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Subjective well-being of the elderly in Islamabad, Pakistan

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**SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING OF THE ELDERLY
IN ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN**

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RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN

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To my family

Preface

First of all I thank Almighty Allah for all His blessings and guidance. Without His help it would not be possible to achieve anything.

It's been a long road towards obtaining my PhD and many people have contributed to this achievement. First, the persons who played the most important role in my PhD are no other than my promoters. Especially Leo, who was always there to support me when I faced difficulties and problems in my academic pursuit and personal life. He helped me a lot during those times when I was in grave despair. There were times when he was more optimistic than me, times during which I wondered but could never find the reason for his optimism.

The financial support for this study was provided by the Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan, and I am grateful for their support for the first three years of my PhD study. I would also like to acknowledge funding from the Demography Department of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences of the University of Groningen for all the fieldwork undertaken for this study as well as for the last four months of my stay. Fieldwork that was carried out generated all the data used in this study.

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Islamabad, May 2012

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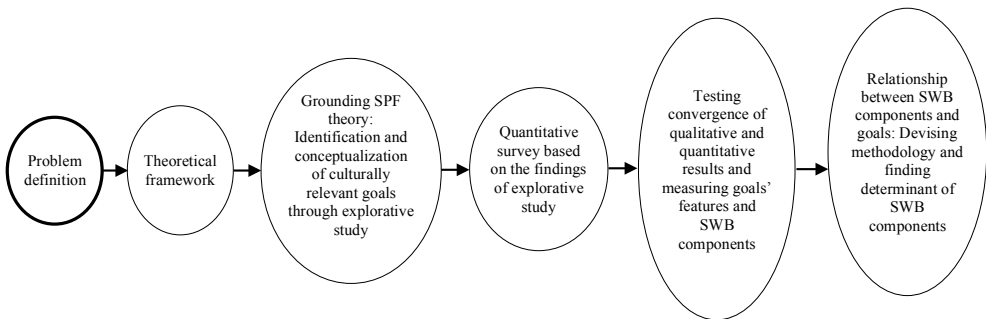
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1

Introduction



1.1 Background

Reduced fertility and mortality rates have changed the composition of the world's population. In 2010 the elderly, normally regarded as those who are 60 years of age and older, comprised 11.0 per cent of the world's population of more than 6.8 billion. By 2050, this proportion will have risen to almost 22 per cent (United Nations, 2011). Developed countries encountered the demographic transition early, and are now facing the problem of ageing societies. The most obvious implication of the demographic transition in developed countries is an increase in the older-age dependency ratio, which ultimately results in a large growth in national expenditures to support the elderly. On the other hand, developing countries, where the demographic transition started quite late, are also facing a larger increase in the elderly population. In the latter countries, however, the phenomenon of ageing follows a different scenario, as the percentage share of old people is quite low as compared to the developed world; the absolute numbers of the elderly population in poor countries are much higher than those residing in rich regions of the world. Further, as the population of developing countries is generally poor, ageing in these countries is normally associated with poverty, social security and health-related issues. Indeed, problems related to income due to retirement, and health-related issues due to common degenerative diseases, are real concerns of both researchers and policymakers. The perceptions of the elderly people regarding their well-being are, nonetheless, totally ignored.

The situation regarding the elderly population in Pakistan is no different from other developing countries. In Pakistan, the proportion of elderly people, that is those aged 60 and above was around 6 per cent, and the country was ranked 122nd out of 196 nations (United Nations, 2009). However, the size of the elderly population in the country is more than 11 million (United Nations, 2011). Putting it in perspective, the elderly population in Pakistan is larger than the populations of all but 11 European nations (Population Reference Bureau, 2011). Moreover, the projected figures show a rising trend, and it is estimated that the proportion of the elderly in the country will rise to more than 15 per cent (43 million) in the year 2050. Advancements in medical care have provided a cure for most of the known diseases, giving rise to a higher life expectancy in most parts of the globe including Pakistan. Estimates show that life expectancy at birth for both sexes combined is around 65.8 years (United Nations, 2011), and life expectancy at age 60 was 18 years for females and 17 for males in 2005 (United Nations, 2010).

In Pakistan, the elderly population is relatively understudied, and like other developing countries, research on the population above 60 years of age is mainly focused on their economic situation and health-related issues (Afzal, 1997; Afzal, 1999; Ali & Kiani, 2003; Mahmood & Nasir, 2008; Nasir & Ali, 2000). Indeed, the predominance of research on these issues is justified, since due to the declining mortality and increasing life expectancy a larger proportion of the population in Pakistan will grow older and face severe health and income security issues (Alam & Karim, 2006). Moreover, almost one-third of the population is living below the poverty line, and a high proportion of elderly people will exacerbate this problem in the coming years. Further, there are no concrete policies to address the issue of the ever-increasing elderly population in the country, mainly owing to wide expectations that families

take care of their older relatives. Alam and Karim (2006), nevertheless, maintained that informal family-based support for the elderly would pose a difficult proposition in the coming years.

1.2 Existing literature on the elderly in Pakistan

In Pakistan issues addressing the ageing population have not been taken up seriously by policymakers or researchers. As a result very few data sets available that address the key issues pertaining to the elderly population, with very few studies focusing on this segment of the population. In this section we give an overview of the past studies focusing on the issues related to elderly people in Pakistan.

The focus of the majority of the studies conducted in Pakistan on the elderly population has been their economic situation. A large proportion, almost 35 per cent, of the population living below the poverty line might be the rationale behind the predominance of the research studies on the economic situation. Previous studies focusing on the economic issues confronting the elderly have shown that in Pakistan a vast majority of the elderly population is not provided with a pension or old-age benefits (Afzal, 1997; Afzal, 1999; Ali & Kiani, 2003; Mahmood & Nasir, 2008; Nasir & Ali, 2000). Moreover, while focusing on the familial support to the elderly in six districts in the Punjab Province in Pakistan, Clark et al. (2002) concluded that family support is eroding in Pakistan and that in some cases the elderly lead a life without respect and care; they face loneliness and isolation, poor health, physical abuse, and have no money. The authors further argued that negligence on the part of the government in initiating any intervention to help improve the living conditions of the elderly was due to the misconception that the family, especially older sons, took care of their elderly family members.

The most prominent data set pertaining to the elderly segment of the population is the Pakistan Socio-Economic Survey (PSES), which contains a section on the situation of the elderly population. The PSES was conducted in 2001 under the Micro Impact of Macro Adjustment Policies (MIMAP) project. The main aims of this project were to assess the poverty levels in the country; to investigate the conditions of the vulnerable groups in society; and to suggest ways and means for the well-being of the study population. Using this data set, Ali & Kiani (2003) tried to make a quality of life (QoL) index for the elderly in Pakistan in order to establish its relationship with living arrangements, gender, urban-rural residence differences, and poverty status. To this end, they used variables related to socio-economic, demographic, psychological, and emotional indicators available in the PSES data set, and constructed a quality of life index using principal component analysis. The results of their study showed that per capita food and non-food consumption, living in urban areas, being male, and living in extended families brought significant change in the quality of life of the elderly in Pakistan. However, the methodology adopted by this study encountered a few problems. For example, while constructing the QoL index, Ali and Kiani (2003) included all available variables in the data, on an ad-hoc basis, in the absence of a theoretical framework, which certainly raised questions with regard to the reliability of the research. Further, the authors did not address the issue of association of the QoL index with the main constituent

variables. Moreover, from this study one can only determine the quality of life among different segments of the population, but the question as to why these differences exist remains unanswered.

Another focusing on the elderly population was about their subjective well-being (SWB) (ul Haq, 2008). Using the same data set, ul Haq (2008) studied the relationship between life satisfaction and the fulfilment of basic needs among the elderly population in Pakistan using Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1970). The results of the study showed that the satisfaction level was quite high among the elderly in Pakistan, despite the fact that a large number of elderly people were deprived of basic needs: physiological and safety needs. On the other hand, a vast majority of the elderly population enjoyed higher-order needs: safety, love, and self-actualization. Further, the author discovered that all other needs, except for the physiological needs, were strongly associated with life satisfaction among the elderly.

The study by ul Haq (2008), however, did encounter some limitations. For example, in this study, ul Haq studied only the cognitive component of subjective well-being (SWB), due to a lack of data availability on the affective component. Moreover, the PSES data was collected for the MIMAP project with the main focus on poverty rather than on basic needs or SWB. Therefore the validity of the operationalization of the basic needs could have been compromised. Summing up, given the limitations of the study, ul Haq (2008) raised a number of questions for exploration in future studies. For example, what makes elderly people satisfied, even if they are living a life deprived of basic needs?

From this brief overview of previous studies on the elderly in Pakistan, it is evident that except for two studies, all others have mainly focused on the financial situation of the elderly. The former studies which focused on quality of life or satisfaction with life lack a detailed in-depth approach and do not throw sufficient light on these issues.

1.3 Objective of this book

In sum, the problem of the ever-increasing elderly population has not received much attention from both researchers and policymakers in Pakistan. Further, those studies, which mainly focus on this segment of the population, address the issue of poverty or health. With the main focus of research on the elderly focused on income or health-related issues, people's perspective regarding their well-being was ignored altogether. In this study, therefore, we focus on the emic perspective on well-being, which is normally denoted as subjective well-being, that is, a person's appraisal of his/her life (Ormel, Lindenberg, Steverink, & Verbrugge Lois M, 1999). The overarching aim of this thesis is:

To obtain a detailed insight into the determinants of the subjective well-being of the elderly in Pakistan

As has been maintained, subjective well-being (SWB) is an outcome of an evaluative process which may be based on comparison between current circumstances and the desired state (Rapkin & Fischer, 1992), whereas goals are connoted with the *desired state*, and are regarded as a forerunner to SWB (Brunstein, 1993; Brunstein, Schultheiss, & Gr+[?]ñssman, 1998; Brunstein, Schultheiss, & Maier, 1999; Emmons, 1986; Emmons, 1991; Emmons,

1992). With regard to goals as the *desired* state, we focused on the relationship of goals with the subjective well-being of the elderly in this study. In the fields of both psychology and economics various theories on well-being have been developed, but they are not without limitations. For example, psychological theories do not provide any criterion for substitution mechanisms between different goals, whereas economic theories do not offer a list of “fundamental human goals” (cf. Ormel et al. 1999 p. 62). Lindenberg (1996) proposed a theory, named social production function (SPF) theory, which overcomes the aforementioned shortcomings by providing not only a list of goals but also a hierarchical structure which encapsulates a substitution process among these goals – a theory which we have employed in the current study. As this theory was proposed in a Western context, we first aimed to ground this theory in the Pakistani setting in order to explore culturally relevant goals among the elderly residing in Pakistan. To achieve this objective we formulated the following research question:

1. To what extent is the theory of SFP, which was developed in a Western context, applicable to the Pakistani context for studying the SWB of the elderly?

After grounding the SPF theory in the Pakistani setting by delineating important goals and refining their conceptualization according to the perceptions of the elderly, we further aimed to quantify these goals with respect to SWB and were guided by the following research question:

2. What is the prevailing situation of the SWB of the elderly in Pakistan?

1.4 Outline of the book

In Chapter 2, we elaborate the social production function (SPF) theory, which is the backbone of our study. SPF theory postulates that human beings are resourceful and strive for the achievement of two universal goals: physical and social well-being. Higher levels of achievement in these goals ultimately lead to enhancement in subjective well-being and vice versa (Lindenberg, 1996; Ormel et al., 1999; Steverink, Lindenberg, & Ormel, 1998). We use the framework provided by the theory to study the goal-SWB relationship. As mentioned earlier, this theory proposes that it is only the achievement of goals that determines SWB, whereas Brunstein (1993) argues that it is not only the progress but also some other features, such as commitment to and attainability of goals, which play a role in determining the goal-SWB relationship. Therefore we have incorporated more than one feature of goals in our study design. Further, as this theory was proposed in a Western setting, the cultural context of the study population is also considered in the conceptual framework of the study. Finally, we reflect on the research questions again at the end of Chapter 2, and provide specific research questions framed by the SPF theory.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the qualitative explorative study that was designed for grounding the SPF theory in the Pakistani setting. We conducted in-depth interviews to explore important goals and to find out how the elderly conceptualize these goals. As we came across an additional goal to what was already proposed in the SPF theory, we designed some

focus group discussions to validate our findings from the in-depth interviews.

Based on the results of a qualitative explorative study, we aimed to quantify the production functions of SWB proposed in the SPF theory. To this end, we designed a quantitative survey. An overview of the survey and the study population is given in Chapter 4 as well as a comparison of our results with those of previously available data sources.

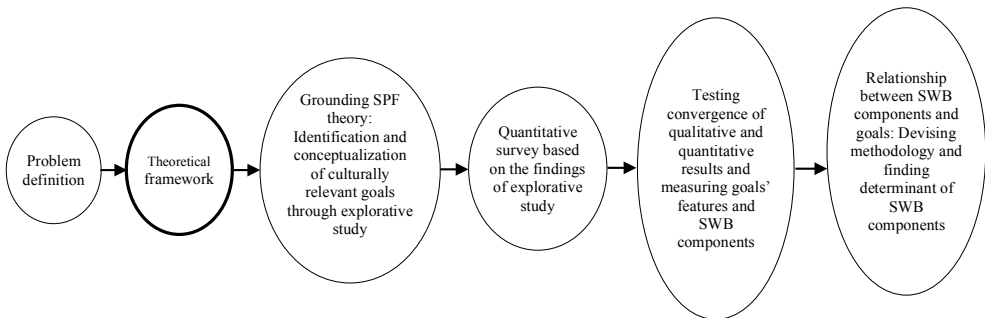
Chapter 5 provides descriptive statistics regarding the aspects of goals and SWB components in the lives of the elderly in Islamabad. While attainability is regarded as a prerequisite for goals to enhance SWB (Brunstein, 1993; Brunstein et al., 1999), in our study we found that the lack of attainability is not a constraint for achieving higher levels of SWB. Further, as we based our quantitative survey on the results of the qualitative explorative study, we also made findings regarding the convergence of our results of both data sources.

Based on the arguments in favour of incorporating more than one feature of goals, Chapter 6 proposes a model that depicts the goal-SWB relationship while optimally incorporating other aspects of goals. The chapter also discusses comparisons of this model with other models as well as the results. Finally the relationship of SWB with goals' features is discussed.

Chapter 7 provides conclusions and general discussion. Furthermore, the chapter deals with the limitations of this study and provides some recommendations.

2

Theoretical background



2.1 Subjective well-being

Subjective well-being (SWB) is generally defined as an individual's appraisal of his/her overall life situation in terms of 'totality of pleasures and pain or quality of life' (Ormel, Lindenberg et al. 1999, p. 61).

In SWB research, it is well accepted that SWB is comprised of three components: positive affect, negative affect and cognitive life satisfaction (Ormel, Lindenberg et al. 1999, Diener, 1984; Diener, Suh et al. 1999, Diener, Suh 1997). There is a broad consensus about the complementarity of these components in the realization of SWB, and that SWB should not be reduced to any one of these components on its own (van Bruggen 2001). However, views still differ about the relationships between these three components.

Affect (both positive and negative) represents people's on-line evaluations of life events, including moods and emotions. Positive affect reflects feelings of joy, elation, contentment, pride, affection, happiness and ecstasy, whereas negative affect refers to feelings of guilt and shame, sadness, anxiety and worry, anger, stress, depression and envy (Diener, Suh et al. 1999, Oishi, Diener et al. 1999).

The cognitive component of SWB, on the other hand, indicates the level of satisfaction with one's current and future life and satisfaction with others' views of one's life (Diener, Suh et al. 1999, Oishi, Diener et al. 1999). According to Michalos (1985), individuals employ different comparison mechanisms when evaluating their satisfaction level. These mechanisms include comparison of one's conditions with those of other people, the past, with goals or needs and ideal aspirations. In this way evaluation of one's level of satisfaction involves observing discrepancies between one's present conditions and other standards. Comparison with a higher standard will result in decreased satisfaction, and vice versa (Diener et al. 1999).

2.2 Theories on SWB

Theories on SWB may be broadly divided into two categories: bottom-up and top-down approaches. As is clear from the terminology, the bottom-up approach postulates that well-being is the net balance of pleasant and unpleasant experiences (Ormel et al. 1999); whereas the top-down approach mainly emphasizes the personality traits of the person which determine his/her level of well-being. As our main aim lies in studying the relationship between life circumstances of the elderly and their SWB, we devote our attention to the bottom-up approach.

In the bottom-up approach, subjective well-being is regarded as an end state and depends on an evaluative process examining the circumstances and desired state of the individual (Rapkin & Fischer, 1992), while goals or needs have been recognized as the desired states and forerunners to SWB. As mentioned in Chapter 1, in this study we focus on the relationship between the goals and SWB of the elderly and undertake a search for a theory of goals connected with SWB. Two disciplines, psychology and economics, offer theories about goals and needs. The discipline of psychology provides a huge number of theories on goals or needs, and these theories can be divided into telic and autotelic theories (Diener, 1984; Diener et al. 1999). The difference between these two approaches lies in their placement of well-being. The telic theories consider achievement of desired goals or needs as the source of SWB (Ormel et al. 1999). Some of the researchers regard achievement of basic needs as the source of SWB (e.g. Malsow, 1970; Murray, 1936 cited by Ormel et al. 1999), whereas others regard the achievement of personally chosen goals as the source (e.g. Allport, 1961; Michalos, 1980 cited by Ormel et al. (1999); Austin and Vancouver, 1996). According to autotelic theories, on the other hand, it is the movement towards the end

point, rather than the end point itself, which is the source of SWB. These two theories, as postulated by Ormel et al (1999), are closely related to each other, as explicit activities serve as instrumental goals for achieving universal goals.

Psychological theories do provide a mechanism to establish a set of goals and needs for achieving SWB, and to recognize the instrumentality of some goals in achieving more universal goals. However, they lack consensus on a set of universal goals and fail to allow for substitution among the goals.

In economic theories, the concept of relative prices, which is closely linked with the law of demand, provides room for substitution in production or consumption of different goods. The law of demand, however, assumes stable preferences, which limits the usefulness of economics in providing a theory for SWB. Ormel et al. (1999) argue that Becker's new 'household economics' assumes that human beings are producers rather than consumers and that individuals have the same set of universal goals which are realized through a process of production. The means of production may vary, and different people may use different means of production to realize the same goal. Furthermore, a person may find different production functions for realizing the same universal goals, incorporating substitution by allowing goods to substitute for one another. In economic theories, however, the specification of universal goals is left open; hence the analysis of SWB with these theories relies heavily on an ad-hoc set of human goals.

There are a large number of theories on SWB, the majority of which derive from the disciplines of economics and social psychology (Ormel et al. 1999; Heady 1993). Theories from both these disciplines encounter issues when applied to SWB; economic theories lack the specification of goals, whereas social psychological theories lack trade-offs between the satisfaction of different goals/needs (for further details, see van Bruggen 2001). Lindenberg (1996) and Lindenberg and Frey (1993), working on Becker's household economics and psychological theories of well-being, proposed a theory called 'social production function theory,' which overcomes the problems encountered by most other SWB frameworks. This theory not only specifies goals in a hierarchical structure, but also incorporates instrumentality relations between different goals, which enable the theory to take into account the substitution process.

2.3 Social production function theory

The SPF theory proposed by Lindenberg (1996) and Lindenberg and Frey (1993) combines the theory of goals with that of behavioural theory (Steverink, Lindenberg 2006), and proposes that human beings are resourceful and produce their own well-being in rational 'cost-effective ways', keeping in mind that the rational deliberations of 'cost-benefit' are limited by 'available information' (Ormel et al. 1999, p. 66, 67). The main features of the SPF theory are explained in the following sub-sections.

Universal and instrumental goals

The social production function (SPF) theory claims that individuals produce their own well-being, an ultimate goal in their life, given the constraints faced by them, while achieving two universal goals – physical well-being and social well-being – which people realize by using lower-level means (van Bruggen, 2001; Lindenberg, 1996; Ormel et al., 1999; Steverink et al., 1998).

The universal goal of physical well-being comprises two first-order instrumental goals:

stimulation and comfort. Comfort refers to the fulfilment of basic needs and absence of negative stimuli, such as thirst, hunger, pain, fatigue, distress, and so on. Stimulation refers to pleasant arousal, including mental and sensory stimulation, and physical effort. Both stimulation and comfort have diminishing marginal value for the production of physical well-being (van Bruggen, 2001; Ormel et al., 1999), suggesting that the additional unit of comfort or stimulation is less valuable once an individual has achieved a certain level of physical well-being.

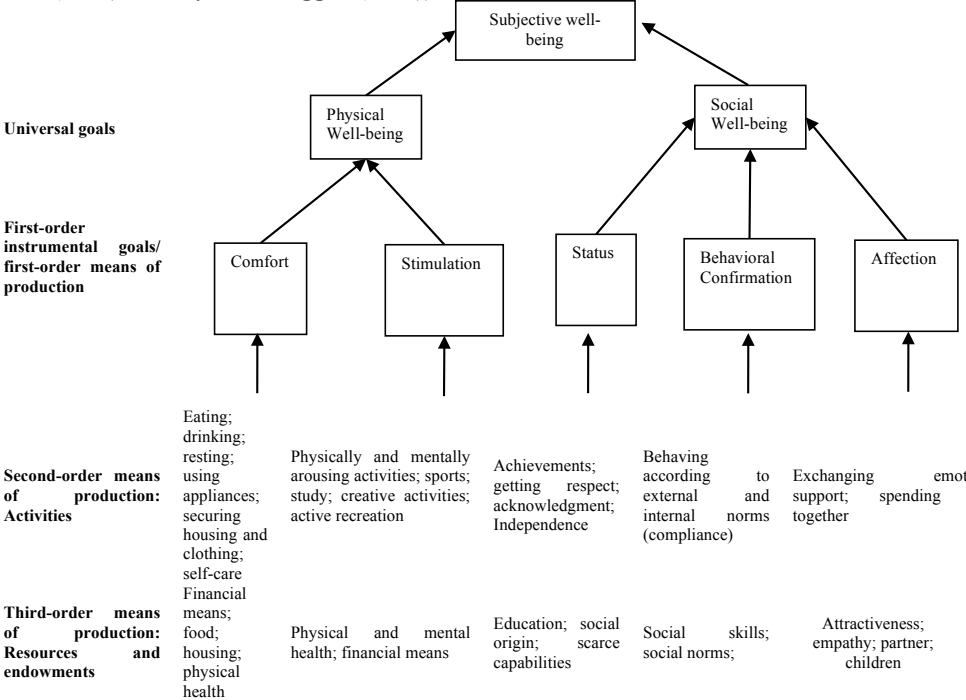
The theory also postulates that people strive to achieve higher levels of the universal goal of social well-being, which consists of three first-order instrumental goals: affection, behavioural confirmation and status. Status refers to relative ranking in relation to relevant others. Behavioural confirmation refers to the positive feedback from others on one's behaviour, which may also include self-approval by internalizing the behavioural norms of others. Finally, affection refers to love, friendship and emotional support. All these instrumental goals are assumed to have diminishing marginal value for the production of social well-being. The first-order instrumental goals of both physical and social well-being are realized by second-order instrumental goals (van Bruggen, 2001; Ormel et al. 1999).

In the case of insufficient resources for the realization of a higher-order goal, the acquisition of these resources becomes an instrumental goal in itself (Ormel et al. 1999). For instance, eating food, in response to weakness due to hunger, may become a goal in itself, in order to have sufficient energy needed for playing soccer. In this way there are layers of instrumental goals leading up to the universal goals (Steverink et al. 1998). Further, this theory postulates that universal goals are invariant among people, but people may adopt different mechanisms to achieve the universal goals of physical and social well-being.

Production functions and production factors

Production functions outline the relationship of lower-level goals with the higher-level goals they produce (Ormel et al. 1999); production factors refer to the means used by people for the realization of a goal (van Bruggen, 2001).

Figure 2.1 The hierarchy of goals in social production function theory (adapted from Ormel et. al. (1996) cited by van Bruggen (2001))



Hierarchical structure

An important feature of SPF theory is the hierarchical structure of goals, with the ultimate goal at the top, and instrumental goals at lower levels combined with production functions that specify the relationship between lower and higher-order goals. This feature is important, as it leads to the specification of a particular category of individuals that determine how well-being is produced. Lower production functions are more context-specific. Production factors at the lower levels of the production functions include activities and resources. Lindenberg (1996) distinguishes three more means of production below the first-order instrumental goals of physical and social well-being. First are the second-order means of production, which can be described as activities and resources, and endowments. Next are the third-order means of production, which facilitate the execution of activities and the attainment of endowments, for example, physical and mental capacities, social and other skills, time, effort, money, and so on. In this way activities may realize a particular goal or they can be used as investments for the future, or both (van Bruggen, 2001; Lindenberg, 1996). This means that for a person who does not have sufficient resources for realizing a higher-level goal, the production of such resources becomes a lower-order – instrumental – goal in itself. Finally there are the fourth-order means of production, which are employed when changes in production capacity require substitution. Lindenberg (1996) gives the example of mobilizing kinship ties that have remained inactive for some time to compensate for lost production of affection due to the

death of spouse.

An important characteristic of SPF theory is its emphasis on the importance of multifunctional production factors. These are the activities which combine production and investment, and those which are applied for the attainment of multiple higher-order goals (van Bruggen, 2001; Ormel et al. 1999).

Substitution

A positive change in resources can be regarded as a gain, whereas a loss refers to a negative change. Individuals attempt to maximize their well-being by minimizing the losses in different resources to prevent loss in higher-level goals. This can be done through substitution of or compensation with other resources. For example, in the wake of any physical problem, one might begin to seek stimulation in activities which require less physical exertion. In case of failure to find substitutes for instrumental goals at the same level, one will substitute for the higher-order goals. Decrease in affection due to the loss of one's spouse, for example, may initially be compensated for by the affection of one's children. But when children's affection cannot be substituted for a lost spouse's affection, one might strive to maximize social well-being by putting more effort into achieving higher levels of behavioural confirmation or status in place of the loss in affection (Steverink et al. 1998). As we move to the top of the hierarchy, however, substitution becomes limited. Between physical and social well-being there can only be limited substitution for the production of overall well-being. In a way, some of physical and social well-being will always be necessary for overall subjective well-being, in addition to first order instrumental goals (Lindenberg, 1996). Below the top three layers, a wide range of substitution can take place between lower-order goals. Substitution processes mainly depend on the relative costs of alternative goals (van Bruggen, 2001; Ormel et al. 1999).

Due to the features mentioned above, the SPF theory has been used in some studies to aid understanding of the phenomenon of SWB and to gain a deeper understanding of socio-cultural and psychological ageing processes (Nieboer, 1997; Steverink et al., 1998).

2.4 Limitations of the SPF theory and focus in this research

Although the SPF theory compares well with alternative theories of SWB, it nevertheless has a number of limitations. This section discusses these limitations, and solutions are proposed that do not affect the main argument of the theory. Rather, they could be viewed as extensions of the SPF framework. In particular these refinements relate to the components of SWB and the features of goals in the SPF theory.

Little attention to the cognitive components of SWB

Van Bruggen (2001) expresses a number of reservations with the SPF theory. One of these reservations relates to the components of SWB; she maintains that in SPF theory no explicit distinction is made between the affective and the cognitive components of SWB, and that the theory depends partly on the exact definitions of the concepts at the highest levels of the hierarchy of goals for incorporating the SWB components. Examining the definitions of the various concepts in the previous research, it is clear that SPF theory is mainly concerned with the affective components of SWB (van Bruggen, 2001). Van Bruggen further gives examples of different definitions of first-order instrumental goals (excluding status) as: "the feeling of having done the right thing", "the feeling of being loved", "a pleasant level of arousal", and

“the absence of unpleasant stimuli”. These definitions imply that SPF theory mainly deals with the affective component of SWB while leaving aside the cognitive component, which is a serious impediment in applying the theory to the problems associated with SWB (van Bruggen, 2001, p. 110).

Emphasis on the achievement of goals alone

In the SPF framework it is postulated that the achievement of goals leads towards higher levels of SWB. However, some researchers studying the association between SWB and goals emphasize the inclusion of different features of goals, namely, attainability, commitment, and progress towards achieving goals and thus SWB (Brunstein, 1993; Brunstein et al., 1998; Brunstein et al., 1999). These authors have stressed that progress towards personal goals in combination with high commitment leads to heightened levels of SWB, whereby further progress in these goals leads to higher SWB, and failure to achieve these goals leads to a drastic setback to SWB (Brunstein, 1993). This implies that, on its own, commitment to goals does not have a direct relationship with SWB; rather commitment works as a catalyst for the relationship between progress and SWB. Furthermore, Brunstein (1993) has argued that the perceived attainability of the goals under study is a prerequisite for the other two features of goals in explaining SWB. Attainability, however, depends on the availability of sufficient resources. It has therefore been argued that the perceived progress towards different goals should be incorporated with their perceived commitment and attainability in the study of the relationship of SWB with goals (cf. Conrad et al. 2010).

In addition, SPF theory may be regarded as closely related to both telic and autotelic theories of SWB. The telic, or end point, theories of SWB maintain that happiness is achieved when some state or goal is achieved. The other theories, autotelic or activity theories, of SWB propose that rather than an end point, it is the human activity which brings happiness (Diener, 1984). Instrumental goals, introduced in SPF theory, represent the personal schemes to attain a thing or state, which ultimately leads to the fulfilment of higher-order universal goals (Ormel et al. 1999). This inclusion implies that SPF theory acknowledges the fact that higher-order goals may not be achieved without the fulfilment of lower-order instrumental goals. Further, the achievement of lower-order instrumental goals shows the progress made towards higher-level goals (social and physical well-being). Even after achieving a desired level of the universal goals, one never abandons the pursuit of progress, since progress towards universal goals requires maintaining an achieved level of higher-order goals. For example, no one would claim that he/she has achieved physical well-being, and therefore abandon the progress towards physical well-being. On the contrary, after achieving a desired level, further progress towards universal goals requires that one at least maintain the achieved level. This shows the agency aspect of the SPF theory, in which one always strives either to achieve or maintain the target level of universal goals. Previous researchers have used the term ‘progress’ (cf. Brunstein, 1993), whereas the studies embedded in the SPF framework (Steverink et al., 2005; Steverink & Lindenberg, 2006; Ormel et al., 1997; Ormel et al., 1999; Nieboer & Lindenberg, 2002; Nieboer et al., 2005) used the term ‘achievement.’ To summarize, progress – the first of the three features of goals identified by Brunstein (1993) – has been incorporated by the SPF framework, whereas the traces of other features – attainability and commitment – are missing.

Van Bruggen (2001), while studying SWB using the SPF framework, recognized the importance of the inclusion of more features of goals, including progress, in the model. She identified some metagoals, and incorporated the idea of more than one feature of goals in the

hierarchy of metagoals. Metagoals were regarded as the procedural goals, mainly concerned with the ways people produce their social and physical well-being. Other researchers, while embedding their work in the SPF framework (Nieboer et al., 2005; Nieboer, 1997; Nieboer & Lindenberg, 2002; Ormel et al., 1997; Ormel et al., 1999; Steverink et al., 1998; Steverink et al., 2001; Steverink, 2001; Steverink et al., 2005; Steverink & Lindenberg, 2006; Steverink & Lindenberg, 2008) have dealt only with progress towards achieving different goals. Nevertheless, the inclusion of more than one feature of goals gives us a more accurate picture in the study of SWB among people of different age groups.

2.5 The cultural context of SPF theory

SPF theory was proposed in a Western setting, and its application to a non-Western, Muslim, society is one of the main aims of this study. Van Bruggen (2001) argued that the contents of the conceptualization of both universal and first-order goals in previous studies are not clear. The aforementioned goals may not be distinguished by their quality, but rather by means of their production factor, through which they are realized. Van Bruggen (2001) feared that in the long run the theory would be used only to provide a classification scheme. However, the main purpose of the SPF theory is to provide a framework for understanding well-being, as argued by Ormel et al. (1999), and if the theory provides a classification scheme as well, this broadens the horizons for adapting the SPF theory to other cultures. Hence, the first step towards applying this theory to the Pakistani setting is to delineate the classification scheme of universal and first-order goals. To this end, we will start from the available definitions of the different concepts used in the theory, and will ground them in the Pakistani setting. Van Bruggen (2001), in her explorative study, used the term ‘aspects’ to refine the conceptualization of various first-order goals. We will follow the same line and aim to identify ‘aspects’ of first-order goals among the Pakistani elderly. Moreover, all the relevant lower-order instrumental goals and resources which constitute the universal and first-order instrumental goals have to be identified.

In addition, the perception of the time horizon is a fundamental ingredient of all goal-setting theories (cf. Carstensen et al., 1999), which might be explicitly expressed or taken as an inherent assumption in the theory. SPF theory uses a very strong implicit assumption regarding the time horizon. It assumes that the time horizon is limited, from birth to death, and this perspective of SPF theory is in line with most of the other theories. However, many cultures, and - more specifically - religious cultures, assume that striving for well-being or the fulfilment of goals is not confined to the time between birth and death, but take into account the objective of well-being in a life after death as well.

In the study of cross-cultural differences in SWB, previous studies looked at nations without reference to culture per se (cf. Diener et al. 2003). Indeed, these two constructs are quite different from each other; one may find different cultures within the geographical boundaries of a single nation, and yet people in different countries may still share a similar meaning-giving system. The identification of culture with world nations may thus be an oversimplification of culture. Some researchers have tried to identify common traits among people residing in different parts of the world – for example America and Asia – and link them with their SWB scores (Oishi and Diener 2003). In cultural psychology, however, goal pursuit has been recognized as a “construct” for identifying cultural differences in SWB scores (Oishi and Diener 2003, p. 1674). Thus the SPF theory, while providing a hierarchy of goals to understand the mechanism for achieving higher levels of SWB, is not only suitable for

adaptation to other cultures but also provides a heuristic tool for understanding cross-cultural SWB differentials.

