-related decisions than the urban participants. The self-related decisions were about buying a phone and buying land, while the community-related decisions involved choosing material to repair roof of a primary school and hiring contractors to build a community centre. Regarding self-maximizing decisions, it was found that rural participants were ready to make do with an average mobile phone rather than going for a better fancier model but maximized more than the urban participants for buying land. It can be seen that the rural participants maximize more in economically essential decisions which are consequential not only for the self but their families too. Their leaning towards necessity orientation can also be seen in community decisions. They had to decide for two situations, one whether the primary school of the area should have a tin roof which is quick and easy, although it would make classrooms hot for the students or a tiled roof which would be time consuming to make but will be comfortable for them in the long run. The tin roof represented the satisficing option while the tiled roof represented the maximizing option. Most of them chose the tin roof, instead of a tiled one. In the second community decision scenario, they had to decide about constructing a community centre. They had to choose between getting a smaller centre built by known contractors or a bigger centre built by new contractors. Here the smaller centre represented the satisficing option, and

the bigger centre represented the maximizing option. Most of the rural participants chose the smaller centre. The relation between necessity and maximizing in the rural region can also be seen in the correlation between maximizing tendency and necessity orientation in the necessity-luxury measure. It is important to note that none of the scenarios were correlated with general maximizing tendency in the second study. Also, the factors that explain the rural-urban difference in maximizing tendency did not explain the rural-urban difference in self and community maximizing. Maximizing to buy mobile was associated with higher luxury orientation, income, education and lower age and choice constraint. Buying land was associated with perception of a tighter society, lower luxury orientation and higher success orientation. Both of the community decisions for getting a better community hall and having a better school roof were associated with higher relational mobility and significantly lower competitiveness. They were also associated with higher income, ease of expense and education and lower choice constraint. It is possible that in both contexts the individual and community decisions asked about in the study were understood differently. It was predicted in the study that the nature of self would be different in rural traditional and modern metropolitan regions. This was to some extent proved by the results found for relational mobility and perception of tightness of norms indicating stronger relational self in the rural region and stronger individual self in the urban metropolitan context. However, the researcher did not assess whether the individual decisions are truly 'individual' in both contexts and if in reality the participants in both contexts have equal say in community decisions. Land in the rural region holds different value than in the urban region. It is the primary source of income. Thus, the decision would be consequential for at least one's immediate family in the rural region, which is not the case in the urban region. This might be one of the reasons for maximizing for land in the rural region. The community decision making would also be different for tight and loose societies. In tight societies, the social roles are set, and the community decisions are mostly taken by the elders or people designated by the community. Therefore, people who do not participate in such decisions might hesitate to maximize. However, metropolitan societies are more open regarding opinions about society. This is probably the reason for higher maximizing for community decisions in the urban region, where relational mobility, education and income was higher and associated with community decisions.

The structure of the situational maximizing measure was different in both of the studies. In the first study, maximizing and satisficing were presented as two different continuums, and the maximizing part was found to be correlated with the maximizing tendency scale. In the second study, they were presented as one continuum from satisficing to maximizing (which is similar to the tendency measure). Since the second form of situation specific measure did not match tendency, it can probably be inferred that on a situation specific level, maximizing and satisficing are comprehended as two separate actions rather than two ends of one spectrum. It should also be noted that the intercorrelations between the scenarios were not consistent across the studies. In the first study, there was no correlation between the maximizing preference for the scenarios and in the second study all the scenarios regardless of individual or collective decision were positively correlated with each other except for the land scenario. Hence, the differentiation between decisions for oneself and one's community was not clear.

**Cognitive and Emotional Processes in Maximizing:** The first study also investigated the emotional cost of maximizing and satisficing decisions. It was predicted that people in the urban region would be affected more by opportunity cost by satisficing than the rural participants. It was also expected that rural people would be more risk averse to situational maximizing preferences than the urban people.

To test this proposition, people had to report how happy, content, regretful, envious, frustrated, and angry would they feel if their decision for maximizing, or satisficing would go wrong in the first study for buying clothes and job opportunity. The happiness and contentment were positively correlated with each other, and regret, envy, frustration, and anger were positively correlated with each other in the overall sample and on the regional level. The only exception is that of positive relation between happiness and envy for maximizing for shopping clothes for the overall sample and content and envy for the same in the urban region. This shows that the urban people can be happy or content if they lose a good enough option while looking for better options but still would feel envious if someone else got the option they left. Apart from this exception, the negative emotions were either negatively correlated or not correlated at all with the positive emotions.

The mean difference showed that the urban participants were more prone to negative emotions arising from emotional cost of decision going wrong for maximizing and satisficing for buying clothes. Thus, they reported more regret and envy if they chose a satisfactory option and missed a better one, and more envy for maximizing gone wrong i.e., if they lost a

good enough option to someone else while looking for a better option. The urban participants were more resilient to missed opportunities in case of job than the rural participants. They were happier than the rural people even after losing a good job opportunity while already working. This probably indicates a general discontent towards the economic situation among the rural participants.

Regional differences in well-being and happiness and their relation to maximizing tendency were also tested. The previous studies have mixed findings regarding whether maximizing leads to happiness and well-being or not. Roets et al. (2012) found higher experience of regret associated with maximizing in individualistic cultures but not in collectivistic cultures. Some other studies have found opposite findings (Oishi et al., 2014). The present study did not find any regional difference in well-being for rural and urban region, but people in urban region reported to be happier than people in rural region. Maximizing was found to be related to well-being in both regions. Happiness was related to maximizing in urban region but not in the rural region.

Contrary to the above findings in the first study, it was found in the second study that maximizers in the urban region also experience choice constraint, but this is not the case in the rural region. The rural participants felt more constrained in their choices in general compared to urban participants, but no relation was found between maximizing and choice constraint in the rural region.

**Novelty and Contribution of the Findings:** The study takes up an interdisciplinary approach of sociology and psychology to understand cultural, market and economic factors on decision making. The findings corroborate with changes in people's preferences and behaviour due to modernization, socio-cultural and economic changes (Inglehart, 1997). It was found that people in collectivistic, subsistence-based societies satisfice while people in competitive market-oriented societies maximize their choices. There are some new findings in the study. One of them is the finding that differences in maximizing tendency is not only a cross cultural phenomenon. It can take place on a within country level due to a host of cultural, market and economic factors in transition in a developing country. Second, neoliberal orientation is a significant factor that explains increasing aspirations and growing importance of better choices. Third is that economic resources are not the sole or most important predictor of people's choices but the psychological value they associate with the decision. People

maximize more for the decisions that they consider necessary, and what people consider essential, changes with cultural and market transition.

### **Conclusion**

The aim of the project was to investigate rural-urban metropolitan differences in maximizing, expecting metropolitan people to maximize more than the rural people. It was also predicted that the cultural, market and economic factors at macro and micro level would lead to the predicted differences. The findings show that different factors operate at macro and micro level. At the macro level, neoliberal beliefs in combination with socio-economic amenities lead metropolitan participants to maximize more than the rural participants. At the individual level, higher maximizing in the urban region was due to higher relational mobility and more luxury orientation than in the rural region. Studies that argue neoliberalism as a 'cultural pattern' emphasizing freedom as both market and social values, describe relational mobility as one of the key social aspects (Adams et al., 2019). Free market values are also related to growing dissatisfaction and increasing necessities (Tripathi & Mishra, 2012). In this regard, the relation among neoliberal values, relational mobility and increasing necessity explaining higher maximizing among the metropolitan participants is understandable.

The above findings for general maximizing tendency do not carry over in the same way at the situation specific level. In both studies, the factors that explained situational maximizing preferences were not the same as maximizing tendency. This general tendency and situation specific difference can be explored in further studies. It is common to find value-behaviour incongruence in collectivistic cultures (Iyengar & Devoe, 2003), but it would be interesting to find out linkages and explanation for this phenomenon. Maximizing for self and for the community both is high in the metropolitan region, however, rural people maximize equally or sometimes more for essential decisions (e.g., job search or land), since it is important not only for oneself but one's family.

The findings regarding the relation between maximizing and well-being are mixed. There are no significant ecological differences in emotional cost of maximizing and life satisfaction and urban people reported higher level of happiness, but they also reported more choice constraint related to maximizing.

**Limitations:**

The project has some limitations which can be fulfilled in the future studies.

The project aimed to understand the difference in maximizing decision against the background of changing socio-cultural, market and economic factors. However, given the cross-sectional nature of the study, it might not have been able to capture the social change caused by urbanization, individualization and opening of markets as well as a longitudinal comparison over time would do.

The contexts of rural and urban posed different challenges in fieldwork. The rural participants were generous with time and patiently tried to understand and familiarize with the study. The urban participants did not pose any administration issues (except for a few translations), however the drop-out rate was high, since they could not give much time. Sampling was another difference in the conduction of the study. A structured sampling technique was feasible in the rural region, but not in the metropolitan region because of organization access and permission issues. The researcher tried to keep the administration of the study similar in both regions, but these differences limit the generalizability of the findings.

The gender ratio was also skewed in the favour of male participants in both rural and urban regions. In both regions and in both studies, the number of women was approximately one third of the male participants which again hinders the generalizability of the findings.

The above points should be taken into consideration for future studies

**Future Directions:**

Neoliberalism has become the dominant market policy in most of the developing countries with certain variations (Kyung-Sup et al., 2012, pp.20-21). Future studies can assess if these decision-making findings will replicate in other developing countries with similar cultural, economic, or political climates but different development trajectories (e.g., China's and Russia's transition from communism to opening of markets).

Future studies can also include other employment sectors like blue collared workers and government employees and investigate differences in aspirations and maximizing from agrarian workers and corporate employees, given they might be at a different stage of social and economic priorities.

It would also be interesting to see the development and changes in decision preferences in cultural and market values related to maximizing that take place due to rural-urban migration, when people travel from rural regions to urban and metropolitan regions for better job and economic prospects. Other informal sectors e.g., daily wages workers and production labourers can also be included in the future studies.

Future studies can also experimentally investigate if the free-market context values prime us with dissatisfaction for acquired or present options. This might in turn lead to maximizing and searching for better and newer options which benefit the open market system.

Researchers can also investigate the relation and differences between maximizing tendency and behaviour in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. People in collectivistic cultures experience less dissonance when there are differences between beliefs and behaviour, than individualistic cultures where people experience more dissonance when their beliefs and behaviour do not match.



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## **APPENDICES**



## **LIST OF APPENDICES**

### **Appendices (A): Study 1**

- 1) Instrument validation pilot study 1
- 2) Instrument validation fieldwork 1
- 3) Questionnaire study 1 English
- 4) Questionnaire study 1 Hindi

### **Appendices (B): Study 2**

- 1) Instrument validation pilot study 2
- 2) Instrument validation fieldwork 2
- 3) Questionnaire study 2 English
- 4) Questionnaire study 2 Hindi



**APPENDICES (A)**

**STUDY 1**



**Table A1***Study 1: Reliability Analysis for Pilot Study (N= 91)*

<b>Scale</b>	<b>Number of Items Left</b>	<b>Cronbach Alpha</b>
Neoliberal Beliefs Inventory	16 (out of 19)	0.751
Maximizing Inventory	5 (out of 8)	0.634
Short Maximizing Scale	4 (out of 6)	0.628
Satisfaction with Life	5 (none removed)	0.708
Individualism-Collectivism Scale	15 (out of 16)	0.752
Achievement Goals	30(2 items removed before pilot due to not being applicable)	0.872

## Study 1: Instrument Validation for Fieldwork

(N=417)

**Table A2**

*Factor Structure for Neoliberal Belief Inventory:*

Component Matrix	Overall	Rural	Urban
neolib01 Discrimination does not exist today to such a degree that reservation policies are necessary	.587	.567	.563
neolib02 Reservation exacerbates discrimination by promoting people on the basis of minority status instead of merit.	.626	.566	.659
neolib03 Reservation is a problem because it treats people unequally.	.658	.647	.634
neolib04 I think people imagine more barriers, such as discrimination, than actually exist.	.634	.622	.624
neolib05 Based on my own experience and the people around me, it's hard for me to feel sorry for people who complain about discrimination	.549	.485	.581
neolib06 People should be allowed to compete to ensure that the best person wins.	.609	.572	.655
neolib07 Competition is a good way to discover and motivate the best people.	.661	.586	.737
neolib08 Fairness means letting people have equal opportunity, not guaranteeing equal outcome.	.577	.518	.603
neolib09 Any goal can be achieved with enough hard work and talent.	.665	.692	.650
neolib10 When it comes to challenges like discrimination, individuals just have to be tough enough to overcome them.	.678	.598	.754
neolib11 If you're smart and strong enough, discrimination won't hold you back.	.688	.713	.669
neolib12 A person's success in life is determined more by his or her personal efforts than by society.	.689	.659	.722

neolib13 Anyone who is willing to work hard can be successful in my country.	.582	.592	.660
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**Table A3**

*Factor Structure for Maximizing Tendency*

<b>Component Matrix</b>	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>
maxim01 No matter what it takes, I always try to choose the best thing, which gives the optimal performance or is the most valuable or the most prestigious.	.680	.657	.696
maxim02 I don't like having to settle for "good enough".	.720	.670	.764
maxim03 No matter what I do, I have the highest standards for myself.	.634	.443	.786
maxim04 I never settle for second best.	.746	.666	.826
maxim05 I never settle.	.705	.655	.747
maxim06 No matter how satisfied I am with my job, it's only right for me to be on the lookout for better opportunities.	.594	.600	.591
maxim07 I often fantasize about living in ways that are quite different from my actual life.	.598	.530	.640

**Table A4**

*Factor Structure for Individualism-Collectivism*

<b>Component Matrix</b>	<b>Overall</b>		<b>Rural</b>		<b>Urban</b>	
	<b>C</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>I</b>
IC_4_verindi_1 It is important that I do my job better than others.		.606		.676		.606
IC_5_verindi_2 Winning is everything.		.811		.695		.868

IC_7_verindi_4 When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.		.723		.614		.797
IC_8_horicoll_1 If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud.	.661		.669		.652	
IC_9_horicoll_2 The well-being of my coworkers is important to me.	.722		.765		.685	
IC_10_horicoll_3 To me, pleasure is spending time with others.	.592		.502		.663	
IC_11_horicoll_4 I feel good when I cooperate with others.	.776		.793		.765	
IC_12_vercoll_1 Parents and children must stay together as much as possible.	.591		.549		.641	
IC_13_vercoll_2 It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want.	.682		.701		.669	

**Table A5**

*Factor Structure for Life Satisfaction*

<b>Component Matrix</b>	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>
LS1 In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	.688	.710	.678
LS2 The conditions of my life are excellent.	.817	.792	.839
LS3 I am satisfied with my life.	.837	.798	.869
LS4 So far, I have gotten the important things I want in life.	.747	.721	.786
LS5 If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	.599	.489	.677

**Table A6***Factor Structure for Achievement Goals*

<b>Component Matrix<sup>a</sup></b>			
	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>
Achieve_mot_goals_1 Be a good person	.660	.619	.709
Achieve_mot_goals_2 Care for well-being of others	.682	.645	.706
Achieve_mot_goals_3 Fulfil my duty	.707	.633	.776
Achieve_mot_goals_4 Help others	.678	.612	.732
Achieve_mot_goals_5 Get good friends	.575	.559	.631
Achieve_mot_goals_6 Respect and serve elders	.797	.793	.808
Achieve_mot_goals_7 Get affection from elders	.778	.754	.802
Achieve_mot_goals_8 Gain knowledge	.778	.796	.783
Achieve_mot_goals_9 Earn money	.558	.551	.578
Achieve_mot_goals_10 Gratify basic needs	.746	.771	.727
Achieve_mot_goals_11 Manage objects of life comfort	.543	.483	.602
Achieve_mot_goals_12 Help in sibling's progress	.800	.821	.788
Achieve_mot_goals_13 Help in agricultural progress	.660	.676	.652
Achieve_mot_goals_14 Help in progress of village	.726	.825	.661
Achieve_mot_goals_15 Achieve social unity and cooperation	.777	.747	.798
Achieve_mot_goals_16 Serve society and country	.776	.827	.743
Achieve_mot_goals_17 Get praise and social approval	.659	.624	.688
Achieve_mot_goals_18 Lead a happy life	.542	.437	.634
Achieve_mot_goals_19 Learn and invent	.656	.590	.773

Achieve_mot_goals_20 Family's success	.738	.706	.770
Achieve_mot_goals_21 Practice my own faith	.700	.703	.695
Achieve_mot_goals_24 Be independent	.718	.732	.714
Achieve_mot_goals_25 Travel and wander	.407	.440	.405
Achieve_mot_goals_26 Be healthy	.716	.722	.721
Achieve_mot_goals_27 Be successful in occupation	.629	.624	.668
Achieve_mot_goals_28 Be adept in cultural and house-hold work	.537	.624	.525

### Scenarios (Correlations Among the Emotions)

Scene 1: You go shopping for clothes because you have an occasion coming up this weekend at your home. You walk into a store and find something that you like. You try it on, and it fits well. You can also afford to buy it.

How would you feel if:

*Opportunity Cost by Satisficing (Scenario 1):* “You buy the clothes from the first shop and then find some better clothes in another shop.”

**Table A7a**

*Correlations Among Positive and Negative Emotions in Sensitivity to Opportunity Cost due to Satisficing (Scene 1)*

Emotion	Happy	Content	Regret	Envy	Frustrated	Angry
Happy	1	<b>0.55***</b>	<b>-0.23***</b>	-0.03	-0.08	<b>-0.12*</b>
Content	<b>0.558***</b>	1	<b>-0.27***</b>	-0.09	<b>-0.19**</b>	<b>-0.15**</b>
Regret	<b>-0.23***</b>	<b>-0.27***</b>	1	<b>0.51***</b>	<b>0.52***</b>	<b>0.47***</b>
Envy	-0.03	-0.09	<b>0.51***</b>	1	<b>0.75***</b>	<b>0.59***</b>
Frustrated	-0.08	<b>-0.19**</b>	<b>0.52***</b>	<b>0.75***</b>	1	<b>0.60***</b>
Angry	<b>-0.12*</b>	<b>-0.15**</b>	<b>0.47***</b>	<b>0.59***</b>	<b>0.60***</b>	1

Opportunity Cost Emotions: Regret, Envy, Frustrated, Angry  
Control Emotions: Happy, Content

*Risk Aversion of Maximizing (Scenario 1):* “You found some clothing in other shops, they are not as good and when you come back to the first shop, the clothes that you saw have already been sold.”

**Table A7b**

*Correlations Among Positive and Negative Emotions in Risk Aversion due to Maximizing (Scene 1)*

Emotion	Happy	Content	Regret	Envy	Frustrated	Angry
Happy	1	<b>0.71***</b>	<b>-0.23***</b>	<b>0.12*</b>	-0.05	<b>-0.12*</b>
Content	<b>0.71***</b>	1	<b>-0.26***</b>	0.06	<b>-0.12*</b>	<b>-0.15**</b>
Regret	<b>-0.23***</b>	<b>-0.26***</b>	1	<b>0.41***</b>	<b>0.40***</b>	<b>0.45***</b>
Envy	<b>0.12*</b>	0.06	<b>0.41***</b>	1	<b>0.55***</b>	<b>0.52***</b>
Frustrated	-0.05	<b>-0.12*</b>	<b>0.40***</b>	<b>0.55***</b>	1	<b>0.71***</b>
Angry	<b>-0.12*</b>	<b>-0.15**</b>	<b>0.45***</b>	<b>0.52***</b>	<b>0.71***</b>	1

Risk Aversion Emotions: Regret, Envy, Frustrated, Angry  
Control Emotions: Happy, Content

Scene 2: You are currently working in which you get a salary. Your work has some pluses and minuses. Your work is engaging and challenging but the work hours are very long. You have the opportunity to be creative but many colleagues are not cooperative. Also, the pay is modest but meets all your needs. But now your boss wants to give you more responsibilities. You have appealed for a raise to your boss, but you don't know if and when you might get it.

How would you feel if:

*Opportunity Cost by Satisficing (Scenario 2):* “You commit to your work, but then you get a better offer and you can't leave your work”

**Table A7c**

*Correlations Among Positive and Negative Emotions in Sensitivity to Opportunity Cost due to Sacrificing (Scene 2)*

Emotion	Happy	Content	Regret	Envy	Frustrated	Angry
Happy	1	<b>0.61***</b>	<b>-0.17***</b>	0.01	<b>-0.12*</b>	<b>-0.15***</b>
Content	<b>0.61***</b>	1	<b>-0.18***</b>	-0.00	<b>-0.16***</b>	<b>-0.15***</b>
Regret	<b>-0.17***</b>	<b>-0.18***</b>	1	<b>0.37***</b>	<b>0.48***</b>	<b>0.50***</b>
Envy	0.01	-0.00	<b>0.37***</b>	1	<b>0.65***</b>	<b>0.62***</b>
Frustrated	<b>-0.12*</b>	<b>-0.16***</b>	<b>0.48***</b>	<b>0.65***</b>	1	<b>0.78***</b>
Angry	<b>-0.15***</b>	<b>-0.15***</b>	<b>0.50***</b>	<b>0.62***</b>	<b>0.78***</b>	1

Opportunity Cost Emotions: Regret, Envy, Frustrated, Angry

Control Emotions: Happy, Content

*Risk Aversion of Maximizing (Scenario 2):* “You leave the work. You find a new work where work hours are less and the colleagues are nice. After one year, the person who got your got more pay.”

**Table A7d**

*Correlations Among Positive and Negative Emotions in Risk Aversion due to Maximizing (Scene 2)*

Emotion	Happy	Content	Regret	Envy	Frustrated	Angry
Happy	1	<b>0.71***</b>	<b>-0.29***</b>	<b>-0.27***</b>	<b>-0.29***</b>	<b>-0.28***</b>
Content	<b>0.71***</b>	1	<b>-0.28***</b>	<b>-0.28***</b>	<b>-0.30***</b>	<b>-0.33***</b>
Regret	<b>-0.29***</b>	<b>-0.28***</b>	1	<b>0.66***</b>	<b>0.64***</b>	<b>0.59***</b>
Envy	<b>-0.27***</b>	<b>-0.28***</b>	<b>0.66***</b>	1	<b>0.77***</b>	<b>0.71***</b>
Frustrated	<b>-0.29***</b>	<b>-0.30***</b>	<b>0.64***</b>	<b>0.77***</b>	1	<b>0.81***</b>
Angry	<b>-0.28***</b>	<b>-0.33***</b>	<b>0.59***</b>	<b>0.71***</b>	<b>0.81***</b>	1

Risk Aversion Emotions: Regret, Envy, Frustrated, Angry

Control Emotions: Happy, Content

## Participant Information Document

Dear Participant,

I am a Doctoral Fellow in Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS) and I am inviting your participation in a study which will take about 20 minutes of your time. This study is being conducted in various organisations to understand their personal beliefs and attitudes of people towards various social phenomena.

This study involves answering some questions on the attached questionnaires about your attitudes and beliefs about yourself and the society. The participation in the study is voluntary and you can choose anytime to halt your participation in it. Your responses will be very beneficial for our study.

There are no right or wrong answers to the given questions, hence there will be no evaluation of your capability or opinion. If you have any questions or doubts now or later regarding the study, or if there is any difficulty regarding the questionnaire, you can always ask the researcher at any point in time.

If you have any questions then please contact me at [ajita@bigsss-bremen.de](mailto:ajita@bigsss-bremen.de)

Sincerely,

Ajita Srivastava

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## Consent Form

The study involves questions about society, social and personal aspects of one's life. Please read each question carefully before answering and try to answer as truthfully as possible. The whole study will take about 20 minutes of your time.

Your responses will be anonymous, i.e., no one will be able to link you to your responses. Your answers will be kept confidential and used for research purpose only.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. There are no risks to this study. You won't be harmed physically or emotionally before, after or during the study. You can ask questions anytime during the study.

You will receive a monetary compensation for your time and effort after completing the study.

If you agree to participate in the study then kindly fill in the following and provide your signature.

I have read the participant information document and my queries about the study have been answered satisfactorily. I agree to participate in the study and give my responses.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**Note: Please tear this page off and give it to the experimenter.**

**ID Code**

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Study 1 Questionnaire English

Below you will find some **daily life scenarios** of some situations which might have taken place with you or someone might find herself into. Read each of the following scenarios and the corresponding behaviors. There are 2 scenarios given below. Try to clearly visualize each scenario as you read it. Then, indicate which behavior you would be MOST LIKELY to do and the behavior you would be LEAST LIKELY to do by indicating the appropriate response number on the given scale and how would you feel about the given possibilities.

**Situation 1**

You go shopping for clothes because you have an occasion coming up this weekend at your home. You walk into a store and find something that you like. You try it on, and it fits well. You can also afford to buy it.

Below give are two possible behaviours related to this situation. Please read both the possibilities and tell how likely each behavior is.

a. You buy the clothes because you need it for a coming event.

<i>Least likely</i>							<i>Most likely</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

b. You check out more stores to see if you might like something else better, for this was the first store you walked into.

<i>Least likely</i>							<i>Most likely</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

How would you feel if:

Study 1 Questionnaire English

- a) You buy the clothes from the first shop and then find some better clothes in another shop.

I would be

**Happy:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Content:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Regretful:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Envious:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Frustrated:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Angry:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- b) You found some clothing in other shops, they are not as good and when you come back to the first shop, the clothes that you saw have already been sold.

I would be

**Happy:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Content:**

*Not at all* *A lot*  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

**Regretful:**

*Not at all* *A lot*  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

**Envious:**

*Not at all* *A lot*  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

**Frustrated:**

*Not at all* *A lot*  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

**Angry:**

*Not at all* *A lot*  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

**Situation 2**

You are currently working in which you get a salary. Your work has some pluses and minuses. Your work is engaging and challenging but the work hours are very long. You have the opportunity to be creative but many colleagues are not cooperative. Also, the pay is modest but meets all your needs. But now your boss wants to give you more responsibilities. You have appealed for a raise to your boss, but you don't know if and when you might get it.

Below give are two possible behaviours related to this situation. Please read both the possibilities and tell how likely each behavior is.

Study 1 Questionnaire English

- a. You stay in your current work, despite all the minuses.

<i>Least likely</i>							<i>Most likely</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

- b. You actively look for other work because you feel that there must be a better opportunity out there.