2.6 Conceptual framework

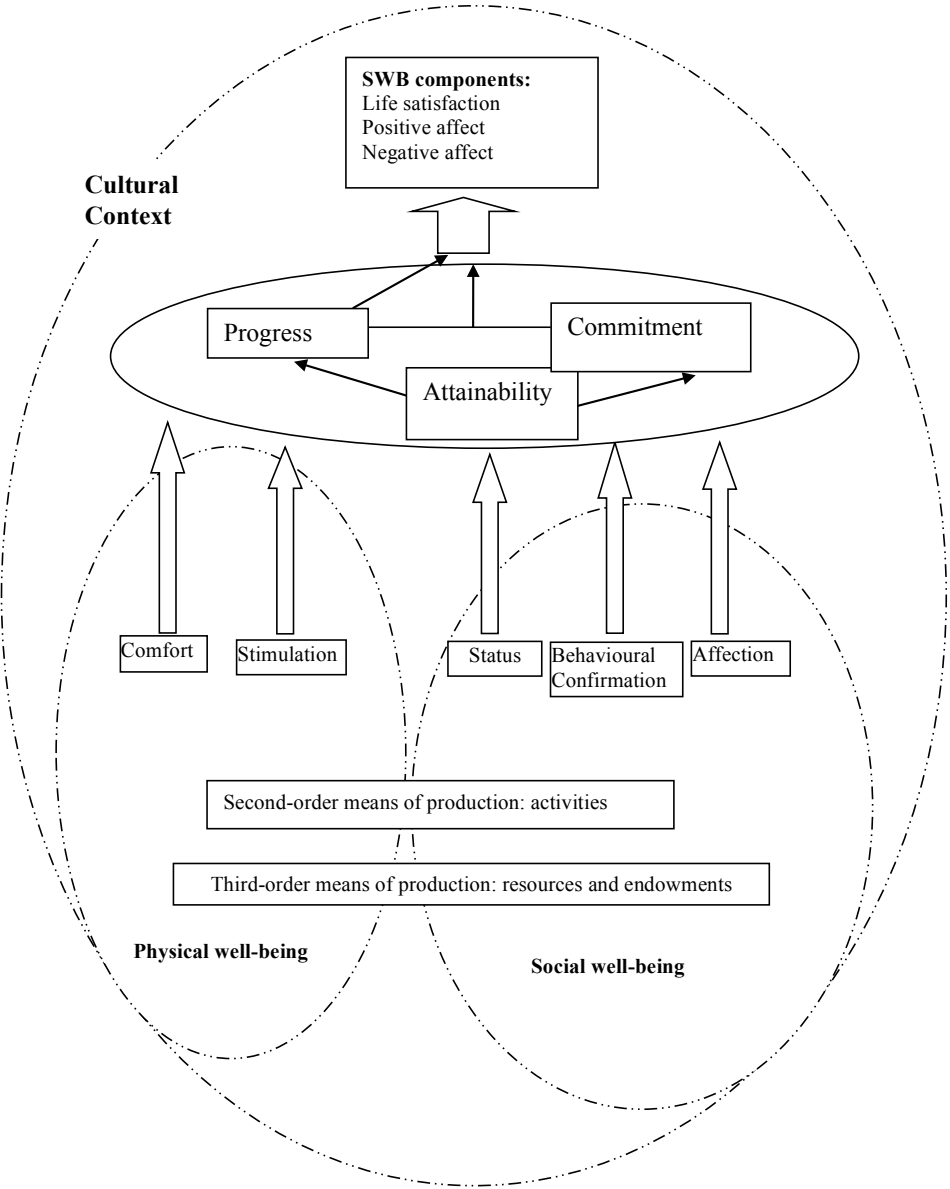
From the above description it is clear that the SPF theory provides all the ingredients needed for a theory to explain SWB. It does this by establishing that individuals produce their well-being by achieving certain goals in their lives, that those goals are hierarchical in structure with limited substitution, and that the importance of different production functions is relative. Therefore the conceptual framework that guides our research is derived from the SPF theory. Goals are culture-specific in nature; adapting this theory to another cultural context may lead to another set of goals. Consequently, when applying this theory to any different cultural setting, it is necessary to identify the main goals in the lives of the target population, what the different aspects of those goals are, and how those goals are realized. To answer these questions we will ground the SPF theory for elderly people in Pakistan.

As mentioned earlier, the original SPF theory predominantly deals with the affective components of SWB, leaving aside the cognitive component. This creates a serious difficulty in the application of SPF theory to the study of SWB, a limitation pointed out by van Bruggen (2001). In order to overcome this problem, the definitions of different first-order goals in SPF theory have to be formed in such a way that they include affective as well as cognitive components of SWB. For this purpose, all the first-order instrumental goals for social and physical well-being of SPF theory are split into three components: positive affect, negative affect, and overall life satisfaction, as postulated by Diener et al. (1999).

Furthermore, the SPF theory deals only with the achievement of goals, while ignoring the other important features of attainability and commitment. We, therefore, include attainability of and commitment of to goals, as well as progress towards achievement, in our conceptual model to better understand the relationship between SWB and goals (figure 2.2).

It has been suggested by many researchers that SWB should be studied in a particular cultural setting (Diener et al., 2003). To this end, we aim to ground the SPF theory in a Pakistani setting. SPF theory also provides a general framework pertaining to the achievement of universal goals, which is undoubtedly affected by the background variables of age, gender, level of education, and marital status. These variables not only affect the resources and progress of goals but also the attainability of and commitment to different goals.

Figure 2.2 Conceptual model of the study based on social production function theory by Ormel et al. (1999) and Diener et al. (1999)



2.7 Definitions of the main concepts

Subjective well-being (SWB)

Cognitive component

The cognitive component refers to the level of satisfaction with one's current and future life, and with others' views of one's life (Diener et al. 1999).

Positive affect

Positive affect refers to feeling of positive emotions of joy, elation, contentment, pride, affection, happiness and ecstasy (Diener et al. 1999).

Negative affect

Negative affect refers to feeling of negative emotions of guilt and shame, sadness, anxiety and worry, anger, stress, depression, and envy (Diener et al. 1999).

Comfort

Ormel et al. (1999, p. 68) define comfort as “a somatic and psychological state based on the absence of deleterious pain, thirst, hunger, cold, fatigue, extreme unpredictability, and the like”.

Stimulation

Ormel et al. (1999, p. 67) define stimulation as “activities that produce arousal, including mental and sensory stimulation, physical effort and (competitive) sports”.

Status

In previous research, status is defined as “relative ranking to others, based mainly on control over scarce resources” (Ormel et., 1999, p. 68).

Behavioural confirmation

Behavioural confirmation is the feeling of having “done right” in the eyes of relevant others (Ormel et al. 1999 p.68).

Affection

Affection includes love, friendship and emotional support; it is provided in caring relationships (intimate, family, friendship) (Ormel et al. 1999 p. 68).

Goal progress

Based on the definition given by Brunstein (1993), we define progress as perceived advancement in the pursuit of universal goals with regard to achievement of the first-order instrumental goals.

Goal commitment

Based on Brunstein's (1993) conceptualization of commitment to goals, we define it as determination and willingness to achieve a goal.

Goal attainability

Brunstein (1993) conceptualized attainability of goals as having sufficient opportunities, control and support for achieving a goal.

2.8 Research questions

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the overarching objective of this study is:

To gain a detailed insight into the determinants of subjective well-being of the elderly in Pakistan

In order to reach this objective we formulated a number of research questions, as follows:

1. To what extent is the theory of SFP, which was developed in a Western context, applicable to the Pakistani context for studying SWB of elderly?

We further divided the first research question in two specific research questions. First of all, we aimed to identify the set of goals that are perceived to be important by the elderly in Pakistan, with the intention of studying the hierarchical structure of goals. The second specific question is related to refining the conceptualization of various goals in the lives of the elderly. These specific research questions are as follows:

- a. Which are the goals (both higher- and lower-level) perceived as important by the elderly population in Pakistan?
- b. What are the main aspects of these goals among the elderly in Pakistan?

After grounding the SPF theory in the Pakistani setting by delineating important goals and refining their conceptualization according to the perceptions of the elderly, we aimed to quantify these goals in order to determine subjective well-being among the elderly, which is articulated by the following research question:

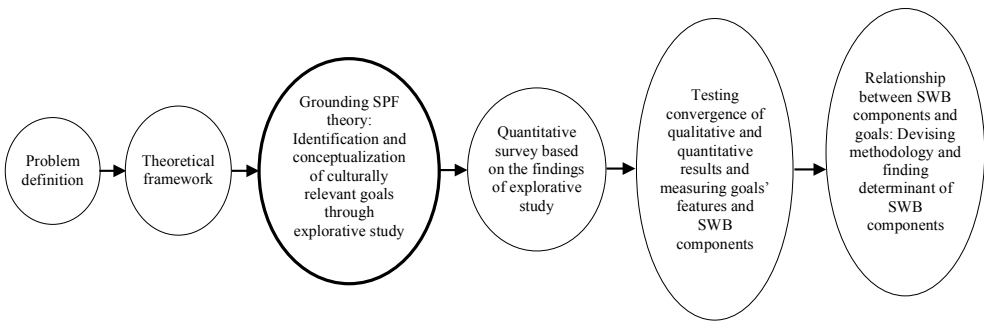
2. What is the prevailing situation of the SWB of the elderly in Pakistan?

To answer this question we needed to devise a methodology capable of capturing the true goal-SWB relationship, as reflected by following research sub-questions:

- a. What are the main elements of a model for capturing a true goal-SWB relationship among the elderly?
- b. What are the main determinants of different components of SWB of the elderly in Pakistan?
- c. Which goals and their features constitute affective and cognitive components of SWB in the lives of elderly people in Pakistan?

3

Grounding SPF theory in Pakistani setting



3.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this research is to obtain insight into the phenomenon of subjective well-being (SWB) among the elderly in Pakistan. We embed our study in the framework of the SPF theory (see Chapter 2), which proposes a hierarchical structure of goals whose fulfilment ultimately leads to higher levels of SWB. First, therefore, we aim to ground this theory in the Pakistani setting to gain more insight into the perceptions of the elderly in Pakistan regarding the important goals in their lives. In this chapter we present the methods and the findings of this explorative study. We first explain the objectives of the qualitative study (Section 3.2). Then we elaborate the methods used in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) (Section 3.3). Next we provide a description of our data analysis strategy (Section 3.4). In the next two sections we reflect on the ethical issues (Section 3.5) and quality of data (Section 3.6). We then provide the results of the explorative study in the next section (Section 3.7). On the basis of these results, we discuss the SPF theory as grounded in the Pakistani setting (Section 3.8). The last section of this chapter considers the findings of the study (Section 3.9).

3.2 Objectives of the qualitative study

As we embed our study in the framework of the SPF theory, which was proposed in a Western context, an application of the theory in a non-Western culture without first grounding it in that culture would lead to invalid results. The aim of undertaking this explorative study, therefore, was to ground the SPF framework in the Pakistani setting as a foundation for the eventual quantification of the relationship between SWB and goals. We outlined this aim in the following research questions:

1. Which goals (both higher- and lower-order) are perceived important by the elderly population in Pakistan for achieving SWB?
2. What are the main constituents of these goals among the elderly in Pakistan?

In order to answer these questions we first of all aim to identify the main goals in the lives of the elderly. Second, we aim to obtain a clear understanding of the first-order instrumental goals as perceived by the elderly, since the universal goals of social and physical well-being are not conceptualized by themselves in the SPF goals' hierarchical structure; the focus is rather on the first-order instrumental goals which lead to the universal goals. This aim will be achieved by exploring different elements of these goals. This exploration, as maintained by van Bruggen(2001), not only helps to conceptualize these goals by elucidating their meaning as perceived by the elderly in the Pakistani setting, but will also aid us in the operationalization process in the construction of a quantitative measurement instrument. Van Bruggen(2001), it should be noted, labelled the elements of goals as "aspects of goals." In addition, we aim to discover the different resources used for the realization of the goals.

3.3 Selection of participants

For a number of reasons, we have chosen to focus on the urban non-poor population. Most of the previous studies (Afzal, 1997; Afzal, 1999; Alam & Karim, 2006; Ali & Kiani, 2003; Mahmood & Nasir, 2008; Nasir & Ali, 2000) on issues concerning the elderly in Pakistan have dealt mainly with income-related problems, and the broader canvas of the lives of the elderly people is ignored. There is admittedly a huge proportion (almost 40 per cent) of poor people in Pakistan. Based on the dollar per day adult per capita income (PCI) criteria for poverty, however, more than 60 per cent of the urban population in the country may be regarded as non-poor, with the majority of this population belonging to the middle class (Government of Pakistan, 2009). Therefore, research solely focusing on the economic situation and subsistence level becomes somewhat irrelevant for the majority of the urban population. As a result, little is known about the issues this majority of the elderly urban population faces with increasing age. As the SPF theory was developed in a Western setting and there are substantial cultural and economic differences between the Western and Pakistani contexts, adapting the theory to another setting with totally different economic conditions will bring its own set of problems. By focusing on the non-poor population in Pakistan, the economic disparities between the original setting of SPF theory and this non-Western setting may thus be reduced. Therefore in this study we pay attention to a broader viewpoint – which extends beyond economic problems – of non-poor elderly belonging to the middle-class income group in urban Pakistan, and study their subjective well-being (SWB). Nevertheless, this research finds some resonance with the poor segment of the population in the clarification of some of the unexplored issues in their lives, since the general cultural context will be equally relevant for them.

Limited resources as well as safety requirements obliged us to focus the study in one geographical area. These considerations, combined with our focus on the non-poor, led to the choice of Islamabad.

Pakistan has a total population of more than 180 million people (Government of Pakistan, 2011) who belong to diverse cultural backgrounds. Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan, has a totally different socio-economic structure than the other cities of Pakistan, and yet it may be regarded as representing people from all parts of the country. Islamabad was planned as the capital city in the 1960s, with the future needs of a capital city in mind. Consequently, a huge majority of the early settlers were public employees. A recent study by Siddiqui (2006) ranked Islamabad at the top of the country's cities according to socio-economic indicators; Islamabad is a city whose inhabitants' basic-needs profile is a great deal better than other parts of the country.

Islamabad is divided into five zones (Figure 3.1), of which one zone is used for residential purposes. This residential zone is further divided in arrays of neighbourhoods, commonly known as sectors, which are denoted by the letters D, E, F, G, H, and I (Figure 3.2). Each of the arrays has many sectors: for example, there are 8 developed sectors with prefix G: G5 to G13, while G12 is still in the phase of development.¹ These sectors are again divided

¹ Islamabad is not fully constructed yet, with some of the sectors yet to be developed

into four sub-sectors, so that sector G8 contains four subsectors: G8/1, G8/2, G8/3, and G8/4, as shown in Figure 3.3.

In Islamabad, there is a natural stratification of the population by level of income. The majority of the population in sectors G6, G7, G8, G9, G10, G11 and sector I10 belong to the middle class; people residing in the series of sector F belong to the upper-middle or upper class, and the majority of people in sectors with prefix E belong to the upper class. In addition to private residential areas, there are also some governmental residential areas, and the lower-income class either live in these governmental residential areas or in the neighbouring city of Rawalpindi.

On the basis of the economic stratification of the city by section, we selected our participants from those areas where the majority of residents belong to the middle-income class (mainly sector G).

In Pakistan, the vast majority of the elderly reside in their own house, with only a very small minority living in retirement homes. In this study we do not include those people who live in retirement homes and focus only on the elderly in the former group.

It is a worldwide practice to regard the age of retirement as the standard of being old. Since the retirement age in the public sector in Pakistan is 60, both policymakers and researchers regard it as the start of old age. We follow this line and take the age of 60 as the lower limit to the state of being old.

The vast majority - almost 98 per cent - of the population in Pakistan is Muslim, and as we want to ground the SPF theory in the dominant culture, we selected only Muslim participants for this study, so that the results would be representative of the whole population of the country. Similarly, the literacy rate in Pakistan is quite low, and of those regarded as literate, a huge proportion may have very few years of formal education. Further, estimates of educational attainment in Islamabad show that the largest proportion of the population is illiterate, with almost equal proportions of the remainder of the population having different levels of education. We believe that it will be interesting to observe the difference that education makes in the perceptions of goals among the elderly, and therefore we include people with various levels of education in our study.

We selected the participants for the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions on the basis of the following criteria:

- Living in urban areas of Islamabad
- Non-poor (belonging to the middle class)
- Not living in retirement home
- Muslim
- Age 60 or above
- Of either sex

Figure 3.1 Islamabad map showing different zones

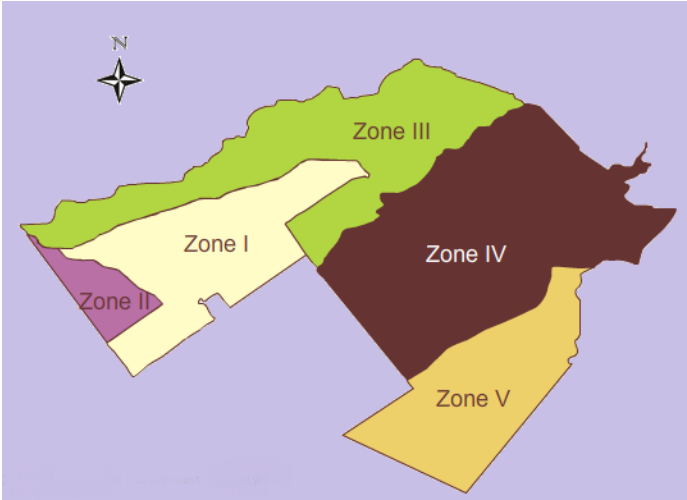


Figure 3.2 Residential area, Zones I, of Islamabad depicting different residential neighbourhoods

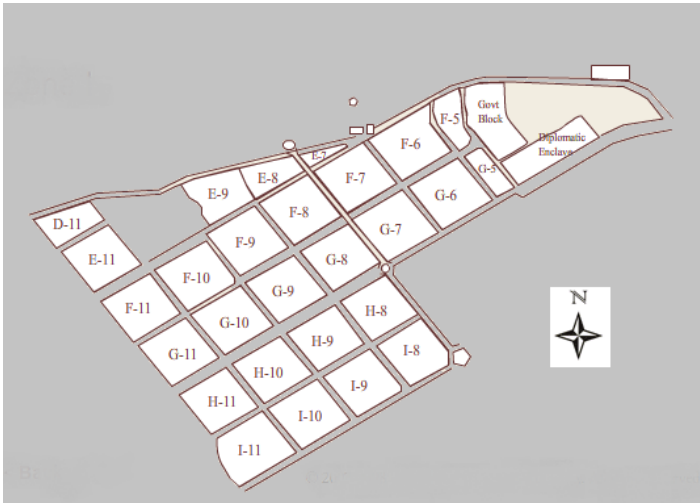
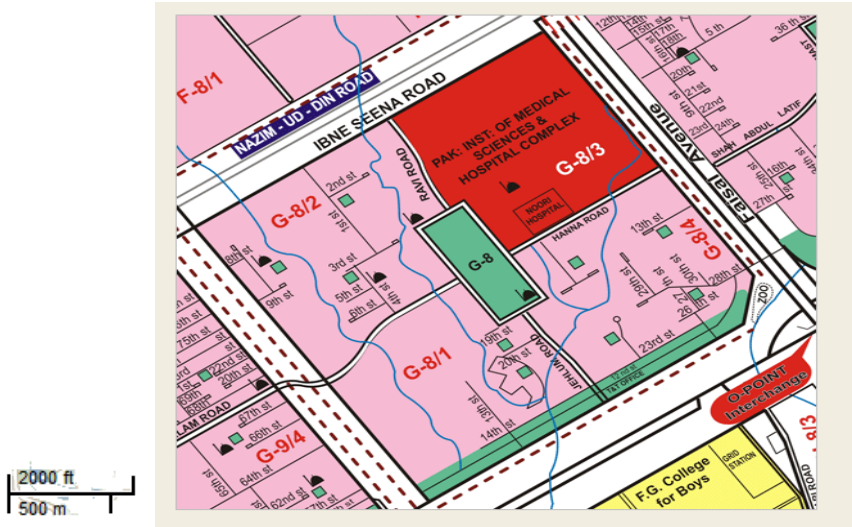


Figure 3.3 Map of a residential sector – G8 – in Islamabad



Source: <http://www.visitislamabad.net/islamabad/files/map-home.asp>

3.4 In-depth interviews

We planned to conduct as many interviews among the elderly as needed to reach the information saturation point – where no new information could be found – and conducted 10 interviews in total (five each with male and female elderly). We selected the participants with the help of gatekeepers residing in our chosen areas and had good knowledge of the surroundings. We approached these resource persons through our personal contacts.

3.4.1 Interview guide

We designed a semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix A). As our aim was not only to improve our understanding of the proposed goals in the SPF theory but also to determine new goals in addition to those proposed in the theory, we structured the interview guide so as to identify the aspects of lower-order goals in the lives of the elderly as proposed in SPF theory, as well as to accommodate other goals not accounted for in the theory. In order to discover new goals, we adopted an inductive – bottom-up – approach. To this end we opened each interview by inquiring about the daily routine of the participant over the last four weeks, from morning until bedtime. This strategy proved very helpful, as we probed into the reasons for each activity mentioned by the participants. In this way we were able to link different activities with the first-order goals.

Moreover, to ground the conceptualization of different goals in the Pakistani urban

setting, we adopted a deductive – theory-focused – approach, and structured the interview guide according to the concepts of the SPF theory (see Chapter 2). To discover different aspects of goals proposed in SPF theory, we dedicated each section of the interview guide to different goals. The following paragraphs provide a description and operationalization of different concepts used in the SPF theory, as depicted in figure 2.1.

Comfort

Ormel et al. (1999) define comfort as “a somatic and psychological state based on the absence of deleterious pain, thirst, hunger, cold, fatigue, extreme unpredictability, and the like” (p.68). In other studies embedded in the SPF framework, researchers have defined comfort as the satisfaction of basic needs and the absence of negative stimuli (van Bruggen, 2001; Nieboer, 1997; Steverink et al., 1998). Both definitions regard comfort as the absence of negative stimuli, and as our focus in this research is the non-poor elderly – those whose basic needs are fulfilled – we focused mainly on questions related to the absence of negative stimuli, as proposed by Lindenberg (1996). For this purpose, we included questions pertaining only to physical circumstances and physical health of the elderly (see Appendix A).

Stimulation

Ormel et al. (1999) defined stimulation as “activities that produce arousal, including mental and sensory stimulation, physical effort and (competitive) sports” (p. 67). On the basis of this definition we included questions regarding the physical and mental activities of the elderly (see Appendix A).

Status

In previous research, status is defined as “relative ranking to others, based mainly on control over scarce resources” (Ormel et al., 1999 p. 68), or as feeling better than others “in the eyes of relevant others” (Steverink et al., 1998, p. 451). Different researchers working with SPF theory have defined status in a somewhat similar way.

With reference to previous uses of this concept, we define status as the relative ranking of a person within society based on control over scarce goods. In an explorative qualitative study conducted in a Dutch setting, van Bruggen (2002) used various triggers for identifying status, including “distinguishing oneself from others”, “doing or being able to do something special” and “receiving compliments or admiration” (p. 147). Further, the author operationalized status as receiving regard, admiration or respect from others in the pre-focus group discussion (FGD) questionnaire. We followed the same line and asked participants about what makes them better than others, with whom people generally make comparisons, what brings respect, admiration and regard from others, and from whom people normally expect these types of feedback (see Appendix A).

Behavioural confirmation

Behavioural confirmation is the feeling of having done the right thing in the eyes of relevant others (Ormel et al. 1999). Another study that applied the SPF theory defined behavioural

confirmation as a “feeling of acceptance and confirmation in one’s activities” and acknowledged a ‘negative form of behavioural confirmation’ that people try to avoid (van Eijk cited by van Bruggen, 2001, p. 101). We conceptualize behavioural confirmation as the feeling of gaining approval and evading disapproval from relevant others for one’s behaviour. Following the same line for the operationalization of behavioural confirmation, we asked questions regarding acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, and activities performed to gain acceptance from others. In addition, we also probed respondents about the relevant others (see Appendix A).

Affection

The third first-order instrumental goal of social well-being is affection. “Affection includes love, friendship and emotional support; it is provided in caring relationships (intimate, family, friendship)” (Ormel et al. 1999 p. 68). In another study, Lindenberg and Frey (1993) described affection in the following words:

“Affect is what Ego gets from Alter if Ego and Alter are involved in an affective relationship. A central ingredient in such a relationship is that Ego and Alter care for each other. Caring for somebody here means that indicators of Ego’s utility have become goods which produce a certain amount of physical well-being in Alter and vice versa.” (p. 196)

In previous studies researchers have distinguished affection from behavioural confirmation by emphasizing that “affection is approval of who one is rather than approval of what one does” (cf. van Bruggen, 2001 p. 103). Steverink et al. (2005) have defined affection as the feeling of loving or being loved by relevant others. In the section of the interview guide on the goal of affection, we asked the elderly about their close intimates and what they expect from them. In this way we were not only able to identify the aspects of affection, but also the main sources (close intimates) with which the elderly share an affectionate relationship (see Appendix A).

3.4.2 Conducting interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, by the researcher himself. The duration of each interview ranged from 45 to 90 minutes. The interviews were conducted at the houses of the interviewees. All the interviews were recorded on an audio device with the oral consent of the participants, and opened with a general introduction of the researcher and his research work. All the participants had the liberty to quit the interview at any stage and to pass over any question that they did not wish to answer.

After every interview, the recording was replayed by the researcher in private in order to improve the interview guide for the following interviews.² Recorded interviews were transcribed and translated into English by the researcher. To preserve the local meanings the researcher made a verbatim translation, and tried to transliterate the interviews rather than translating them.

² Changes were only made in the probes.

3.5 Focus group discussions

From the interviews we determined some new goals identified by the elderly in Islamabad, in addition to those proposed in SPF theory. To substantiate and validate the findings of the in-depth interviews, especially regarding the newly discovered goals, we conducted four focus group discussions, two each with elderly men and women separately, ranging from 6 to 8 participants in each FGD. Research assistants moderated these discussions. The discussions were held at the house of the facilitator. The duration of a discussion ranged from 60 to 90 minutes. The discussions started with a brief introduction of all the participants, and their views about old age. Following this the main topics, which were directed more towards the newly discovered goals than the goals proposed in SPF theory, were discussed in a sequence according to a FGD guide (see Appendix B).

3.6 Data analysis

A data analysis strategy was adopted to apply the principles of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), i.e. following an inductive approach but using concepts of the SPF theoretical framework. Our main aims in the analysis were to discover different aspects of the goals proposed in the SPF framework, to ascertain the new goals in addition to those in the SPF framework, and to discover how these goals were realized in the lives of the elderly in Islamabad.

The qualitative data were manually analysed by identifying different codes, coding the transcripts, making categories, and linking them with different themes.

3.7 Ethical issues

For the qualitative data collection techniques in this study, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, only voluntary participants were included and their prior oral consent was taken. Because of cultural norms regarding the mixing of both sexes, we obtained prior consent if the interview was to be conducted by a person of a different sex. However, as we were dealing with elderly people, most of the participants raised no objection to the sex of the interviewer. During the data analysis, we ensured the anonymity and confidentiality of participants by erasing certain clues contained in the interviews³ which would enable identification of the participants.

3.8 Quality of data

To ensure the quality of the data, we took certain measures while collecting the data.

To build a rapport with the interviewee, we approached most of the interviewees with the help of reference persons, usually friends or relatives of the participants. This helped to build a relationship of trust with the interviewee. Secondly, the interview guide was designed in such a way that the opening questions were quite general, which also helped to build a

³ All names used in this study are fictional.

rapport between the researcher and the participant. Apart from the opening question, care was taken to ensure that there were no directive questions in the guide, and we tried to keep all other questions open-ended.

As in any other research, the positionality of the researcher always plays a role in qualitative research: the role, position and status of the researcher have an influence on how he/she is seen by the interviewees, and on the stories told. This study is no exception. Reflexivity, i.e. reflecting on the possible influence of the researcher on the researched, is therefore necessary. The in-depth interviews were conducted by the researcher himself, and he was no stranger to the participants as he also belonged to Islamabad, to the same social class and to the same religion, which helped a great deal in building rapport with them. Apart from that, the appearance of the researcher, namely that of a devoted Muslim believer, might have led to some biases, possibly distorting some of the responses towards more religious-oriented opinions. However, we avoided posing any directive questions, and designed the FGDs so as to validate the findings of the in-depth interviews, having the FGDs moderated by research assistants along with the researcher, and conducted separately for elderly men and women.

3.9 Results

In this section we present the findings of the in-depth interviews and FGDs. First we present the activities of the elderly which they mentioned in the interviews. Then we present our findings concerning the aspects of the proposed goals in the SPF framework as perceived by the elderly. As mentioned previously, the universal goals in the SPF theory are not measured directly, but are conceptualized using the underlying first-order goals. Here we follow the same logic and provide the aspects of the first-order goals of physical and social well-being.

3.9.1 Activities discovered from in-depth interviews

Daily performance of the obligatory prayers was found to be the most prevalent activity reported by the elderly. Apart from that, some of the participants reported that they perform discretionary prayers besides the obligatory ones. The other common activity discovered was participation in interesting activities. These activities included watching TV, morning/evening walk, gardening and reading books or newspapers. The other activity reported by the elderly was participation in the household chores. A majority of the female elderly reported working in kitchen, whereas the male elderly mentioned chores such as shopping in the market or picking up their children from school or a workplace. Similarly, some of the elderly also reported talking or spending time with their family members as an important activity in their daily routine. Finally, a few of the male elderly were also involved in business, and they reported going to a workplace in their daily routine.

3.9.2 Physical well-being

a. Comfort

Despite the fact that the absence of negative stimuli related to basic needs – such as hunger, thirst, and shelter – is also regarded as an important constituent of the goal of comfort by

previous researchers (cf. van Eijk, 1997 cited by van Bruggen, 2001; Steverink et al 1998), we did not draw much attention to such negative stimuli since our target population is non-poor. As a result, we focused mainly on the physical health and physical circumstances of the participants. The in-depth interviews revealed three main aspects of comfort: *physical independence, physical health* and *overall security-related issues*.

The most important aspect of comfort was related to different physical problems including diseases and pains, which lead to dissatisfaction with their lives. The elderly mentioned a wide range of diseases in the interviews, including blood pressure, diabetes, heart diseases and kidney problems. Most of these may be categorized as degenerative diseases, which are quite common in old age. We label this aspect **physical health**. The occurrence of these ailments was perceived by the participants to be the most significant negative stimuli in their lives, as shown by the following quotations:

“I have pain in my joints. Now, due to medication, I have some problems in my kidneys, too. Previously I had a problem in my stomach that lasted for more than a month, but I have taken medication for that.” (Female, age 60)

“When I feel anger, my blood pressure shoots up. I had a heart attack. My situation was really bad. My brother said to me not to become angry so much. I feel a lot of anger nowadays, although my brother says not to be angry, as it is injurious to my health. I cannot tolerate any wrong thing. I feel a lot of spontaneous anger.” (Female, age 62)

Another aspect discovered in the interviews was the aspect of **physical independence** – not depending on anybody – so that they could perform their daily routines on their own without the help of anybody else, as shown in the following quotation:

“I pray that Allah may keep my eyesight good, keep me walking, and not make me dependent.” (Female, age 60)

We found the general state of law and order to be the other aspect of comfort, and named it **overall security-related issues**, as mentioned in the following quotation:

“(…)the unsatisfactory thing is the social environment in the country. Everywhere there is a huge amount of restlessness, and we feel that we are unsafe. You feel fear when you go outside. When children go outside, I feel fear all the time.” (Female, age 60)

The security-related issues were among the major concerns of elderly people in Islamabad, and brought them restlessness and fear, thereby interfering with their comfort. Eventually this feeling directly threatened their well-being because it affected their satisfaction. A majority of the people interviewed mentioned their fears concerning the state of law and order in the country.

b. Stimulation

In the light of the above definition of stimulation (see sub-section 3.4.1) we inquired about interesting activities and discovered a few such activities, for example, watching TV, reading, walking, gardening and doing household chores.

“I prepare lunch before Zuhar prayer and eat it after the prayer. Then I take my laptop and look up my two favourite websites. One is ‘Discovery health’, which is a blessing of Allah in this age, and the other is the encyclopaedia: I visit these websites daily. After offering prayers I do gardening. I plant different plants there. I water them in the night. Yesterday I prepared fertilizer for them. I am fond of gardening; I have even brought some plants from America.” (Male, age 73)

We found social work to be the other kind of activity reported by the participants, as shown in the following quotation:

“I try to remain busy. There is a welfare society in this neighbourhood (in my house) and this (pointing towards one of the room in his house) is the office of that society. If someone has any problem with sewerage or water supply, we go to the office of the Capital Development Authority.” (Male, age 73)

We named this aspect *interesting activities*.