<i>Least likely</i>							<i>Most likely</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

How would you feel if:

- a) You commit to your work, but then you get a better offer and you can't leave your work:

**Happy:**

<i>Not at all</i>							<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

**Content:**

<i>Not at all</i>							<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

**Regretful:**

<i>Not at all</i>							<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

**Envious:**

<i>Not at all</i>							<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

**Frustrated:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Angry:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- b) You leave the work. You find a new work where work hours are less and the colleagues are nice. After one year, the person who got your got more pay.

**Happy:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Content:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Regretful:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Envious:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Frustrated:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Angry:**

<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A lot</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire English

Some statements are given below that to some extent might reflect **your choices and your opinions about your society**. Please tick on a number on the given scale that reflects your opinion the best. If you do not agree with the statement at all then tick 1. If you mostly disagree with it then tick 2. Likewise if you strongly agree with the statement then tick 7.

		Strongly Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Mostly Agree	Strongly Agree
1)	Reservation is an outdated policy now that people are generally treated as equals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2)	Discrimination does not exist today to such a degree that reservation policies are necessary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3)	Reservation exacerbates discrimination by promoting people on the basis of minority status instead of merit.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4)	Reservation is a problem because it treats people unequally.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5)	I think people imagine more barriers, such as discrimination, than actually exist.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6)	Based on my own experience and the people around me, it's hard for me to feel sorry for people who complain about discrimination	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7)	People should be allowed to compete to ensure that the best person wins.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire English

		<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Mostly Disagree</b>	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	<b>Neither Agree nor Disagree</b>	<b>Slightly Agree</b>	<b>Mostly Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
<b>8)</b>	Being competitive is part of human nature.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>9)</b>	Competition is a good way to discover and motivate the best people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>10)</b>	Fairness means letting people have equal opportunity, not guaranteeing equal outcome.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>11)</b>	Any goal can be achieved with enough hard work and talent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>12)</b>	When it comes to challenges like discrimination, individuals just have to be tough enough to overcome them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>13)</b>	I've benefited from working hard, so there's no reason others can't.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>14)</b>	If you're smart and strong enough, discrimination won't hold you back.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>15)</b>	A person's success in life is determined more by his or her personal efforts than by society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>16)</b>	Anyone who is willing to work hard can be successful in my country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>17)</b>	No matter what it takes, I always try to choose the	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire English

best thing, which gives the optimal performance or is the most valuable or the most prestigious.

		Strongly Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Mostly Agree	Strongly Agree
18)	I don't like having to settle for "good enough".	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19)	No matter what I do, I have the highest standards for myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20)	I never settle for second best.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21)	I never settle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22)	No matter how satisfied I am with my job, it's only right for me to be on the lookout for better opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23)	I often fantasize about living in ways that are quite different from my actual life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Below are some statements of what you might be like. Probably some will describe you well and others will not describe you well. **How well does each of these statements describe you?**

		Completely Untrue of Me	Untrue of Me	Some-what Untrue of Me	Neutral	Some-what True of Me	True of Me	Completely True of Me
1)	I'd rather depend on myself than others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2)	I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire English

	Completely Untrue of Me	Untrue of Me	Some- what Untrue of Me	Neutral	Some- what True of Me	True of Me	Completely True of Me
4) My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) It is important that I do my job better than others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) Winning is everything.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) Competition is the law of nature.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10) The well-being of my coworkers is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11) To me, pleasure is spending time with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12) I feel good when I cooperate with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13) Parents and children must stay together as much as possible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14) It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15) Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16) It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire English

Use the list below to answer the following question: **In general, how happy or unhappy do you usually feel?** Check the one statement below that best describes your average happiness.

<b>T I C K  O N L Y  O N E  B O X</b>		10. Extremely happy (feeling ecstatic, joyous, fantastic!)
		9. Very happy (feeling really good, elated!)
		8. Pretty happy (spirits high, feeling good.)
		7. Mildly happy (feeling fairly good and somewhat cheerful.)
		6. Slightly happy (just a bit above neutral.)
		5. Neutral (not particularly happy or unhappy.)
		4. Slightly unhappy (just a bit below neutral.)
		3. Mildly unhappy (just a little low.)
		2. Pretty unhappy (somewhat "blue", spirits down.)
		1. Very unhappy (depressed, spirits very low.)
	0. Extremely unhappy (utterly depressed, completely down.)	

Below are five statements about your **thoughts about your life** that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1 - 7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1) In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) The conditions of my life are excellent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) I am satisfied with my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Study 1 Questionnaire English

We want to know what you think about yourself and what the meaning of **achievement** is for you. This questionnaire lists many goals. Studying each goal, please think about how important that **goal** is to you. In order to get to know your response, a 7 point rating scale is provided against each goal on which you are required to respond. If a goal is absolutely essential to you, then give a score of 7, if very important then a score of 6, and similarly, if the goal is not at all important or unimportant, then a score of 1. While responding keep your personal life in mind.

		Completely Unimportant	Not Important	Less Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Somewhat Important	Important	Extremely Important
1)	Be a good person	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2)	Care for well-being of others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3)	Fulfil my duty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4)	Help others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5)	Get good friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6)	Respect and serve elders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7)	Get affection from elders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8)	Gain knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9)	Earn money	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10)	Gratify basic needs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12)	Manage objects of life comfort	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13)	Help in sibling's progress	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14)	Help in agricultural progress	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15)	Help in progress of village	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16)	Achieve social unity and cooperation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire English

		Completely Unimportant	Not Important	Less Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Somewhat Important	Important	Extremely Important
17)	Serve society and country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19)	Get praise and social approval	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20)	Find desired spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21)	Get desired things	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22)	Lead a happy life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23)	Learn and invent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24)	Family's success	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25)	Practice my own faith	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26)	Be independent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27)	Travel and wander	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28)	Be healthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29)	Be successful in occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30)	Be adept in cultural and house-hold work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Participant Information:**

- Sex: (M/F)
- Age:
- Marital Status: Single/Married/Divorced/Widow(er)/Separated/Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- Number of family members:
- How many people are economically dependent upon you?
- Type of family: joint/nuclear

Study 1 Questionnaire English

- For how long have you been staying Bhadohi? (Changed to Gurugram for the urban region)
- Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_ Designation (U\*<sup>1</sup>): \_\_\_\_\_
- Monthly Income (U\*) \_\_\_\_\_
- For how long have you been working in this work field? Please tell according to your answer in occupation (in years) \_\_\_\_\_
- Educational Qualification: Primary/High School/ Higher Secondary/Graduate/Post Graduate/Other (Please Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- Religion: Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, Agnostic, Atheist, Other (Please Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- Where are you basic resident of? \_\_\_\_\_
- Your house: Own or Rented (U\*) \_\_\_\_\_
- Flat \_\_\_\_\_ House \_\_\_\_\_ (U\*)
- Area of the house (in sqf): (U\*) \_\_\_\_\_
- How many BHK \_\_\_\_\_ (U\*)
- How much land do you have: \_\_\_\_\_
- Your total wealth worth (in lakh rupees), please tick the appropriate number or between the numbers (U\*)

5----10----15----20----25----30----35----40----45----50----55----60----65----70----75----80----85----90----1 crore or above

Please tick against the following **if you have these at home**

	I have it at home
Separate room for kitchen	
Bank Account	
Mattress	
Refrigerator	
Improved water source (drinking water facility)	
Improved sanitation facility (toilet facility)	
TV	
People per room (mean)	
Table	
Chair or bench	
Mean maternal education ( <b>please write the degree</b> )	

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<sup>1</sup> \*used in urban region

*Thank you so much for taking out time from your day to participate in our survey. Your responses are highly valuable to our understanding of people's personal beliefs and attitudes towards various social phenomena.*

*You can ask the experimenter if you have any questions or comments about the study now and also contact her at [ajita@bigsss-bremen.de](mailto:ajita@bigsss-bremen.de) if you have any questions or comments later. Your responses will be kept anonymous and used for research purpose only.*

## प्रतिभागी सूचना पत्र

प्रिय प्रतिभागी,

मैं ब्रेमेन अंतर्राष्ट्रीय ग्रेजुएट सामाजिक विज्ञान विद्यालय (बिग्स)में शोधकर्ता हूँ और मैं एक अध्ययन में आपकी प्रतिभागिता को आमंत्रित कर रही हूँ जिसमें आपके समय का करीब 20मिनट लगेगा। यह अध्ययन विभिन्न सामाजिक घटनाओं के प्रति लोगों की निजि मान्यताओं और भावनाओंको समझने के लिए बहुत सारे संस्थानों में हो रहा है।

इस अध्ययन में संलग्न प्रश्नावली में आपको अपने और समाज के बारे में आपके मनोभाव और मान्यताओं से सम्बंधित प्रश्नों पर उत्तर देना है। इस अध्ययन में प्रतिभागिता स्वैच्छिक है और आप कभी भी इसमें अपनी प्रतिभागिता रोक सकते हैं। आपकी प्रतिक्रियाएं हमारे अध्ययन के लिए बहुत ही लाभकारी होंगी।

दिए गए सवालों के कोई सही या गलत जवाब नहीं हैं, अतः आपकी क्षमता या राय का कोई मूल्यांकन नहीं होगा। अगर अध्ययन के बारे में आपके कोई भी सवाल या संदेह अभी या बाद में हों, या फिर प्रश्नावली समझने में कोई भी कठिनाई हो, तो आप शोधकर्ता से किसी भी समय पूछ सकते हैं।

अगर आपके पास कोई सवाल हैं तो मुझे यहाँ संपर्क करें: [ajiita@bigsss-bremen.de](mailto:ajiita@bigsss-bremen.de)

आपकी,

अजिता श्रीवास्तव

बिग्स -पीएचडी डीपार्ट्स फेलो  
ईयू कोफंडमैरी स्कोलोडोस्का-क्यूरी क्रियाएँ  
जैकौब्स विश्वविद्यालय | ब्रेमेन विश्वविद्यालय

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## सहमती प्रपत्र

इस अध्ययन में समाज और एक व्यक्ति के जीवन के सामाजिक और निजी पहलू के बारे में सवाल हैं। कृपया प्रत्येक सवाल को ध्यान से पढ़ें और जितना हो सके उतनी सच्चाई से उसका उत्तर दें। पूरे अध्ययन में आपका करीब 20 मिनट लगेगा।

आपके उत्तर गुमनाम रखे जायेंगे, अर्थात्, कोई भी आपकी प्रतिक्रियाओं को आपसे मिला नहीं पायेगा। आपके उत्तर गोपनीय रखे जायेंगे और सिर्फ शोध उद्देश्य से इस्तेमाल किये जायेंगे।

आपकी प्रतिभागिता इस अध्ययन में स्वैच्छिक है। इस अध्ययन में कोई जोखिम नहीं है। आपको अध्ययन के पहले, दौरान या बाद में कोई भी शारीरिक या संवेगीक चोट नहीं पहुँचाई जाएगी। आप अध्ययन के दौरान किसी भी समय सवाल पूछ सकते हैं।

अगर आप इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए तैयार हैं कृपया निम्नलिखित प्रपत्र भरें और हस्ताक्षर करें।

मैं प्रतिभागी ने सूचना पत्र पढ़ लिया है और अध्ययन के बारे में मेरे सारे प्रश्नों का उत्तर संतोषजनक ढंग से दिया गया है। मैं इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए और अपने उत्तर देने के लिए सहमत हूँ।

नाम: \_\_\_\_\_

हस्ताक्षर: \_\_\_\_\_

तिथि: \_\_\_\_\_

**ध्यान दें: कृपया यह पृष्ठ निकाल के शोधकर्ता को दें।**

आईडी कोड

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नीचे आपको आम जीवन की परिस्थितियों से सम्बंधित कुछ घटनाएं मिलेंगी, जो या तो आपके साथ कभी हुई होंगी या कोई और अपने आपको ऐसी स्थिति में पा सकता है। हर एक घटना और उनसे सम्बंधित व्यवहारों को पढ़ें। नीचे 2 घटनाएं दी गयी हैं। कृपया हर एक घटना को पढ़ते समय उसकी स्पष्टता से कल्पना करने की कोशिश करें। फिर यह बताएं की कौनसा व्यवहार करने की संभावना आपके लिए सबसे ज़्यादा है और कौन सा व्यवहार करने की संभावना आपके लिए सबसे कम है।

### परिस्थिति 1

आप कुछ कपड़ों की खरीदारी करने जाते हैं क्योंकि इस सप्ताह के अंत में आपके घर में एक अवसर आने वाला है। आप पहली दुकान में जाते हैं, और वहाँ आपको कुछ मिलता है जो आपको पसंद आता है। आप उसे पहन कर देखते हैं और वह आपको ठीक आता है। आप उसे खरीदने में समर्थ भी हैं।

नीचे इस परिस्थिति से सम्बंधित दो संभव व्यवहार दिए गए हैं। यह दोनों व्यवहार अलग-अलग हैं। कृपया दोनों संभावित व्यवहार पढ़ के बताएं की प्रत्येक व्यवहार की संभावना आपके लिए कितनी है।

अ) आप वो कपड़े खरीद लेते हैं क्योंकि आपको आने वाले अवसर के लिए उसकी ज़रूरत है और आप अपने निर्णय से संतुष्ट होते हैं।

सबसे कम  
संभावना

सबसे  
ज़्यादा  
संभावना

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आ) आप और दुकानों में जाकर देखते हैं की शायद आपको कुछ बेहतर मिल जाये क्योंकि यह पहली दुकान थी जहाँ आप गए।