3.9.3 Social well-being

a. Status

Based on the definition of status (see sub-section 3.4.1), we mainly focused our attention on two important elements of status: relevant ranking and scarce goods. Relevant ranking is quite closely linked with being better than others, and to this end we looked mainly at those aspects which foster a sense of being better than others among the elderly. The most prevalent feeling that we discovered from the interviews was related to respect, as the elderly put great importance on this aspect in their lives. In our qualitative data, respect was found to take two different aspects: one was to do with the regard, gratitude or admiration with which others treated the elderly, because of their particular qualities, habits or skills; the other was related to the expectations of the elderly that others behave in a certain way towards them, particularly that their younger intimates or subordinates obey them. We treated each type of respect in different ways.

The first type of respect, which is normally expected from others equal in standing, and includes regard and admiration, has been used by van Bruggen (2001) for operationalization of status. In the in-depth interviews, the elderly regarded the acknowledgment of skills, habits, inner qualities and monetary assets as the main source of admiration or regard, and we regard it as the first aspect of the goal of status. We label this aspect *acknowledgment of resources: skills, habits, inner qualities and monetary assets*. The following quotation illustrates the view that inner qualities bring to the elderly respect and a good relative ranking:

“Other people give me respect, as I meet others with respect irrespective of their status, whether they are rich or poor or peon or officer. I behave towards them equally. So they give me respect. Secondly, I listen to people’s problems very calmly. For this reason people come to share with me, and then I give them some opinions. Thirdly they know that I do not back-bite anybody, and whatever they tell me will remain with me. These are a few basic things for which, thanks to Allah, others give me respect.” (Male, age 60)

“I shared their happiness and sad moments. I did everything and they give me a lot of respect in their heart. They accept it. They praise me, while Allah knows best. I served them a lot, gave respect, and gave love to them, as I was older than them. I never showed anger to them, never shouted at them and gave them respect; I mean that I gave them love. I am helpless in my heart, I cannot argue with any one, cannot shout, and cannot ask them why did you not do that?”
(Female, age 62)

In the above quotation, an elderly woman explains the reasons why others give her respect, and encounter her with courtesy. For her good behaviour other people, who are close relatives, praise her.

“I got married at the age of 14, and what had been taught to me by my mother by that age? With my own interest and effort I learnt everything. Now [they] give me admiration and say that no one else can cook the way I cook. I did not learn how to cook from anyone.” (Female, age 62)

In the above quotation, an elderly woman is talking about her skills, for which others admire her.

“I left the Pakistan International Airlines 12 years ago, but, with the grace of Allah, whichever agency I visit, people say, ‘Mr. Sadiq we respect you although you are not in your seat, just because of your good behaviour.’” (Male, age 73)

In all the above quotations, the elderly attribute the respect and admiration given to them to their behaviour, skill or some habit.

Apart from the inner qualities possessed by the elderly, good habits of their children also bring them a feeling of respect as shown in the following quotations:

“(people give me respect when) I visit them after some time, and my children are highly educated.” (Female, age 60)

“What I have heard from others, about the qualities of which I can feel proud, is that my children are very nice. (...) I feel happy if someone tells me that, with the grace of Allah, your child is very nice, and I have heard this in the whole area, and people use my sons and daughters as examples.” (Female, age 60)

Regarding monetary resources, we encountered a dichotomy. The elderly did not approve of giving respect to those who have abundant monetary resources, yet considered it a common reason among the other people in society for according status to others. In the following quotation an elderly person criticizes others for giving more respect and value to those who enjoy more monetary resources:

“I don’t admire anyone or feel better than others. My children are educated, that’s why my relatives admire me. Secondly, others have sold their land, whereas I didn’t sell my land. On the other hand, people admire those people who have a good house, a good car, or good health.” (Male, age 73)

In the explorative study of the goals proposed in the SPF theory, van Brugen (2001) recognized being treated respectfully as an aspect of status. Similarly, in the existing literature, the manner in which one is treated by others is considered one of the main indicators of status (Garfinkel, 1984 cited by van Bruggen, 2001). This is also implied for Asian societies. However, respect in Asian societies is also understood as the obedient attitude that elders expect from their younger intimates, as observed by Meta (1997 cited by Ingersoll-Dayton & Saengtienchai 1999). In this study, we consider respect in the form of obedient behaviour the other aspect of status, namely, being obeyed as the elderly expected their children to obey them, in a humble way without any arrogance, as shown in the following quotation:

“Nowadays children have become arrogant, and think that they are very intelligent. In our time we listened to our elders in a humble way.” (Female, age 62)

In the above statement an elderly woman expects polite and humble behaviour from her children. In Asian cultures, children are expected to obey their parents (Mehta 1997 cited by Ingersoll-Dayton & Saengtienchai 1999; Goldstein & Beall 1986). Similarly, Stewart et al. (1999) recognize the importance of filial obedience as a desired norm in Pakistani society. The elderly expect their younger intimates to listen to their advice; non-compliance with the expected behaviour makes the elderly upset, indicating that the elderly regard filial submission as a cultural obligation for their children. The cultural norms play an important role in such a mindset, as the elderly compare their own behaviour to their parents with that of their children to themselves.

Besides their children, the elderly also expect their other young intimates to listen to their advice in a humble way:

“Even if you give advice to some younger people, they dislike it. No one would be happy if you stop him from doing something. Out of 1000, only 1 would be happy if you give him any advice. Everyone would say that I am very intelligent. But I say that if you listen to the advice of elders, you will never be at a loss, as elders give advice in the light of their experiences.”(Female, age 62)

This implies that apart from respectful obedience from their children, the elderly also expect obedient behaviour from other younger intimates. The above quotations suggest that the elderly expect a respectful attitude from their younger intimates, and we label this aspect ***the sense of being obeyed*** by the younger intimates.

We label the next aspect of status ***the sense of being autonomous***. The elderly do not want to be dependent on anybody, and the feeling of being autonomous gives them a sense of being better than others, as in the following quotation:

“The reason why I feel better than others is that I am giving favour to them (children) in terms of monetary support and do not want any from them, as I have prayed to Allah, ‘Please make me Your dependent only,’ and now I am only dependent on Allah, and I don’t need help from anybody else.” (Male, age 73)

Being economically stable enables this elderly person to be independent and autonomous, which he regards as a reason for being better than those who are dependent on others. An element of spirituality is also evident in the above quotation, showing that people seek help from Allah for their worldly affairs. Being better than others is regarded as a relative ranking among society, and the elderly concerned compares himself with those who are dependent on others. He feels better than others due to his autonomy, and this feeling gives him higher relevant ranking and thereby higher status.

Another aspect of status found in the lives of the elderly was ***the acknowledgement of achievements***. This aspect includes past achievements in life, as in the following quotation a man's professional achievements still bring him a sense of being better than other despite being retired:

"(the reason I feel better than others is) the way I did my job. I was technically sound, and even when the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) people were working, I told them they were technically incorrect, and finally I was proven right." (Male, age 71)

The elderly also regard having fulfilled their responsibilities as a major achievement in their lives. The main responsibilities perceived by the elderly at this age, when a large majority of them have young children, were to do with marriages (especially of their daughters) and making their children economically independent (especially their sons). People who had married off their children felt that they had fulfilled their responsibilities regarding their children, and this gave them a sense of status, as shown in the following quotation:

"(The reason for which I feel better than others is that) up until now I thank Allah that, with the grace of Allah, my daughters are in their houses (married). I gave them a good education, and good training. So they are happy in their houses, and their in-laws are good people. I am happy for them, with how I made them, and that they are living there in a proper manner." (Female, age 60)

On the other hand, failing to fulfil their responsibilities, especially those related to children, brings a feeling of inferiority to elderly people, as shown in the following quotation:

"I do not consider myself better than others. I feel that I am inferior to all others. All my sisters and my brother married off their children, but I feel that I am still standing there in the midst of a storm." (Female, age 60)

Relevant others

Elderly people compare themselves with friends and relatives, as shown by in the following statement:

"People are usually status conscious and make comparisons on the basis of job status. They make comparisons with their close friends and relatives." (Male, age 61)

“I feel an inferiority complex due to my education. My companions (class fellows) from that time... are in good positions, so I feel an inferiority complex.” (Male, age 60)

Elderly people compared their actual and desired achievements in forming their perceived self-ranking. They achieved status by comparing themselves with what they wanted to be, as shown in this statement:

“The level of education which I wanted for myself, I feel that I could not get it... actually I am self-made person. I did a BCom, then after the death of my father and brother I had a job and I educated myself. I got admission to CMA and then I quit it due to monetary problems, and I did my MA alongside my job. I could not do what I wanted to do, so I feel it.” (Male age 60)

Self-ranking also included past behaviour of the elderly people towards their elders, and they expected their young intimates to behave with their elders in the same way:

“I gave respect to my parents-in-law, and brought up my siblings-in-law as my own offspring. Now they give respect to me in the same manner. They speak to me with respect, even though one is in England and the other one is in Korea. My brothers’ wives admit that whatever they learned was taught by me.” (Female age 62)

b. Behavioural confirmation

On the basis of the definition of behavioural confirmation given in sub-section 3.4.1, we focus on those aspects of behaviour for which the elderly receive the approval of *relevant others*.

The first aspect of behavioural confirmation among the elderly in Islamabad was found to be *the sense of doing right versus doing wrong*. This aspect is related to the nature of different actions; this feeling has its basis in some normative standard, according to which an act is considered good or bad, and these acts eventually make a person good or bad. The following quotation shows the importance to the elderly of being regarded as a good person:

“I have lived here since 1983, and it is evident to people that I never did anything to make them say that Mr. Shan has done something wrong.” (Male, age 61)

In the above statement the elderly man regards his attitude as up-to-the-mark in the eyes of his neighbours on the basis of some agreed upon standard, in this case cultural norms. On the other hand, some people regard their conscience as the standard for the approval of their behaviour as in the following statement:

“If I misbehave with someone or I behave unjustly towards someone, then I feel really ashamed. I feel really worried and feel that I have done wrong. Sometimes I could not get a chance to apologize. If I behave unjustly with someone then I feel worried, and if I help someone then I feel heartiest happiness.” (Male, age 73)

Apart from doing right versus doing wrong, the elderly also placed importance on the way various things are done. We regarded ***the sense of doing things in good versus bad manner*** as the second aspect of behavioural confirmation. This aspect is related to the performance of specific activities, as shown in the following quotations:

“I say that what you do, do it properly, neatly, and tidily. Do not do many different things, and neglect tidiness. Take care of everything. I have 3 daughters-in-law, and I never asked them to do something, I do it myself. If I see some mess, I would pinpoint that, as I cannot do a lot now. Up until now I have taken care of the entire house. So now, do not do anything wrongly, do not make things dirty, and take care of neatness, and be disciplined.” (Female, age 62)

“I like neither filth nor work done by others. I say that if you have to do dusting, then do it properly. For example, my eldest daughter works very delicately and with care. Even if she has to iron clothes, she would do it delicately; if she has to clean the refrigerator, she would do it very nicely; and if she has to cut vegetables, she would do it in a delicate manner. Therefore, I say that if you want to do some work, do it carefully. Otherwise do not do it.” (Female, age 60)

The last aspect of behavioural confirmation that we discovered during the qualitative fieldwork was ***the sense of being useful to others***. The idea of being useful ranges from the small scale (providing relief to others by providing a little comfort to some individuals) to larger scale usefulness (involvement in social work for the betterment of a community):

“In the mosque when all the people go out, they put on their shoes at the exit. If they walk a few steps and put on their shoes there, then it makes it easier for those who are behind them. It is a small thing. You might not have thought about it. I am not telling you of my greatness. So I try to increase comfort for others.” (Male, age 73)

“I try to find out how to make things easy for others. For example, if there is something wrong with the sewerage system, I repair it by myself and don't feel shy about it. (...) If I have two things, I try to locate someone who deserves the other one, as it is not mine.” (Male, age 73)

“There is a welfare society in G8/1 and this is the office of that society. If someone has any problem with sewerage or water supply, we go to the CDA's office. From 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. we do whatever can be done. An MNA visited here a few weeks back. There was an issue that went on for 5 years to do with building a wall around a slum colony. The previous MNA also tried hard, but since he was in the opposition the government didn't listen to him. Now the new MNA came and asked about building a wall and community centre, whereas I will build the library if Allah permits. All in all I have a lot of social work here to do.”(Male, age 73)

Relevant others

The relevant others for behavioural confirmation in the life of the elderly are close intimates in any sphere of life - home or work or any familiar place.

“My husband keeps all of his salary in his hand. My mother died at the age of 21, and after one year she told me in a dream not to take the salary... this was my mother’s advice, “Daughter, you should not take salary in your hand.” It was the advice of my dead mother, and when she gave me this advice after her death, it meant that she knew better about what reality is; therefore I did not take any salary in my hand.” (Female, age 62)

Another important aspect of relevant others is the adherence to the norms which one gets from society or inner conscience. People like to act according to these norms even if they are alone. Van Bruggen (2001) regarded this feeling as self-approval.

“If one does any wrong thing, he will feel ashamed of it. Any wrong thing, whatever it is. You will feel ashamed; if not publically then your conscience will make you feel ashamed. If you do something wrong while you are alone, then your conscience will make you ashamed of it.” (Male, age 73)

c. Affection

In the light of the definition of affection in sub-section 3.4.1, we searched for close affectionate relationships and their sources, and different aspects of these relationships.

The first aspect that came out of the in-depth interviews was the **sense of liking or being liked**. Elderly people have close affectionate relationships with their children and they expect their children to meet them happily, as shown in the following quotation:

“I want my children to meet with me gladly, and the most adverse thing for a parent would be if his children do not meet him gladly.” (Male, age 60)

The feeling of liking also includes the feeling of love for someone, as in the following quotation:

“I have the closest relationship with my mother. She lives in the village. Whenever I get a chance, I go to see her. She is the most beloved person in this world. I am indebted to her a lot for everything she did for me.” (Male, age 61)

The sense of the well-being of close intimates was discovered to be the other aspect of affection. It implies that the well-being of their close intimates leads to higher levels of well-being of the elderly, thereby showing the significance of close relationships. In the following quotation, an elder woman explains the pain that she feels because of her children’s sufferings.

“(the reasons for my dissatisfaction are) these intellectually handicapped children and those who are unmarried. Otherwise I am not anxious about money. We have honest earnings from our salary and we did not ask for anything more than that. I did not worry about these children, but now I say, ‘O Allah, what will happen after we die?’” (Female, age 60)

“My family is like a part of my body. If one part hurts, the whole body feels pain.” (Male, age 61)

The elderly also show a desire for higher levels of social well-being for their children, working for their good education, good job, and a happy marital relationship, as shown in the following quotations:

“There are many in my neighbourhood who tell me that my children are very nice, and that I should offer thanks to Allah for this, and my daughters are in good homes, so I am very lucky. I think that, yes, I am very lucky, but I had to do a lot of hard work for this.” (Female, age 60)

“I want my children to get their education, and, eventually, good jobs.” (Male, age 60)

The sense of physical intimacy turns out to be another aspect of the goal of affection perceived by the elderly. Physical intimacy includes getting physical help from close intimates and spending time together, and we regard it as the sense of being taken care of. Elderly people value this feeling if their close intimates, especially their children, take care for them:

“Even those who are intellectually handicapped also give me a massage in the night. The youngest one, when he sees that I am in pain in the night, he gives me a massage. The older children give me a lot of care with anything I need. Since I got married at a very young age, the oldest son does not seem in appearance as if he is my child. He just observes and comes to know that I am in pain. He takes me to the doctor and gives me a massage all through the night, and gives me medicine. He takes care of everything. Asif comes and asks me about my health. Kamran is also very helpful. He also takes care of his brothers’ wives. My son who is abroad, I talk to him daily. If he does not call me, then I call him.” (Female, age 62)

Physical presence of the affectionate intimates is another form of the aspect of physical intimacy in the lives of the elderly in Islamabad. Elderly people expect their close intimates to spend time with them, as shown in the following quotation:

“I want my daughter, who has come back from abroad, to spend time with me. Nowadays I am very happy because my daughter and her children come to our house, but I want them to be with me more often.” (Female, age 62)

Another aspect of affection in the lives of the elderly was found to be ***the sense of emotional intimacy***, where both persons regard each other as having a close bond. Emotional intimacy includes the feeling of having a harmonious relationship with close intimates, as shown in the following quotation by an elderly woman who considers it very important although she does not benefit from it:

“First of all I would say that if her partner, husband, shares a harmonious relationship with her, and is supportive, then her life is very good.” (Female, age 60)

Moreover, elderly people expect that their close intimates should feel as though the successes and failures of the elderly person were their own:

“Whenever I had any problem in my job, my wife stood with me as if it were her problem.”(Male, age 73)

Mutual understanding was the other dimension of emotional intimacy discovered; elderly people expect their affectionate intimates to show emotional understanding. In the following quotation an elderly person tells how his son calmed him down when he was angry, after understanding his father’s emotional condition:

“I will tell you something about my oldest son, with whom I share a great understanding. On my recent visit to America I stayed with my friend, as something had happened which was annoying for me. My son, who is a bank manager, lived fairly close. He came with his family and said, ‘Let’s go father.’ He looked at the luggage and departed. That was all he did, as he did not understand how to calm me down. Next day, my oldest son came. All the family was also there. He said, ‘Let us go father.’ I said, ‘I will come in a couple of days.’ We talked for half an hour, and he put his head on my feet and started crying. Now isn’t he different, the way he understood my emotional feelings, and calmed me down?” (Male, age 73)

On the other hand, the absence of such emotional understanding affects the psychological health of the elderly:

“He (my husband) has no interest in his responsibilities. When he was in the army, our children were small and I solved all the problems alone. No one helped me. Whenever he was on leave, it was his habit that he never helped me in any matter. Neither had he any thought for what was good for me or for my children. I made all the decisions regarding my children. I married them off. I became very depressed with this, so that I needed help, which was very essential especially for the children.” (Female, age 60)

The elderly woman expected understanding from her husband, and her husband’s non-compliance with her expectations made her depressed.

In summary, children and spouses were found to be the main sources of affection for the elderly in Islamabad, and also their siblings and parents. Nevertheless, the majority of the participants do not experience the best relationship with their spouses. They have expectations of their spouses that they behave well, for example, to support each other, to be understanding, helpful and polite. The relationship with spouses constitutes a special category of affection. But non-compliance of spouses with these expectations brings dissatisfaction for the elderly.

3.9.4 Key additional findings to the goals proposed in the SPF framework

As already mentioned, we adopted the deductive approach to ground the proposed goals of the SPF framework in the Pakistani setting. In addition, we used an inductive approach to answer the question of whether there were other goals not covered by the standard SPF framework. In

the interview guide we provided room for such findings by asking the participants about additional activities, behaviours and emotions, and the motivations and reasons for undertaking each activity. In this section we elaborate these issues, building our argument on the additional activities, behaviours and emotions we discovered.

Prayers

In the interviews, almost all the participants mentioned the performance of prayers, which is one of the obligatory rituals of the Islamic tradition, in their daily routine. There are five obligatory daily prayers or “*salah*” at specific times of the day, namely, *fajr*, *zuhr*, *asr*, *maghrib*, and *Isha*. *Fajr* is before dawn, and *Isha* prayer is offered almost two hours after dusk in Islamabad. Some of the respondents also mentioned that they offer discretionary prayers in addition to the obligatory ones. The difference between the obligatory and discretionary rituals is that Muslims believe that one is accountable to Allah for the obligatory rituals, and non-compliance with these rituals will bring a person trouble not only in the afterlife but also in this life. For the discretionary prayers, one is not accountable to Allah, but these prayers will benefit a person in this world and after death.

Pilgrimage

Among the respondents, those who had not yet gone on a pilgrimage mentioned their strong desire to do so. The pilgrimage to Mecca is another obligatory ritual in the Islamic religion, to be performed once in a person’s lifetime. Unlike the prayers, however, it is only obligatory for those Muslims who can afford a trip to Mecca, both physically and financially. It is performed from the 8th to the 12th day of the 12th month of a lunar year. Elderly people who had not yet performed the pilgrimage planned it for the future, as shown in the following quotations:

“(Regarding future planning) my children will be educated, they will get good jobs, and we will go on a pilgrimage.” (Male, age 60)

“I want to go to perform the hajj (pilgrimage). (...) Now what reason do we have that we do not go for hajj? No one goes with the help of money; it is a call from Allah. As Allah made me do a lot of tasks, now may Allah calls us for hajj. I wish that all of us would go on the hajj.” (Female, age 62)

Righteous earning

Another behavioural tendency that could not be linked with the standard goals in the SPF framework was “righteous earnings.” Elderly considered that their way of earning should be in accordance with the Islamic traditions, as mentioned in the following quotation:

“I am satisfied with my relationships, with my environment, with my economic situation, thanks to Allah. The major source of income is righteous money. (...) Islamic teachings outline the halal (permitted) and haram (prohibited), and one should find out those ways of earning which are permitted by the Islamic teachings” (Male, age 60)

“Whatever Allah has given me, I am happy with it. With the grace of Allah, I have tried in my life to earn righteously, as one will be accountable in the afterlife about the source of one’s earnings and where he spent them” (Male, age 61)

Behavioural aspects

From the interviews and FGDs with the elderly, some of the behavioural aspects were also discovered to have motives that could not be linked to social or physical well-being. Adherence to the moral values guided by Islamic teachings was found to be the first aspect of the elderly’s behaviour, as shown in the following quotation:

“If you look into the life of the Prophet, the main thing you find will be morality. Therefore I try my best not to behave with immorality towards anybody.” (Male, age 61)

Another aspect of the elderly’s behaviour was related to their feelings. The elderly experienced some emotions due to their religious teachings, and these emotions may be regarded as private motives without any desire for social approval. The difference between first-order instrumental goals of social well-being and these aspects of loving and hating is that the latter is done without any social approval. For this reason we have separated this aspect from the lower-order goals of social well-being. The following quote describes the obligation to take care of close intimates because of religious principles:

“When I follow Allah, whatever He commands, I act upon that. He gave us children and ordered us to look after and bring them up, and I did. He gave us sick children and said to serve them, and I did.” (Female, age 62)

In some cases elderly people reacted harshly even towards their close intimates because of some religious principle. This shows the strength of their relationship with religious entities, whether rituals or faith. The following quotation illustrates this feeling and we regard it as sense of dislike due to religious affiliation, regardless of the personal feelings:

“I was sitting in the same room with my brother and mother, when the call for prayers (Adan) began playing on the TV. He was so frustrated that he switched off the TV on which the call for prayer (Adan) was being broadcast. I asked him about his action (harshly). He said ‘Leave them (religious people); they make noise (call for Adan) for nothing.’ I said, ‘No, (you are wrong),’ and asked him to switch on the TV. I said, ‘If the call for prayers (Adan) is finished before you switch on the TV then you will makes things worse.’ Our mother also told him to switch on the TV, but he did not switch on the TV and the call for prayer (Adan) was finished. I told him to get up and get out. Now 21 years have passed since this event occurred, and I have not seen him. But then I realized how frustrated an educated man feels when he becomes unemployed. He was so frustrated that he broke ties with religion.” (Male, age 73)

Further, the elderly not only take guidance from religion for their emotional behaviour – loving or hating – as shown above, but they also develop close affectionate relationships with the figures of religion, as shown in the following:

“I have a warm relationship with the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), and apart from him, there is no one else.” (Female, age 60)

“I keep myself busy with children, as they are nearest to my heart after Allah.” (Female, age 60)

In the above quotations it is clear the elderly women have a close affectionate relationship with the Prophet and Allah, and the driving force behind this bond is the religious teachings, without any desire for social approval.

The performance of rituals can be regarded as aspects of *ritualistic confirmation*. We found that almost all the participants perform the basic rituals of Islam, performing obligatory prayers five times a day, and either have performed the pilgrimage or long to perform it.

This derives from one of the main sources of Islam, the Hadith, the sayings of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him):

“Islam is founded on five pillars: bearing witness that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad (Sallallahu alaihe wasallam) is His servant and apostle; establishment of obligatory prayers; paying of obligatory alms; performance of pilgrimage; and fasting in the month of Ramadhaan.” (Hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslims cited by Zakariya, 1960).

Further, if we closely examine loving/hating, morality and righteous earning, we see that they are aspects of behaviour that may not be related with the first-order goals of status, behavioural confirmation or affection. Rather we link all these aspects with the aspect of *religious behavioural confirmation* (RBC). RBC involves behaving (loving, hating, respecting) according to the religious teachings, for private motives without any desire for social approval. For example, as in the case of social well-being’s first-order instrumental goal of affection, RBC includes loving someone. However, this love involves loving someone to gain a reward from Allah in the afterlife without any reward in this life. The love or affection, on the other hand, involves no material or non-material benefits. Even if someone argues that affection has some ulterior motives, those motives may be regarded as worldly: pertaining to this life only. The main difference, then, between the first-order instrumental goals of social well-being and RBC is that the latter is motivated by a reward solely after death, whereas social well-being’s instrumental goals have intrinsic and extrinsic motives for life in this world.

Clearly, the newly discovered aspects do not fit into the original SPF model proposed by Lindenberg (1996). Rather, these two aspects are strongly connected to religion, and we term the first-order goal connected with the aspects of ritualistic confirmation and religious behavioural confirmation “religiosity.”

The third universal goal: Afterlife well-being

When we attempted to connect the above first-order goal of religiosity and the aspects of *ritualistic confirmation* and *religious behavioural confirmation* to the universal goals of physical or social well-being, it became apparent that all the former activities, behaviour, and emotions were not driven by the pursuit of any of the higher-order goals proposed in the SPF hierarchy. Rather, we found motives for the realization of goals that are not present in the standard SPF theory. This is best illustrated with an example: the intention of adherence to the law of a country can be either due to inner norms or to fear of punishment. The first intention leads to the fulfilment of social well-being and the latter to physical well-being. Similarly, performance of rituals, righteous earning, and behaving in a certain way were not conducted with social well-being as an ultimate goal. Rather elderly people performed those rituals and behaved in accordance with the teachings of Islam to be pleasing to Allah, and gain their reward in the afterlife. Elderly people perceived preparation for the afterlife to have two dimensions: the rights of God “*haqooqullah*” and the rights of His creation “*huqooqullbad*”. The rights of God consist of having the right set of beliefs, and adhering to the obligatory “*furd*” rituals, as shown in the following quotations:

“(Responding to the future planning) I think about my life after death, how I would answer the questions in the life hereafter.” (Male, age 60)

“Preparation for the afterlife means adherence to the obligatory (furd) in your life. It means taking care of the due rights of your close intimates, for example, parents, spouse, children, siblings etc., and the obligations which you have to fulfil regarding God” (Female, age 64)

“After reaching adolescence one should prepare for the afterlife, and in old age it becomes more important, as one is now free from all worldly affairs, and one should do good deeds.” (Female, age 60)

“In the afterlife we will be accountable and will be either rewarded or punished according to our deeds, either good or bad. This is the belief of Muslims.” (Female, age 64)

“We act according to the teachings of Islam to make our afterlife secure. If we act on the teachings of Allah, then our afterlife, death, life, and children will be good.” (Female, age 64)

From the above explanation it is clear that these actions are performed to gain a reward in the afterlife, without any thought of social approval or physical well-being. We regard **afterlife well-being as the third universal goal** in the SPF framework after grounding it in a Pakistani Muslim setting.

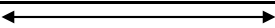

The following lines provide an overview of the Islamic belief in the afterlife, and how we propose it as the third universal goal in the lives of the elderly in Islamabad.

Belief in the afterlife is one of the major tenets of Islam. Islamic teachings, the holy Quran and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), place a lot of emphasis on followers striving for a good afterlife. A good afterlife means rescue from hell

and entry into paradise. In the holy Quran more than 200 verses relate to hell, 30 verses to paradise, and 160 verses deal with what will happen on the Day of Judgment (<http://qurango.com/subjects.html#H>), making the afterlife one of the most frequently discussed issues in the Holy Book of the Muslims.

As a consequence, Muslims believe that death is a transition from this life to an afterlife where everyone will be held accountable for his deeds in this world and ultimately rewarded or punished. Hamdani and Ahmed (2002) illustrate the Muslim beliefs concerning the afterlife in table 3.1. The stages of a human’s life are shown horizontally, from 0 to 7. For the sake of simplicity, Hamdani and Ahmed (2002) propose that an individual is created in stage 0. From stage 2 to 4 he/she is living in this world. They propose that life after death starts at stage 5, and a person then stays in *barzakh*, the life between death and the Day of Judgment, in which stage he/she is given life again and is made accountable for his/her deeds in this world. Stage 6 in the table is the Day of Judgment. In stage 7 a person is rewarded or punished according to his/her deeds in this world and from then remains either in paradise or hell. Table 3.1 clearly illustrates that Muslims perceive their life as continuing infinitely, from stage 2 through stage 7, whereas secular social/economic models regard life as finite, contained within stages 2 to 4.

Table 3.1 Conventional vs. Islamic time horizon of Man (derived from the Holy Quran)

Stages of man							
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Before life on Earth		Life on Earth			Life after Death		
No Existence	Soul	Child	Young	Old	Death and life in Barzakh	The Day of Judgement	Life in Paradise or Hell
		 Finite time horizon for individual in conventional economic models: <i>Secular worldview</i>					
		 Infinite Islamic time horizon for individuals in the proposed model					

Source: Adapted from Hamdani (2002), cited by Hamdani and Ahmed (2002).

Table 3.1 makes the perception of life span among Muslims quite clear. They perceive two phases of life, with death marking the division between the two. Muslims’ perception of life after death as endless means that their decision-making process is necessarily different from a secular decision-making process. The perception of a time horizon is a fundamental ingredient of all goal-setting theories (cf. Carstensen et al., 1999). Since all the secular decision making

and goal setting frameworks, including the SPF framework, inherently assume that life ends at death, all of these frameworks identify those goals which a person sets before his/her death. These frameworks are therefore inappropriate for the identification of goals for those people who believe in a life beyond death. Reliance on secular goal-identification frameworks for the study of goal-related phenomenon in a population with such a time perspective – the Muslim elderly in this case – can lead to erroneous conclusions. For that reason, we grounded the SPF framework in the Pakistani cultural setting and discovered that the participants had a different perception of life to that assumed by the SPF framework. We consequently set additional goals to those recognized in the SPF framework. The elderly Muslim people set afterlife well-being as a goal, and invest their resources of time, money, and effort to ensure a good life after death.

Here one may argue that belief in the afterlife serves as a guiding force to shape the pursuit of social and physical well-being, rather than an additional goal besides these two universal goals. This argument is correct, without a doubt, as far as the religious teachings as expressed in the holy Quran are concerned:

Q2:208 says: "O you who believe, enter Islam completely, and do not follow the footsteps of Satan. Surely, he is an open enemy for you." (Soorah Baqarah (2), 208)

In such a case, afterlife well-being as the third universal goal would not depict the true situation. But one would find a very small minority of people whose whole life is directed by their religion, managing their social and physical well-being in such a way that their afterlife well-being is not compromised. Such people would not make any trade-offs between their afterlife well-being and worldly goals; for them afterlife well-being becomes not only a goal, but also a guiding force of such power that equating it with worldly goals would undermine its status.

In reality, the majority of Muslims make trade-offs in their daily life between afterlife well-being and other goals, in the same way as they do between physical and social well-being. In most religions sin can be identified as the outcome of a trade-off made when a person prefers worldly things to obligatory religious teachings. A simple example of a sin in all religious traditions is telling a lie. One normally tells a lie for some gain or to avoid a loss. In both cases one is seeking either physical or social well-being in lieu of afterlife well-being, if one believes in afterlife. In the Islamic teachings, however, it is anticipated that a person may commit sins, as shown in the following *hadith* narrated by *Muslim*.

Abu Hurairah (May Allah be pleased with him) said: The Messenger of Allah (PBUH) said, "By the One in Whose Hand my soul is! If you do not commit sins, Allah would replace you with people who would commit sins and seek forgiveness from Allah; and Allah will certainly forgive them." (Muslim cited by An-Nawawi, 1998)

This shows that in the Islamic belief system, it is perfectly acceptable to make trade-offs between worldly and heavenly matters. Therefore many people make trade-offs between afterlife well-being and other goals in their daily life. The following quotation from the

interviews shows the trade-offs elderly people make in their lives between what is prescribed by their religion and what they seek in this life:

“I would like to do something for the life after death, as I did not do a lot for it and was busy with worldly things.”(Female, age 60)

Here an elderly woman regrets her unpreparedness for life after death while also mentioning that she made trade-offs between the preparation for afterlife well-being and worldly things. A simple example of this kind of trade-off might be between getting up early in the morning to offer the obligatory Morning Prayer or getting enough sleep. If one neglects prayer to get more sleep even though he/she believes that it will impact life after death, one is making a trade-off between afterlife well-being and physical well-being.

Previous research on afterlife

In previous studies, a few researchers have tried to establish a link between well-being and belief in the afterlife (Inglehart, 1990 cited by Suhail & Chaudhry, 2004; Suhail & Chaudry, 2004, Steinitz, 1980). All these studies have tried to find out whether the respondents believed in the afterlife or not, without finding out their level of commitment to the afterlife. Furthermore, these studies have focused on Christians or Jews, while very few focused on Muslims. For example, Steinitz (1980) who studied the Christian elderly found that belief in life after death was a much stronger and more discriminating indicator of well-being than frequency of religious rituals. Many studies in the past have also confirmed religion as a strong indicator of self-reported happiness in Western societies (Inglehart, 1990 cited by Suhail and Chaudhry, 2004; Witter et al., 1985). Similarly, Suhail and Chaudhry (2004), in their study of SWB, found the same trend among the (Muslim) people in Lahore, Pakistan.