सबसे कम  
संभावना

सबसे  
ज़्यादा  
संभावना

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

## Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

आपको कैसा लगेगा अगर:

अ) आप पहली दुकान से कपड़े खरीद लेते हैं और उसके बाद आपको किसी दूसरी दुकान में एक बेहतर कपड़ा दिख जाता है |

मुझे:

खुशी होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

संतुष्टि होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

पछतावा होगा

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

जलन होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

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चिड़चिड़ाहट होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

गुस्सा आयेगा

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

आ) आपको दूसरी दुकानों में कुछ कपड़े मिले, वो उतने अच्छे नहीं हैं और जब आप पहली दुकान में वापस आये तो पहले वाले कपड़े पहले ही बिक चुके हैं।

मुझे:

खुशी होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

संतुष्टि होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

पछतावा होगा

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

जलन होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

चिड़चिड़ाहट होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज़्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

गुस्सा आयेगा

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज़्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

परिस्थिति 2

आप अभी किसी काम में लगे हैं जिसमें आपको तनख्वाह मिलती है। आपके काम में कुछ अच्छाइयां और कमियां हैं। आपका काम लुभाने वाला और चुनौतीपूर्ण है लेकिन कार्य का समय बहुत ज़्यादा है। आपके पास रचनात्मक होने का मौका है लेकिन बहुत से सहकर्मी साथ नहीं देते हैं। साथ ही, तनख्वाह मामूली है लेकिन आपकी सारी ज़रूरतें पूरी हो जाती हैं। लेकिन अब आपके मालिक आपको और ज़िम्मेदारी देना चाहते हैं। आपने तनख्वाह बढ़ाने का निवेदन किया है लेकिन आपको पता नहीं की वो आपको मिलेगी या नहीं और कब मिल सकती है।

नीचे इस परिस्थिति से सम्बंधित दो संभव व्यवहार दिए गए हैं। यह दोनों व्यवहार अलग-अलग हैं। कृपया दोनों संभावित व्यवहार पढ़ के बताएं की प्रत्येक व्यवहार की संभावना आपके लिए कितनी है।

अ) आप सभी कमियों के बावजूद अपने वर्तमान काम में रहते हैं।

सबसे कम  
संभावना

सबसे  
ज़्यादा  
संभावना

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

## Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

आ) आप सक्रिय रूप से दूसरा काम ढूँढते हैं, क्योंकि आपको लगता है की कहीं एक बेहतर अवसर मौजूद है।

सबसे कम  
संभावना

सबसे  
ज्यादा  
संभावना

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आपको कैसा लगेगा अगर:

अ) आप अपने काम के लिए वचनबद्ध होते हैं, लेकिन फिर आपको एक बेहतर प्रस्ताव मिलता है लेकिन अब आप अपना काम छोड़ नहीं सकते।

मुझे:

खुशी होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

संतुष्टि होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

पछतावा होगा

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

## Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

### जलन होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

### चिड़चिड़ाहट होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

### गुस्सा आयेगा

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

आ) आप काम छोड़ देते हैं। आपको एक नया काम मिल जाता है जहाँ कार्य समय कम है और सहकर्मी अच्छे हैं। एक साल बाद, जिस व्यक्ति को आपकी जगह काम मिला, उसको तनख्वाह भी ज्यादा मिलती है।

मुझे:

### खुशी होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

### संतुष्टि होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

पछतावा होगा

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

जलन होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

चिड़चिड़ाहट होगी

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

गुस्सा आयेगा

बिल्कुल  
नहीं

बहुत  
ज्यादा

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

नीचे कुछ कथन दिए गए हैं जो कुछ हद तक आपके समाज के बारे में आपकी राय और चुनावों को व्यक्त कर सकते हैं। कृपया दी गयी मापनी पर वह नंबर टिक करें जो आपकी राय को सबसे अच्छी तरह दर्शाता है। अगर आप कथन से बिल्कुल भी सहमत नहीं हैं तो 1 पर टिक करें। अगर आप अधिकतर असहमत हैं तो 2 पर टिक करें। इसी तरह अगर आप कथन से पूर्णतः सहमत हैं तो 7 पर टिक करें।

	पूर्णतः असहम त	अधिक तर असहम त	थोड़ा असहम त	न सहमत न असहम त	थोड़ा सहमत	अधिक तर सहमत	पूर्णतः सहमत
1) आरक्षण एक पिछड़ी हुई योजना है चूँकि अब लोग सामान्यतः एक समान ही समझे जाते हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

	पूर्णतः असहमत	अधिक तर असहमत	थोड़ा असहमत	न सहमत न असहमत	थोड़ा सहमत	अधिक तर सहमत	पूर्णतः सहमत
2) इतना भेदभाव नहीं है की आरक्षण की ज़रूरत पड़े।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) आरक्षण लोगों को योग्यता की बजाये अल्पसंख्यक होने के आधार पर बढ़ावा देकर भेदभाव को बढ़ता है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) आरक्षण एक समस्या है क्योंकि वह लोगों को असमान मानता है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) मुझे लगता है की लोग जितना भेदभाव जैसी रूकावटों के बारे में सोचते हैं उतनी (रूकावटें) वास्तविकता में नहीं हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) मेरे अपने और मेरे आस-पास के लोगों के अनुभव के आधार पर मेरे लिए उन लोगों के लिए अफ़सोस करना मुश्किल है जो भेदभाव की शिकायत करते हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) लोगों को मुकाबला करने देना चाहिए ताकि श्रेष्ठ व्यक्ति का जीतना सुनिश्चित हो सके।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) प्रतियोगितात्मक होना मानव प्रकृति का हिस्सा है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) प्रतियोगिता श्रेष्ठ लोगों को ढूँढ निकालने का और उन्हें उत्साहित करने का अच्छा तरीका है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10) निष्पक्षता का मतलब है की लोगों के पास बराबर अवसर हों, बराबर परिणाम का आश्वासन नहीं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11) कड़ी मेहनत और प्रतिभा से कोई भी लक्ष्य प्राप्त किया जा सकता है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12) जब भेदभाव जैसी चुनौतियों की बात आती है, तो उसपर काबू पाने के लिए व्यक्तियों को केवल पर्याप्त रूप से कड़ा होने की ज़रूरत होती है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13) मैंने कड़ी मेहनत से लाभ प्राप्त किया है, तो कोई कारण नहीं है की दूसरे नहीं कर सकते।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

	पूर्णतः असहमत	अधिक तर असहमत	थोड़ा असहमत	न सहमत न असहमत	थोड़ा सहमत	अधिक तर सहमत	पूर्णतः सहमत
14) अगर आप पर्याप्त रूप से होशियार और दृढ़ हैं तो भेदभाव आपको पीछे नहीं खींच सकता।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15) एक व्यक्ति की सफलता समाज से ज़्यादा उसके अपने प्रयास से निर्धारित होती है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16) मेरे देश में जो भी कड़ी मेहनत करने को तैयार हो वह सफल हो सकता है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17) मैं हमेशा श्रेष्ठ चीज़ चुनने की कोशिश करता हूँ जो श्रेष्ठ निष्पादन दे या सबसे मूल्यवान हो या सबसे प्रतिष्ठित हो, उसके लिए चाहे जो करना पड़े।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18) मुझे "पर्याप्त" के लिए समझौता करना अच्छा नहीं लगता	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19) मैं चाहे जो करूँ, मेरे लिए मैं उच्चतम मानक/मापदंड रखता हूँ।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20) मैं कभी भी दूसरी श्रेणी पर सबसे श्रेष्ठ के लिए समझौता नहीं करता।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21) मैं कभी समझौता नहीं करता।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22) मैं भले ही अपनी नौकरी से कितना ही संतुष्ट क्यों न हूँ, मेरे लिए बेहतर अवसर की तलाश में रहना सही है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23) मैं अक्सर जीने के उन तरीकों की कल्पना करता हूँ जो मेरे वास्तविक जीवन से काफी अलग हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

नीचे कुछ कथन दिए गए हैं की आप किस तरह के हो सकते हैं। संभवतः कुछ अच्छी तरह से आपका वर्णन करेंगे और कुछ अच्छी तरह आपका वर्णन नहीं करेंगे। प्रत्येक कथन कितनी अच्छी तरह आपका वर्णन करता है?

	मेरे बारे में बिल्कुल असत्य	मेरे बारे में असत्य	मेरे बारे में थोडा बहुत असत्य	निष्पक्ष	मेरे बारे में थोडा बहुत सत्य	मेरे बारे में सत्य	मेरे बारे में बिल्कुल सत्य
1) मैं अपने पर निर्भर होना पसंद करता हूँ बजाये दूसरों पर होने के	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) मैं ज्यादातर अपने पर ही निर्भर करता हूँ; मैं शायद ही कभी दूसरों पर निर्भर करता हूँ	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) मेरा निजी अस्तित्व, दूसरों से अलग, मेरे लिए बहुत ज़रूरी है	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) मेरे लिए ज़रूरी है की मैं अपना काम दूसरों से बेहतर करूँ	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) जितना सब कुछ है	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) प्रतियोगिता प्रकृति का नियम है	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) जब कोई दूसरा व्यक्ति मुझसे बेहतर काम कर रहा हो तो मैं परेशान और सचेत हो जाता हूँ	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) अगर एक सहकर्मी को पुरस्कार मिलता है तो मुझे गर्व होगा	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) मेरे सहकर्मियों की भलाई मेरे लिए ज़रूरी है	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10) मेरे लिए खुशी दूसरों के साथ समय बिताना है	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11) मुझे अच्छा लगता है जब मैं दूसरों का सहयोग देता हूँ	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12) माता पिता और बच्चों को जितना हो सके उतना साथ में रहना चाहिए	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

	मेरे बारे में बिल्कुल असत्य	मेरे बारे में असत्य	मेरे बारे में थोडा बहुत असत्य	निष्पक्ष	मेरे बारे में थोडा बहुत सत्य	मेरे बारे में सत्य	मेरे बारे में बिल्कुल सत्य
13) मेरे परिवार का ख्याल रखना मेरा कर्तव्य है, भले ही उसके लिए मुझे वो त्याग करना पड़े जो मुझे चाहिए	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14) परिवार के सदस्यों को साथ में एकजुट होकर रहना चाहिए भले ही उसके लिए कोई भी त्याग करना पड़े	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15) मेरे लिए ज़रूरी है की मैं मेरे समूहों के लिए गए निर्णय का आदर करूँ	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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नीचे दी गयी सूची को इस्तेमाल करते हुए इसप्रश्न का उत्तर दें की सामान्यतः आप कितना खुश या नाखुश महसूस करते हैं। नीचे दिए गये कथनों में से सिर्फ एक कथन चुनें जो आपकी सामान्य खुशी का सबसे अच्छी तरह से वर्णन करता है।

कृपया सिर्फ एक ही खाने में टिक करें	10 अत्यंत खुश (उत्साहित आनंदित, शानदार महसूस करता/ करती हूँ!)
	9 बहुत खुश (बहुत ही अच्छा , मगन सा महसूस करता/करती हूँ!)
	8 काफी खुश (मन से खुश , अच्छा महसूस करता/करती हूँ)
	7 थोडा बहुत खुश (ठीक ढंग से खुश, कुछ हद तक खुश दिल)
	6 थोडा ही खुश (औसत महसूस करने से थोडा ज्यादा)
	5 औसत (न विशेष रूप से खुश न नाखुश)
	4 थोडा ही नाखुश ( औसत महसूस करने से थोडा ही कम)
	3 थोडा बहुत नाखुश (थोडा सा उदास)
	2 काफी नाखुश ( कुछ हद तक मन दुखी रहता है, मायूस महसूस करता हूँ )
	1 बहुत नाखुश (निराश , मन बहुत ही दुखी रहता है)
0 अत्यंत नाखुश ( बिलकुल ही निराश , पूरी तरह से हतोत्साहित)	

Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

नीचे पाँच कथन आपके जीवन के बारे में आपके विचारों के बारे में दिए गए हैं जिनसे आप सहमत या असहमत हो सकते हैं। नीचे दी हुई 1-7 की मापनी का प्रयोग करके, हर कथन से अपनी सहमती व्यक्त करें। कृपया ईमानदारी से अपने उत्तर दें

	पूरी तरह असहमत	असहमत	थोड़ा असहमत	न सहमत न असहमत	थोड़ा सहमत	सहमत	पूरी तरह सहमत
1) ज्यादातर तरीकों में मेरा जीवन, मेरे आदर्श के करीब है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) मेरे जीवन की परिस्थितियाँ अति उत्तम हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) मैं अपने जीवन से संतुष्ट हूँ।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) अभी तक मुझे जीवन में जो भी महत्वपूर्ण चीज़ें चाहिए थीं वो मुझे मिल गयीं हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) अगर मैं अपना जीवन दोबारा जी सकता, तो मैं लगभग कुछ न बदलता।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

हम जानना चाहते हैं की आप अपने बारे में क्या सोचते हैं और उपलब्धि का आपके लिए क्या मतलब है। इस प्रश्नावली में बहुत सारे लक्ष्य हैं। प्रत्येक लक्ष्य को पढ़ते समय यह सोचिये की वह लक्ष्य आपके लिए कितना महत्वपूर्ण है। आपके उत्तर जानने के लिए, एक 7-बिंदु मापनी प्रत्येक लक्ष्य के आगे दी गयी है, जिस पर आपको उत्तर देना है। अगर कोई लक्ष्य आपके लिए अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण है, तो 7का अंक दें, अगर बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है, तो 6का अंक दें, इसी तरह से अगर कोई लक्ष्य आपके लिए बिल्कुल ही महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है तो 1 का अंक दें। उत्तर देते समय अपना निजी जीवन ध्यान में रखें।