Previous research on religion

Without a doubt, religion was found to be the main resource of afterlife well-being (AWB) among the interviewed elderly people, as this belief is guided by their religion. In Islam, belief in the afterlife is among the main beliefs which are mandatory for a Muslim. Consequently, Islam teaches a person how to ensure a good afterlife and in turn guarantees a good life in this world as well. To obtain a good afterlife, Islam not only guides a person in his/her beliefs, but also in rituals/religious practices, behaviour and various socio-economic aspects of life. For this reason, almost all the participants in this study regularly incorporated religious practices into their daily life, conforming their behaviour and socio-economic aspects of their lives to Islamic teachings.

“(Wrong doing would not work...) and wrong doing means that you disobey Allah. Then you will be in trouble in the life after death.” (Male, age 73)

Van Bruggen (2001), in her explorative study of SPF theory, discusses metagoals which enhance the efficiency of social and physical well-being. She regards religion as one of the metagoals, although she argues that religion did not have any great importance in the lives of the majority of her target population. As evident from the interviews, however, religion, along

with afterlife well-being, is quite conspicuous in the awareness of the elderly in Islamabad, and therefore should not be disregarded or considered merely a metagoal. The elderly in Islamabad receive direction from religion about life after death and how to ensure well-being in the next life, and it serves as one of the important goals in their life.

Allport and Ross (1967) use the concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity. Intrinsic religiosity (IR) deals with living one's religion with sincerity and intentionality, whereas extrinsic religiosity (ER) deals with using religion for instrumental purposes, including some social benefits (Cohen et al., 2005). A similar division is made by religiosity scales, for example the internal and external religiosity scales proposed by Batson et al. (1993). They maintain that extrinsic religion would include that part of religion that is motivated by a desire for self-approval, and they regarded private motivations as internal religion. In some studies researchers have found that religion is widely accepted as one of the main predictors of SWB in individuals, giving them a "sense of social integration," or allowing them to "[find] a sense of meaning external to themselves, which occurs in the context of involvement with groups," or helping them "to resolve successfully the issue of ego integrity versus despair" (Witter et al., 1985, p. 332), or acting "as a buffer against negative emotions" (Suhail & Chaudry, 2004, p. 374).

From the above discussion it is clear that ER may be regarded as an instrumental goal for social well-being, as the ultimate motive of such religiosity is to gain some kind of social benefit (Cohen et al., 2005). On the other hand, the ultimate motive of IR is exclusive of social or physical benefit, and indeed sometimes a person has to forego his/her social or physical well-being for IR. This principal difference between ER and IR makes it clear that religiosity might have some social or physical or psychological benefits. Whatever benefits one gains from ER pertain to this life, whereas IR has different motives. In our target population, IR is mainly driven by considerations of life after death. In the Islamic teachings, actions done for any reward other than pleasing Allah, which is equivalent to reward in the afterlife, are censured. Even if a person combines the social benefits of any good deed with reward from Allah, it is frowned upon and regarded as *shirk* (Mishkaat cited by Zakariya, 1960). *Shirk* is acting to please someone besides Allah and is regarded as the biggest sin; it is mentioned in many parts of the Quran that there will be no forgiveness for this sin (e.g. Soorah Nisa (4): 48).

The holy Quran emphasizes that true believers are those who worship only for the sake of Allah, desiring neither reward nor thanks from others, as shown in the following verse:

Q76:8-9 "And they (the believers) give food, despite their love for it, to the poor, the orphan, and the captive, (saying), 'We feed you seeking only the Blessings of Allah. We neither wish for reward, nor thanks from you.'" [Soorah Insan (76): 8-9]

Furthermore, in the holy Quran any act of worship done to please anyone but Allah is condemned:

Q107:4-7 "So woe unto those who perform their prayers (hypocrites), who delay their prayer from its stated time, those who do good deeds only to be seen (by men), and refuse even the smallest kindness." [Soorah Al-Maun: (107): 4-7]

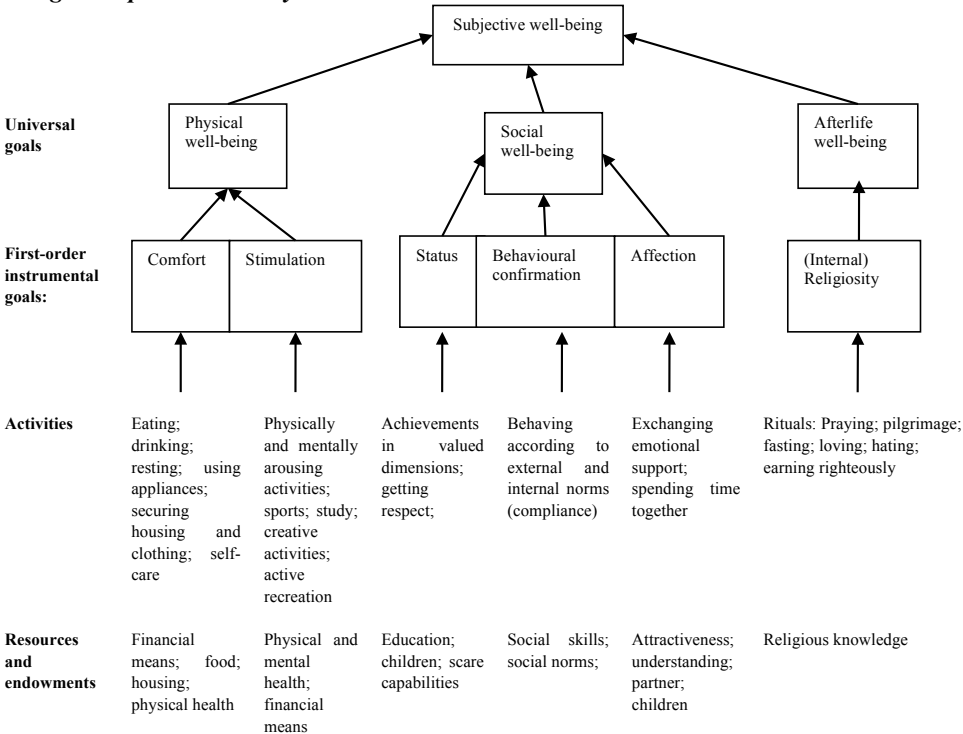
The above quotations demonstrate that ER cannot be associated with the afterlife for the elderly in Islamabad, while IR is closely linked to well-being in the afterlife; there is a significant distinction between worldly motives and those concerned with the afterlife.

In applying the concepts of external and internal religiosity to the elderly in Islamabad, we regarded IR as the main source of the goal of AWB. Internal religiosity may be further divided into two categories: religious behavioural confirmation (RBC) and the performance of rituals, as discussed above.

3.10 SPF theory grounded in a Pakistani setting

SPF theory was developed in a Western setting, and the application of this theory in another cultural context without adapting it to that culture would be problematic. In order to construct an appropriate theoretical framework, we conducted this explorative study to ground the theory in a non-Western, Pakistani setting. We discovered an additional set of goals and resources for the realization of these goals.

Figure 3.4 Conceptual model based on SPF theory and grounded in the Pakistani setting through the qualitative study



In the explorative study we found that three goals are important in the lives of the elderly in Islamabad, which they perceive as the universal goals, as opposed to the two proposed by Lindenberg and colleagues. The additional goal is preparation for a good life after death, as Muslims believe that human life is just an episode between birth and death, and that death is

the start of another part of life in which one is rewarded or punished for his/her deeds in this life. This additional goal results from the difference in the time horizon between a secular view of life ending at death, and the Muslim view of life continuing in the afterlife. Social and physical well-being are universal goals for this life, and they emerged as important goals for the elderly people in Islamabad. In the realization of these goals, children are considered the main source of both social and physical well-being among the elderly.

If we look at different aspects of goals (see Chapters 3 and 5), different time perspectives may be associated with their success. For example, comfort, whose main constituent for the population under study is physical health, may be closely related to current events, as postulated by Suh et al. (1996). The same may be said for stimulation, which includes arousal activities and may thus also be related to current events. On the other hand, the success associated with afterlife well-being, as has been elaborated in the explorative study in this chapter, may be regarded as a distal event: one gains the rewards or rescue from punishment after death. Other goals - affection, status and behavioural confirmation - fall between these two extremes. The success of these goals can be associated with distal events, although more proximal than success of well-being in the afterlife, and with proximal events, although some may be more distal than success in comfort and stimulation. In this way, we may include both distal and proximal events as the success criteria for social well-being.

3.11 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to ground SPF theory in a Pakistani setting to determine the main goals in the lives of the elderly, those which they perceived as most important, along with the main aspects and sources of utilization of these goals. To this end we designed a qualitative study and conducted both in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

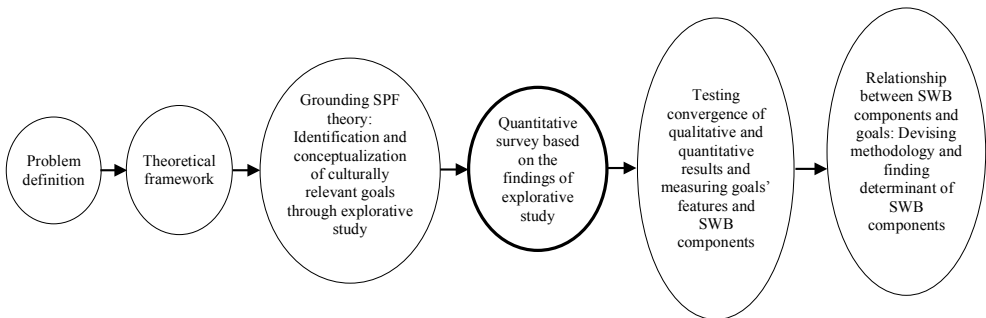
We discovered some intriguing results. In addition to the two original goals in the SPF framework, we discovered that afterlife well-being is an important goal, and we proposed afterlife well-being as the third universal goal in the lives of the elderly Muslims in Islamabad, together with social and physical well-being.

The findings of this study offer new perspectives on the study of goals, especially in Muslim populations, and lay new foundations for a better understanding of SWB discourse among Muslims. These findings underline the importance of the time horizon in the goal-setting process. With this in mind, researchers should readdress their goals for all populations which believe in any kind of life beyond death, and should find out what they perceive to be important overall, in this life and the next. Van Bruggen (2001), in her study of Dutch adults, conducted an explorative study and made conclusions about her target population. She did not include the perspective of people who are religious in her findings, and therefore her findings cannot be regarded as representative of the whole Dutch population, let alone of other, more religious-oriented, populations around the world.

On the basis of these results, we designed a quantitative sample survey to estimate the different components of subjective well-being of the elderly. The following chapters deal with this survey in more detail.

4

Data and Methodology for Sample Survey



4.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study is to obtain more insight into the determinants of subjective well-being (SWB) among the non-poor elderly in Pakistan. To this end we selected Islamabad, the capital city of the country, for our study, as its population fits our criteria as postulated by Siddiqui (2006), and discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. We embedded our study in the framework provided by the social production function (SPF) theory (see Chapter 2). The framework postulates a hierarchical structure of goals, whose fulfilment leads to higher levels of perceived well-being. To find out the culturally relevant goals among elderly people in Islamabad, we designed an explorative study, and identified goals that are important in the lives of the elderly in our target groups (see Chapter 3). With these qualitative findings we extended the SPF theoretical framework which formed the basis for a quantitative survey.

In this chapter we present the design and implementation of the survey among elderly people in Islamabad. In the following section we elaborate the criteria of the selection of the sample and an overview of the target population (section 4.2). Further we discuss the sampling procedure (section 4.3). Moreover we give an overview of the questionnaire for the survey (section 4.4) as well as that of the pilot interviews (section 4.5). Then we elaborate the process of selection and training of the interviewers (section 4.6). Further we present our general experience with the survey (section 4.7). Finally we discuss the profile of the target population and compare the results with latest census results conducted in 1998 (section 4.8).

4.2 Target population

As discussed in Chapter 3, elderly people with the following characteristics were eligible to participate in our survey:

- Living in urban areas of Islamabad
- Non-poor (belonging to the middle class)
- Not living in retirement home
- Muslim
- Age 60 or above
- Of either sex

As discussed in Chapter 3, there is a natural income stratification of the population of Islamabad; the majority of the population in sectors G6, G7, G8, G9, G10, G11 and sector I10 belong to the middle class, people residing in sector F belong to upper-middle or upper class, and the majority of people living in sectors with the prefix E belong to the upper class. Apart from private homes in the residential areas, there is also housing for civil servants. Lower income earners occupy these governmental residential areas as well as the neighbouring city of Rawalpindi. As our aim was to study the middle class, we focused only on the above-mentioned middle-class sectors of Islamabad for the selection of our sample.

As we were also interested in the process of ageing and how different resources diminish or emerge as important ones for elderly people as they become older, we also included those aged between 50 and 59 years who made up a comparison group.

4.3 Sampling procedure

We adopted systematic random sampling for this survey.⁴ As mentioned earlier, our target population resided in 7 main sectors, further subdivided into 28 sub-sectors. We randomly selected 14 sub-sectors, choosing 2 sub-sectors each from these 7 main sectors; for example, G8/1 and G8/2 were randomly selected from sub-sectors of sector G8 (see figure in Chapter 3). After selecting these 14 sub-sectors, we adopted systematic random sampling. For this study, the sampling unit of our survey was the household, defined as a unit of people living together and sharing a kitchen, while the unit of analysis was the individual. We randomly started from a point, and identified those above 50 years of age at that address. In the field we probed participants for their age, and did not ask for any documentary proof for two reasons. First, the documentation system in Pakistan is very flawed and hence could not be relied upon. Second, many people would have felt offended about being asked for documentary proof. The majority of the people knew their exact age, but for those who had some problem in reporting their age, we probed using the timing of some important events that were significant to the Pakistani population, for example, the independence of Pakistan and India from British rule in 1947. So we asked respondents who were unsure about their age whether they were born when Pakistan obtained its independence. Those who were born at that time were included in the study as they were surely more than 62 years of age. In our study, we regarded the elderly as those aged 60 years and older. Similarly the war between Pakistan and India in 1965 was another benchmark used to arrive at a respondent's age at marriage or having his/her first child. At every selected household, we inquired whether anyone in that household was eligible for the survey, that is, whether the person was at least 50 years of age. We interviewed all the eligible persons in that household separately during the same visit.

If a person was eligible for interview, we asked for his/her consent for the survey, after having built a rapport with the person. After conducting a complete interview, we skipped one household and approached the one next to it. If we were unable to get a response from a selected household, we approached the subsequent household.

We divided our sample into two segments: one was the age group 50-59, and the other was the age group 60 and above. Henceforth, age group 50-59 will be known as the comparison group, while the latter group will be referred to as the target population in this study. Further, projections for 2009 based on the 1998 census results (Pakistan Census Organization, 2001) indicated that those aged 50-59 years would make up 9 per cent of the population of Islamabad whereas the elderly population would account for 11 per cent. Moreover, we aimed to give one-third representation in the sample to the comparison group, with two-thirds to the elderly. Therefore, we planned the household selection strategy on that basis: we needed one-third representation of the population between 50 and 59 years of age, and our sample had to be adjusted according to a 9:11 ratio. To meet these two objectives, the following strategy was worked out. We skipped every second eligible person in the comparison group after enumerating the odd-numbered interviews in this group, and skipped

⁴ We consulted with a senior demographer, Mr. S. M. Ali, who had vast experience of conducting surveys in Pakistan

every third after enumerating the even-numbered interviews. After conducting 26 interviews in the comparison group, we interviewed the next two eligible persons. We also enumerated every person whom we encountered from the elderly group, while skipping one household after getting a response for both comparison and elderly groups. In this way we were able to manage a 1:2 share for the comparison group and the elderly in the sample, maintaining the 9:11 ratio for the whole population.

4.4 Questionnaire design

We designed the questionnaire for this survey based on the conceptual model as presented in figure 3.4. This conceptual model is based on the SPF theory extended with qualitative insights from grounding the theory in the local setting (see Chapter 3). In the following we provide a brief overview of different sections of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to elicit four main types of information:

- Background information of the respondents;
- Previously designed emotional and cognitive instruments, as found in the literature on subjective well-being; and
- Questions regarding the progress, commitment and attainability of different goals in the lives of the respondents

Background information included the socio-demographic profile, including age, sex, marital status, number of children, level of education and occupation status of the respondent and his/her spouse.

Previous research has identified two, interrelated yet distinguishable components of SWB (Kuppens *et al.*, 2008): a global appraisal of one's life as a whole commonly known as the cognitive component, and an emotional component comprising of positive and negative emotions normally called the affective component of SWB (Diener, 1984; Diener *et al.*, 1999). We included the satisfaction with life scale (SWLS) (Diener *et al.*, 1985) to measure the cognitive component of SWB, and positive and negative affective scale (PANAS) (Diener *et al.*, 2003; Watson *et al.*, 1988) for measuring the SWB's affective component. In designing the questionnaire for measuring the components of SWB, we included previously constructed SWB instruments, after making some changes in view of the cultural context, which is that Pakistan is an Eastern society. For example, in a study on slums in Calcutta, India (Biswas-Diener & Diener, 2001) showed that people from less developed countries face difficulties in answering according to a Likert scale. So we adjusted the options of the responses of the SWLS and PANAS. For this reason we curtailed the categories of SWLS from 7 to 5 and from 9 to 4 for PANAS. Further, we included some culturally relevant emotions in the PANAS.⁵

As discussed in Chapter 2, in order to establish the relationship between goals and SWB, researchers advocate the study of several features of goals: progress, commitment and attainability. Following the same line, we incorporated all these features in our study, and

⁵ Details concerning the methodology and measurement instrument used in the questionnaire will be explained in the following chapters.

included corresponding questions in the questionnaire. To measure the elderly's perceived progress in achieving different goals in their lives, we asked questions regarding various aspects of different goals. With respect to the commitment to the identified goals, we included two types of questions concerning relative and absolute commitment. To evaluate the relative commitment to different goals, we asked respondents to rank different goals according to their commitment. Where the attainability of goals was concerned, respondents were asked to evaluate attainability on an absolute scale.

The questionnaire was first drafted in English, and later translated into the native language, Urdu. After translating the questionnaire into Urdu, it was retranslated into English to ensure the accuracy of the translation. The English version is given in appendix C.

4.5 Pilot interviews

Before finalizing the final questionnaire, five pilot interviews were conducted by the researcher in order to assess the language and contents of the questionnaire and the average duration of the pilot interviews. In the light of the pilot interviews, the questionnaire was adjusted and some of the contents were changed accordingly, for example, in a question regarding the performance of obligatory rituals:

“How do you perform the obligatory rituals? Did you perform them ALWAYS, OFTEN, SOMETIMES, or NEVER in the last four weeks?”

We observed that people had problems answering this question and concluded that it is not the quantity but the quality that mattered. Therefore we changed the wording of these questions accordingly. An example of a changed question is:

“How would you evaluate the way you perform Islamic rituals? Do you think your performance of the rituals was VERY GOOD, GOOD, NEUTRAL, BAD or VERY BAD in the last four weeks?”

Further, in the pilot interviews we had included questions related to the belief system of the respondents, and discovered that the respondents were offended by these questions. Therefore, we excluded such questions from the questionnaire. Moreover, initially we had included questions related to the frequency of emotions with regard to the fulfilment of different goals but they were excluded due to the length of the questionnaire. We also reduced the number of options for answering a question. Further we modified the list of emotions by combining some emotions in one category and eliminating others.

4.6 Selection and training of the interviewers

We selected a total of 12 interviewers on the basis of their level of education. Those with a Master's degree were eligible to become interviewers. Among these interviewers some of them had had the experience of working in the field as enumerators. After their selection, a two-day training was organized, in which interviewers were taught how to conduct the survey. Ranking questions was a new experience, and they were taught how to rank different goals

while adopting bubble sorting strategy: in this strategy we start with the first two elements and sort them, and move along while including the subsequent element and sorting the selected elements, and so on till the end of the list. After the training, pre-testing was organized in a nearby locality, which was not part of our sample, in Islamabad. After the pre-testing, 2 interviewers were dropped due to their dissatisfactory performance.

4.7 General experience of the fieldwork

The survey was carried out with the help of a local research institute, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), which not only provided help in instructing supervisors and interviewers, but also provided the venue for conducting the interviewers training. Despite the fact that going into the field for a survey in Pakistan at that point of time was quite a challenge, in view of the general situation concerning law and order, we were quite successful in achieving our aim. This was mainly due to the positionality of the research team. The entire team had the same cultural background, and the majority of the team members knew local languages other than Urdu, and used their knowledge of languages to build rapport, although the interviews were conducted in Urdu or English. Further, we included female interviewers in the teams too, which especially helped us in accessing the female respondents, although there were a number of cases in which female respondents were refused permission by their family members. One main reason for the refusal was the fact that males as the head of the household in Pakistani society were apprehensive about allowing a stranger into the house, especially because of heightened fears about security issues which the country was facing. Another reason why several females declined participation was their health condition which prevented them from being interviewed. Yet we were successful in getting higher rates of female responses, although gender was not an explicit criterion for sampling. People were quite inquisitive about the purpose of the interviews, and we introduced our fieldwork as part of a PhD study.

4.8 Profile of the study population

A total of 1246 individuals were approached, out of which 1090 agreed to be interviewed, and 156 refused. However, the total number of addresses approached was a lot higher – around 1800. The overall response rate was almost 87 per cent. Among those who agreed to be interviewed, 19 of them did not fill in the questionnaire completely, and hence a total of 1071 persons underwent the entire interview. Family members were responsible for turning down the interview of the majority of the females. As mentioned before, our main focus was those aged 60 years and above, but because we also aimed to study the process of changing SWB with increasing age, we included the 50-59 age group in our study. For those who were 60 years or above, we further divided them into two groups: those aged 60-69 and those aged 70 and above. Further, to control for the effect of socio-economic background of the study population, we also included these variables in the questionnaire. In the following sections we discuss the socio-demographic and economic profile of the population under study, and compare our results with other available data sources. Most of our comparisons are made with

the 1998 census results of urban areas of Islamabad. We compared the results of these two data sets while keeping in mind the time that elapsed between the two surveys, as the main aim of this comparison is to check the reliability of the survey, for which the only data set available is the 1998 census data.

4.8.1 Demographic profile

As mentioned earlier, our aim was to enumerate all those aged 60 years and older at the time of the survey in January-February 2010. This was done by using the selected clusters through systematic random sampling and including the comparison group and taking into account their share in the sample.

As we can see from Table 4.1, we obtained a 35 per cent share for the comparison group, which is close to one-third of the population. We succeeded in interviewing 398 of the elderly in the age group 60-69, and 295 from the older-old, those who were 70 years of age and above.

If we look at the gender composition of the target population (Table 4.1), we observe that male representation in the elderly age group was higher; in the older age group the female representation was that half of their male counterparts. For the other age group, 50-59, females surpassed males in terms of representation.

During the survey it was reported by the interviewers that many female respondents were not allowed to be interviewed for two main reasons. First, there was the fear of letting a stranger into their house and the fear of sharing any personal/secret information. Second, many people reported that their female elderly member was not in good mental or physical health. For these two reasons many of the interviews with females were declined. On the other hand, male elderly persons, as they normally take decisions on their own, agreed to give the interview, even outside the house or at the main entrance of the house, which would be very difficult for the female respondents to do.

Table 4.1 Distribution of the target population by age and sex

Age groups		50-59	60-69	70+	Total
Male	Number of respondents	149	221	196	566
	Percentage share within male respondents	26.3	39.0	34.7	100.0
	Percentage share within age groups	39.4	55.5	66.4	52.8
	Percentage share in total sample	13.9	20.6	18.3	52.8
Female	Number of respondents	229	177	99	505
	Percentage share within female respondents	45.3	35.0	19.7	100.0
	Percentage share within age groups	60.6	44.5	33.6	47.2
	Percentage share in total sample	21.4	16.5	9.2	47.2
Total	Number of respondents	378	398	295	1071
	Percentage share within age groups	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Percentage share in total sample	35.3	37.2	27.5	100.0

As we planned the survey throughout the whole week, the majority of the males in the age group 50-59 were absent at the time of survey due to their involvement in economic activity, thus accounting for their lower level of participation. The higher refusal rate among the elderly female age groups might be the other reason for their lower share in the sample.

4.8.2. Educational profile

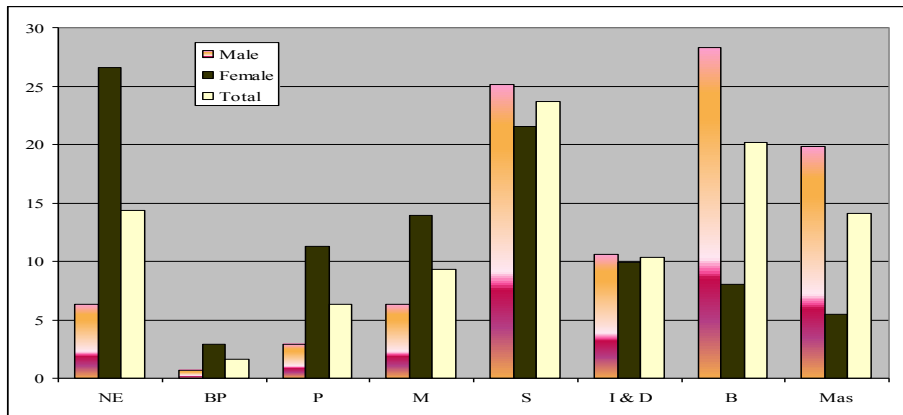
The level of education was part of the background information section in the questionnaire. Only 13.9 per cent of the sample were illiterate, whereas one-fifth of the sample had completed primary-level education. Secondary-level education was the median level of education for the study population, whereas more than 33 per cent of the population under study were found to have at least a Bachelor's degree (see table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Education profile of the sample in the city of Islamabad

	N	Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
No education	149	13.9	13.9
Below primary	17	1.6	15.5
Primary	66	6.2	21.7
Middle	102	9.5	31.2
Secondary	259	24.2	55.4
Intermediate and diploma	122	11.4	66.8
Bachelor's	195	18.2	85.0
Master's or higher	161	15.0	100.0
Total	1071	100.0	

Looking at the gender differences in educational attainment (Figure 4.1), male respondents reported higher levels of educational attainment as compared to their female counterparts. Males accounted for higher percentages in higher levels of education, while the level of education was lower for their female counterparts.

Figure 4.1 Educational attainment by gender of the sample in the city of Islamabad



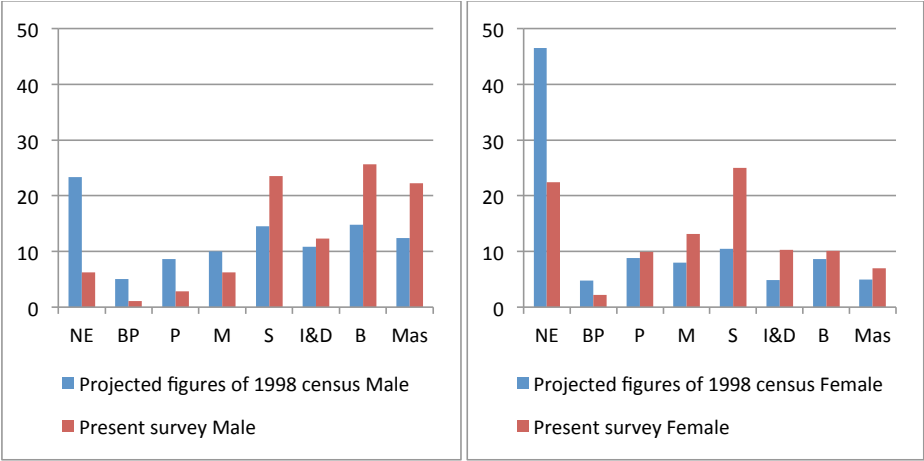
Source: Present survey

Abbreviations used: NE = No education, BP= below primary, P=primary, M= middle, S=secondary, I & D= Intermediate and diploma, B=Bachelor's, M= Master's and higher

The comparison between the educational attainment estimates of this survey with those in the 1998 census results for Islamabad for the same cohort shows that higher levels of educational attainment were reported higher in the present survey. This might be due to three reasons. First of all, we targeted non-poor people, whereas in the 1998 census all residents in urban areas of Islamabad city were enumerated. Second, census data has its own demerits, and one of them relates to the quality of data. Finally, the survey team introduced the survey as part of a PhD dissertation, which might have prompted respondents to over-report. A Chi-square test on the

two educational attainment estimates showed that both data sets fit do not well with each other.

Figure 4.2 Comparison of educational attainment levels by gender of the same cohort in the sample and the 1998 census results



Source: Present survey and projected figures for The 1998 District Census Report of Islamabad (Tables 11 and 12).

Abbreviations used: NE = No education, BP= below primary, P=primary, M= middle, S=secondary, I & D= Intermediate and diploma, B=Bachelor’s, M= Master’s and higher

4.8.3. Household profile

In the questionnaire we included some questions regarding the household profile of the target population. In the following we elaborate some findings about the household profile of the population under study.

Household size

From the survey the average household size was found to be 6.58, whereas according to the previous census conducted in 1998 this figure was 6.2 persons per household (Pakistan Census Organization, 2001).

Family type

The majority of the elderly were living with their children; either in extended or nuclear families (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Percentage distribution of the target population by age, gender and family type

	50-59			60+			Grand total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Living alone	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.4	1.0	0.7
Living together with spouse only	2.7	3.5	3.2	5.5	6.2	5.8	4.9
Living together with unmarried children	71.8	56.4	62.4	29.7	19.9	25.8	38.7
Living with married children	12.8	34.9	28.6	59.8	66.7	62.5	50.5
Living with other relatives	6.7	5.2	5.8	3.6	6.9	4.9	5.2
N	149	229	378	417	276	693	1071

Head of the household

In the survey we found that the majority of the male respondents were the head of the household except for those who were very old. Female respondents who were the head of the household were those widowed or divorced/separated and living with their children who were either married or unmarried. This is consistent with Pakistani society where the male is normally considered the breadwinner in the household and hence is treated as the head of the household; all the decisions are made by him.

Marital status

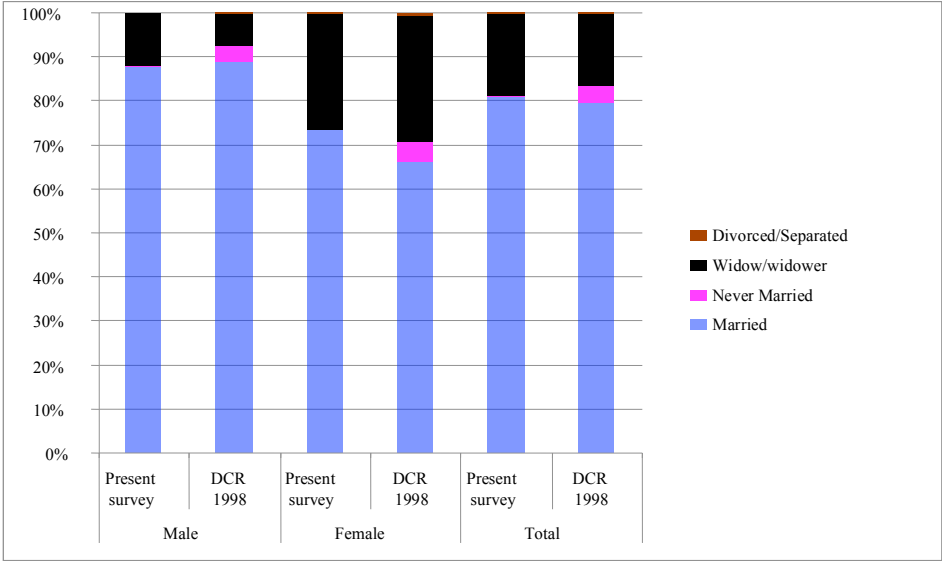
From table 4.4 we observe that more widows were reported in the survey than widowers. This can be attributed to higher female life expectancy in the country, as according to the Pakistan Demographic Survey (PDS) the female population has a higher life expectancy both at birth and at age 60 as compared to the male population: at birth it is 68 and 64 (Government of Pakistan, 2009) and at age 60, 18 and 17 (United Nations, 2010) for the female and male population, respectively. Consequently, there are more widows than widowers in the society. Further, men are more likely to be away from home – either due to economic activity or household-related errands – and it could be another reason why fewer widowers than widows took part in the survey. However, we tried our level best to revisit on the same day if an eligible person was not at home.

Table 4.4 Percentage distribution of gender by marital status of the people above 50 years of age in Islamabad city

	50-59			60+			Grand	total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
Married	94.6	89.1	91.3	85.4	60.4	75.4	81.0	
Never Married	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	
Widow/widower	4.7	10.9	8.4	14.4	38.5	24.0	18.5	
Divorced/separated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.3	0.2	
N	149	229	378	417	276	693	1071	

To validate our results, we compared our results with those of the 1998 census in relation to urban areas Islamabad as shown in Figure 4.3. But we did not compare our sample results with results of the relevant cohort, as marital status is subject to change, unlike educational attainment, which is quite unlikely to change for a person aged 50 and above.

Figure 4.3 Comparison of marital status of those over 50 years of age in Islamabad



Source: Present survey and The 1998 District Census Report of Islamabad

We note that the share of never married is smaller in our sample. The shares of the other categories were more similar, implying that the trends in the 1998 census data validate the reliability our survey data. A Chi-square test confirmed that both data sets fit well with each other.

4.8.4. Occupational/income profile

Income levels

The data revealed that the average adult per capita income (PCI) of the target population was more than US\$3 a day, which is quite low by international standards but for Pakistan this figure is relatively high.

Table 4.5 Descriptive statistics of the adult PCI at the household level of the elderly in Islamabad city (in US\$)

Descriptive statistics				
N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard deviation
961	1.03	11.6	3.1	1.7

The minimum adult per capita income (PCI) at the household level for the study population was more than US\$1, although almost 37 per cent of adults lived on a per capita income between US\$1 and US\$2 as shown in Table 4.6. Hence our study population can be regarded as non-poor in view of the poverty standard of US\$1 a day.

Table 4.6 Income profile of the target population in Islamabad city

Level of adult per capita income (\$1 =86.0 Pakistani rupees)	N	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Less than \$1	0	0	0
Between \$ 1 and 2	362	37.6	37.6
Between \$ 2 and 3	236	24.6	62.2
Between \$ 3 and 4	170	17.7	79.9
More than \$ 4	193	20.1	100.0
Total	961	100.0	

Source of income of the household

As mentioned earlier, the male member of the household is regarded as the breadwinner in the household, and the results in Table 4.7 confirm this. We found two main sources of income: sole income of the male elderly person and his income with his son’s support. Table 4.7 not only depicts the source of income of the household but also whether elderly people were still working or already retired at the time of our survey.

Table 4.7 Percentage distribution of source of income of the household of the population above 50 years of age in Islamabad city

Source of income	Male	Female	Total
N	512	475	987
Respondent's pension only	13.9	1.9	8.1
Respondent's salary only	10.6	1.7	6.2
Different sources of income of respondent only	28.8	8.6	19.0
Respondent's spouse's pension only	0	6.7	3.2
Respondent's spouse's salary only	0	2.5	1.2
Different sources of income of spouse only	0.2	23.1	11.2
Respondent's income with family support	35.5	8.0	22.4
Children's income only	7.6	15.3	11.3
Family support only	0.2	1.3	0.7
Respondent's spouse's income with family support	0	27.3	13.2
Respondent's and spouse's income only	3.1	1.9	2.6
Respondent's and spouse's income with family support	0	1.9	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.9 Conclusion

The main aim of this chapter was to provide details on the design and implementation of the survey on the middle-class elderly residing in Islamabad. Natural stratification of the population in the city of Islamabad, with respect to their level of income, made it easy for us to identify the middle class. Regarding the sampling strategy, we used a systematic random sampling scheme for the selection of our sample. We designed the questionnaire for this survey based on the SPF theoretical framework and the findings of the explorative qualitative study (see Chapter 3). We included previously constructed measurement instruments for specific concepts as well.

In executing the fieldwork, we faced certain challenges, which we resolved with the help of the local research network. Due to the positionality of the research team in terms of cultural background and gender, building rapport and getting positive response from the respondents were relatively straightforward and easy.

We planned our sampling strategy based on the projected age distribution of Islamabad on the basis of the 1998 census, and succeeded in achieving our aim of obtaining an almost one-third representation for the comparison age group of 50-59. However, female representation in the sample surpassed that of their male counterparts for the younger age group 50-59, which can be attributed to the higher labour force participation of males in Pakistan. For the higher age groups, we found that the female share was significantly lower than the male share owing mainly to two reasons: firstly a number of interviews with females were refused outright by their family members for health reasons; and secondly, female respondents were not allowed by their family member to be interviewed because of the fear of passing on some private information to government departments.

The majority of elderly people in our sample resided with their children. Most elderly

males were the head of the household. Overall, males had a better level of educational attainment. Furthermore, due to the higher female life expectancy, we found more widows than widowers in our sample. Regarding the income status, the average income level of our respondents was more than US\$3 a day, which met our objective of surveying a non-poor elderly population. The main source of income was found to be the pension of the male elderly, supplemented by his son's income.

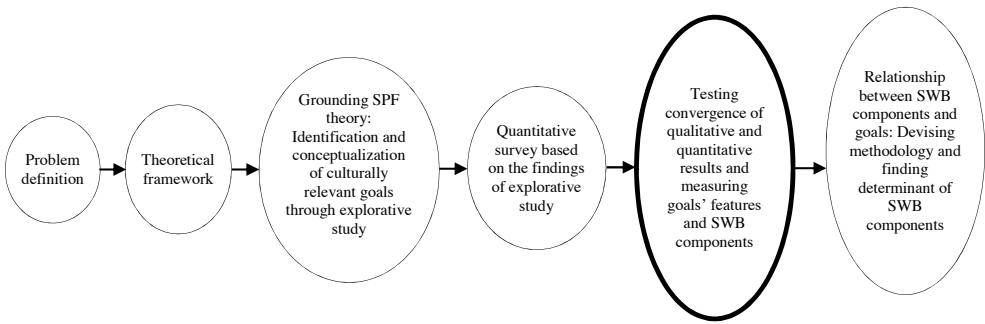
Regarding the quality of data, as there was no available dataset apart from the 1998 census for Islamabad city, we compared our results only with the census data. Family size and marital status were all in line with the results of the 1998 census of the city of Islamabad for 2010, whereas we noted significantly higher estimates in our sample in the comparison of educational attainment with those in the 1998 census for the same cohorts. This can be attributed to the quality of census data, different target populations in both data sets or over-reporting by the respondents in our survey.

We adopted a sound sampling strategy to avoid any sampling errors, yet we observed a few potential biases. One was the uneven distribution of the sample: a lower representation of males between in the age group 50-59 in contrast to a higher representation of those above 60 years of age with respect to their female counterparts. This may have caused an underrepresentation of those households whose members were not present at home. One major reason for their absence is that they were at work or engaged in an economic activity, thus giving rise to a bias due to this underrepresentation. However, as the retirement age in Pakistan is 60 years of age, and we use the same threshold to qualify someone as elderly, we may assume that there would not be any bias as far as the selection of the comparison group is concerned.

Finally, looking at the sampling strategy which we adopted to minimize the sampling errors, from the findings of this survey, and comparing it with results of the 1998 census data, this survey appears to be a good representation of the elderly in Islamabad. The only exceptions could be the higher educational attainment estimates and the bias in the gender dimension of this study, as the gender distribution in the sample was not proportionate with the projected figures.

5

Measuring goals and SWB among the elderly in Islamabad, Pakistan



5.1 Introduction

The main objective of this research is to obtain more insight into the determinants of subjective well-being (SWB) among the non-poor elderly residing in Islamabad. In this study we employed the social production function (SPF) theory (see Chapter 2) which postulates that every human being strives for a set of goals, and that the successful achievement of these goals brings higher levels of SWB. We grounded this theory in the Pakistani setting, and used the findings of the explorative qualitative study in Chapter 3, through which we were able to identify the main goals as well as their aspects. Based on these findings we designed a quantitative survey with a two-fold objective: firstly to measure the main concepts and goals of the SPF theory; and secondly, to estimate the production function of SWB among the elderly residing in Islamabad.

As discussed in detail in chapter 2, studies on the association of SWB with goals have emphasized the inclusion of different features of goals, namely, progress, commitment and attainability of goals (Brunstein, 1993; Brunstein et al., 1998; Brunstein et al., 1999). However, in the SPF framework it is postulated that it is only the achievement of goals which leads towards higher levels of SWB. Following the same line, previous research on SWB embedded in the SPF framework (van Bruggen, 2001; Nieboer, 1997; Ormel et al., 1999; Nieboer & Lindenberg, 2002; Lindenberg, 2001; Ormel et al., 1999; Lindenberg & Frey, 1993; Ormel et al., 1997; Steverink & Lindenberg, 2008; Steverink et al., 2001; Steverink et al., 1998; Steverink, 2001; Steverink & Lindenberg, 2006) has mainly been curtailed to only the achievement of goals while ignoring other features of these goals. In order to study the relationship of goals with SWB, we included questions in the questionnaire regarding all three features: perceived progress, perceived commitment and perceived attainability of different goals.¹

Two chapters were dedicated to the results of the sample survey, and this chapter mainly focuses on the quantitative measurement of the features of locally grounded goals. Further we provide descriptive statistics of various features of goals and SWB components.

First of all, we give an overview of how we employed the findings of the explorative qualitative study to draw up the survey questionnaire in section 5.2. Moreover, we focus on progress made by elderly people regarding the fulfilment of goals in their lives (Section 5.3). Further, we present how elderly people perceive commitment to different goals (Section 5.4). Then we present the findings regarding perceived attainability of different goals among the elderly (Section 5.5). Further, in section 5.6, we examine the relationship between attainability, progress, and commitment with respect to different goals. In the next section we reflect on the convergence of the findings of our explorative qualitative study with those of the quantitative survey (Section 5.7). Moreover, we provide an overview of the prevailing situation of the affective and cognitive components of SWB in the lives of the elderly (section 5.8). Finally, the last section concludes this chapter.

⁶ In the following sections of this chapter, the terms attainability, commitment, and progress refer to the perception of elderly people regarding these features of the goals.

5.2 From explorative study to survey questionnaire

Our main aim of conducting the explorative qualitative study (see Chapter 3) was to ground the SPF theory in a Pakistani setting in order to identify goals that are culturally relevant and important, to examine the different aspects of these goals and how these goals are realized by the elderly in Islamabad (see Chapter 3). Further, based on the findings of the explorative study we designed our survey questionnaire, and operationalized different goals by taking into account the different dimensions and aspects and the sources of fulfilment of goals.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, we included commitment and attainability of various goals together with their progress. In previous applications of the SPF theory, however, all studies used only one feature of goals, namely progress. While different measurement instruments were used in these studies to measure progress in attaining goals, only the measurement instrument, namely SPF-IL (Nieboer, 2005), was designed based on one explorative study (van Bruggen, 2001). As mentioned earlier, for the construction of our measurement instrument we included different items related to different goals mainly based on the findings of the explorative qualitative study. In the phrasing of questions related to progress, we based our questions on the already designed measurement instrument of SPF-IL. In the measurement of the commitment to and the attainability of goals, the wording of the questions in our survey questionnaire was based on the style used by Brunstein (1993).

In table 5.1 we present various aspects of goals identified from the explorative qualitative study. We based our questions mainly on these aspects in order to measure progress in attaining these goals.

Table 5.1 Aspects of main goals identified from the explorative study among the elderly people in Islamabad

Universal goals	First-order goals	Aspects
Social well-being	Status	Acknowledgment of skills, habits, inner qualities and monetary assets
		Acknowledgement of achievements
		Sense of being obeyed
	Behavioural confirmation	Sense of being autonomous
		Sense of doing right versus wrong things
		Sense of doing things in a good versus bad manner
	Affection	Sense of being useful to others
		Sense of physical intimacy
		Sense of emotional intimacy
Physical well-being	Comfort	Sense of being liked
		Physical health
		Physical independence
	Stimulation	Overall security-related issues
		Interesting activities
Afterlife well-being	Religiosity	Sense of religious behavioural confirmation
		Sense of ritualistic confirmation

Furthermore, to measure each of the stated aspects we included various items in the questionnaire, whose details are presented in the relevant sections.

In the measurement of commitment to and attainability of different goals, we did not include all the aspects of goals; rather we asked questions which were more general in nature as compared to those regarding progress in attaining goals. We adopted this strategy for two reasons. Firstly, in pilot interviews the respondents felt that it was easier to answer a general question. For example, instead of different questions for aspects of religiosity, we had only one question about the universal goal of well-being in the afterlife. Secondly, our aim was to ask these questions efficiently to save time. Therefore, we posed questions which reflect the main gist of a goal. For example, status is defined by Lindenberg and Frey (1993) as the relevant ranking with respect to scarce goods, and we discovered from our qualitative explorative study (see Chapter 3) that the main constituent of status in the lives of elderly people in Islamabad is receiving respect. Therefore, with regard to status we included two items: being respected and being better than others (see table 5.2). Further, apart from different aspects of behavioural confirmation (see table 5.1), the goal also has a dimension of relevant others: behaving according to internal and external norms. To measure commitment to and attainability of the goal of behavioural confirmation, we included questions related to the relevant others. According to Lindenberg and Frey (1993, p. 196), the central ingredient of the goal of affection is that “Ego and Alter care for each other”, implying that a close – affectionate – relationship is an important ingredient of affection. In the qualitative study (see Chapter 3), the elderly perceived well-being of their loved ones as another important constituent of the goal of affection. Therefore, we included two questions related to affection: well-being of and a good relationship with loved ones. Further, the interviews revealed that physical health is the main constituent of the goal of comfort. Therefore, a question related to physical health was only included to measure commitment to and attainability of comfort. Finally, we included a question related to interesting activities with respect to the goal of stimulation, which was derived from the findings of our qualitative study.

Table 5.2 Items used for measuring commitment to and attainability of goals

Goals	Items included in questionnaire
Religiosity	Good afterlife
Comfort	Physical health
Stimulation	Interesting activities
Status	Respect Better than others
Behavioural confirmation	Behaving according to internal consciousness Behaving according to people’s perceptions
Affection	Good relation with loved ones Well-being of loved ones

5.3 Progress in achieving the goals

As mentioned earlier, we used identified aspects of relevant first-order goals (see table 5.1) for the operationalization of progress made in achieving various goals in the survey questionnaire. For example, for physical health, which is one of the aspects of comfort, we included four questions, namely questions related to illness, pain, restlessness and weakness, and named them *items* of the aspects of comfort. Here in this section, first of all an overview of these items is provided as perceived by the elderly. Then we combined these items by performing principal component analysis to find out how different items are associated with the aspects of first-order instrumental goals of physical and social well-being. Principal component analysis will also reveal important aspects of different first-order instrumental goals. Finally, we combined different aspects of goals to construct a progress scale of relevant first-order goals, and to provide their descriptive statistics.

5.3.1 Measuring progress in physical well-being

a. Comfort

Comfort is defined as the absence of negative stimuli (Lindenberg, 1996). From the explorative study, the main negative stimuli found were related to physical health, state of physical dependence in undertaking daily chores, and the state of law and order in the country (see Chapter 3). We included a total of 4 items for the aspect of physical health (first 4 items in table 5.3). Items 5 and 6 are related to the aspects of physical dependence and the state of law and order respectively (see table 5.2 for the results). As already mentioned, the style for phrasing various questions was based on the SPF-IL scale (Nieboer et al. 2005). Here is an example of how different questions concerning the goal of comfort were asked in the survey questionnaire is given below:

“During the past four weeks how often did you feel ill? Have you ALWAYS, OFTEN, SOMETIMES or NEVER felt ill?”

We provided four options: always, often, sometimes, and never, and coded always as 3 and never as 0. The majority of elderly people did encounter some problem related to their health during the last four weeks (see table 5.3). Regarding feeling ill, only 38.9 per cent of the elderly reported that they never felt ill, whereas one-fourth of them reported that they always felt ill. Similarly, almost 63 per cent of the elderly reported that they felt at least some intensity of pain during the last four weeks. Moreover, over one-third of elderly people reported that they felt weak either always or often during the last four weeks.

With regard to security-related issues, a huge majority, 92 per cent, of the elderly never felt insecure during the last four weeks. Given the prevailing state of law and order in the country, this finding seemed a bit surprising. However, the comparatively efficient security arrangements as compared to other parts of the country give a sense of security to elderly people residing in Islamabad.

Table 5.3 Percentage distribution of items of comfort among the elderly in Islamabad

Items related to comfort	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
1. Illness	25.6	12.1	23.4	38.9
2. Restlessness	4.6	14.7	31.1	49.6
3. Pain	13.0	21.7	27.6	37.6
4. Weakness	11.7	22.3	38.6	27.4
5. Physical dependence	2.2	3.8	6.8	87.2
6. General security-related issues	1.7	2.0	4.2	92.0

In the following tables we present the findings obtained from principal component analysis, where we retained those factors which have an Eigenvalue greater or equal to one. From the component matrix we observe that illness, restlessness, pain and weakness are closely related to each other, and are explained by component 1 as shown in table 5.4. Further, physical dependency and being insecure have high correlations with principal components 2 and 3, respectively.

As mentioned earlier, from the qualitative study, we identified three aspects of comfort: physical health, physical dependency, and general security-related issues (see Chapter 3). From table 5.4, we note that the first principal component may be equated with physical health. It has the highest loading and explains almost twice the size of variation of the other components, making it the most important aspect of the goal of comfort in the lives of the elderly (see table 5.4). Cronbach's Alpha yields a value of 0.78 when all the above-mentioned items are combined. Hence the values of the principal components are in line with the findings of the explorative study; items included in the questionnaire based on the findings of the explorative qualitative study were closely related to each other in the principal component analysis. Further, these findings also justify our selection of physical health as the only indicator of comfort in the measurement of commitment and attainability.

Table 5.4 Principal component analysis of items of comfort

Items related to the aspects of comfort	Communalities		Components		
	Initial	Extraction	1	2	3
1. Illness	1.0	0.71	0.82	0.18	-0.01
2. Restlessness	1.0	0.63	0.63	0.47	0.12
3. Pain	1.0	0.72	0.82	0.19	0.01
4. Weakness	1.0	0.99	0.81	0.03	0.08
5. Physical dependence	1.0	0.93	0.17	0.94	0.12
6. General security-related issues	1.0	0.66	0.05	0.13	0.99
Eigenvalues			2.4	1.2	1.0
Percentage of variance			40.6	19.6	16.9

We summed the first four items together to construct a single scale for physical health. The other two items of physical independence and general security-related issues were treated independently. Therefore we arrived at three aspects of the goal of comfort (table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Descriptive statistics of progress in achieving comfort among the elderly in Islamabad

Aspects of comfort	N ²	Minimum	Maximum	Standardized	
				Mean	Std. Deviation
Health status	688	0.0	12.0	0.67	0.28
Physical dependence	688	0.0	3.0	0.93	0.20
Security	688	0.0	3.0	0.97	0.17

Among three aspects of comfort, health status obtained the lowest score. Islamabad’s elderly reported a better situation with respect to the other two aspects.

b. Stimulation

The elderly regarded interesting activities as an important aspect of the goal of stimulation (see Chapter 3). Therefore we incorporated a question pertaining to interesting activities in the survey questionnaire. Apart from interesting activities, questions related to challenging activities and concentration were included in the SPF-IL scale, and we, following the same line, formulated relevant questions for these aspects in the questionnaire. We posed questions with four options ranging from always to never. The following is an example:

“During the last four weeks, how often did you fully concentrate when doing something? Have you ALWAYS, OFTEN, SOMETIMES, or NEVER been able to concentrate?”

Descriptive statistics of the aspects of stimulation are shown in table 5.6. Almost one- third of the elderly reported that they did not engage in a challenging activity in the last four weeks. The percentage distribution for the other two aspects of stimulation is almost the same; much better than involvement in challenging activities.

Table 5.6 Percentage distribution of items of stimulation among the elderly in Islamabad

Items related to the aspects of stimulation	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Concentration	44.8	29.1	20.6	5.6
Interesting activities	48.5	28.4	17.2	5.9
Challenging activities	34.9	15.5	18.3	31.3

⁷ N shows list-wise valid observations here. In descriptive statistics we presented the results while omitting list-wise missing data; however, in the later stages we estimated the missing values using the Expectation-Maximization algorithm.

We applied principal component analysis on these items, and find that there is only one extracted component with Eigenvalue greater than 1. This component is more related to concentration and interesting activities (see Table 5.7). These findings imply that in the lives of the elderly challenging activities form a distinct dimension from concentration and interesting activities.

Table 5.7 Principal component analysis of items of stimulation

Items related to the aspects of stimulation	Communalities		Component
	Initial	Extraction	
Concentration	1.000	0.89	0.94
Interesting activities	1.000	0.91	0.96
Challenging activities	1.000	0.14	0.37
Eigenvalues			1.94
Percentage of variance			64.30

Among the three aspects of stimulation, the elderly reported almost the same frequency for the aspects of concentration and interesting activities, whereas scores on challenging activities are relatively lower (see table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Descriptive statistics for progress in attaining the goal of stimulation among the elderly in Islamabad

Aspects of comfort	N	Minimum	Maximum	Standardized	
				Mean	Std. Deviation
Concentration	681	0.0	3.0	0.70	0.31
Interesting activities	680	0.0	3.0	0.73	0.31
Challenging activities	677	0.0	3.0	0.50	0.42

5.3.2 Measuring progress in social well-being

a. Status

Status has been defined as “a relative ranking, mainly based on control over scarce resources” (Lindenberg & Frey, 1993; Ormel et al., 1999). Using this operationalization for the goal of status we identified four main aspects (see Chapter 3), and included 12 different questions/items related to these aspects in the survey questionnaire for assessing progress made in this goal: items 1 to 5 related to the aspects of *acknowledgement of skills, habits, inner qualities and monetary assets*; items 6 and 7 concerned the aspect of *being respected*; items 8 and 9 related to the aspects of *sense of achievement*; and items 10 and 11 concerned *sense of being autonomous*. Here is an example of the questions included in the questionnaire:

“During the last four weeks how often did you feel that you are obeyed by your children? Have you ALWAYS, OFTEN, SOMETIMES or NEVER felt that your children obey you?”

In the explorative qualitative study, the elderly perceived their children's inner qualities and habits as being related to the aspects of acknowledgement of skills, habits, inner qualities and monetary assets, and an integral constituent of their higher status. Therefore, to operationalize this aspect, besides relevant questions pertaining to the elderly, we included questions that related to their children. With regard to items related to the first aspect of status, almost one-fourth of the elderly reported that they sometimes or never felt this feeling (see table 5.9).

Table 5.9 Percentage distribution of items of status among the elderly people in Islamabad

Items related to the aspects of status	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
1. You are better than others with respect to your children's monetary, marital, educational status	43.3	31.6	18.7	6.4
2. You are better than others with respect to your children's inner qualities/piousness	38.3	31.5	24.5	5.7
3. You are better than others with respect to your family	51.2	29.5	10.1	9.2
4. You are better than others with respect to your monetary assets	38.6	30.9	22.4	8.0
5. You are better than others with respect to your non-monetary assets/inner qualities	47.6	30.4	12.9	9.1
6. You are obeyed by your children	86.4	9.7	2.5	1.3
7. You are obeyed by your family	81.4	13.0	3.9	1.6
8. You have achieved those goals which you have aimed for	50.3	29.8	14.3	5.6
9. You have fulfilled your responsibilities	58.0	27.8	10.5	3.7
10. People think poorly of you	1.6	2.8	5.7	89.9
11. You are dependent on others	2.6	3.5	3.6	90.2

On the other hand, a huge majority of the elderly reported obedience from their children and family members, and the feeling of autonomy in their life. This finding depicts the cultural setup of the population under study, where elders are generally given respect. Furthermore, more than 80 per cent of the population reported that they always or often felt a fulfilment of their responsibilities and that they had achieved their aim in life (items 8 and 9) in the last four weeks. Finally, a huge majority of the elderly reported not to be dependent on others in undertaking their daily chores, thereby enjoying an autonomous life.

We performed principal component analysis on the items constituting various aspects of status (given in table 5.10). Relevant items included in the questionnaire for the different aspects are all closely related to each other, and each principal component represents one aspect of status in the same manner as revealed by the qualitative explorative study (see Chapter 3). The first rotated principal component is related to the acknowledgement of skills, habits, inner qualities and monetary assets (Items 1 to 5). Similarly the second component can be regarded as being closely related to the aspect of being obeyed (Items 6 and 7). The sense

of achievement is closely related to third component (Items 8 and 9). Finally, the fourth component reflects the sense of being autonomous (Items 10 and 11).

Moreover the first aspect, acknowledgement of monetary and non-monetary resources, explains almost one-fourth, which is almost 10 percentage points higher than other aspects, of the variation of the variables, implying that it is the most important aspect of the goal of status in the lives of elderly people. Furthermore, the value of the Cronbach's Alpha for all the above items combined is 0.78.

As the results of the qualitative study (see Chapter 3) and the principal component analysis (see Table 5.10) converge on the same items for different aspects, we combined the relevant items to construct different aspects of the goal of status. Descriptive statistics of the standardized scores of the aspects of status are shown in table 5.11. We observe that feelings of autonomy and being respected are rated higher as compared to other aspects, whereas the feeling of acknowledgement of resources has the lowest value.

Table 5.10 Principal component analysis of items of status

Items related to the aspects of status	Communalities		Components			
	Initial	Extraction	1	2	3	4
1. You are better than others with respect to your children's monetary, marital, educational status	1.0	0.60	0.72	0.22	.177	0.01
2. You are better than others with respect to your children's inner qualities/piousness	1.0	0.59	0.70	0.26	.124	-0.15
3. You are better than others with respect to your family	1.0	0.64	0.78	-0.01	0.18	0.05
4. You are better than others with respect to your monetary assets	1.0	0.69	0.81	0.04	0.13	0.10
5. Others with respect to your non-monetary assets/inner qualities	1.0	0.55	0.74	0.01	-0.04	-0.03
6. You are obeyed by your children	1.0	0.78	0.11	0.88	0.06	0.05
7. You are obeyed by your family	1.0	0.79	0.15	0.86	0.12	0.13
8. You have achieved those goals which you have aimed for	1.0	0.73	0.26	0.26	0.77	0.06
9. You have fulfilled your responsibilities	1.0	0.81	0.10	-0.02	0.90	-0.01
10. People think poorly of you	1.0	0.59	0.01	0.23	0.09	0.79
11. You are dependent on others	1.0	0.70	-0.01	-0.02	-0.05	0.83
Eigenvalues			2.9	1.75	1.52	1.29
Percentage of variance			26.56	15.86	13.81	11.64

Table 5.11 Descriptive statistics of progress in achieving status among the elderly in Islamabad

Aspects of status	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standardized Std. deviation
Acknowledgement of skills, habits, inner qualities and monetary assets	650	0.0	15.0	0.70	0.24
The sense of being obeyed	668	0.0	6.0	0.93	0.17
Acknowledgement of achievement	676	0.0	6.0	0.78	0.25
The sense of being autonomous	680	0.0	6.0	0.95	0.16

b. Behavioural confirmation

Lindenberg and Frey (1993) have defined behavioural confirmation as doing the right things in the eyes of relevant others. Using the operationalization of behavioural confirmation based on this definition in the explorative qualitative study (see Chapter 3), we identified three aspects of behavioural confirmation, and included 6 different questions/items related to these aspects to ascertain the progress made in achieving this goal: *doing things in a good versus bad manner; right versus evil things; and being useful to others*. Questions were framed from the perspective of the respondents and how they perceived the views of other people (see table 5.12). Here is an example of the questions:

“During the last four weeks how often did you think that you have been useful to others? Have you ALWAYS, OFTEN, SOMETIMES or NEVER felt useful to others?”

As table 5.12 shows, elderly people regarded their actions to be more consistent with their own perception rather than what they think is the opinion of others about themselves.

Table 5.12 Percentage distribution of items of behavioural confirmation among the elderly in Islamabad

Items related to the aspects of behavioural confirmation	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
1. You do different things in a good manner	53.0	27.2	12.8	7.0
2. People think that you do different things in a good manner	41.4	34.8	18.6	5.2
3. You do the right things	68.6	20.8	6.9	3.7
4. People think that you do the right things	56.0	28.3	13.4	2.3
5. You are useful to others	58.5	23.3	12.0	6.1
6. People think that you are useful to others	41.0	32.9	21.4	4.8

We performed principal component analysis on the items concerned with behavioural confirmation to determine which of these items are more closely related to each other (see Table 5.13). From the results we observe that the first rotated component is related to the

aspect of being useful to others (Items 5 and 6). The sense of doing things in a good manner is related to component 2 (Items 1 and 2). Similarly the last component can be regarded as doing different things with respect to right and wrong (Items 3 and 4). This implies that these items of behavioural confirmation are closely related to each other in the same manner as what we found from the qualitative explorative study (see Chapter 3). Hence, these results from the principal component analysis for the goal of behavioural confirmation substantiate our explorative study findings. Furthermore, all these aspects are found to be equally important, as they share almost equal amount of variation in the data. The value of Cronbach's Alpha for all the above items is 0.86.

Table 5.13 Principal component analysis of items of behavioural confirmation

Items related to the aspects of behavioural confirmation	Communalities		Components		
	Initial	Extraction	1	2	3
1. You do different things in a good manner	1.00	.90	.17	.91	.18
2. People think that you do different things in a good manner	1.00	.83	.23	.82	.33
3. You do the right things	1.00	.78	.15	.27	.83
4. People think that you do the right things	1.00	.86	.22	.20	.87
5. You are useful to others	1.00	.88	.91	.20	.12
6. People think that you are useful to others	1.00	.88	.88	.19	.26
Eigenvalues			1.76	1.69	1.66
Percentage of variance			29.32	28.13	27.92

We added relevant items to construct various aspects of behavioural confirmation. The descriptive statistics of these aspects are shown in table 5.14. Elderly people reported the highest degree of fulfilment of the aspect of being *useful to others*, whereas the level of fulfilment of *doing the right things as opposed to wrong ones* and *doing things in the good manner versus bad manner* was found to be the same.

Table 5.14 Descriptive statistics of progress in attaining behavioural confirmation among the elderly people in Islamabad

Aspects of behavioural confirmation	N	Minimum	Maximum	Standardized	
				Mean	Std. Deviation
Sense of doing different things in a good manner	540	.00	6.00	0.75	0.28
Sense of doing right things	554	.00	6.00	0.75	0.27
Sense of being useful to others	554	.00	6.00	0.89	0.22

c. Affection

Lindenberg and Frey (1993) defined affection as a relationship where both persons care for each other. From the explorative study we discovered different aspects of affection, and we included 13 items related to these aspects in the questionnaire in order to find out the perceptions of the elderly regarding progress in achieving affection: the first three items are related to the aspect of *being liked*; items 4 to 9 correspond to the aspect of *physical intimacy*; and last four items belongs to the aspect of *emotional intimacy*. Apart from different aspects we also identified the main sources of affection in the lives of the elderly. The items which we included in the questionnaire not only trace different aspects of affection, but their sources as well. An example of the questions is as follows:

“During the last four weeks how often did you think that people like you? Have you ALWAYS, OFTEN, SOMETIMES or NEVER felt that people like you?”

Elderly people perceive their children and spouse as the main sources of the goal of affection in their lives. For this reason we included direct questions related to the aspects of affection which elderly people experience with their children and spouse.

From table 5.15 it is quite evident that a large majority of the elderly people enjoy good affectionate relationships with their spouse and children. However, elderly people report lower scores on the aspect of time spent with their children, as only 58 per cent of the respondents reported that they always get proper time with their children, while 22 per cent reported that they often get time with their children. This trend may be attributed to the fact that most of the young people are busy in their jobs or studies.

Table 5.15 Percentage distribution of items of affection among the elderly in Islamabad

Items related to the aspects of affection	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
1. People really like you	51.7	31.2	13.0	4.1
2. Your children really like you	87.5	7.5	2.3	2.7
3. Your spouse really likes you	82.4	10.2	5.2	2.3
4. Your children show good support/cooperate with you	82.9	12.3	3.6	1.2
5. Your spouse shows good support/cooperates with you	84.5	10.1	2.7	2.7
6. You are properly taken care of by your children	84.5	10.7	3.6	1.2
7. You are properly taken care of by your spouse	84.5	9.9	2.9	2.7
8. You get proper time with your children.	57.8	21.6	17.9	2.7
9. You get proper time with your spouse	83.0	10.7	3.4	2.9
10. Your children regard your successes and failures as their own	80.6	13.3	3.5	2.6
11. Your spouse regards your successes and failures as his/her own	85.5	9.1	1.7	3.7
12. Your children care about how you feel	82.7	12.7	2.4	2.2
13. Your spouse cares about how you feel	85.9	8.2	2.9	3.0

Table 5.16 provides the results of principal component analysis on the items related to affection. The first rotated principal component is more closely related to affection from spouse (Items 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 and 13). Further the second component may be regarded as being closely related with affection from children (all even-numbered items). Finally the third component can be regarded as affection from other people (Item 1). The value of Cronbach's Alpha for all the above-mentioned items together is 0.90. This implies that the components constructed using these items are more closely related to different sources of affection rather than with its aspects identified from the explorative qualitative study (see Chapter 3).

Table 5.16 Principal component analysis of items of affection

Items related to the aspects of affection	Communalities		Components		
	Initial	Extraction	1	2	3
1. People really like you	1.0	0.79	0.10	0.08	0.88
2. Your children really like you	1.0	0.68	0.08	0.47	0.66
3. Your spouse really likes you	1.0	0.76	0.79	0.10	0.35
4. Your children show good support/cooperate with you	1.0	0.71	0.16	0.82	0.08
5. Your spouse shows good support/cooperates with you	1.0	0.81	0.87	0.21	0.03
6. You are properly taken care of by your children	1.0	0.72	0.11	0.81	0.23
7. You are properly taken care of by your spouse	1.0	0.83	0.89	0.16	0.06
8. You get proper time with your children.	1.0	0.52	0.12	0.70	0.07
9. You get proper time with your spouse	1.0	0.76	0.85	0.17	0.01
10. Your children regard your successes and failures as their own	1.0	0.62	0.20	0.76	0.08
11. Your spouse regards your successes and failures as his/her own	1.0	0.73	0.82	0.22	-0.01
12. Your children care about how you feel	1.0	0.77	0.27	0.82	0.11
13. Your spouse cares about how you feel	1.0	0.80	0.87	0.19	.09
Eigenvalues			4.54	3.50	1.44
Percentage of variance			34.92	26.92	11.09

On the other hand, if we follow the alternative path to construct the three aspects – physical intimacy, emotional intimacy and liking – identified from the explorative study (see Chapter 3) by simply summing the scores of the items for each of these three aspects, and then performing principal component analysis on the three new variables, we obtain the following results as shown in table 5.17.