	पूरी तरह से महत्वहीन	महत्वपूर्ण नहीं	कम महत्वपूर्ण	न महत्वपूर्ण न अमहत्वपूर्ण	कुछ हद तक महत्वपूर्ण	महत्वपूर्ण	अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण
1) अच्छा इंसान बनना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) दूसरों की भलाई का ध्यान रखना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) अपना कर्तव्य पूरा करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) दूसरों की मदद करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) अच्छे दोस्त बनाना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

	पूरी तरह से महत्वहीन	महत्वपूर्ण नहीं	कम महत्वपूर्ण	न महत्वपूर्ण न महत्वपूर्ण	कुछ हद तक महत्वपूर्ण	महत्वपूर्ण	अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण
6) बड़ों का सम्मान और उनकी सेवा करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) बड़ों से स्नेह प्राप्त करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) ज्ञान प्राप्त करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) पैसा कमाना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10) मूल आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11) जीवन के आराम का प्रबंधन करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12) भाई बहनों की प्रगति में मदद करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13) कृषि की प्रगति में मदद करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14) गाँव की प्रगति में मदद करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15) सामाजिक एकता और सहयोग पाना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16) समाज और देश की सेवा करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17) प्रशंसा और सामाजिक स्वीकृति पाना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18) मनचाहा पति या पत्नी पाना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19) मनचाही चीज़ें पाना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20) सुखी जीवन जीना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21) सीखना और आविष्कार करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22) परिवार की सफलता	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23) अपनी आस्था का पालन करना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

24)	आत्मनिर्भर होना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25)	यात्रा करना और घूमना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26)	स्वस्थ रहना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27)	व्यवसाय में सफल होना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28)	सांस्कृतिक और घर के कामों में कुशल होना	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

**प्रतिभागी सूचना:**

लिंग (पु ०/ स्त्री ० )

आयु:

वैवाहिक स्थिति: अवैवाहिक/ विवाहित /तलाकशुदा / विधवा\विधुर/ विलग / अन्य(कृपया उल्लिखित करें)\_\_\_\_

परिवार सदस्यों की संख्या:

आप पर कितने लोग आर्थिक रूप से निर्भर हैं?

परिवार: संयुक्त/ एकल:

आप भदोही/ गुरुग्राम में कितने समय से रह रहे हैं

व्यवसाय:

आप इस व्यवसाय में कब से हैं?(वर्षों में):

मासिक आय: (U)

शैक्षिक योग्यता: प्राथमिक/माध्यमिक/ उच्च माध्यमिक/ स्नातक/परा स्नातक/अन्य (कृपया उल्लिखित करें)\_\_\_\_

धर्म: हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख, इसाई, अज्ञेयवादी, नास्तिक अन्य (कृपया उल्लिखित करें)\_\_\_\_

आप कहां के मूल निवासी हैं ?

कृपया इन में से जो आपके पास है उसके सामने टिक लगायें:

	मेरे घर में है
आपके घर में रसोई घर का अलग कमरा:	
बैंक खाता:	
गद्दा:	
फ्रिज:	
संशोधित पानी का स्रोत (पीने के पानी की सुविधा):	
संशोधित स्वास्थ्य रक्षा की सुविधाएं (शौचालय की सुविधा):	
टी ० वी०:	
टेबल:	
कुर्सी:	
हर कमरे में रहने वाले लोगों की संख्या(औसत):	
माँ की शिक्षा (कृपया डिग्री या श्रेणी लिखें):	

आपके पास कितनी जमीन है ।

Study 1 Questionnaire Hindi

आपकी संपत्ति का मूल्य (लाख रूपये में) कृपया उचित अंक या अंकों के बीच में टिक लगायें: 5-10-15-20-25-30-35-40-45-50-55-60-65-70-75-80-85-90-1 करोड़ या अधिक (U)

आपका घर: अपना है या किराये पर: (U)

घर का क्षेत्रफल (स्क्वेयर फीट): (U)

\_\_\_ बीएचके (U)

अतिरिक्त टिप्पणियां (वैकल्पिक): (U)

*हमारे सर्वेक्षण में भाग लेने के लिए आपके दिन में से समय निकालने के लिए आपका बहुत धन्यवाद। आपकी प्रतिक्रियाएं हमारे लिए लोगों की सामाजिक घटनाओं के प्रति निजी मान्यताएं और भावनाएं जानने के लिए बहुत ही मूल्यवान हैं।*

*अगर अध्ययन के बारे में आपके कोई सवाल या टिप्पणियां हैं तो आप प्रयोगकर्ता से पूछ सकते हैं या बाद में कोई सवाल या टिप्पणियां हों तो आप [ajita@bigsss-bremen.de](mailto:ajita@bigsss-bremen.de) पर संपर्क कर सकते हैं। आपकी प्रतिक्रियाएं गुमनाम रखी जाएंगी और केवल शोध के उद्देश्य से प्रयोग की जाएंगी।*



**STUDY 2**

**APPENDICES (B)**



**Table B1***Study 2: Reliability Analysis for Pilot Study (N= 66)*

<b>Scale</b>	<b>Number of Items Left</b>	<b>Cronbach Alpha</b>
Relational Mobility Scale	10 (out of 12)	0.641
Tight-Loose Society Scale	6 (none removed)	0.420
Hierarchic Self Interest Scale	14 (1 item removed before pilot due to being inapplicable)	0.734
Necessity-Luxury Scale*	20 (out of 21)	0.885
Maximizing Scales (Both were combined before pilot administration)	9 (out of 11)	0.817

\* Adapted and contextualized before pilot administration. Changes made before the fieldwork are given in the next table

Inter-Item Correlation for Choice Constraint Items: 0.69,  $p < .000$

**Table B2***Necessity-Luxury Scale Contextual Adaptation*

<b>Original Item</b>	<b>Used in Pilot</b>	<b>Used in Fieldwork*</b>
Going to a concert	Going to public events	Going to public events
Compact Disk	Computer	TV
Wine	Saffron	Beverage/Juice
Going to the movies	(as it is)	(as it is)
Bar of chocolate	Sweets	Sweets
Lunch with friend	Lunch with friend	(as it is)
Holiday accommodation	Going out of town for holidays	Going out of town for holidays
Taxis	Public Transport	Public Transport
Watching live rugby	Watching cricket match	Entertainment Programs
Books	(as it is)	(as it is)
Fruit juice	Fruit juice	Fruits
Fish	Vegetables	Vegetables
Main local newspaper	(as it is)	(as it is)
Toll call	Mobile	Mobile
Sports shoes	Occasional Wear	Occasional Wear
City bus-trips	Outing	Outing
Doctor	(as it is)	(as it is)
Petrol	(as it is)	(as it is)
Milk	(as it is)	(as it is)
Bread	Rice	Rice
Electricity	(as it is)	(as it is)

\*Changes made before fieldwork were made during the pre-test conducted in the rural region before the actual fieldwork.

**Study 2: Instrument Validation for Fieldwork**

(N=378)

**Table B3**

*Factor Structure for Relational Mobility Scale*

Component Matrix	Overall		Rural		Urban	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
rmob4r_ There are few opportunities for these people to form new friendships (reversed)		.744		.709		.782
rmob5r_ It is uncommon for these people to have a conversation with people they have never met before (reversed)		.628		.506		.712
rmob7r_ It is often the case that they cannot freely choose who they associate with (reversed)		.669		.750		.554
rmob9r_ Even if these people were not satisfied with their current relationships, they would often have no choice but to stay with them (reversed)	.852		.877		.820	
rmob10r_ Even though they might rather leave, these people often have no choice but to stay in groups they don't like (reversed)	.870		.849		.856	

**Table B4**

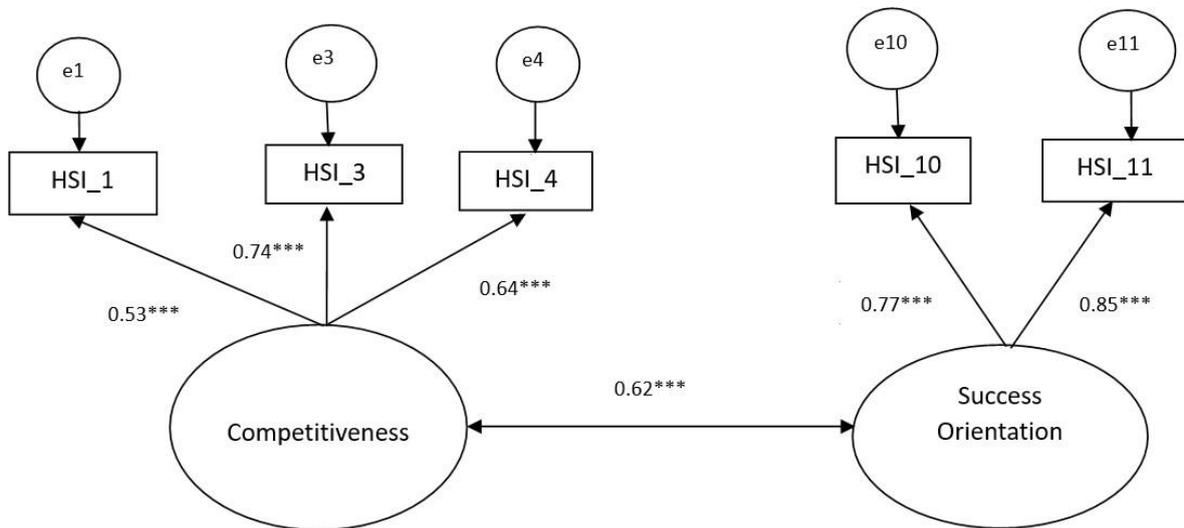
*Factor Structure for Perception of Tight-Loose Society Scale*

Component Matrix	Overall	Rural	Urban
tlss1_ There are many social norms that people are supposed to abide by in India.	.792	.768	.767
tlss2_ In India, there are very clear expectations for how people should act in most situations.	.818	.809	.786
tlss3_ People agree upon what behaviours are appropriate versus	.734	.712	.713

inappropriate in most situations in India			
tlss5_ In India, if someone acts in an inappropriate way, others will strongly disapprove.	.671	.669	.610
tlss6_ People in India almost always comply with social norms.	.691	.685	.483

**Figure B1**

*Structural Equation Modelling for Hierarchic Self Interest for the Overall Sample*



**Moderate Fit** (Chi-square = 11.616, df = 4, p = .020)

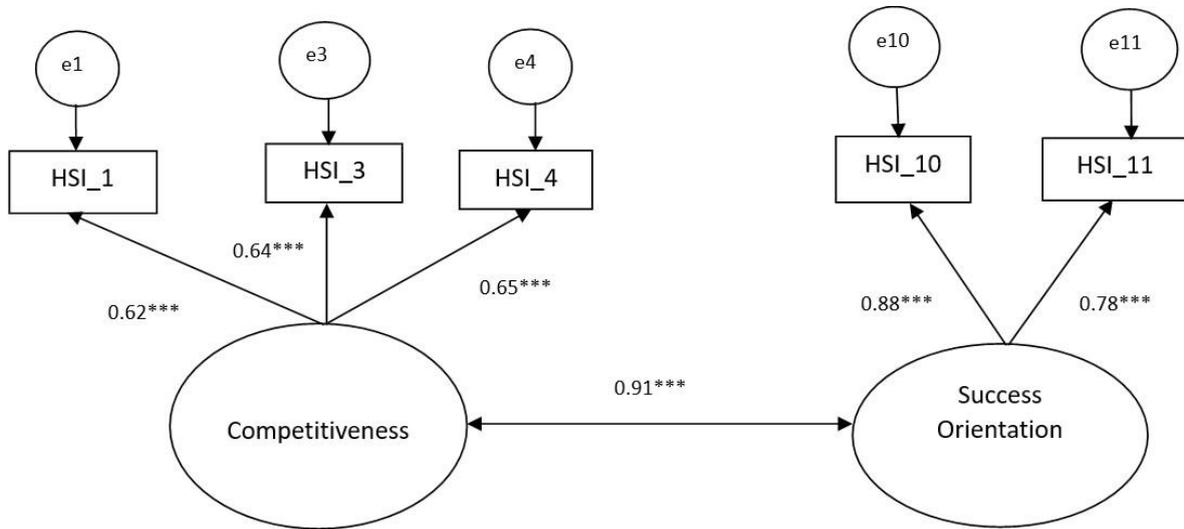
CMIN/DF=2.90

Baseline Comparisons (NFI=.976, RFI=.908, IFI=.984, TLI=.938, CFI=.983)

RMSEA= .071, PCLOSE= .189

**Figure B2**

*Structural Equation Modelling for Hierarchic Self Interest for the Rural Sample*



**Unsatisfactory Fit** (Chi-square = 15.76, df = 4, p= .003)

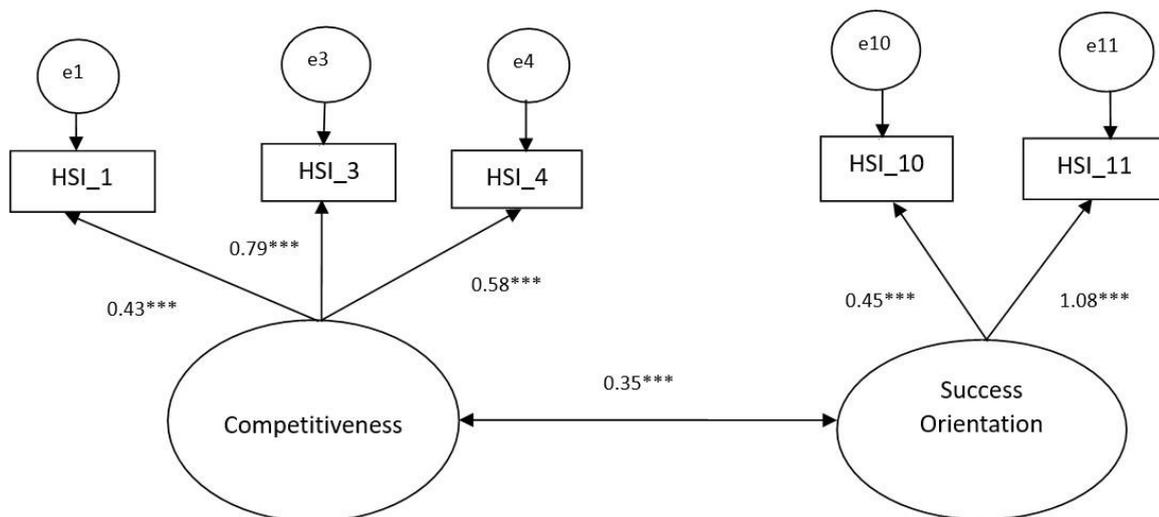
CMIN/DF=3.94

Baseline Comparisons (NFI=.950, RFI=.814, IFI=.962, TLI=.854, CFI=.961)

RMSEA= .127, PCLOSE= .023

**Figure B3**

*Structural Equation Modelling for Hierarchic Self Interest for the Urban Sample*



**Good Fit** (Chi-square = 3.17, df = 4, p= .530)

CMIN/DF=0.792

Baseline Comparisons (NFI=.978, RFI=.917, IFI= 1.024, TLI= 1.024, CFI= 1.000)

RMSEA= .000, PCLOSE= .730

**Table B5**  
*Factor Structure for Perception of Necessity and Luxury Scale*

Component Matrix	Overall		Rural		Urban	
	N	L	N	L	N	L
nl2_TV		.562		.544		.573
nl4_Going to movies		.723		.705		.726
nl5_Sweets		.618		.707		.543
nl6_Going out for lunch with friend		.746		.692		.740
nl7_Going out of town for holidays		.728		.785		.616
nl8_Public transport	.567		.453		.624	
nl9_Watching entertainment programs		.695		.671		.682
nl10_Books	.700		.694		.676	
nl11_Fruits	.781		.716		.817	
nl12_Vegetables	.838		.812		.851	
nl13_Main local newspaper	.686		.669		.658	
nl14_Mobile phone	.629		.571		.598	
nl15_Occasional wear	.542		.474		.490	
nl17_Doctor	.769		.636		.793	
nl18_Petrol	.772		.671		.783	
nl19_Milk	.878		.807		.901	
nl20_Rice	.650		.477		.735	
nl21_Electricity	.829		.720		.863	

**Table B6***Factor Structure for Maximizing Scales*

<b>Component Matrix</b>	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>
satmax2_ I don't like to settle for "good enough".	.615	.523	.682
satmax4_ I will wait for the best option, no matter how long it takes.	.604	.547	.725
satmax5_ I never settle for second best.	.737	.725	.745
satmax8_ I never settle.	.673	.658	.678
satmax9_ No matter how satisfied I am with my job, it's only right for me to be on the lookout for better opportunities.	.628	.658	.610
satmax10_ I often fantasize about living in ways that are quite different from my actual life.	.563	.632	.495

## Participant Information Document

Dear Participant,

I am a Doctoral Fellow working in collaboration of Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS) and University of Allahabad (UoA), and I am inviting your participation in a study which will take about 20 minutes of your time. This study is being conducted in various organisations to understand their personal beliefs and attitudes of people towards various social phenomena.

This study involves answering some questions on the attached questionnaires about your attitudes and beliefs about yourself and the society. The participation in the study is voluntary and you can choose anytime to halt your participation in it. Your responses will be very beneficial for our study.

There are no right or wrong answers to the given questions, hence there will be no evaluation of your capability or opinion. If you have any questions or doubts now or later regarding the study, or if there is any difficulty regarding the questionnaire, you can always ask the researcher at any point in time.

If you have any questions then please contact me at [ajita@bigsss-bremen.de](mailto:ajita@bigsss-bremen.de)

Sincerely,

Ajita Srivastava

BIGSSS-departs Ph.D Fellow

EU COFUND Marie Sklodowska-Curie Actions

Jacobs University| University of Bremen

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Ph. No. : +494212003961

### Consent Form

The study involves questions about society, social and personal aspects of one's life. Please read each question carefully before answering and try to answer as truthfully as possible. The whole study will take about 20 minutes of your time.

Your responses will be anonymous, i.e., no one will be able to link you to your responses. Your answers will be kept confidential and used for research purpose only.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. There are no risks to this study. You won't be harmed physically or emotionally before, after or during the study. You can ask questions anytime during the study.

You will receive a monetary compensation for your time and effort after completing the study.

If you agree to participate in the study then kindly fill in the following and provide your signature.

I have read the participant information document and my queries about the study have been answered satisfactorily. I agree to participate in the study and give my responses.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**Note: Please tear this page off and give it to the experimenter.**

**ID Code**

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## Study 2 Questionnaire English

Below you will find some **daily life scenarios** of some situations which might have taken place with you or someone might find herself into. Read each of the following scenarios and the corresponding behaviors. There are 4 scenarios given below. Try to clearly visualize each scenario as you read it. Then, indicate which behavior you would be **MOST LIKELY** to do.

### Situation 1

You need to buy a mobile phone for yourself. You checked many options in stores near you. You found that the **older versions are available** and the latest, expensive ones haven't arrived yet. The **latest ones have better camera and more storage capacity** than the older versions. You have the options of buying the available one immediately and wait for the new one that has more features.

How likely is that:

1	2	3	4	5	6
You will definitely buy the old model	You will most probably buy the old model	You maybe will buy the old model	You maybe will wait for the new model	You will most probably wait for the new model	You will definitely wait for the new model

### Situation 2

There is a piece of land which you want to buy. You plan to build a house on it. **There is a local broker** who does such land dealings, but you know that the broker will make a profit for himself. You also **have an option to search for a better seller yourself**. It will mean that you invest time and effort to find a seller by yourself

How likely is that:

1	2	3	4	5	6
You will definitely go for the local broker	You will most probably go for the local broker	You maybe will go for the local broker	You maybe will search for a suitable seller yourself	You will most probably search for a suitable seller yourself	You will definitely search for a suitable seller yourself

### Situation 3

You have been appointed with a task of getting a community center built. The original idea was to have a large, main hall with a large stage, as well as a separate meeting room. However, the current contractors say they can only build the hall without a stage or a meeting room in the time allotted to the construction. One of your friends has already found another contractor to take the job over, but they are young and inexperienced. You cannot be sure whether they will really do the job well. You have to decide that whether **you would go with the contractors who you have always worked with and get a hall without stage and meeting room or go with the new contractors who can construct the complete hall but you don't know how the hall will look.**

How likely is that:

1	2	3	4	5	6
You will definitely go for the old contractor	You will most probably go for the old contractor	You will maybe go for the old contractor	You will maybe go for the new contractor	You will most probably go for the new contractor	You will definitely go for the new contractor

### Situation 4

The primary school in your area needs a new roof. You and a few friends of yours decide to take on the task of replacing the old roof. You have very limited funds and limited time, so you have to make the choice of tiled roof or tin roof. The **tiled roof** is more complicated to make and takes more time to set up, but would make a safer and more comfortable environment for the children, which means that it **might not be finished by the time school opens**. The **tin roof** is easier quicker to apply, but would mean that **the school might heat up more in the summer**.

How likely is that:

1	2	3	4	5	6
You will definitely go for the tin roof	You will most probably go for the tin roof	You maybe will go for the tin roof	You maybe will go for the tiled roof	You will most probably go for the tiled roof	You will definitely go for the tiled roof

Study 2 Questionnaire English

Below given are some statements. These statements are about those people among whom you live, spend time with like your neighbours, friends, colleagues. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

NOTE: The term "**groups**" in some items refers to collections of people who know each other or who share the same goals, such as **friendship groups, hobby groups, sports teams, and companies**.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1) They (the people around you) have many chances to get to know other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) It is common for these people to have a conversation with someone they have never met before.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) They are able to choose, according to their own preferences, the people whom they interact with in their daily life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) There are few opportunities for these people to form new friendships. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) It is uncommon for these people to have a conversation with people they have never met before. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) If they did not like their current groups, they could leave for better ones.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 2 Questionnaire English

7)	It is often the case that they cannot freely choose who they associate with. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8)	They are able to choose the groups and organizations they belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9)	Even if these people were not satisfied with their current relationships, they would often have no choice but to stay with them. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10)	Even though they might rather leave, these people often have no choice but to stay in groups they don't like. (reverse)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Below given are statements about India's social situation. Please read each statement carefully and indicate how much do you agree.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1)	There are many social norms that people are supposed to abide by in India.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2)	In India, there are very clear expectations for how people should act in most situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3)	People agree upon what behaviors are appropriate versus inappropriate in most situations in India.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4)	People in India have a great deal of freedom in deciding how they want to behave in most situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 2 Questionnaire English

5)	In India, if someone acts in an inappropriate way, others will strongly disapprove.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6)	People in India almost always comply with social norms.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Below given are some statements which might reflect your opinions and choices about yourself and your society. Please tick the number in the given scale which most reflects your opinion.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewh at Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1)	I would like to be among the best in all areas of life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2)	For me, to be successful in life means to be better than others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3)	My ambition is always to be better than average	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4)	I am only satisfied when my performance is above average	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5)	In any kind of examination or competition it is important for me to find out how well I did in comparison with others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6)	To go on a trip with friends makes one feel less free and mobile; as a result there is less fun	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7)	We would be better off if everyone would just look after themselves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8)	To be superior, a man must stand alone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9)	People who don't perform well won't be happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10)	The most important thing in life is achievement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 2 Questionnaire English

<b>11)</b>	Success in school and later on the job is most important in life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>12)</b>	Whatever is good for our industry is good for us	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>13)</b>	Rank differences between people are acceptable, because they show what you make of the chances you have	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>14)</b>	On the whole, the social differences in our country are just	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

We and people around us use a lot of things. Some of the things are very important for us (without which leading life would be difficult), and some are for pleasure. You have to indicate among the following, which things do you consider necessary and which do you consider for pleasure. If you consider something completely necessary for life then tick “1” and if somewhat necessary then “2”. Likewise, if you consider something of use only for pleasure then tick “6”

		<b>Complete Necessity</b>	<b>Somewhat Necessity</b>	<b>A Little Necessary</b>	<b>A Little Luxury</b>	<b>Somewhat Luxury</b>	<b>Complete Luxury</b>
<b>1)</b>	Going to public events	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>2)</b>	TV	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>3)</b>	Beverage/Juice	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>4)</b>	Going to the movies	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>5)</b>	Sweets	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>6)</b>	Lunch with friend	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>7)</b>	Going out of town for holidays	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>8)</b>	Public Transport	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>9)</b>	Entertainment Programs	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>10)</b>	Books	1	2	3	4	5	6

Study 2 Questionnaire English

11)	Fruits	1	2	3	4	5	6
12)	Vegetables	1	2	3	4	5	6
13)	Main local newspaper	1	2	3	4	5	6
14)	Mobile	1	2	3	4	5	6
15)	Occasional Wear	1	2	3	4	5	6
16)	Outing	1	2	3	4	5	6
17)	Doctor	1	2	3	4	5	6
18)	Petrol	1	2	3	4	5	6
19)	Milk	1	2	3	4	5	6
20)	Rice	1	2	3	4	5	6
21)	Electricity	1	2	3	4	5	6

In the below given statements, you have to indicate how much each statement is correct about you, and how much do you agree with it

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewh at Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewh at Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1)	No matter what it takes, I always try to choose the best thing, which gives the optimal performance or is the most valuable or the most prestigious.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2)	I don't like having to settle for "good enough".	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3)	No matter what I do, I have the highest standards for myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4)	I will wait for the best option, no matter how long it takes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 2 Questionnaire English

		<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Somewh at Disagree</b>	<b>Neither Agree nor Disagree</b>	<b>Somewh at Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
<b>5)</b>	I never settle for second best (less than the best).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>6)</b>	I am uncomfortable making decisions before I know all of my options.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>7)</b>	Whenever I'm faced with a choice, I try to imagine what all the other possibilities are even ones that aren't present at the moment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>8)</b>	I never settle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>9)</b>	No matter how satisfied I am with my job, it's only right for me to be on the lookout for better opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>10)</b>	I often fantasize about living in ways that are quite different from my actual life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>11)</b>	I feel that I don't have many options in my life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>12)</b>	I feel that I am not able to attain the desired options in my life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 2 Questionnaire English

Participant Information

Gender: Male/Female

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status: Marital Status: Single/Married/Divorced/Widow(er)/Separated/Other (Please specify)

\_\_\_\_\_

Type of family: Nuclear \_\_\_\_\_/ Joint \_\_\_\_\_

Number of family members: \_\_\_\_\_

How many people are economically dependent upon you? \_\_\_\_\_

Household Monthly Income:

Less Than 5,000	Between 5,000 to 10,000	Between 10,000 to 25,000	Between 25,000 to 50,000	Between 50,000 to 75,000	Between 75,000 and 1,00,000	1,00,000 and Above
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How difficult is it for you to make the ends meet?