Table 5.17 Principal component analysis of different aspects of affection

Aspects of affection	Communalities		Component 1
	Initial	Extraction	
The sense of emotional intimacy	1.000	0.82	0.91
The sense of physical intimacy	1.000	0.83	0.91
The sense of being liked	1.000	0.60	0.77
Eigenvalue			2.25
Percentage of variance			74.93

We constructed the aspects of affection by simply adding the relevant items obtained from the descriptive statistics (see table 5.18). All the aspects have an almost equal standardized mean value with a slight higher value for emotional intimacy, followed by physical intimacy, with the aspect of being liked having the lowest value.

Table 5.18 Descriptive statistics of progress in achieving affection among the elderly in Islamabad

Aspects of affection	N	Minimum	Maximum	Standardized	
				Mean	Std. Deviation
The sense of emotional intimacy	498	0.0	12.00	0.92	0.17
The sense of physical intimacy	507	0.0	18.00	0.90	0.16
The sense of being liked	469	0.0	9.00	0.86	0.18

5.3.3 Measuring progress in religiosity

We identified two aspects of the goal of religiosity from the qualitative explorative study: ritualistic confirmation and religious behavioural confirmation (see Chapter 3), and included their relevant questions in the survey questionnaire. An example of the questions is:

“During the last four weeks how well did you perform Islamic rituals? Do you think your performance of the Islamic rituals was VERY GOOD, GOOD, NEUTRAL, BAD or VERY BAD?”

We present the percentage distribution of evaluated aspects of afterlife well-being in table 5.19. A huge majority of the elderly population perceived themselves as being well prepared for their afterlife; a very small proportion, less than four per cent, regarded their preparation as bad or very bad.

Table 5.19 Percentage distribution of religious practices vis-à-vis the elderly’s perceptions of well-being in the afterlife among the elderly in Islamabad

Aspects of religiosity	N	Very good	Good	Neutral	Bad	Very bad
1. Performance of rituals	685	27.2	51.2	17.8	3.6	0.1
2. Adherence to the moral teachings of Islam	685	31.7	60.7	6.4	1.0	0.1

5.3.4 Overall progress of different goals

In the previous section we presented the results of principal component analyses, and showed that the results substantiated our explorative study findings regarding the identification of different aspects of main goals. In this section we present the overall progress of different goals by adding the responses to progress made in different aspects, and named the newly constructed variable as the *progress scale*. We constructed two types of variables: first by adding the related aspects of a goal, and second by combining the relevant aspects using the component scores obtained from principal component analysis. As both types of variables had correlation coefficients almost equal to 1, our preference is for the scale which was constructed by addition as it was closer to the data. The scores on the progress scale were obtained by summing all aspects of each goal and standardized between 0 and 1 (table 5.20).

The progress of the goal of stimulation is the lowest among all the goals, making it quite obvious that elderly people in the study did not have a lot of stimulating activities in their lives. The progress in achieving afterlife well-being was slightly better than that for stimulation. On the other hand affection was reported to be the goal with the highest progress, having a mean value of 0.9. Further, the mean score of status on the progress scale is 0.8, whereas the goals of comfort and behavioural confirmation show a moderate level of progress as compared to other goals.

Table 5.20 Descriptive statistics of the progress scale of the main goals of the elderly in Islamabad

	Descriptive Statistics				
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Comfort	688	.10	1.0	0.70	0.21
Stimulation	688	.00	1.0	0.65	0.26
Status	688	.15	1.0	0.80	0.15
Affection	688	.01	1.0	0.90	0.14
Behavioural confirmation	688	.00	1.0	0.75	0.23
Afterlife well-being	688	.11	1.0	0.67	0.18

5.4 Perceived commitment to different goals

In this section we examine commitment to different goals. To obtain an understanding of the perceptions of the elderly regarding their commitment to and attainability of different goals, we asked questions which were more general in nature as compared to those connected with the progress of achieving goals (see table 5.2). We asked two questions each with regard to relative and absolute commitment. In this way we were not only able to measure commitment to different goals on a Likert scale, but we were also able to determine the relative ranking of commitment to goals, which validated some of the qualitative study's findings.

5.4.1 Relative ranking of different goals

In order to ascertain the importance of different goals as perceived by elderly people, we included two types of questions as proposed by Brunstein (1993).

An example of questions to measure the ranking of the commitment to goals is:

“Please rank the following items (Assign 1 to the item to which you are most committed, for which you would do everything necessary to accomplish, and 10 to that item for which you would put least effort to accomplish that goal).”

“Please rank the following (Assign 1 to that goal which is most difficult to give up and 10 for that goal which is the easiest to give up).”

We constructed the rankings by taking the weighted averages of the scores of different goals on ranking questions. The ranking is from 1 to 10, with 1 showing the highest and 10 the lowest commitment to a goal.

Afterlife well-being was ranked 1 by 82 per cent of those surveyed, with less than 5 per cent giving it a rank of 5 or below. In turn, the weighted ranking scores of the goal of afterlife well-being – 1.4 for both ranking scores – are quite close to the maximum value of 1. This implies that the elderly ranked afterlife well-being as their foremost choice, in terms of their commitment to accomplishing this goal and difficulty of giving it up (see table 5.21). Further, the elderly ranked their physical health second and getting respect third. The goal of affection is operationalized as a good relationship with loved ones as well as the well-being of loved ones. These two aspects of affection are ranked fourth and fifth, with the former scoring higher on commitment than the latter. The items related to the goal of behavioural confirmation, operationalized as behaving according to internal and external norms, were ranked sixth and ninth respectively. Furthermore, elderly people regarded monetary resources as seventh in their lives, with interesting activities, operationalized for the goal of stimulation, in eighth position. Being better than others, another aspect of status, was ranked last by the respondents in the survey.

Table 5.21 Ranking of commitment to different goals among elderly people in Islamabad

Items/goals	Commitment to Accomplishment	Commitment not to give up
Afterlife well-being	1.4	1.4
Physical health	3.1	3.1
Respect	4.1	4.1
Good relations with loved ones	4.5	4.6
Well-being of loved ones	4.8	4.8
Behaving according to norms	5.0	5.0
Monetary resources	7.1	7.1
Stimulation	7.5	7.6
Behaving according to relevant others	8.1	8.2
Better than others	9.3	9.0

5.4.2 Level of absolute commitment

Apart from relative ranking, we asked questions regarding elderly people's absolute commitment to different goals. Here is an example of the statements, where 0 means strongly disagree and 4 strongly agree:

“I am so committed to the afterlife that no matter what happens I will not give up this goal. Do you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, NEUTRAL, DISAGREE, or STRONGLY DISAGREE with this statement?”

“Even if ensuring a good afterlife requires a lot of effort, I will do everything necessary to accomplish these goals. Do you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, NEUTRAL, DISAGREE, or STRONGLY DISAGREE with this statement?”

Table 5.22 presents the results of the absolute commitment for different goals. As shown in the table, more than 93 per cent of the elderly show their strong commitment to the goal of well-being in the afterlife as they strongly agree with both the statements, with only less than 1 per cent of the people either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with these statements. These figures show their commitment to afterlife. None of the other goals was given such commitment by the respondents. The least important goals were stimulation, behaving according to other people's perceptions and to be better than others (see table 5.22).

Table 5.22 Level of absolute commitment to different goals among elderly people in Islamabad

Items/Goals	Commitment to Accomplishment				Commitment not to give up				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Afterlife well-being	94.7	3.1	1.5	0.1	0.6	94.4	2.5	2.3	0.1
Physical health	61.8	32.0	5.3	0.4	0.4	64.0	28.9	5.4	1.0
Respect	70.0	12.9	16.6	0.3	0.1	68.7	15.1	15.7	0.1
Good relations with loved ones	67.1	15.7	16.6	0.4	0.1	68.4	15.1	15.9	0.4
Well-being of loved ones	64.9	17.2	17.1	0.6	0.1	68.7	14.4	16.0	0.7
Behaving according to norms	63.3	16.0	19.8	0.7	0.1	61.6	17.7	19.4	0.9
Stimulation	17.6	32.6	33.6	7.2	9.0	18.7	31.9	32.5	9.1
Behaving according to relevant others	7.0	31.6	34.7	14.8	11.9	4.7	33.4	35.9	13.3
Better than others	20.2	32.0	35.3	9.5	3.0	22.0	33.6	35.1	6.8

We combined the items related to different goals in order to construct the *commitment scale*, by adding the values of the absolute commitment to each goal. We chose absolute commitment as it was measured on a ratio scale whereas relative commitment was measured according to an ordinal scale. The values were scaled in such a way that the higher the value on the commitment scale the higher the commitment towards that goal as perceived by elderly people. Further, we standardized the newly constructed commitment scale in a range between 0 and 1.0 by simply dividing all the scores with the maximum value; a score of 0 on the commitment scale implies no commitment, and a score of 1 implies the highest possible level of commitment. We arrived at the following rankings of the goals (see table 5.23). The elderly reported their highest level of commitment to well-being in the afterlife, which obtained a mean value of 0.95, whereas the goals of comfort and affection were ranked second and third respectively with mean values of 0.72 and 0.60. Moreover, the mean values on the commitment scale for the goals of status, behavioural confirmation and stimulation were 0.44, 0.39 and 0.24, respectively.

Table 5.23 Descriptive statistics of the commitment scale of the main goals of the elderly in Islamabad

	Descriptive Statistics				
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Comfort	673	0.04	1.0	0.72	0.20
Stimulation	673	0.02	1.0	0.24	0.17
Status	589	0.11	1.0	0.44	0.14
Affection	669	0.06	1.0	0.60	0.16
Behavioural confirmation	673	0.10	1.0	0.39	0.13
Afterlife well-being ³	673	0.02	1.0	0.95	0.14

5.5 Perceived attainability of different goals

Bruinstein (1993) proposed the evaluation of attainability of goals in order to establish their role in subjective well-being, and proposed two dimensions: sufficient resources and in total control to achieve goals. We included two statements regarding this issue in our questionnaire. For example, the statements concerning afterlife well-being were:

“I have many opportunities/resources in everyday life to achieve a good afterlife. Do you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, NEUTRAL, DISAGREE or STRONGLY DISAGREE with the statement”,

and:

⁸ As religiosity was discovered to be the only first-order instrumental goal of well-being in the afterlife, we will use afterlife well-being instead of religiosity in the remainder of this book.

“It depends totally on me whether I achieve a good afterlife or not. Do you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, NEUTRAL, DISAGREE or STRONGLY DISAGREE with the statement”

The responses were assigned 0 value to the response strongly disagree and 4 to strongly agree. Results are presented in table 5.24.

The elderly generally perceived all the goals to be attainable. Furthermore, elderly people perceived the goal of afterlife well-being as the easiest to attain. The other goals, which were regarded as highly attainable, were being respected and having a good relationship with loved ones.

Elderly people regarded their physical health, well-being of loved ones, and behaving according to their internal norms as moderately attainable. In Pakistan health care facilities are costly and of poor quality. This, in conjunction with an unhealthy lifestyle (Akram & Khan, 2007), gives us some clue about the reasons behind the perceived low attainability of good health among elderly people.

Finally, the elderly regarded behaving according to relevant others, becoming better than others in terms of monetary and non-monetary resources and stimulation as relatively difficult, yet attainable, goals as seen from the absolute values in table 5.24.

Table 5.24 Perceived attainability of different goals among the elderly in Islamabad

For the achievement of		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Afterlife well-being	Many opportunities	89.3	6.0	3.8	0.3	0.6
	Depends totally on you	72.8	11.4	4.1	8.5	3.2
Physical health	Many opportunities	50.1	37.8	7.8	4.0	0.4
	Depends totally on you	38.5	34.3	10.9	13.9	2.3
Respect	Many opportunities	59.0	22.1	18.6	0.1	0.1
	Depends totally on you	50.6	30.2	11.3	5.0	2.9
Good relations with loved ones	Many opportunities	62.1	18.6	18.0	1.2	0.1
	Depends totally on you	65.3	24.2	8.2	1.9	0.4
Well-being of loved ones	Many opportunities	49.0	27.4	19.6	3.5	0.4
	Depends totally on you	48.5	25.4	13.5	10.1	2.5
Behaving according to norms	Many opportunities	59.3	17.4	22.3	1.0	0.0
	Depends totally on you	59.6	25.7	12.6	1.8	0.3
Monetary resources	Many opportunities	29.1	36.3	30.9	2.0	1.6
	Depends totally on you	30.3	26.2	30.3	10.5	2.8
Stimulation	Many opportunities	21.3	32.8	32.1	7.6	6.1
	Depends totally on you	28.7	36.0	22.7	8.6	4.1
Behaving according to relevant others	Many opportunities	4.4	33.4	38.7	12.1	11.4
	Depends totally on you	10.8	29.5	25.8	21.0	12.8
Better than others	Many opportunities	19.9	31.3	36.2	10.4	2.1
	Depends totally on you	24.0	27.1	31.8	14.4	2.7

Here again we combined different items related to different goals and added the scores on both items of attainability to construct the *attainability scale*. We further divided the attainability scale by the theoretical maximum value to make its range between 0 to 1, in such a way that the goals with higher values indicate those which are easier to attain; with 0 means most difficult and 1 implies goals that are easiest to attain. The results of the attainability scores among the elderly in Islamabad are presented in table 5.25. The mean values of the attainability scale reveal that elderly people in general reported high values regarding the attainability of goals. Moreover, we observe that afterlife well-being is regarded as the most attainable goal, with stimulation as the least attainable, yet the latter's considerably high mean can be interpreted as a reasonably attainable goal.

Table 5.25 Descriptive statistics of the attainability scale of the main goals of the elderly in Islamabad

	Descriptive Statistics				
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Comfort	677	0.2	1.0	0.82	0.16
Stimulation	678	0.2	1.0	0.73	0.19
Status	598	0.4	1.0	0.78	0.14
Affection	675	0.2	1.0	0.86	0.15
Behavioural confirmation	678	0.4	1.0	0.75	0.12
Afterlife well-being	678	0.2	1.0	0.93	0.13

Table 5.26 shows percentile points of the attainability scale for different goals. Very few people reported any difficulty about the attainability of different goals; less than 5 per cent of the people scored lower than 0.6, except for stimulation for which only 10 per cent of the elderly people scored less than 0.5 on the attainability scale. Hence, we may conclude, by looking at the percentile points of the attainability scale, that all these goals are quite easily attainable for the elderly.

Table 5.26 Percentile points of the attainability scale among the elderly in Islamabad

Goals	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P10	Median
Comfort	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.50	0.60	0.60	0.80
Stimulation	0.20	0.30	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.50	0.80
Status	0.40	0.50	0.50	0.55	0.60	0.60	0.80
Affection	0.40	0.50	0.55	0.60	0.60	0.70	0.90
Behavioural confirmation	0.50	0.50	0.55	0.55	0.60	0.60	0.75
Afterlife well-being	0.40	0.60	0.60	0.70	0.70	0.70	1.0

Where Pi are the percentile points

5.6 Relationship between attainability, commitment and progress of different goals

Looking at the previous sections we found different mean scores of each goal with regard to progress, commitment and attainability. Afterlife well-being, for example, obtained the highest commitment and was ranked the most easily attainable goal, but progress made in this goal was relatively poor. In this section we examine the relationships between progress, commitment and attainability for each goal.

From the graphs several conclusions can be drawn. First of all the average values of different goals follow the same trend as far as attainability and commitment to these goals are concerned; afterlife well-being is at the top for both these features and the goal of stimulation is the lowest for both (see Figure 5.1). Nevertheless, the levels are different.

The elderly perceived all goals as attainable, whereas their commitment to the goals of behavioural confirmation, stimulation, and status was on average much lower (see figure 5.1).

At the individual level the correlation of the features of attainability and commitment to goals shows that these features are moderately dependent on each other (see table 5.27) except for the goals of comfort and behavioural confirmation.

Regarding the relationship of commitment and progress of different goals, figure 5.2 shows that the average values for both features of the goals depict a totally different ordering. The elderly perceived the goal of affection as the goal with the highest level of progress. Status preceded affection on the progress scale while stimulation and afterlife well-being obtained the lowest positions, and the goals of behavioural confirmation and comfort were perceived by the elderly to be in the middle (see Figure 5.2). Correlations of these features for each goal at the individual level are shown in table 5.26. For almost all goals their progress and commitment are almost independent of each other, but for behavioural confirmation a correlation of 0.46 is measured. Here it appears that the higher the individual commitment to behavioural confirmation, the greater the progress towards that goals.

Table 5.27 Correlation between progress, attainability and commitment to different goals

	Attainability vs. commitment	Commitment vs. progress	Progress vs. Attainability
Comfort	0.16	0.1	0.41
Stimulation	0.33	0.03	0.19
Status	0.41	-0.05	0.02
Affection	0.49	0.14	0.24
Behavioural confirmation	0.01	0.46	0.07
Afterlife well-being	0.35	0.13	0.01

Figure 5.1 Average levels of commitment and attainability of different goals

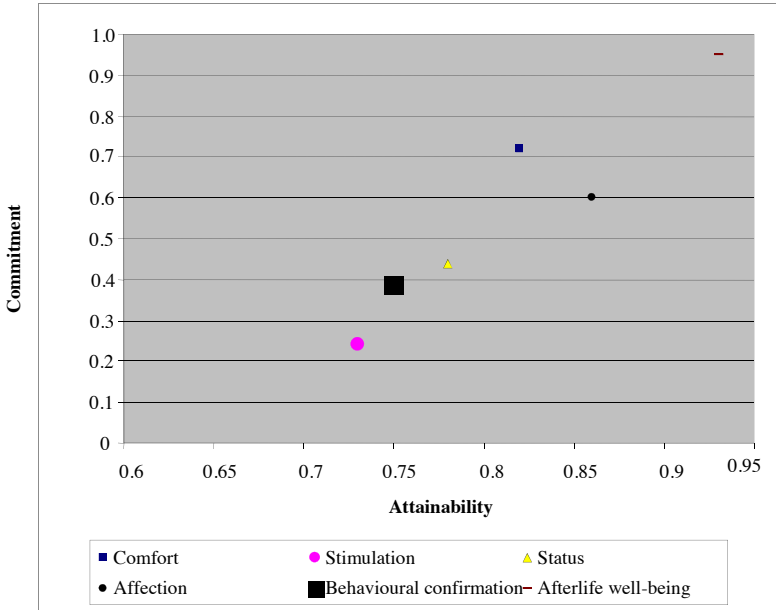
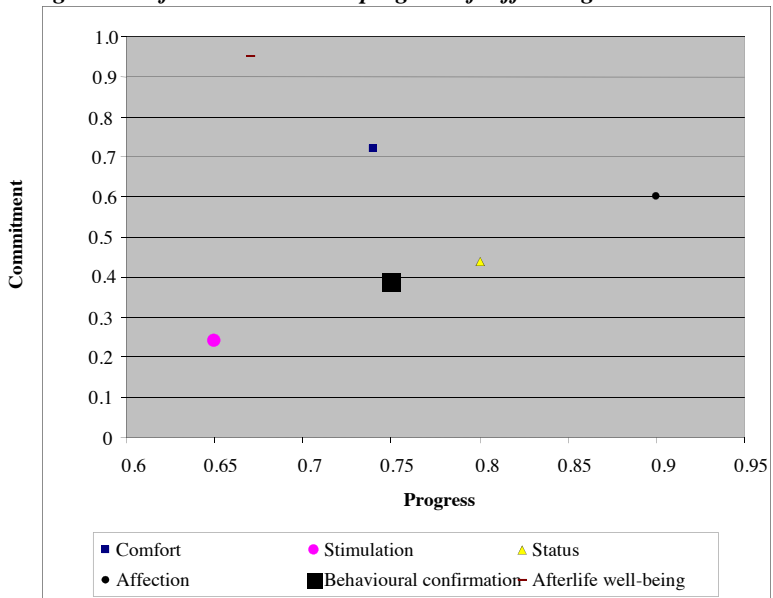
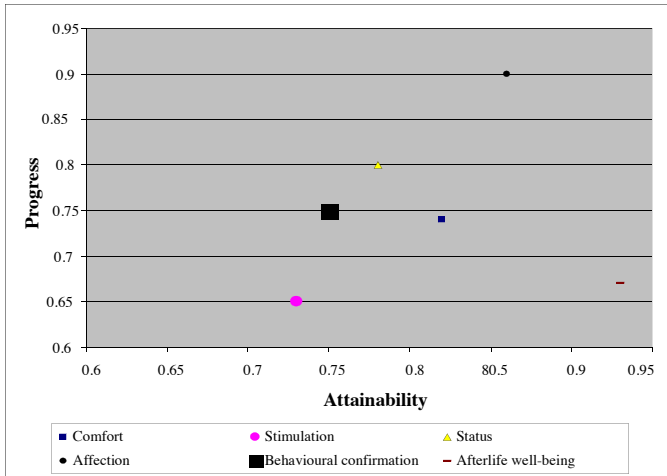


Figure 5.2 Average levels of commitment and progress of different goals



Finally we present the relationship between progress and attainability in terms of their mean values with respect to different goals in figure 5.3, and the correlations based on the individual scores of these features for goals in table 5.27. We observe here again a different average ranking for both features, and generally low correlations for each goal, except for the goal of comfort.

Figure 5.3 Average levels of attainability and progress of different goals



5.7 Convergence of the results of explorative qualitative study and quantitative survey

A comparison of the qualitative study’s findings with those of principal component analysis on the items in the quantitative survey reveals a near convergence. The items included in the questionnaire concerning a certain aspect of goal, which we obtained from the explorative study, were closely related to each other in the principal component analysis. Affection, however, somehow is an exception to it, as different items were not closely related to each other with respect to different aspects of this goal, rather the items were more closely related with various sources of affection. Such convergence between the findings of qualitative and quantitative studies underscores the significance of this study as it validates the congruence of both data sets.

5.8 Prevailing situation of different components of subjective well-being (SWB)

Researchers have identified two interrelated yet distinguishable (Kuppens et al., 2008) components of SWB: a global appraisal of one’s life as a whole, commonly known as the cognitive component of SWB; and an emotional component comprising positive and negative

emotions, called the affective component of SWB (Diener, 1984; Diener et al., 1999). Before establishing a relationship between the components of SWB, and different goals in the lives of the elderly in Islamabad, we present the prevailing situation of these two SWB components.

5.8.1 Cognitive component of SWB

Life satisfaction, constituting the cognitive and global evaluation of the quality of one's life, has been identified as one of the two main constituent components of SWB (Diener, 1984; Pavot & Diener, 1993; Pavot & Diener, 2008). To measure this component of SWB, Diener et al. (1985) proposed the satisfaction with life scale (SWLS) (for items of the SWLS see table 6.2). It is a self-reported scale for measuring overall life appraisal, and has been used widely in SWB studies. This scale possesses a good psychometric quality, although it includes only five items. Apart from that this scale has shown correlation with measures of mental health (Pavot and Diener, 2008).

Nonetheless the SWLS is not without critique with regard to its reliability and validity (Schwarz and Strack, 1999 cited by Pavot & Diener, 2008). Critics argue that the context has an influence on the SWLS. Further, using meta-analysis Schimmack and Oishi (2005) have demonstrated that effects of extraneous factors tend to be small as compared to recurrently accessible information. Schimmack et al. (2002) postulated that individuals normally use similar kinds of factors for making judgments about life satisfaction.

In the original SWLS five questions were asked on a scale of 7, from strongly disagree to strongly agree. We, however, made a small alteration to the original SWLS. Biswas-Diener and Diener (2001), in their study of SWB among the slum dwellers in Calcutta, India, argued that for people in developing countries, one should curtail the options in the questions, so that people find it easier to answer. Therefore, in line with the suggestion in the above-mentioned study, we limited the number of options from 7 to 5 by omitting the 'slightly satisfied' and 'slightly dissatisfied' options. An example of the questions asked is as follows:

“Your life is in most ways close to your ideal. Do you STRONGLY DISAGREE, DISAGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, AGREE, or STRONGLY AGREE with this statement.”

We coded 1 for strongly disagree and 5 for strongly agree. For analysis purposes, the codes of the responses to all the statements are added. Table 5.28 gives an overview of the previous SWLS scores and what we used. In this way the extremely satisfied responses range from 21 to 25 in this scale, whereas a score of 9 or below is regarded as extremely dissatisfied. The categories slightly satisfied and slightly dissatisfied were omitted. The results in table 5.28 show that elderly people were satisfied with their life. Moreover, 21.7 per cent of the target population reported extreme satisfaction with their life. Only 2.5 per cent of the elderly people reported a neutral point of view, indicated by a score of 15. A little over 10 per cent of elderly people reported that they were dissatisfied or extremely dissatisfied with their life.

Table 5.28 A comparison between the SWLS used in Diener (1985) and the one used in the current study (with percentage distribution of the elderly in Islamabad)

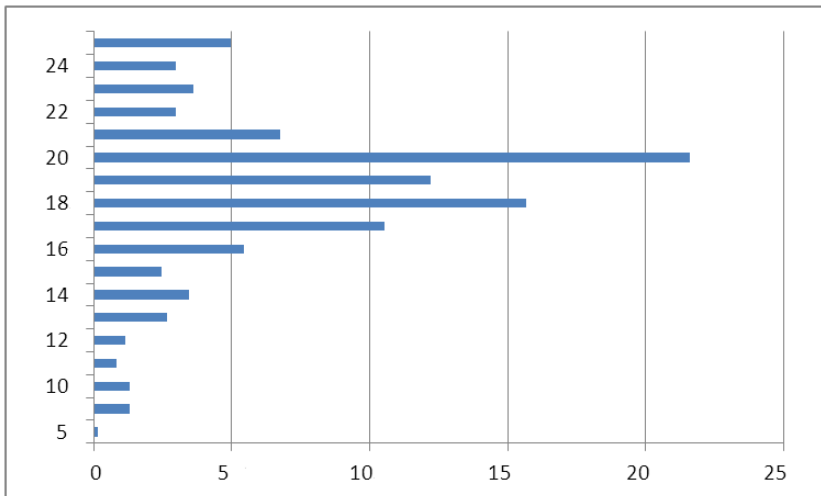
	Previously used SWLS	SWLS used in this study	Percentage distribution in this study
Condition	Score	Score	
Extremely satisfied	31-35	21-25	21.3
Satisfied	26-30	16-20	65.4
Slightly satisfied	21-25	■	■
Neutral	20	15	2.5
Slightly dissatisfied	15-19	■	■
Dissatisfied	10-14	10-14	9.4
Extremely dissatisfied	5-9	5-9	1.5

Table 5.29 Life satisfaction score of the elderly in Islamabad

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Satisfaction with life scale	612	5.00	25.00	18.64	3.29

Figure 5.4 illustrates the frequency distribution (in percentages) of the responses on SWLS.

Figure 5.4 Percentage distribution of the SWLS for the elderly in Islamabad



Principal component analysis on the items of SWLS resulted in a single component, accounting for 58 per cent variance of all items (see table 5.30).

Table 5.30 Principal component analysis of the SWLS

	Initial	Extraction	Component
1. In most ways your life is close to your ideal	1.00	0.77	0.88
2. The conditions of your life are excellent	1.00	0.81	0.90
3. You are satisfied with your life	1.00	0.77	0.88
4. So far you have obtained the important things you want in life	1.00	0.45	0.67
5. If you could live your life over again, you would change almost nothing	1.00	0.11	0.33
Eigenvalue			2.91
Percentage of variance			58.12

Moreover, Cronbach's Alpha is 0.74, which is considered an acceptable value (see table 5.31).

Table 5.31 Reliability analysis of the SWLS

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1. In most ways your life is close to your ideal-	14.69	7.17	0.67	0.64
2. The conditions of your life are excellent	14.69	7.25	0.69	0.64
3. You are satisfied with your life	14.59	7.48	0.67	0.65
4. So far you have obtained the important things you want in life	14.98	7.53	0.50	0.70
5. If you could live your life over again, you would change almost nothing	15.64	7.46	0.23	0.85

As observed in previous research (e.g., Senecal, Nouwen & Whilte, 2000 cited by Pavot & Diener, 2008), the fifth item of the SWLS scale shows lower factor loadings and item-total correlation. This implies that the fifth item of the scale is slightly different from the others. This fifth item can be dropped from the scale, but since the SWLS with five items has a highly significant correlation with the SWLS with first four items, with a magnitude of the coefficient amounting to 0.89, we proceeded with further analysis using SWLS with five items not four.

5.8.2 Affective component of SWB

The affective component of SWB is normally divided into two types of emotions: positive and negative (Bradburn, 1969; Diener et al., 1985; Watson et al., 1988). Different researchers have identified different sets of positive and negative emotions, but the positive and negative affect

scale (PANAS) proposed by Watson et al. (1988) is the most widely used instrument for the evaluation of the affective component of SWB. In this scale questions posed concern the frequency of different emotions in the past few months. Emotions that fall under positive affect (PA) include being excited, enthusiastic, alert, and inspired; and while the negative affect (NA) includes emotions such as being sad, upset, afraid, nervous, and scared. Options for the answers vary from never to very often in a 5-point scale (Watson et al. 1988). However, Diener et al. (2010) and Kuppens et al. (2008) have argued that all items included in the PANAS are high arousal feelings. Feelings such as being happy, contented, grateful, and loving are not included in this instrument. Moreover, various researchers have argued that the emotions should be culturally relevant (Kitayama et al., 2006; Kuppens et al., 2008). Various researchers have also distinguished between socially engaging and disengaging emotions. This distinction is used by Kitayama et al. (2006), who define engaging emotions as those associated with social interdependence and a relationally embedded nature of self. They argue that these emotions are quite prevalent in the Asian cultures. On the other hand, disengaging emotions are associated with an independent and autonomous self (Kitayama et al., 2006). We follow the same line of reasoning and included both engaged (e.g. gratitude, love, guilt, shame) and disengaged (e.g. pride, anger, jealousy) emotions in our list. We made our list of emotions in line with the list by Kuppens et al. (2008). However, we excluded some of the high arousal emotions, for example, cheerfulness, from the list after looking at the responses of the pilot interviews, as these emotions proved to be irrelevant for our target population. Diener et al. (1999) also proposed excluding high arousal emotions in the study of the affective component of SWB among the elderly, as these emotions may not be congruent with the disposition of aged respondents. Finally, the list consists of a total of 13 emotions: happiness, pride, gratitude, pleasantness, and contentment for PA; and anger, unpleasantness, guilt, shame, worry, stress, jealousy, and sadness for NA. We asked about the frequency of these emotions in the last 4 weeks according to a 4-point scale, ranging from never to all the time. We translated all the emotions into the national language Urdu. In the Urdu translation some of the emotions inadvertently take on a religious connotation. Being contented, for example, is translated in Urdu as *qanaát*, and is taken to mean being satisfied with God regardless of the life circumstances. Moreover, the emotion of gratitude is also taken to mean being thankful to God.

Table 5.33 provides the descriptive statistics of positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA), which we constructed by simply adding the scores of positive and negative emotions. The table also provides standardized PA and NA after dividing PA and NA scores by the total number of positive and negative emotions, respectively.

Among the positive emotions, elderly people reported gratitude and contentment to be the most frequently felt emotions, as shown in table 5.32.

Among the negative emotions anger proved to be the most frequently felt emotion among the respondents with a mean of 1.7, followed by emotions of worry, sadness, stress, and unpleasantness. Jealousy was the least frequent emotion in the list of the negative emotions reported by the respondents. The frequency of guilt and shame is low among the elderly respondents (see table 5.32).

Table 5.32 Frequency, mean and standard deviation of different emotions

	Never	Sometime	Often	All the time	Mean	Standard deviation
Happiness	13.1	17.7	25.4	43.4	2.0	1.1
Pride	37.1	24.2	11.9	26.8	1.3	1.2
Gratitude	1.0	4.5	3.4	91.1	2.9	0.5
Pleasantness	4.9	19.1	24.7	51.2	2.2	0.9
Contentment	2.2	6.6	8.2	83.0	2.7	0.7
Anger	16.8	50.1	23.4	9.8	1.7	0.8
Unpleasantness	37.8	54.9	6.0	1.3	0.7	0.6
Guilt	69.5	27.5	1.9	1.0	0.3	0.6
Shame	68.0	28.1	2.2	1.8	0.4	0.6
Worry	35.7	41.5	13.9	8.9	0.9	0.9
Stress	53.4	28.8	11.5	6.3	0.7	0.9
Jealousy	95.2	3.1	0.6	1.2	0.1	0.4
Sad	40.7	42.2	11.9	5.2	0.8	0.8

Table 5.33 Descriptive statistics of the positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
PA	680	0	15.0	11.0	3.0
Standardized PA	680	0	3.0	2.2	0.6
NA	676	0	20.0	5.2	3.4
Standardized NA	676	0	2.5	0.7	0.4
Valid N (list wise)	671				

We applied reliability analysis to test the internal consistency of the constructed PA and NA as shown in the following tables. We observe that Cronbach's Alpha for PA has a moderately satisfactory value of 0.65, with the lowest values of corrected item-total correlation for the emotions of gratitude and contentment (see table 5.34).

Table 5.34 Item-total statistics for PA

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Happiness	13.08	4.967	0.58	0.38	0.51
Pride	13.79	4.998	0.43	0.26	0.60
Gratitude	12.23	7.739	0.28	0.18	0.65
Pleasantness	12.85	5.545	0.57	0.35	0.52
Contentment	12.36	7.535	0.23	0.15	0.67
Cronbach's Alpha					0.65
Cronbach's Alpha based on standardized items					0.65

In table 5.35, we present the findings of the reliability analysis of NA, and find that the Cronbach's Alpha is 0.72, which is regarded as an acceptable value. Item-total statistics of NA show that negative emotions such as anger, guilt, shame, and jealousy have a low value.

Table 5.35 Item-total statistics for NA

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Anger	10.98	9.69	0.27	0.11	0.73
Unpleasantness	11.53	9.73	0.43	0.21	0.70
Guilt	11.89	10.61	0.25	0.57	0.73
Shame	11.87	10.11	0.35	0.61	0.71
Worry	11.28	7.82	0.63	0.59	0.65
Stress	11.54	7.97	0.61	0.58	0.65
Jealousy	12.16	10.92	0.30	0.19	0.72
Sadness	11.42	8.63	0.51	0.39	0.68
Cronbach's Alpha					0.73
Cronbach's Alpha based on standardized items					0.72

An important step in evaluating the PA and NA scales is to explore their factorial validity as to whether they adequately capture different mood factors. Principal component analysis on all the emotions combined reveals that the emotions of gratitude and contentment perform differently from other positive emotions, and are highly correlated with component 4, which explains 12 per cent of the variation (see table 5.36). This may be attributed to the strong religiosity of the target population as reported earlier (McCullough et al., 2002, Emmons & McCullough, 2004 cited by Emmons & McCullough, 2003). Gratitude and contentment have a

strong religious connotation among the Muslims. As already mentioned, gratitude to Muslims is the feeling of being thankful to the God, whereas contentment is translated in the native language as *qanaát*, a word which means that a person is happy and satisfied with God about his/her life regardless of the life circumstances.

Table 5.36 Principal component analysis for all emotions

	Initial	Extraction	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	Component 4
Happiness	1.0	0.63	-0.29	0.71	0.07	0.18
Pride	1.0	0.62	-0.05	0.78	0.10	-0.05
Gratitude	1.0	0.59	0.04	0.19	0.08	0.74
Pleasantness	1.0	0.66	-0.22	0.74	-0.07	0.23
Contentment	1.0	0.61	0.08	0.18	0.09	0.77
Anger	1.0	0.39	0.61	0.09	-0.06	0.08
Unpleasantness	1.0	0.47	0.38	-0.22	0.47	0.23
Guilt	1.0	0.84	-0.06	0.06	0.90	0.09
Shame	1.0	0.84	0.10	0.10	0.90	-0.07
Worry	1.0	0.69	0.75	-0.34	0.13	0.01
Stress	1.0	0.68	0.74	-0.38	0.09	-0.06
Jealousy	1.0	0.57	0.44	0.18	0.27	-0.52
Sadness	1.0	0.56	0.68	-0.30	0.08	-0.06
Eigenvalues			2.43	2.16	1.99	1.57
Percentage of variance			18.70	16.63	15.32	12.10

Results in table 5.37 also show that the emotions of anger, worry, stress, and sadness show a high correlation with component 1, whereas guilt and shame are more related with component 3. The emotions of jealousy and unpleasantness show moderate correlations with both components 1 and 3.

5.8.3 Association between SWB components

Regarding the correlation between SWB components, life satisfaction and positive affect demonstrated moderate correlation of 0.41. Negative affect, on the other hand, was negatively correlated with both positive affect and life satisfaction, yielding respective values of -0.28 and -0.23. These findings are in line with previous research by Kuppens et al. (2008) that showed that life satisfaction and positive affect are closely related with each other as compared to their relationship with negative affect.

5.9 Conclusion

The main aim of this chapter was to measure the levels of the goals that are important for studying the relationship between goals and subjective well-being of the elderly in Islamabad (see Chapter 3). We measured three features of each goal, viz. progress, commitment and attainability, and looked at the relationships among these features of different goals.

We begin the chapter by substantiating/validating the findings of the explorative study, and found a substantial degree of congruence between the qualitative research of Chapter 3 and the quantitative survey results. For all the goals, except affection, the items corresponding to each aspect of different goals included in the questionnaire emerged in the same manner as our findings in the explorative study. For affection, however, the resulting components in the principal component analysis were more directly related to their source of fulfilment, i.e. the people from whom elderly people obtain affection.

With regard to the prevailing situation of commitment to different goals, we observed that the elderly people were most committed to the goal of well-being in the afterlife. The goals of comfort and affection emerged as other goals to which elderly people showed a high level of commitment. Regarding the goals of status and behavioural confirmation, elderly people rated their commitment to some of the aspects of these goals as high, for example, respect and behaving according to one's own norms. Aspects at the bottom of the list included monetary resources and behaving according to others' norms. Stimulation, however, was rated the least important by elderly people.

The elderly regarded all the goals as highly attainable – which is a reasonable expectation. However, with respect to the goal of comfort, the findings were quite surprising. Physical health is the main constituent of comfort. While the statistics pertaining to the health status of the Pakistani elderly population as a whole is bleak, our study concerns the non-poor population whose basic needs are met. Moreover, in terms of the utilization of health care facilities at the district level, Islamabad is ranked almost at the top in Pakistan (Siddiqui, 2006). So comparisons made by our elderly respondents about their health status as well as about health care facilities in other cities are guided by an awareness of significant differences between Islamabad and other cities, and hence the knowledge that they have many opportunities for maintaining good physical health. However, their physical health might not be regarded as very good by any international standard (see discussion below).

Although elderly people in Islamabad reported relatively higher scores for the progress in achieving comfort, they also experienced some health-related problems. Further, we observed that the elderly reported the least progress made in the goals of stimulation and afterlife well-being with relatively lower scores on the progress scale.

Different features – commitment, attainability, and progress – of goals included in the study are in general not closely interrelated, implying that the independence of these indicators articulates more strongly the need for their inclusion in studying the relationship between goals and SWB, as has been advocated by previous researchers (Brunstein, 1993, 1998, Klein et al., 1999). These researchers have stressed the need to include other features of goals apart from their progress only. This finding stresses the importance of including all three features rather than relying only on the aspect of progress, as has been suggested by some others. Previous researchers (cf. Brunstein, 1993) have postulated that progress in easily attainable important goals associates positively with SWB components. On the other hand striving for unachievable goals leads to an adverse effect on SWB. Hence, on the basis of the perceived attainability of goals, one has to devise the methodology for studying the relationship between goals and SWB. The findings of this chapter reveal that the goals were perceived attainable by

the elderly population. Hence, at this point, we have established that all the goals are perceived as quite attainable by the large majority of the study population, implying that (lack of) attainability is not a major constraint in achieving SWB. As such, we will devise our methodology for studying the goal-SWB relationship by focusing on the other two features, namely, progress and commitment. This will be the topic of the next chapter. For that purpose, we combined different aspects of goals together to construct the progress and commitment scales for different goals.

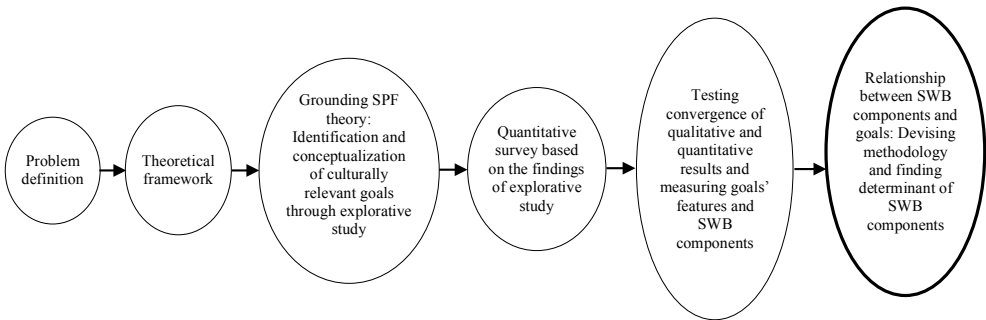
Finally regarding the SWB components, the emotions of gratitude and contentment were found to be the most frequently reported positive emotions by the elderly. Looking at the principal component analysis and the reliability analysis of positive emotions, we discovered the same pattern – these two emotions behave differently from the other positive emotions. In this study, not only is our focus on a population with a religious identity, but it is also one that has a strong religious affiliation (see chapters 3 and 5). This brings our findings in line with previous research which regarded gratitude and contentment as being closely linked to spirituality and religion (McCullough et al., 2002, Emmons & McCullough, 2004 cited by Emmons & McCullough, 2003). Gratitude and contentment have a strong religious connotation among Muslims as well. They regard gratitude as being thankful to God; whereas contentment is translated in the native language as *qana'at*, a state in which a person is happy and satisfied with God about his/her life regardless of the life circumstances. The findings of this study, as revealed by chapters 3 and 5, show a huge amount of religious influence on the goals people set, and we see the same trend here in the positive emotions of the respondents. In previous research on Pakistani women, Ali and ul Haq (2006) have argued that the feeling of being contented is the basic cause of their relatively higher levels of satisfaction in life, even in adverse conditions. ul Haq (2008) has also demonstrated this finding, in his study of life satisfaction among elderly people in Pakistan from the needs perspective, that people were found to be happy even when their basic needs – physiological and safety needs embedded in the hierarchy of needs proposed by Maslow (1971) – are not met.

Regarding the negative emotions, we found anger and worry as the most frequently reported emotions with jealousy, shame and guilt as the least frequent of the lot. Among negative emotions, guilt has been regarded as an emotion that is bound to religion, but in our findings we did not ascertain any religious influence as far as negative affect is concerned.

With respect to the cognitive component of SWB, we found that the respondents were moderately satisfied with their life. Different items of the SWLS showed good reliability and factorial validity. We saw no evidence of a high level of correlation between different components of SWB. Positive affect and life satisfaction show a moderate correlation, while the NA shows no correlation with other components. This finding is in line with Kuppens et al. (2008) who showed that positive affect and life satisfaction are mutually related.

6

Components of SWB and their relationship with goals among the elderly population in Islamabad, Pakistan



6.1 Introduction

This study was designed to obtain more insight into subjective well-being (SWB) among the elderly population in Pakistan. Our conceptual framework was derived from the social production (SPF) theory which postulates that every human being strives for a set of goals, and that the successful achievement of these goals brings higher levels of SWB (see Chapter 2). We grounded the SPF framework in a Pakistani setting, more specifically in Islamabad, by conducting an explorative qualitative study to determine the set of goals that are important to elderly people (see Chapter 3). On the basis of the results of the explorative study, we designed a field survey to quantify the goals, and to measure the relationship between goals and SWB components. We provided information on the methodology of the survey in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5 we presented the findings regarding the quantification of the progress, commitment and attainability of the goals. In this chapter, we move further to study SWB components in relation to the goals. In other words, we will quantify social production functions.

In the process of quantifying the production functions of SWB, we need to devise a model which appropriately describes the relationship of goals with SWB. According to Brunstein (1993), progress and commitment to goals will help to increase SWB, only if the goals are perceived to be attainable. In other words, the perceived attainability of goals will form the basis on which models will be devised to depict the goal-SWB relationship. We presented the main findings about progress, commitment and attainability of each goal in the previous chapter and established that all goals are perceived as quite attainable by the target population. Clearly, this shows that lack of attainability is not a constraint on achieving SWB; therefore we concentrated our further efforts on incorporating the other two features of goals, progress and commitment, into the SPF framework. In this chapter we propose a model dealing with these two features of goals, and compare this model with other models. Further, we present the results of non-linear regression models. In the final section, we conclude and discuss the results.

6.2 Relationship of goals with different components of SWB

After establishing the fact that not only progress in goals but also attainability and commitment attached to goals also play huge role play huge role in explaining SWB, and that all goals are perceived to be attainable by the respondents, we proceed further, and devise a methodology for establishing the relationship of different components of SWB that take into account with progress and commitment to different goals. In this section, we first provide the methodology for studying the goal-SWB relationship, after which we present the results.

6.2.1 Methodology

We run three models each, with and without control variables, in which life satisfaction, positive affect, and negative affect are the dependent variables. In the first two models, we run linear regression models with only the progress of different goals included in model 1 and the interaction of progress and commitment to different goals in model 2 as the independent

variables. On the other hand, in model 3, we run non-linear models to incorporate both progress and the interaction of progress and commitment to different goals with varying modifying coefficient for the interaction term.

As already discussed, the role of commitment to the goals has a well-established intermediating effect in the relationship between the progress of these goals and different components of SWB. Therefore, we need a model which not only incorporates the progress of different goals, but also the progress-commitment interaction in a balanced manner; the model should clearly show which factor – either only progress or the interaction between progress and commitment – has greater explanatory power. As goals differ in terms of progress and commitment to explain SWB components, we include a separate mediating coefficient for each goal, as shown in equation 6.1. These varying modifying coefficients, α_i , allow the model to give different weights for the progress-commitment interaction of different goals, which makes it possible to ascertain how different goals play a role in explaining SWB: through progress only, progress-commitment interaction only, or both. Model 6.1 can be estimated using non-linear least squares, with the restriction that $0 \leq \alpha_i \leq 1$. These procedures are readily available in most statistical packages, including SPSS.

The equations pertaining to different scenarios for model 3 are given as follows:

$$Y = c + \beta_i[\alpha_i + (1 - \alpha_i)W_i]X_i + \mu_i \quad \mathbf{6.1}$$

For $\alpha_i = 0$

$$\hat{Y} = c + \beta_i W_i X_i \quad \mathbf{6.2}$$

For $\alpha_i = 1$

$$\hat{Y} = c + \beta_i X_i \quad \mathbf{6.3}$$

Similarly, for $0 < \alpha_i < 1$

$$\hat{Y} = c + \alpha_i \beta_i X_i + (1 - \alpha_i) \beta_i W_i X_i \quad \mathbf{6.4}$$

Further, if $W_i = 0$

$$\hat{Y} = c + \alpha_i \beta_i X_i \quad \mathbf{6.5}$$

And if $W_i = 1$

$$\hat{Y} = c + \beta_i X_i \quad \mathbf{6.6}$$

Where W_i is the perceived commitment to goal i , X_i is the perceived progress in achieving goal i , and β_i and α_i are the coefficients which estimate the relationship between progress and commitment to goals in such a way that $(1 - \alpha_i)$ is the coefficient that estimates the extent to which commitment to a goal, W_i , interacts with progress X_i to achieve SWB.

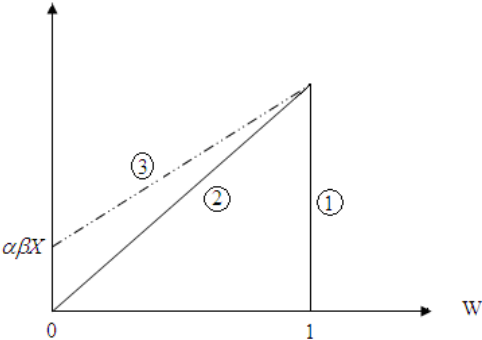
Looking at the above model, we observe that the role of β_i coefficients is clear; the higher the value of these coefficients the higher the effect of their corresponding explanatory variable in enhancing the SWB component. However, the role of other coefficients, α_i , depends, in the first place, on the significance of β_i . In the case of an insignificant β_i , neither progress nor commitment to those goals would explain the dependent variable. However, in the case of a significant β_i , modifying coefficients, α_i , come into play; $\alpha_i \beta_i$ will be the coefficient for progress and $(1 - \alpha_i) \beta_i$ will be the coefficient of the interaction between progress and commitment to the goals. Looking at the extreme cases, we observe that if the estimated value of α_i is 1 (see equation 6.3), we find no role of W_i , that is, commitment to a goal, in the model; only the progress of goals will be sufficient to explain the SWB component in that model. When α_i has an estimated value of 0 (see equation 6.2), only the progress-commitment interaction will explain the SWB component without any role played by progress only. Furthermore, we observe that in the case where the value of the mediating coefficient is between 0 and 1 (equation 6.4), the lower the value of coefficient α_i , the higher the weight for the interaction of progress and commitment, and vice versa. Another approach of combining progress and progress-commitment interaction could be to include these two terms in additive form, but in doing so the model loses its inherent ability to capture the balance between these two terms. Capturing the trade-off between progress on its own and the interaction between progress and commitment is a built-in feature of the newly proposed model. Hence, we find that this model provides a trade-off between progress and progress-commitment interaction (see equation 6.4). The trade-off is estimated in the model through the parameter α . However, if the parameter β of progress on its own is not significant, there is no trade-off, since both terms are not different from zero; implying that in the newly proposed model progress is regarded as a necessary but not sufficient condition for explaining SWB as suggested by Brunstein (1999).

Moreover, it is clear from equation 6.1 that the newly proposed model also incorporates model 1; implying that model 1 – the model with only progress of goals as independent variables – scores a unique and highest value of commitment for all the goals (see equation 6.6). Further, equation 6.2 shows that our newly proposed model incorporates the second model too. As such, this model effectively incorporates both the progress-only model and the progress-commitment model, showing the added value of this model to other models.

A depiction of this relationship is given in figure 6.1, where W_i is given on the x-axis with values of SWB on the y-axis. We observe that when the modifying coefficient has a value 1, the highest possible value for all goals, SWB totally depends on $\beta_i X_i$ while being totally independent of W_i (shown as case 1 in the figure). This is what we observe in the progress-only models as shown by equation 6.6. While commitment to goals is not included in these models, in these models the highest possible value for commitment is assigned to all goals. Case 2 pertains to the situation where α is 0 and the effect of the goal is completely determined by the interaction between progress and commitment. When we assign a value of 0

to W_i , goals that are unimportant, despite the level of progress in achieving them, play no role in explaining the SWB component. Case 3 relates to the situation where $0 < \alpha < 1$, which means that even if the goal is assessed as being totally unimportant ($W=0$) there is some effect, $\alpha \beta$, of progress on SWB.

Figure 6.1 Effect of commitment W on SWB for three cases: (1) $\alpha=1$; (2) $\alpha=0$; (3) $0 < \alpha < 1$ (see text for explanation).



6.2.2 Results

a. Relationship between goals and the cognitive component of SWB

In this section we present three models, and for each model we estimate a version with (a) and without (b) control variables. The three models are various cases illustrated by equation 6.1. Model 1 contains only the progress towards achieving the goals, and relates to the specification where $\alpha_i=1$ (i.e. model (6.3)); model 2 includes both progress and its interaction with commitment and relates to the special case of equation (6.1) given in (6.2); and the third model contains the trade-off between progress and commitment and relates to the full specification of model (6.1), with both α_i and β_i to be estimated by the model.

In model 1a with progress on its own and without control variables, we observe in table 6.1 that the coefficients of the goals of comfort, stimulation, status and affection are highly significant. These results imply that higher levels of progress in these goals lead to higher satisfaction with life among elderly people in Islamabad. The inclusion of the control variables (model 1b) – age, gender, level of education, marital status and per capita income of the household of the elderly – do not affect the significance of the coefficients of any of the goals except for the goal of stimulation which becomes slightly less significant (at the 10 per cent level). Among the control variables, the young-old (between 60 and 69 years) experience higher levels of life satisfaction as compared to the oldest-old (people aged 70 and above), and those who are unmarried reported lower levels of life satisfaction as compared to those who are married with highly significant negative coefficients.

Table 6.1 Relationship between goals and life satisfaction

		Model 1: Progress only		Model 2: Progress * Commitment		Model 3	
		a	b	a	b	a	b
Comfort:	b	2.01***	1.72***	1.81***	1.5**	1.46***	1.29*
	a					1.0**	1.0*
Stimulation:	b	1.05***	0.81*	0.61	0.2	1.0	0.85
	a					0.67	0.53
Status:	b	5.81***	6.01***	5.32***	5.2***	7.0***	7.45***
	a					0.85***	0.85***
Behavioural:	b	0.82	0.51	2.23**	1.5*	1.19	1.06
Confirmation:	a					0.60	0.27
Affection:	b	2.91***	3.03***	3.84***	3.8***	3.49***	3.68***
	a					0.10	0.12
Afterlife:	b	1.0	1.0	2.6***	2.71***	1.27**	1.31**
	a					0.49	0.25
Age							
(1= between 60 and 69)			0.54**		0.51**		0.65***
0= 70 +							
Gender (1= male)			0.11		0.11		0.03
(0=female)							
Marital status							
(1=divorced/separated)			0.43		-0.21		-5.85***
2=unmarried			-6.1***		-6.7***		-0.32
3= widow			-0.41		-0.41		0.19
0= married							
Education			0.11		0.11*		0.01
Income level			0.11		-0.11		0.06
R square		0.24	0.27	0.18	0.22	0.26	0.29

*** significant at .1 per cent, ** significant at 5 per cent, and * significant at 10 per cent
For categorical variables, 0 is assigned to the reference category.

In the second model, where we incorporate the interaction between progress and commitment to different goals in the model, we find that the goal of stimulation becomes insignificant. On the other hand, the goal of behavioural confirmation becomes significant at the 1 per cent level for the model without control variables, and at the 10 per cent level for the model with control variables. Moreover in both models 2a and 2b (without and including control variables) we find that the coefficient of the goal of afterlife well-being becomes highly significant. Furthermore, there was no change in the coefficients of the control variables as compared to the results of model 1b, except for the variable of education which becomes significant at the 10 per cent level: elderly people with higher levels of education report higher levels of life satisfaction.

In model 3, a coefficient is included in the model as an intermediating coefficient between progress and commitment to each goal. For those goals whose β_i coefficients are insignificant, mediating coefficients, α_i , become meaningless. Therefore, we discuss the findings of the mediating coefficients, α_i , for those goals only which have a significant β_i , which are the goals of comfort, status, affection and afterlife well-being in this case. The mediating coefficient for the goals of comfort and status are significantly different from zero with values 1.0 and 0.85. This implies that commitment to the goal of comfort is not important for explaining life satisfaction. The interaction between progress and commitment to status also has a minor role as compared to progress on its own. Further for the other two goals, affection and afterlife well-being, their mediating coefficients are insignificant, implying that progress in combination with the accompanying commitment is the explanatory factor for life satisfaction. Inclusion of control variables does not make much of a change in the coefficient values of the goals, except a higher R^2 . Among the control variables, the young-old reported higher levels of life satisfaction as compared to the oldest-old. Similarly elderly people who were divorced/separated reported lower levels of life satisfaction as compared to their married counterparts. Other coefficients of variables were found to be insignificant

Looking at the results of figure 6.1, we may conclude that progress towards the goal of comfort explains life satisfaction independent of the commitment to this goal (case 1 in figure 6.2). Moreover, the relationship of afterlife well-being and affection with life satisfaction is depicted in figure 6.2 as case 2: the relationship totally depends on the combination of progress and commitment to these goals; if there is no commitment, $W=0$, the contribution of these goals to explain life satisfaction is zero. The goal of status is a case 3 situation, meaning that there is a trade-off between progress and commitment to status for enhancing life satisfaction. Even if there is no commitment to the goal of status, progress towards this goal will enhance life satisfaction, with a factor of 0.15β .

Summing up the results of the relationship between goals and the cognitive component of SWB, we may conclude that there is a positive relationship between the progress in the goals of comfort, status and affection with life satisfaction. When we included the interaction of progress and commitment in model 2, the coefficient of afterlife well-being becomes significant. Regarding the goal of stimulation, its coefficient becomes insignificant with the addition of commitment to the model. The coefficient of behavioural confirmation appears to

be insignificant, except for the second model. Furthermore, looking at the moderating coefficient, α_i , only progress in achieving the goals of afterlife well-being and affection is not sufficient to explain life satisfaction, rather it is the interaction between progress and commitment to these goals. By comparison, where the goal of comfort is concerned, the interaction of progress and commitment do not play a role. Finally for status both progress on its own and the interaction between progress and commitment have their share in explaining life satisfaction; nevertheless, the share of the progress in achieving status is higher (0.85) as compared to the interaction of progress and commitment (0.15). Hence we conclude from these findings that the commitment to different goals plays an important role in explaining life satisfaction.

Among the goals with significant coefficients, we may conclude that apart from afterlife well-being none of other coefficients of goals in various models show robustness. Combining results of first two models and comparing them with those of model 3, only progress in the goal of afterlife well-being shows a completely unresponsive behaviour in determining life satisfaction; however, the interaction of progress with commitment to afterlife well-being is significant in both models 2 and 3. Interestingly, comfort, status and affection show consistently significant coefficients, yet none of the results of these goals may be regarded as robust. The interpretation of the first two models is quite different from the final model. In the third model, comfort determines life satisfaction completely through its progress; affection explains the dependent variable through the interaction of progress and commitment; and as regards status, the share of progress in this goal is almost 6 times higher than its interaction with commitment to the goal in terms of explaining life satisfaction. In contrast to the results of the third model, the first two models show an almost equal share of progress alone and its interaction with commitment to the aforementioned goals. The coefficient of stimulation, which was significant in the first model, becomes insignificant in the final model. Finally behavioural confirmation remains insignificant in all three models. Summing up, the results of various models underline the added value of the final model.

b. Relationship between goals and positive affect

Here we follow the same line as presented for life satisfaction. We first run a simple model with explanatory variables comprising the perceived progress towards achieving different goals. We present our results in table 6.2. With regard to positive affect, except for the goals of behavioural confirmation and afterlife well-being, all other goals have highly significant coefficients. The signs of the significant coefficients imply that the higher the value of progress of these goals, the higher the value of positive emotions. The inclusion of control variables makes the coefficient of behavioural confirmation also significant at the 10 per cent level. Among the control variables, widows/widowers reported lower levels of positive affect as compared to those who are married.

In the second step, we used the interaction of progress and commitment to different goals. Here, the goals of comfort, status, behavioural confirmation, affection, and afterlife well-being have significant coefficients with positive signs.

Table 6.2 Relationship between progress of different goals and positive affect

		Model 1: Progress only		Model 2: Progress * Commitment		Model 3	
		a	b	a	b	a	b
Comfort:	b	2.91***	2.81***	3.59***	3.50***	2.81***	2.78***
	a					0.46*	0.41
Stimulation:	b	1.51***	1.51***	0.21	0.10	1.29	1.17
	a					1.0	1.0
Status:	b	3.01***	3.01***	5.42*	5.42***	4.79***	4.67***
	a					0.31*	0.28
Behavioural:	b	0.5	0.42*	2.01***	1.61**	1.01	1.0
Confirmation:	a					0.0	0.0
Affection:	b	4.5***	4.63***	3.03***	2.94***	4.2***	4.28***
	a					.95***	0.99***
Afterlife:	b	-0.5	-0.54	1.01*	1.04*	-0.29	-0.28
	a					1.0	1.0
Age							
(1= between 60 and 69)			0.11		0.23		0.06
(0=70 +)							
Gender (1= male)			0.12		0.23		0.07
(0= female)							
Marital status							
(1=divorced/separated)			1.21		1.52		-3.0*
2=unmarried			-3.02		-3.32*		-0.58**
3= widow			-0.53*		-0.42		1.56
0= married							
Education			-0.14		0.11		-0.07
Income level			0.14		0.11		0.06
R square		0.25	0.26	0.22	0.23	0.23	0.25

*** significant at .1 per cent, ** significant at 5 per cent, and * significant at 10 per cent
 For categorical variables, 0 is assigned to the reference category.

In the third step we run the models with mediating coefficients for the interaction between progress and commitment to different goals. Among those goals which have significant coefficients, the mediating coefficients for comfort, status, and affection are significantly different from zero, with respective values of 0.46, 0.48, and 0.95. This shows that the goals of comfort and status establish an equal relationship with positive affect: with progress only and with an interaction of progress with commitment. However, for the goal of affection, the role of its progress has a huge share (0.95) in explaining positive affect with a very small share of the interaction of progress and commitment (0.05). Moreover when we include different control variables in this model, we observe no change polarity and the levels of significance of the β_i coefficients. However, the mediating coefficients, α_i , lose their level of significance for the goals of comfort and status, whereas the mediating coefficient for the progress and commitment to the goal of affection remains significant with an increase in its previous value, making it slightly less than unity. Finally, elderly people, who are divorced/separated or unmarried, enjoy less positive affect as compared to those who are married, whereas all other control variables are insignificant.

Results of model 3 imply that positive affect is completely determined by the interaction between progress and commitment in relation to the goals of comfort and status, since their α_i coefficients are insignificant. However, the progress in affection has an overwhelming claim on positive affect, with a very small, only 1 per cent, share accounted by the interaction between progress and commitment.

If we look at the relationship of modifying coefficients in the light of figure 6.1, we observe that comfort and status follow case 2: the modifying coefficient is insignificant, implying that the relationship of positive affect is totally determined by the interaction of progress and commitment. Further, very small portion of positive affect is determined by the interaction between progress in and commitment to the goal of affection, whereas 99 per cent is explained by only progress in achieving the same goal. Hence it follows case 3 as shown in figure 6.1.

Summing up, only the coefficient for the goal of afterlife well-being shows consistency – insignificant for all the models – in explaining positive affect in all the models. However, the coefficients for the goals of comfort, status and affection were all significant in all three models, yet the interpretation of the final model leads us to conclusions that are different from those of the first two models combined. As mentioned in the methodology, the final model incorporates the first two models, but it is not the case with the results of the aforementioned goals. The results for comfort and status for the first two models show that progress together with its interaction with commitment to these goals explain positive affect; however, the final model shows that positive affect is completely determined by the interaction between progress and commitment without any contribution from only progress. On the other hand, first two models show the same results for affection as we described above for comfort and status, but the final model reveals that progress in achieving affection explained 99 per cent of positive affect with a very small – only one per cent – contribution from the interaction between progress and commitment. Moreover, the results of the goals of stimulation and behavioural confirmation from the first two models and that of the final models reveal an altogether

different story. The first model shows a significant coefficient for progress in the goal of stimulation whereas in the final model its coefficient is insignificant. Similarly, first two models show significant coefficients for progress alone and its interaction with commitment to goal of behavioural confirmation, whereas in the final model its coefficient is also insignificant. Again, the importance of the third model is underlined by these results; implying that not only the inclusion of important factors but also their correct specification form is required for understanding a true relationship.

c. Relationship between goals and negative affect

For the variable negative affect, in the progress-only model the goal of comfort, status, and afterlife well-being have significant coefficients with negative signs, implying that those who reported higher levels of progress in these goals experience fewer negative emotions (see table 6.3). The inclusion of the control variables does not bring about much change. Among the control variables we see that income level has a significant coefficient with a negative sign; those with higher income encounter fewer negative emotions than those with less income.

In the second model, in which we included the interaction between progress and commitment to different goals, we obtain almost similar findings, except for behavioural confirmation whose coefficient becomes significant at the 10 per cent level, and the goal of afterlife well-being whose coefficient loses its significance. With the inclusion of control variables, however, the coefficient of behavioural confirmation again becomes insignificant. Gender has a significant coefficient; with males have fewer negative emotions.

In the final model, among goals with significant β_i , comfort, status and affection have significant α_i , with respective values of 1.0, 0.75, and 1.0. This implies that the commitment to the goals of comfort and affection have no role in explaining negative affect. Similarly with regard to achieving status, the explanatory power of progress is three times higher than that of the interaction between progress and commitment. The inclusion of control variables does not bring much change in the results, with the same results for the control variables which we saw in model 2. Further the mediating coefficient for the goal of comfort obtains a slightly lower value, 0.98 instead of 1.0, thus indicating a very small role for the interaction between progress and commitment.

Looking at the behaviour of modifying coefficients, we note that in explaining negative affect, affection is a case 1 goal as specified in figure 6.1, in which the commitment to a goal does not play a role. Comfort and status, however, follow case 3 where a large extent is explained by progress in achieving these goals, with a small share claimed by the interaction between progress and commitment.

Table 6.3 Relationship between the progress of different goals and negative affect

		Model 1: Progress only		Model 2: Progress * Commitment		Model 3	
		a	b	a	b	a	b
Comfort:	b	-5.09***	-4.70***	-3.0***	-2.71***	-5.32***	-4.79***
	a					1.0***	0.98***
Stimulation:	b	0.59	0.70	1.0	0.81	1.31	1.28
	a					1.0	1.0
Status:	b	-2.68***	-2.81***	-3.0***	-2.81***	-3.82***	-3.79***
	a					.75***	0.81***
Behavioural:	b	0.71	0.74	-1.6*	-1.41	-0.82	-0.78
Confirmation:	a					0.0	0.0
Affection:	b	-1.32	-1.23	-0.2	-0.11	-1.81*	-1.79*
	a					1.0**	1.0***
Afterlife:	b	-1.32**	-1.23**	-1.0*	-1.01*	-0.82	-0.79
	a					1.0	1.0
Age							
(1= between 60 and 69)			0.14		0.20		0.26
(0=70 +)							
Gender (1= male)			-0.30		-0.50**		-0.46*
(0=female)							
Marital status							
(1=divorced/separate			-2.01		-2.18		0.36
2=unmarried			0.22		0.58		0.23
3= widow			0.22		0.29		-2.13
(0= married)							
Education			-0.14		-0.13		-0.12
Income level			-0.14**		-0.13		-0.11
R square		0.19	0.20	0.10	0.12	0.22	0.23

*** significant at .1 per cent, ** significant at 5 per cent, and * significant at 10 per cent
For categorical variables, 0 is assigned to the reference category.

Summing up the results of the relationship between negative affect and different goals, we find that the goals of comfort and status have significant coefficients in all 3 models; afterlife well-being's coefficient becomes insignificant in model 3; the coefficient of affection becomes significant in model 3; and the coefficients of the goals of stimulation and behavioural confirmation are insignificant in the majority of the models. Regarding the mediating coefficients, we note that for affection, it is highly significant with a value of 1; implying that the interaction between progress and commitment does not play a role. However, for the goal of comfort whose mediating coefficient has a value of 0.98, only progress in achieving this goal almost totally explains (98 per cent) negative affect. Where status is concerned, both the interaction between progress and commitment and progress on its own in achieving this goal jointly explain negative affect, although progress alone has a higher share of around 80 per cent.