Extremely Difficult	Very Difficult	Somewhat Difficult	Moderate	Somewhat Easy	Very Easy	No Problem At All
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Educational Qualification:

Primary/High School/ Higher Secondary/Graduate/Post Graduate/Other (Please Specify)\_\_\_\_\_

Religion: Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, Agnostic, Atheist, Other (Please Specify)\_\_\_\_\_

Caste: \_\_\_\_\_, Reserved \_\_\_\_\_, Unreserved \_\_\_\_\_

Where are you basic resident of \_\_\_\_\_

Study 2 Questionnaire English

For how many years have you been staying in this region \_\_\_\_\_

Rural:

Primary Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_, Secondary Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

How much land (for agriculture): \_\_\_\_\_

How many cattle: \_\_\_\_\_

Mud house (1)	Mud and brick house (2)	Concrete and brick house (3)
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Incomplete or leaky roof (1)	Thatched roof (2)	Tin roof (3)	Tiled roof (4)	Concrete and brick roof (5)
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How many rooms: \_\_\_\_\_ No. of people living in the house: \_\_\_\_\_

Electricity Connection: Yes/No

Water Tap: Yes/No

Handpump: Yes/No

Cylinder for Cooking: Yes/No

TV: Yes/No

2 Wheeler: Yes/No; if yes, how many: \_\_\_\_\_

4 Wheeler: Yes/No, if yes, how many: \_\_\_\_\_

Urban:

Please tick according to the house you have in this region:

Own \_\_\_\_\_ / Rented \_\_\_\_\_ (If Rented: Shared \_\_\_\_\_ / Private \_\_\_\_\_)

How many rooms: \_\_\_\_\_ How many people live in the house: \_\_\_\_\_

BHK: 1/2/3/4/5/6 or more

Designation: \_\_\_\_\_

Level of Experience: Entry Level / Intermediate Level / Advanced Level

Years of Work Experience: \_\_\_\_\_

Study 2 Questionnaire English

Amenities:

Air Conditioning: Yes/No

TV: Yes/No

2 Wheeler: Yes/No; if yes, how many: \_\_\_\_\_ 4 Wheeler: Yes/No, if yes, how many: \_\_\_\_\_

Have you lived in rural region? Yes/No

If yes, for how many years? \_\_\_\_\_

Study 2 Questionnaire English

*Thank you so much for taking out time from your day to participate in our survey. Your responses are highly valuable to our understanding of people's personal beliefs and attitudes towards various social phenomena.*

*You can ask the experimenter if you have any questions or comments about the study now and also contact her at [ajita@bigsss-bremen.de](mailto:ajita@bigsss-bremen.de) if you have any questions or comments later. Your responses will be kept anonymous and used for research purpose only.*

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### प्रतिभागी सूचना पत्र

प्रिय प्रतिभागी,

मैं ब्रेमेन अंतर्राष्ट्रीय ग्रेजुएट सामाजिक विज्ञान विद्यालय (बिग्स) और इलाहबाद विश्वविद्यालय (ई०वी०वी०) के सहयोग में शोधकर्ता हूँ और मैं एक अध्ययन में आपकी प्रतिभागिता को आमंत्रित कर रही हूँ जिसमें आपके समय का करीब 20 मिनट लगेगा। यह अध्ययन विभिन्न सामाजिक घटनाओं के प्रति लोगों की निजी मान्यताओं और भावनाओं को समझने के लिए बहुत सारे संस्थानों में हो रहा है।

इस अध्ययन में संलग्न प्रश्नावली में आपको अपने और समाज के बारे में आपके मनोभाव और मान्यताओं से सम्बंधित प्रश्नों पर उत्तर देना है। इस अध्ययन में प्रतिभागिता स्वैच्छिक है और आप कभी भी इसमें अपनी प्रतिभागिता रोक सकते हैं। आपकी प्रतिक्रियाएं हमारे अध्ययन के लिए बहुत ही लाभकारी होंगी।

दिए गए सवालों के कोई सही या गलत जवाब नहीं हैं, अतः आपकी क्षमता या राय का कोई मूल्यांकन नहीं होगा। अगर अध्ययन के बारे में आपके कोई भी सवाल या संदेह अभी या बाद में हों, या फिर प्रश्नावली समझने में कोई भी कठिनाई हो, तो आप शोधकर्ता से किसी भी समय पूछ सकते हैं।

अगर आपके पास कोई सवाल हैं तो मुझे यहाँ संपर्क करें: [ajita@bigsss-bremen.de](mailto:ajita@bigsss-bremen.de)

आपकी ,

अजिता श्रीवास्तव

बिग्स -पीएचडी डीपार्ट्स फेलो

ईयू कोफंड मैरी स्कोलोडोस्का-क्यूरी क्रियाएं

जैकौब्स विश्वविद्यालय | ब्रेमेन विश्वविद्यालय

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## Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

### सहमति प्रपत्र

इस अध्ययन में समाज और एक व्यक्ति के जीवन के सामाजिक और निजी पहलू के बारे में सवाल हैं। कृपया प्रत्येक सवाल को ध्यान से पढ़ें और जितना हो सके उतनी सच्चाई से उसका उत्तर दें। पूरे अध्ययन में आपका करीब 20 मिनट लगेगा।

आपके उत्तर गुमनाम रखे जायेंगे, अर्थात्, कोई भी आपकी प्रतिक्रियाओं को आपसे मिला नहीं पायेगा। आपके उत्तर गोपनीय रखे जायेंगे और सिर्फ शोध उद्देश्य से इस्तेमाल किये जायेंगे।

आपकी प्रतिभागिता इस अध्ययन में स्वैच्छिक है। इस अध्ययन में कोई जोखिम नहीं है। आपको अध्ययन के पहले, दौरान या बाद में कोई भी शारीरिक या सांवेगिक चोट नहीं पहुँचाई जाएगी। आप अध्ययन के दौरान किसी भी समय सवाल पूछ सकते हैं।

अगर आप इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए तैयार हैं कृपया निम्नलिखित प्रपत्र भरें और हस्ताक्षर करें।

मैं प्रतिभागी ने सूचना पत्र पढ़ लिया है और अध्ययन के बारे में मेरे सारे प्रश्नों का उत्तर संतोषजनक ढंग से दिया गया है। मैं इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए और अपने उत्तर देने के लिए सहमत हूँ।

नाम: \_\_\_\_\_

हस्ताक्षर: \_\_\_\_\_

तिथि: \_\_\_\_\_

**ध्यान दें: कृपया यह पृष्ठ निकाल के शोधकर्ता को दें।**

## Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

## Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

नीचे आपको आम जीवन की परिस्थितियों से सम्बंधित कुछ घटनाएं मिलेंगी, जो या तो आपके साथ कभी हुई होंगी या कोई और अपने आपको ऐसी स्थिति में पा सकता है। हर एक घटना और उनसे सम्बंधित व्यवहारों को पढ़ें। नीचे 4 घटनाएं दी गयी हैं। कृपया हर एक घटना को पढ़ते समय उसकी स्पष्टता से कल्पना करने की कोशिश करें | फिर किसी एक विकल्प पर निशान लगाकर बताएं की कौन सा व्यवहार करने की संभावना आपके लिए सबसे ज्यादा है।

### परिस्थिति 1

आपको अपने लिए एक मोबाइल फ़ोन खरीदना है। आपने अपनी नज़दीकी दुकानों पर बहुत सारे मोबाइल फ़ोन देखे। आपने पाया कि उनके पास पुराने मॉडल उपलब्ध हैं और नए महँगे मॉडल अभी आये नहीं हैं। पुराना मॉडल अच्छा है, उसमें ज़रूरत की सारी चीज़ें हैं लेकिन नए मॉडल में बेहतर कैमरा और संग्रह (स्टोरेज) क्षमता है। आपके पास यह विकल्प है कि आप उपलब्ध मोबाइल फ़ोन तुरंत खरीद लें या नए मोबाइल फ़ोन का इंतज़ार करें जिसमें ज्यादा विशेषताएँ हैं।

कितनी संभावना है कि :

1	2	3	4	5	6
आप निश्चित रूप से पुराना मॉडल खरीदेंगे	कुछ हद तक संभावना है की आप पुराना मॉडल खरीदेंगे	आप शायद ही पुराना मॉडल खरीदेंगे	आप शायद ही नये मॉडल का इंतज़ार करेंगे	कुछ हद तक संभावना है की आप नये मॉडल का इंतज़ार करेंगे	आप निश्चित रूप से नए मॉडल का इंतज़ार करेंगे

### परिस्थिति 2

आप ज़मीन का एक टुकड़ा खरीदना चाहते हैं। आपकी योजना है कि आप उस पर घर बनवायेंगे। एक स्थानीय दलाल है जो ज़मीन के ऐसे सौदा करता है, लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि दलाल उस सौदे में अपने लिए लाभ कमाएगा। आपके पास यह भी उपाय है कि आप एक बेहतर व्यापारी को स्वयं ढूँढें। यह काम खुद करने लिए आपको अपना प्रयास और समय लगाना होगा।

कितनी संभावना है कि :

1	2	3	4	5	6
आप निश्चित रूप से स्थानीय दलाल की मदद लेंगे	कुछ हद तक संभावना है की आप स्थानीय दलाल की मदद लेंगे	आप शायद ही स्थानीय दलाल की मदद लेंगे	आप शायद ही स्वयं एक बेहतर व्यापारी ढूँढेंगे	कुछ हद तक संभावना है की आप स्वयं एक बेहतर व्यापारी ढूँढेंगे	आप स्वयं एक बेहतर व्यापारी ढूँढेंगे

### परिस्थिति 3

आपको एक सामुदायिक केंद्र बनवाने का काम दिया गया है। शुरु में विचार एक बड़ा सा मुख्य हॉल, उसमें एक बड़ा सा मंच और एक अलग बैठक के कमरे का था। लेकिन, आपके पुराने ठेकेदार कहते हैं की निर्माण के लिए दिए गए समय में वह सिर्फ हॉल बना सकते हैं, बिना मंच और बैठक के कमरे के। आपके दोस्त ने दूसरे ठेकेदार ढूंढे हैं, लेकिन वह नए हैं और उनको अनुभव कम है। आपको पक्का पता नहीं है की वह अच्छे से काम कर पायेंगे की नहीं। आपको निर्णय लेना है की आप उन ठेकेदार के साथ जायेंगे जिनके साथ आपने हमेशा काम किया है और एक बिना मंच और बैठक का हॉल लेंगे या फिर नये ठेकेदार के साथ जायेंगे जो पूरा हॉल बना सकते हैं पर आपको पता नहीं की हॉल कैसा लगेगा।

कितनी संभावना है कि :

1	2	3	4	5	6
आप निश्चित रूप से पुराने ठेकेदार के साथ जायेंगे	कुछ हद तक संभावना है की आप पुराने ठेकेदार के साथ जायेंगे	आप शायद ही पुराने ठेकेदार के साथ जायेंगे	आप शायद ही नये ठेकेदार के साथ जायेंगे	कुछ हद तक संभावना है की आप नये ठेकेदार के साथ जायेंगे	आप निश्चित रूप से नये ठेकेदार के साथ जायेंगे

### परिस्थिति 4

आपके क्षेत्र के प्राथमिक स्कूल में नयी छत की जरूरत है। आप और आपके कुछ दोस्त छत बदलने का काम लेने का निर्णय लेते हैं। आपके पास बहुत ही सीमित धन और समय हैं, तो आपको खपरैल या टिन की छत के बीच में चुनना है। खपरैल की छत बच्चों के लिए ज्यादा सुरक्षित होगी और ज्यादा आरामदायक परिवेश बनाएगी लेकिन वह बनाने में जटिल है और लगाने में ज्यादा समय भी लेगी, जिसका मतलब है की स्कूल खुलने पर खपरैल की छत पूरी नहीं होगी। टिन की छत आसान है और जल्दी लग भी जाएगी लेकिन गर्मी में टिन से स्कूल गरम हो जायेगा।

कितनी संभावना है कि :

1	2	3	4	5	6
आप निश्चित रूप से टिन की छत बनायेंगे	कुछ हद तक संभावना है की आप टिन की छत बनायेंगे	आप शायद ही टिन की छत बनायेंगे	आप शायद ही खपरैल की छत बनायेंगे	कुछ हद तक संभावना है की आप खपरैल की छत बनायेंगे	आप निश्चित रूप से खपरैल की छत बनायेंगे

## Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

नीचे कुछ कथन दिए गए हैं। आपको क्या लगता है कि निम्न कथनों में कितना सही तरह से इस समय के समाज के लोगों का वर्णन किया गया है (जैसे आपके मित्रों और परिचितों, अपने कार्यस्थल में सहयोगियों, आपके पड़ोस के लोग)? कृपया बतायें, आपके आसपास उन लोगों के बारे में, किस हद तक निम्नलिखित बयानों से आप सहमत या असहमत हैं।

**नोट:** कुछ मतों में शब्द "समूह" ऐसे लोगों की संग्रह को दर्शाता है जो एक दूसरे को जानते हैं या जिन का एक ही लक्ष्य है, जैसे दोस्ती समूहों, शौक समूहों, खेल टीमों, और कार्यस्थल।

	पूरी तरह असहमत	असहमत	थोड़ा असहमत	न सहमत न असहमत	थोड़ा सहमत	सहमत	पूरी तरह सहमत
1) उनके (आपके आसपास के लोगों के) पास अन्य लोगों को जानने के लिए कई मौके होते हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) इन लोगों के लिए यह आम बात है ऐसे लोगों से बात करना जिनको पहले कभी नहीं मिले है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) वे अपने हिसाब से चुनने में सक्षम हैं किनके साथ अपने दैनिक जीवन में बातचीत करेंगे।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) इन लोगों के पास नए दोस्त बनाने का कम अवसर होता है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) इन लोगों के लिए यह असामान्य है की उन लोगो से बात करें जिनको पहले कभी नहीं मिलें है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) अगर उन्हें वर्तमान समूह पसंद नहीं है, तो वे बेहतर समूह के लिए वर्तमान समूह छोड़ सकते हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) अक्सर यह होता है कि वे स्वतंत्र रूप से चुन नहीं सकते हैं किसके साथ मिलना है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) वे संबंधित समूहों और संगठनों का चयन करने में सक्षम हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) भले ही यह अपने वर्तमान रिश्तों से संतुष्ट नहीं हैं, फिर भी उनके पास इन रिश्तों में रहने के अलावा और कोई विकल्प नहीं है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10) भले ही यह अपने वर्तमान समूहों को छोड़ सकते हैं, फिर भी उनके पास उन नापसंद समूहों में रहने के अलावा और कोई विकल्प नहीं होता।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

नीचे भारत की सामाजिक स्थिति के बारे में कथन दिए गए हैं। आपको प्रत्येक कथन पढ़ के बताना की आप उससे कितना सहमत हैं।

	पूरी तरह असहमत	असहमत	थोडा असहमत	न सहमत न असहमत	थोडा सहमत	सहमत	पूरी तरह सहमत
1) भारत में बहुत सारे सामाजिक नियम हैं जिनको लोगों को मानना होता है	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) भारत में ज्यादातर परिस्थितियों में कैसा व्यवहार करना है, इसके लिए बहुत ही स्पष्ट अपेक्षाएं हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) भारत में लोग ज्यादातर परिस्थितियों में किस तरह का व्यवहार करना उचित है यह पूर्वनिर्धारित है	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) भारत में लोगों को ज्यादातर परिस्थितियों में कैसा व्यवहार करना है, यह चुनने की आजादी है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) भारत में अगर कोई अनुचित व्यवहार करता है तो दूसरे उसकी कड़ी निंदा करते हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) भारत में लोग लगभग हमेशा ही सामाजिक नियमों का पालन करते हैं	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

नीचे कुछ कथन दिए गए हैं जो कुछ हद तक आपके अपने और आपके समाज के बारे में आपकी राय और चुनावों को व्यक्त कर सकते हैं।  
कृपया दी गयी मापनी पर वह नंबर टिक करें जो आपकी राय को सबसे अच्छी तरह दर्शाता है।

	पूरी तरह असहमत	असहमत	थोडा असहमत	न सहमत न असहमत	थोडा सहमत	सहमत	पूरी तरह सहमत
1) मैं जीवन के सभी क्षेत्रों में श्रेष्ठ होना चाहूँगा।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) मेरे लिए जीवन में सफल होने का मतलब दूसरों से बेहतर होना है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) मेरी महत्वाकांक्षा हमेशा सामान्य से बेहतर होना है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) मैं तभी संतुष्ट होता हूँ जब मेरा काम सामान्य से बेहतर हो।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) किसी भी तरह की परीक्षा या मुकाबले में मेरे लिए ये जानना ज़रूरी है की मैंने दूसरों की तुलना में कितना अच्छा काम किया।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) दोस्तों के साथ किसी यात्रा पर जाने से कम आज़ाद और गतिशील लगता है। इसलिए कम मज़ा आता है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) हम सब अधिक धनी होंगे अगर सब लोग सिर्फ अपना अपना ध्यान रखें।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) अधिक ऊंचा होने के लिए एक आदमी को अकेले खड़ा होने की ज़रूरत होती है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) जो लोग अच्छा प्रदर्शन नहीं करेंगे, तो वो खुश नहीं रहेंगे।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10) जीवन में सबसे ज़रूरी चीज़ सफलता है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11) विद्यालय में सफलता और बाद में काम में सफलता जीवन में सबसे महत्वपूर्ण है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12) हमारे उद्योगों के लिए जो भी अच्छा है वही हमारे लिए अच्छा है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13) लोगों में दर्जे में अंतर सही है, क्योंकि वह दिखाते हैं की आपने आपको मिले हुए मौकों का क्या किया।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

14) कुल मिलाकर हमारे देश में सामाजिक अंतर उचित हैं। 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

निम्नलिखित में से आप किन चीजों को ज़रूरी (जिनके बिना जीवन साधन मुश्किल है) वस्तुएं या आनंद की चीजें समझते हैं? अगर कोई चीज आपको जीवन साधन के लिए पूरी तरह ज़रूरी लगती है तो “1” पर निशान लगायें अगर थोड़ी ज़रूरी लगती है तो “2” पर निशान लगायें। उसी तरह अगर कोई चीज पूरी तरह से सिर्फ आनंद के लिए इस्तेमाल की लगती है तो “6” पर निशान लगायें।

	पूरी तरह ज़रूरी	कुछ हद तक ज़रूरी	थोड़ा ज़रूरी	थोड़ा आनंद के लिए	कुछ हद तक आनंद के लिए	पूरी तरह आनंद के लिए
1) किसी सार्वजनिक समारोह में जाना	1	2	3	4	5	6
2) टी०वी०	1	2	3	4	5	6
3) शरबत	1	2	3	4	5	6
4) सिनेमा	1	2	3	4	5	6
5) मिठाई	1	2	3	4	5	6
6) दोस्त के साथ बाहर खाने जाना	1	2	3	4	5	6
7) घूमने के लिए क्षेत्र के बाहर जाना	1	2	3	4	5	6
8) सार्वजनिक परिवहन	1	2	3	4	5	6
9) मनोरंजन कार्यक्रम देखना	1	2	3	4	5	6
10) किताबें	1	2	3	4	5	6
11) फल	1	2	3	4	5	6
12) सब्जियाँ	1	2	3	4	5	6
13) मुख्य स्थानीय समाचार पत्र	1	2	3	4	5	6
14) मोबाइल	1	2	3	4	5	6
15) अवसर पर पहनने वाले कपड़े	1	2	3	4	5	6
16) सैर करने जाना	1	2	3	4	5	6
17) डाक्टर	1	2	3	4	5	6

Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

18)	पेट्रोल	1	2	3	4	5	6
19)	दूध	1	2	3	4	5	6
20)	चावल	1	2	3	4	5	6
21)	बिजली	1	2	3	4	5	6

नीचे दिए गए कथनों में आपको बताना है की प्रत्येक कथन आपके बारे में कितना सही है, और आप उससे कितना सहमत हैं:

		पूरी तरह असहमत	असहमत	थोडा असहमत	न सहमत न असहमत	थोडा सहमत	सहमत	पूरी तरह सहमत
1)	मैं हमेशा श्रेष्ठ चीज चुनने की कोशिश करता हूँ जो श्रेष्ठ निष्पादन दे या सबसे मूल्यवान हो या सबसे प्रतिष्ठित हो, उसके लिए चाहे जो करना पड़े।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2)	मुझे “पर्याप्त” के लिए समझौता करना अच्छा नहीं लगता	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3)	मैं चाहे जो करूँ, मेरे लिए मैं उच्चतम मानक/मापदंड रखता हूँ।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4)	मैं सबसे श्रेष्ठ विकल्प की प्रतीक्षा करूँगा, चाहे जितना समय लग जाये	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5)	मैं कभी भी दूसरी श्रेणी पर सबसे श्रेष्ठ के लिए (सबसे अच्छे से थोडा कम के लिए) समझौता नहीं करता।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6)	मैं अपने सारे विकल्प जाने बिना निर्णय लेने में सहज नहीं हूँ।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7)	मैं जब भी एक चयन का सामना करता हूँ, मैं और सभी संभावनाओं के बारे में सोचता हूँ, वो भी जो उस समय वहाँ नहीं हैं।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8)	मैं कभी समझौता नहीं करता।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9)	मैं भले ही अपनी नौकरी से कितना ही संतुष्ट क्यों न हूँ, मेरे लिए बेहतर अवसर की तलाश में रहना सही है।	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

- 10) मैं अक्सर जीने के उन तरीकों की कल्पना करता हूँ जो मेरे वास्तविक जीवन से काफी अलग हैं। 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 11) मुझे लगता है की मेरे जीवन में बहुत ज़्यादा विकल्प नहीं हैं। 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 12) मुझे लगता है की मैं जीवन में मनचाहे विकल्प पाने में असमर्थ हूँ। 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

### प्रतिभागी सूचना

लिंग: पुरुष \_\_\_/महिला \_\_\_

आयु: \_\_\_\_\_

वैवाहिक स्थिति: अवैवाहिक / विवाहित/तलाकशुदा/ विधवा/विधुर/ विलग/ अन्य (कृपया उल्लिखित करें)\_\_\_\_\_

परिवार: संयुक्त \_\_\_ / एकल \_\_\_

परिवार सदस्यों की संख्या: \_\_\_\_\_

आप पर कितने लोग आर्थिक रूप से निर्भर हैं? \_\_\_\_\_

घर की मासिक आय:

5,000 से कम	5,000 से 10,000 के बीच में	10,000 से 25,000 के बीच में	25,000 से 50,000 के बीच में	50,000 से 75,000 के बीच में	75,000 से 1,00,000 (एक लाख) के बीच में	1,00,000 (एक लाख) और अधिक
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आपके लिए घरखर्च चलाना कितना कठिन है

अत्यधिक कठिन	काफी कठिन	थोड़ा कठिन	मध्यम	थोड़ा आसान	काफी आसान	अत्याधिक आसान
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

शैक्षिक योग्यता: प्राथमिक /माध्यमिक/ उच्च माध्यमिक/ स्नातक/परा स्नातक/अन्य (कृपया उल्लिखित करें)\_\_\_\_\_

Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

धर्म: हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख, इसाई, अज्ञयवादी, नास्तिक, अन्य (कृपया उल्लिखित करें) \_\_\_\_\_

जाति: \_\_\_\_\_, आरक्षित: \_\_\_\_\_, सामान्य: \_\_\_\_\_

आप कहाँ के मूल निवासी हैं \_\_\_\_\_

आप इस क्षेत्र (भदोही/ गुरुग्राम) में कितने वर्षों से रह रहे हैं \_\_\_\_\_

कृपया निम्नलिखित में आपके घर के अनुसार उत्तर दें :

अपना मकान \_\_\_\_\_/किराए का मकान \_\_\_\_\_ (अगर किराए का : साझा \_\_\_\_\_ / निजी \_\_\_\_\_) (U)

कमरों की संख्या : \_\_\_\_\_, घर में रहने वालों की संख्या : \_\_\_\_\_ (U)

बी० एच० के०: 

1	2	3	4	5	6 या और
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 (U)

एयर कंडीशनर : हाँ \_\_\_/नहीं \_\_\_ (U)

एल०सी०डी० टी०वि०: हाँ \_\_\_/नहीं \_\_\_ (U)

दो पहिये की गाड़ी (मोटरबाइक/स्कूटर/इत्यादि) : हाँ \_\_\_/नहीं \_\_\_, अगर हाँ तो कितनी: \_\_\_\_\_

चार पहिये की गाड़ी (कार/जीप/इत्यादि) : हाँ \_\_\_/नहीं \_\_\_, अगर हाँ तो कितनी: \_\_\_\_\_

क्या आप गाँव में रहे हैं? हाँ \_\_\_/नहीं \_\_\_ (U)

अगर हाँ तो कितने साल? \_\_\_\_\_ (U)

जाति : \_\_\_\_\_, आरक्षित : \_\_\_\_\_, सामान्य : \_\_\_\_\_

## Study 2 Questionnaire Hindi

अतिरिक्त टिप्पणियां (वैकल्पिक):

हमारे सर्वेक्षण में भाग लेने के लिए आपके दिन में से समय निकालने के लिए आपका बहुत धन्यवाद। आपकी प्रतिक्रियाएं हमारे लिए लोगों की सामाजिक घटनाओं के प्रति निजी मान्यताएं और भावनाएं जानने के लिए बहुत ही मूल्यवान हैं।

अगर अध्ययन के बारे में आपके कोई सवाल या टिप्पणियां हैं तो आप प्रयोगकर्ता से पूछ सकते हैं या बाद में कोई सवाल या टिप्पणियां हों तो आप [ajita@bigsss-bremen.de](mailto:ajita@bigsss-bremen.de) पर संपर्क कर सकते हैं। आपकी प्रतिक्रियाएं गुमनाम रखी जाएंगी और केवल शोध के उद्देश्य से प्रयोग की जाएंगी।