Among different models explaining negative affect, apart from improvement in the overall fit of the model, the results of the final model give a clear depiction of the goal-SWB relationship. For example, comfort and status show significant coefficients for all three models, but the interpretation of model 3 is quite different from the first two models. The first two models show significant impact of both progress alone and its interaction with commitment to aforementioned goals, but the final model clearly shows that progress on its own almost totally explains negative affect with respect to comfort and 81 per cent in the case of status. Furthermore, the coefficient of affection becomes significant in the final model and commitment does not play a role in explaining negative affect.

6.3 Conclusions and discussion

Our main objective in this chapter is to obtain an insight into the relationship of the social production functions relating to goals and components of SWB. To this end, we made some notable advances by proposing a new methodology while incorporating commitment with progress in achieving goals.

6.3.1 Methodology

The inclusion of commitment to goals together with their progress in achieving goals gives some advantage to the methodology we adopted in this study over previously used methodologies which incorporate only progress. Theoretical advantages of incorporating the commitment to different goals with progress made in achieving these goals have been well discussed in previous studies (cf. Conrad et al. 2010). These studies suggest that progress in achieving a goal is not the only factor which explains different components of SWB, as this relationship is mediated by the commitment to these goals; goals to which one is more committed enhance SWB as compared to goals to which one is less committed.

We proposed a methodology to incorporate both progress and commitment to goals in an efficient way; incorporating not only both progress-alone and progress-commitment interaction models, our methodology also has an in-built feature of estimating the trade-off

people make between progress on its own and the interaction between commitment and progress. Further, our methodology allows the inclusion of progress made in achieving unimportant goals, which also contributes to SWB.

6.3.2 Determinants of SWB

Added value of the final model

If we look at the results, advancing from the simple model to the most sophisticated that incorporates progress with varying modifying coefficients for commitment, we note two types of difference. First, there is a slight improvement in the fit of the model which employs life satisfaction and negative affect as dependent variables with the addition of commitment. Second, we obtain different sets of significant goals in progress-only models and the non-linear models that include both progress and commitment. For example, afterlife well-being proved to be significant in explaining life satisfaction in the final model, whereas its coefficient was insignificant in the progress-only model. Moreover, with regard to negative affect we obtain a negative effect of afterlife well-being in the basic model, which turns out to be insignificant in the most sophisticated model. The results of both models, to some extent, would ultimately lead us to different interpretations. Furthermore, the coefficients of the interaction between commitment and progress for explaining all three SWB components were highly significant. This confirms that progress and commitment models have added value compared to progress-only models, both from a theoretical point of view, as well as from an empirical point of view. If commitment plays a role in combination with progress (as our models show) then not taking commitment into account may lead to biased and inconsistent results (Koutsoyiannis, 1977).

Goals-SWB relationship

In the final model, among different goals the coefficients for the goals of comfort, status and affection were found to be significant for both affective and cognitive components. On the other hand, the coefficients for the goals of stimulation and behavioural confirmation did not show any significance for any of the SWB components. However, the coefficient for the goal of afterlife well-being was significant only for the cognitive component in the final model.

Addressing the relationship of different goals with components of SWB, previous researchers working with the SPF framework that different goals are related to different aspects of SWB (Steverink and Lindenberg, 2006); the goal of affection with life satisfaction, status with the affective component, and behavioural confirmation are moderately linked with both components of SWB. We, however, do not find any such evidence as already discussed. However, we have to be cautious when making a comparison of the results of this study with previous studies using the SPF framework. Previous researchers, in fact, established a relationship between progress on its own in achieving different goals and different components of SWB, whereas we incorporate commitment to different goals in our model. Further, before conducting the survey to identify the determinants of SWB among elderly people, we grounded the SPF framework in the Pakistani cultural setting (see chapter 3).

Steverink and Lindenberg (2006) based their study by and large on van Bruggen (2002), which was an explorative study not specifically designed for elderly people. Further, in van Bruggen's study (2002) we do not find any reference to cultural differences. Therefore the mindset of the study subjects – practising Christians residing in the most Protestant-oriented region of the Netherlands known as the Bible Belt – is not targeted in her research. Consequently, as the religion-oriented population in the Netherlands was altogether ignored in previous research on the Dutch society, it may not be regarded as representative of Dutch adults.

Summing up the relationship between goals and SWB components we may infer that the goals of comfort, status and affection are by far the most important goals where higher levels of all three components of SWB are concerned. For life satisfaction and positive affect, in terms of magnitude of the coefficient, status has an edge over affection, whose coefficient is larger than that of comfort. For negative affect, however, comfort has the highest coefficient among these three goals. Apart from these goals, afterlife well-being proved to be an important goal for enhancing the cognitive components of SWB among the elderly. In sum, we may infer that status is the most important goal for achieving higher levels of SWB among the elderly population in Pakistan.

Age effect on SWB

Studying the effect of age on SWB components is one of the main objectives of this study. However, the results suggest no association between age and the affective component of SWB. On the other hand, an increase in age has a diverse effect on life satisfaction. With regard to other socio-demographic variables included in the study, males and those with a higher income enjoy less negative affect, while no association was found for gender and income level with other SWB components. Concerning the marital status of the elderly, married elderly enjoy higher levels of life satisfaction and more positive affect as compared to their unmarried counterparts, with no association of marital status found for negative affect. Level of education was found to have no effect on the SWB of elderly people. Previous research shows very little explanatory power of the demographic variables on SWB, with mainly inconclusive results, especially, for the variable of age. Our results, somehow, endorse the SPF framework and demonstrate that the higher the fulfilment of important goals, the higher is the level of SWB enjoyed by the target population. In other words, people with different demographic backgrounds pursue diverse sets of goals with different levels of commitment attached to these goals, and the *end state* of SWB relies heavily on the pursuit of important goals in one's lives.

Goals and time perspective

The perspective of future time has been discussed by many researchers who underline the importance of the time horizon in decision-making processes (Carstensen et al., 1999). Among these studies, Boyd and Zimbardo (1997) propose a somewhat different time perspective, which we also found in our explorative study (see Chapter 3), regarding the time beyond one's death. The authors take a broader view of this issue, beyond the future as propagated

by/inherent in belief systems, arguing that people do have a post-death time perspective in their time frame when they take certain decisions (see Chapter 3). By looking at the relationship of different goals with SWB, while taking into account a future time perspective, some intriguing findings have emerged.

Before discussing the relationship between SWB components and different goals, we would like to touch on some time-related features, including the above-mentioned future time perspective, attached to the success of different goals. A closely linked concept concerns pleasure and pain, which is defined by Aristotle as ‘the activity of the present, the hope of the future, and the memory of the past’ (Nicomachean Ethics Book 9, Ch. 7 cited by Rozin, 1999). In a similar vein, Duncker argues that pleasure is an outcome of the successful achievement of a goal whereas displeasure occurs when a person is unsuccessful (Duncker, 1941 cited by Rozin, 1999). Pleasure is divided into three types: sensory pleasure, aesthetic pleasure and accomplishment pleasure (Oishi et al. 2001; Rozin, 1999). We may combine the idea of pleasure with the proposed SPF theory. The successful achievement of a goal may be in the form of sensory, aesthetic or accomplishment pleasure. The success of a goal may be viewed in the form of memory of the past, activity in the present or hope in the future. If we look at different aspects of goals (see Chapters 3 and 5), different time perspectives may be associated with their success. For example, comfort, whose main constituent is physical health of the non-poor elderly population under study, may closely be related to current events, as postulated by Suh et al. (1996). The same may be understood with respect to stimulation, which includes arousal activities, and thus may also be related with *activity in the present* or current events. On the other hand, the success associated with well-being in the afterlife, as has been elaborated in the explorative study (see Chapter 3), may be regarded as a *future hope* or distal event: one would receive those rewards or be rescued from punishment after his/her death. Behavioural confirmation, on the other hand, may be connected with both past memories and current events. Finally, status and affection are closely connected with all three time frames as one may seek pleasure from past memories, current activities and future hope. Hence, goals connected with social well-being are related to both current activities – albeit more distal than one’s experience of comfort and stimulation – and distal events, albeit more proximal than the success of achieving well-being in the afterlife.

Association of goals and their features

Firstly, if we look at the results and take into account the time perspective, we observe that those goals that are associated most closely with immediate events, for example, comfort, not necessarily mediate through commitment attached to these goals for explaining SWB components. Any problem related to physical health of the elderly would affect their present condition, which ultimately leads to a negative effect on SWB components regardless of how important they perceive their physical health to be. Looking at the adverse situation of health status among elderly people, a daily encounter of any kind of health problem is quite imaginable as suggested by the health-adjusted life expectancy (HALE) of the Pakistani population. They spend on average of 10 last years of their lives dealing with some kind of health anomaly (WHO, 2001). Those goals, which involve investment behaviour that brings

rewards in the (distant) future, for example, afterlife well-being, influence SWB through the interaction between progress and commitment. Finally coming to the third type of goal, with regard to goals whose success may involve both distal – in the past and the future – and proximal events, the results of this study suggest that both progress on its own and its interaction with commitment play a role in explaining SWB components. Status and affection show mixed results.

Association of time perspective and SWB components

The components of SWB are positive affect, negative affect and (cognitive) life satisfaction. The production functions estimated for each of these three components are not similar; goals important for one SWB component may not be important for the other component. More specifically, the goals related to immediate events, such as comfort, do not explain life satisfaction, which is in line with Oishi et al. (2001) and Oishi and Diener (2003) who find that daily events do not influence global judgements. At the same time, the goals that are important for daily events have a large effect on the affective components of SWB, and goals that are related to distal events in the future, for example afterlife well-being, explain life satisfaction, but not the affective component. Finally, goals whose success may be associated with both daily events and long-term outcome, explain both cognitive and affective components.

Association of SWB components with goals' features

In the explanation of negative affect, results suggest that the progress made in achieving goals plays a huge role in contrast to the small role played by commitment to such goals. In the explanation of life satisfaction, on the other hand, the interaction between commitment and progress plays a huge role as opposed to the minor role of progress on its own. Finally, positive affect is associated with both progress on its own and progress-commitment interaction in achieving different goals. The temporary nature of emotions might be a reason for the association of positive affect with progress on its own, given the different time perspective involved in the achievement of different goals. Secondly, correlation of positive affect with life satisfaction, as established previously (Kuppens et. al., 1999), may be a reason for the mediating role played by commitment to different goals in the explanation of this SWB component.

Summing up, we may infer that commitment to goals whose success might be associated with distal events in the future is essential for attaining SWB. Further, we conclude that commitment to immediate events becomes irrelevant for predicting SWB. Hence we conclude that it is not the goals per se but their features – progress and commitment – which determine their relationship with SWB components.

Future research

Results pertaining to descriptive statistics of the affective component of SWB presented in Chapter 5 clearly show that some of the goals may possibly be related to religion, for example,

gratitude and guilt. In future research, the relationship of these emotions with religion needs further elaboration – to find out whether these emotions are more related to intrinsic religiosity or extrinsic religiosity. Possibilities regarding the decomposition of positive and negative emotions with respect to religious orientation also need some attention. Furthermore, in the event of any possibility of such decomposition, its relationship with various goals, especially afterlife well-being, may need further exploration. These issues will be discussed at length in the last chapter.

7

Conclusions and Discussion

7.1 Introduction

Against the backdrop of demographic transition, the composition of the population worldwide has changed drastically. Pakistan is also experiencing a decline in fertility and mortality rates along with increasing life expectancy, which leads to an increasing growth in the size of the country's elderly population; while the share of the population above 60 years of age is currently less than 10 per cent of the total population, it will be around 22 per cent in 2050 (United Nations, 2011). However in terms of absolute number, Pakistan's elderly population is greater than those of many developed countries (PRB, 2011). In the absence of any concrete policies on ageing in Pakistan as well as a strictly etic research focus, there is a need for a research perspective on this segment of the population that deals with their perceptions about well-being. Therefore, this study was undertaken to examine the well-being of the elderly in Pakistan from the emic point of view with the following research objective:

To obtain a detailed insight in the determinants of subjective well-being of the elderly in Pakistan

We further formulated two main research questions to achieve this research objective:

1. To what extent is the theory of SFP, which was developed in a Western context, applicable to the Pakistani context for studying the SWB of the elderly?
2. What is the prevailing situation of the SWB of the elderly in Pakistan?

This book focuses on/is concerned with the goals that are important in the lives of the elderly. Apart from fundamental goals – physical and social well-being – proposed in the SPF theory, well-being in the afterlife was perceived to be the third universal goal among the elderly, with religiosity as the first-order instrumental goal. The elderly showed utmost commitment to this goal, and invested a sizeable amount of their resources – be it time, money or physical exertion – to ensure a good life after death. Further, as Brunstein (1993) has shown, progress on its own does not explain the true nature of the relationship between goals and SWB components. As such, we incorporated attainability and commitment to various goals together with their progress when we devised the methodology. Comfort, status and affection were proved to be the most important goals for achieving higher levels of both components – affective and cognitive – of SWB reported by the elderly. Well-being in the afterlife was discovered to be an important factor in overall life satisfaction. Further, the level of SWB hardly changes with advancing age.

In the following section we reflect on the findings in relation to the research questions.

7.2 The applicability of the SPF framework in the Pakistani setting

In the study of SWB among the elderly in Islamabad, we embedded this study in the framework of social production function (SPF) theory. The theory postulates that human beings are resourceful and strive for two universal goals in their lives; the successful pursuit of these goals leads to higher levels of SWB and vice versa. The goals are hierarchically linked to each other (Chapter 2). As the theory was proposed in a Western context, we formulated the

first research question of this study regarding the applicability of this theory to the Pakistani setting. In order to answer this question we grounded this theory in the cultural context of the target population. To this end, we designed a qualitative explorative study, and conducted in-depth interviews and focus group discussions to identify the important goals and their aspects among the elderly in Islamabad (Chapter 3). An important finding of this qualitative study is the different time perspective of the elderly interviewed in Pakistan, who without exception are followers of Islam. To study goal-directed behaviour, one has to identify the time perspective of the individual. In other words every goal-setting theory – implicitly or explicitly – makes assumptions regarding the time perspective of the individual. In the same vein, the SPF theory inherently assumes a limited time perspective of individuals, and in the case where individuals assume a different time perspective, the theory needs appropriate adjustments. Muslim elderly in our study believed in an unlimited time perspective of life, and that death is merely the start of eternal life where a person will be accountable to the God for his/her deeds in this world. Therefore, apart from the two fundamental universal goals in the SPF framework – physical and social well-being – the elderly in Islamabad strive for a third universal goal as well. We named this goal afterlife well-being and religiosity was identified as its first-order instrument goal.

Further, the qualitative study also revealed different conceptualizations of these goals of physical and social well-being among the Pakistani elderly, compared to Dutch adults (cf. van Bruggen, 2001). The aspects of different goals are presented in the following table, and these aspects are used as input for the second part of the empirical research.

Table 7.1 Aspects of main goals discovered from the explorative study among the elderly in Islamabad

Universal goals	First-order goals	Aspects
Social well-being	Status	acknowledgement of skills, habits, inner qualities and monetary assets
		acknowledgement of achievements
		Sense of being obeyed
	Behavioural confirmation	Sense of being autonomous
		Sense of doing right versus wrong things
	Affection	Sense of doing things in a good versus bad manner
Sense of being useful to others		
Sense of physical intimacy		
Physical well-being	Comfort	Sense of emotional intimacy
		Sense of being liked
		Physical health
	Stimulation	Physical independence
Overall security-related issues		
Afterlife well-being	Religiosity	Interesting activities
		Sense of religious behavioural confirmation
		Sense of ritualistic confirmation

7.3 Quantification of production functions of SWB among the elderly

Our second main research question is related to the quantification the production functions of SWB among the elderly. In the following sub-sections we elaborate the steps taken to answer the related research questions.

7.3.1 Proposed model and its theoretical and methodological advantages

An important step towards the quantification of production functions of SWB among the elderly was the construction of a model depicting the true goal-SWB relationship. In previous research embedded in the SPF framework, the relationship of goals and subjective well-being components was limited to only the progress towards achieving different goals. However, others have argued that together with progress some other features of goals, namely attainability and commitment to goals, should also be incorporated in the study design (cf. Brunstein, 1993). In line with the methodology proposed by Brunstein (1993) we incorporated attainability and commitment to goals along with the progress towards achieving these goals. The inclusion of commitment to different goals as well as progress in achieving those goals gives some advantage to the methodology we adopted in this study over previously used methodologies which incorporate only progress of different goals. There are studies that also cite the theoretical advantages of incorporating the commitment to different goals with progress (cf. Brunstein, 1993; Brunstein et al. 1998; Conrad et al., 2010). According to these studies, progress in achieving a goal is not the only factor which explains different components of SWB, as this relationship is mediated by commitment to these goals; the lower-rated goals on the commitment scale would not have a higher explanatory power as compared to those goals which have higher commitment ratings.

Moreover, we proposed a methodology to incorporate both progress and commitment to goals in an efficient way by using a non-linear model to measure the relationship of goals with SWB components. The model incorporates not only both progress-alone and progress-commitment interaction models, but also has a built-in feature of estimating the trade-offs people make between progress alone and its interaction with commitment to goals. Further, in our methodology we assume that progress of goals with less commitment also contribute to SWB. Moreover, the methodology, due to the inclusion of varying modifying coefficients for the interaction between progress and commitment, also leaves room for different goals, depending on their perceived commitment, to accommodate different explanatory behaviour with the dependent variables.

Previous studies embedded in the SPF framework have shown that different components of SWB relate differently to different goals (cf. Steverink & Lindenberg, 2006). However in these studies the role of commitment to different goals has been ignored. Nevertheless, van Bruggen, (2001), while studying SWB using the SPF framework recognized the importance of including more than one feature of goals together with progress in the model. She, however, identified some metagoals, and incorporated the idea of more than one feature of goals in the hierarchy of metagoals. Metagoals are regarded as procedural goals; mainly concerned with the ways people produce their social and physical well-being. Other

researchers, however, while embedding their work in the SPF framework only dealt with progress alone. Nevertheless, the inclusion of more than one feature of goals gives us a more accurate picture in the study of SWB among the elderly. The methodology adopted in our study fills this gap, and incorporates commitment to goals in the model. In this way it helps us to understand the true nature of the SWB-goal relationship, as shown in the following sections.

7.3.2 Designing sample survey

Based on the findings of the qualitative explorative study and the proposed model, we designed a survey to quantify the production functions of SWB among the elderly in Islamabad. In total a sample of 1056 people were selected from the middle-income areas of the city. We performed principal component analysis (PCA) to the results of the progress in various goals. The results of PCA converged with those explored in the qualitative explorative study. Hence validating the findings of the qualitative study.

7.3.3 SWB components

As borne out by previous research on the elderly in Pakistan (ul Haq, 2008), elderly people reported higher levels of the frequency of those emotions which may be closely related with religion (Emmons and McCullough, 2003). Contentment is translated as *qanaát* – a feeling of contentment with God regardless of one’s living conditions. In previous research on Pakistani women, Ali and ul Haq (2006) argue that the feeling of being contented is the basic reason for their relatively higher levels of satisfaction in life, even in adverse conditions. Ul Haq (2008) has also demonstrated this finding, in his study of satisfaction of life among elderly people in Pakistan from the needs perspective – people were found to be happy even when their physiological and safety needs, as expressed by Maslow’s (1970) hierarchy of needs, are not met.

Further, a huge majority of the population under study reported being satisfied with their life. The results show that the elderly in Islamabad reported slightly higher levels of satisfaction as compared to those reported by a previous study on Pakistani Muslims (Suhail and Chaudhry 2004).

In addition, life satisfaction was more closely related with positive affect and this is what is generally assumed in the association of the SWB components (Kuppens et al. 2008).

7.3.4 Determinants of SWB components

From the results of the proposed non-linear model, status, affection and comfort were found to be the most important goals in the lives of the elderly for achieving higher levels of life satisfaction. They experience positive affect more frequently and negative emotions less often. The main source for realizing the goals of status and affection were found to be family members, especially children, thereby making family the most important factor for the achievement of higher levels of SWB among the elderly in Pakistan. Apart from that, the goal of afterlife well-being proved to be an important predictor for achieving higher levels of life satisfaction but failed to establish any relationship with the affective component of SWB.

Steverink and Lindenberg (2006), who employed the SPF theory in their study on the Dutch elderly, came up with different sets of goals as determinants of various SWB components: affection with life satisfaction, status with affective component, and behavioural confirmation moderately linked to both affective and cognitive components of SWB. These differences may be attributed to the different cultural context of the study populations. The use of different methodologies may be the other cause for the differences.

Past research on the relationship between religion and SWB has shown a stronger association between these variables (Kim-Prieto and Diener, 2009; Tiliouine, 2009); however some of the studies have come up with contrary conclusions (Gartner et al. 1991, Hackney and Sanders, 2003; Pargament, 2002; Payne et al., 1991; Smith et al., 2003 cited by Kim-Prieto and Diener, 2009). Most of the studies focusing on the relationship between religion and SWB were carried out on Christian populations, with very few on Muslim subjects. Suhail and Chaudhry (2004), for example, in their study of 1000 Pakistani Muslims found that religious affiliation is a better predictor of SWB. Furthermore, previous research dealt with religion in isolation, and focused on its coping effect and its relationship with SWB components, whereas in this study we focus on afterlife well-being – a belief mostly derived from religious teachings and one that carries the greatest has utmost emphasis in many religious traditions – rather than religiosity or spirituality; although in most of these studies religiosity or spirituality is measured by a belief in the afterlife, closeness to God and/or attendance at rituals (see Emmons, 2005). From the findings of the explorative study, it was discovered that religion serves as an instrumental goal and guides the elderly in their efforts to secure a good afterlife. Therefore in this study rather than focusing on religious practices per se, we used different aspects of religious teachings, for example, behaviour and performance of rituals, to study the perception of the elderly with respect to their preparation for a good afterlife.

7.3.5 Time perspective of goals, their features and determinants of SWB

The pursuit of goals cannot be fully comprehended without understanding the time perspective attached to the success of the goals as proposed by Rozin (1999). From qualitative interviews it became clear that some of the goals were closely related to the current events, for example, the goal of comfort. Other goals were more related to future events, for instance, afterlife well-being. Further, some goals may have a mixture of both; their success may be related to both current and distal events, such as memories pertaining to events in the past and hope for the future. For example, the elderly perceived the *acknowledgement of resources: skills, habits, inner qualities and monetary assets* as an aspect of status and this aspect may be related with some events in the past (see Chapter 3).

Moreover, only current events were quite closely related to only progress in achieving these goals, without any significant contribution of commitment to these goals. Distal events, both in the past or the future, were found to be more closely related with the level of commitment to these goals.

Among the SWB components, life satisfaction was more closely related with the commitment to goals, implying that commitment to goals was a necessary but not sufficient condition for explaining life satisfaction. Further, commitment to goals was relevant only to

those goals whose success was either achieved in the past or is anticipated in the future; implying that commitment to those goals whose success may be related to current events – for example the goal of comfort – did not contribute substantially in explaining any of the SWB components. Moreover, negative affect was more closely related with current events, and was explained by the role of progress alone with very minimal contribution from the commitment to goals. Positive affect, however, was explained by both progress and its interaction with commitment. Further, positive affect was explained by both types of goals: those with success in distal or current events.

7.4 Limitations of the study

A major limitation of this research lies in the cross-sectional design of the study as the true goal-SWB relationship cannot be unveiled at one point in time. In the study of SWB, it has been stressed that the true picture emerges from longitudinal studies or studying the daily diaries of the respondents (cf. Diener et al. 1999).

Further we grounded the SPF theory in the Pakistani setting; however, psychological measurement instruments, such as SWLS and PANAS, also need cultural grounding. Nevertheless, these measurement instruments scored well on the internal consistency tests.

Finally, as the Pakistani society is commonly recognized as a patriarchal one (Ali and ul Haq, 2006; Hussain, 1999; Jejeebhoy & Sathar, 2001), the focus on the gender dimension of various goals in the Pakistani setting could lead to greater insights into the goal-SWB relationship. In patriarchal societies gender plays a decisive role in recognizing the functions and authority enjoyed by various members of a household. The senior male member, for instance, in most of the cases is regarded as the head of the household and carries out most of the decision making on behalf of the household members, and in turn is treated as the major bread winner together with other male household members. Similarly female household members are normally expected to take care of daily household chores. Due to this division of duties the scope of main goals and their source of realization may differ substantially among men and women. This study does not provide in-depth analysis on the gender dimensions of production functions of SWB among the elderly. Nonetheless, the study provides a foundation for future studies on goal-SWB relationship in Muslim societies.

7.5 Recommendations

7.5.1 Recommendations for future research

Our data permit us to answer a very important question: what is the age gradient in goal-SWB relationship? In the course of answering the question, the issue pertaining to substitution process can also be answered. Further, in our analysis we included socio-demographic variables to control for their effect including the gender of the respondents, whereas analysis on the role of gender itself is an intriguing question to be pursued in future studies.

Results pertaining to descriptive statistics of the affective component of SWB presented in Chapter 5 clearly show that some of the emotions may possibly be related to

religion, for example, gratitude and guilt. In future research the relationship between such emotions and religion needs further elaboration, for example, whether these emotions are more related to intrinsic or extrinsic religiosity. Further, possibilities regarding the decomposition of positive and negative emotions with respect to religious orientation also needs some attention. In the event that such decomposition is possible, its relationship with various goals, especially well-being in the afterlife would need further exploration.

In this study we focused on goal-SWB relationships at the level of first-order goals. We made assumptions regarding features of goals – progress, commitment and attainability – in relation to temporal frames. Analysis after decomposing various goals according to their aspects would definitely yield more in-depth knowledge not only regarding different features of goals, their temporal frame but also their relationship with SWB components.

Family, especially children, were found to be quite important – as the main production factors of two important goals of status and affection – for achieving higher levels of SWB among the elderly, as not only their well-being is connected with that of their children's but also the elderly perceive passing on responsibilities as being of utmost importance. Thus it is necessary to study the implications of higher SWB levels of the elderly on their family members; why other family members devote their time, energy and resources to please their elders; and how the SWB of household members is mutually related. These findings stress the need for studies focusing on SWB at the level of the household.

The present study pertains to the elderly in middle-class neighbourhoods in Islamabad. Obviously, this study should also be conducted among poor elderly people and in a rural context. Comparative studies between the elderly in old folk's homes and those living in households would definitely unveil some hidden realities.

Finally, the proposition of infinite time perception in goal-setting behaviour among religious communities will definitely yield interesting results.

7.5.2 Policy recommendations

It has been acknowledged that SWB is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a good life at the personal as well as societal level (cf. Diener et al. 2003). This implies that considerations regarding the determinants of SWB for formulating policies are a must. This study provides some intriguing insights into the SWB of the elderly and these findings need to be considered in long-term policy frameworks addressing the needs of the elderly. Further, our results show that the goal of status together with affection and comfort play a large role in enhancing life satisfaction and positive affect, and avoiding negative emotions, and that the main production factor for status and affection is the family of the elderly who to a large extent rely on their children. This implies that in the wake of much needed economic development and opportunities offered by a one-time window of demographic dividend (cf. Arif and Chaudhry, 2008; Nayab, 2007), findings that underline the importance of young intimates, especially male offspring, for enhancing the well-being of the older generation should be kept in mind. Policies, for example, encouraging old folk's homes, should also be subjected to a cost-benefit analysis with regard to different dimensions – objective as well as that of perceptions – of well-being at societal as well as personal levels of all segments of society.

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Appendix A: In-depth interview guide

Introduction with the respondent and telling him/her briefly about the purpose of this interview and research.

General topic

- Sex (to be observed)
- Age
- Place of birth and origin
- Marital status
- Information about spouse (if still married)
- Level of education
- Information regarding all the members of the household.
- Occupation
- Occupation of the spouse (even if dead)
- Information about children and grand children
- Information regarding brothers and sisters
- **Daily routine**
 - Probing ...

1. Subjective well-being

1. Can you reflect a bit
 - a. on things you like
 - b. you are satisfied with in your life.
2. Can you reflect a bit on things that
 - a. you do not like
 - b. you are not satisfied with in your life.
3. What is your opinion about a good life (one's well-being)?
 - ... Probing the role of
 - 1 Family background 2 Offspring 3 Respect 4 Land
 - 5 Property 6 Money 7 Career 8 Religiosity
4. What is your opinion about the main sources of a good life?

Probing ...

5. What, if happens, would make your life better off?
6. What, if happens, would make your life worse off?

Social well-being

1. What is your opinion about good social life (social well-being)?
2. What are the main sources of a good social life?

Probing ...

2.1 Status

1. In your opinion, what would make people feel better than others?
2. Who are others?
3. In your opinion, does it (feeling better than others) make one happier or satisfied?
4. In your opinion, what sort of things people do to get regards, respect or admiration from others?
5. In your opinion, normally who are those people (others)?
6. Will you tell me about things that you do, which bring you the regards, respect or admiration of others?

Probing...(from whom you get regard, respect or admiration and whose comments you give importance and why)

7. Will you tell me about things that you do for other purposes, but that, unintended, bring you the regard, respect, or admiration of other people?

Probing...(from whom and who are most important and why)

8. Will you tell me about things for which you feel proud?

Probing...

9. Will you tell me about things which you can do better than others?

Probing...

10. Do you possess any special skills that others envy or admire?

Probing.. who are those people, to whose comments you give importance and

why?

11. Will you tell me about those things for which
 - a. You feel ashamed of ...probing...
 - b. Make you unworthy ...probing...
 - c. Others look down upon you ...probing...
 - d. Feeling of less than others ...probing...
12. Does a good social life has any relationship with the comparison with other people(or being better than others)
Probing...

2.2 Behavioural confirmation

1. In your opinion, while doing certain activities (take example from the daily routine), which things **people do** to make the whole activity accepted by others?
2. Normally people take care of what (who are those others: people, norms)?
3. In your opinion, normally when one's activities are unaccepted for others?
4. While doing certain activities (take example from the daily routine), which activities **do you do** so that the whole activity is accepted by others?

Probing...why people accept those activities, which you undertake to be accepted by them...

5. Whose views do you care about for getting approval while doing certain things?
... Probing ...why? Or why not? And whose opinion to take care of?
6. Are there other activities that you do for other reasons, which also provide approval of people that are important to you?
7. If you do some thing which is not accepted by 'others', what would be its effect on you?

2.3 Affection

1. In your opinion, normally from whom one get love?

2. In your opinion, what one expects from those loved ones?
3. From whom do you expect these things? Probing ...
4. With whom you spend your most of the time?
5. In general how is your relationship with these people (just mentioned in the above question)? ... probing ... asking question one by one for all those love loved ones
6. How often do you see your loves one, those who do not live with you (which he mentioned in the above questions)?

Probing one by one

7. How do you feel if you do not with these loved ones, who live apart?
8. What do you expect from your loved ones?

Probing one by one for each person

9. What do you not expect from your loved ones?

Probing one by one for each person

10. What are the activities which you undertake to build a good relationship with your loved ones?

Probing one by one for each person

11. What do your loved ones expect from you?

Probing one by one for each person

12. Do you have friends

Probing ...

13. How do you feel if you do not see your friends for some time?

14. How did you develop friendship?

15. What do you expect from your friends?

16. What do you not expect from your friends?

17. In your opinion, what would be one's life, if there is no body that he loves?

2. Physical well-being

1. In you opinion what physical circumstances makes one's life worse off?
2. What is your opinion about the role of good physical health status in leading a good life?

3.1 Comfort

1. In your opinion, which are important factors for a good physical health?
Probing...
2. What makes physical health bad?
Probing....
3. How do you feel about your health status?
Probing...
4. What problems do you face?
5. Which are important factors for a good physical surrounding?
6. What, if happen, would make physical living condition worse off?
7. What, if happen, would make physical living conditions better off?
Probing...
8. What would say about dementia?
Probing ...

3.2 Stimulation

1. In your opinion, elderly people normally involve in
2. What sort of physical activities?
3. What sort of mental activities?
4. In your opinion does it makes one's life better off?
5. In your opinion, if one is not involve any such activity, does it make one's life worse off?
6. Do you involve in any physical or mental activity?
7. How do you manage your living (financial status)?
Probing ...

Appendix B: Focus group discussion guide

Introduction of the research and the researcher

Introduction has to be made in the beginning.

Aim: to find out what are important goals in the lives of the elderly population in Islamabad and to substantiate some of the findings of the in-depth interviews

Consent

An oral consent of all the participants should be taken before each FGD. Recording device should be shown to them and ask them their permission to record the discussion. Anonymity and confidentiality, and that material of the discussion will only be used for research purposes only should be ensured in each discussion.

Introduction of the participants

Participants reveal information regarding age, marital status, and education, number of children, occupation and occupation of spouse.

Main topics

Usual activities of the elderly from dawn till dusk

Reasons for undertaking these activities

Future aims most of the elderly people plan to achieve

Probing the reasons behind these aims

Thoughts about afterlife and its preparation

Closure

17. Previous occupation 2

18. Since (ask this question till the age of 30 of the respondent)

19. Name of children	20. Sex	21. Education	22. Marital status	23. Number of children

24. Are you currently doing some paid work

1. Yes

2. No

25. If yes, what type of work

26. Current occupation:

27. Since

28. Previous occupation 1

29. Since

30. Previous occupation 2

31. Since (ask this question till the age of 30 of the respondent)

32. If No, would you like to do some paid work

1. Yes

2.No

33. Source of income of the respondent

34. Level of income of the respondent

35. Less than 5000 2. Between 5000 and 10000 3. Between 10000 and 20000 4. Between 20000 and 50000

5. More than 50000

36. Source of income of the household

37. Level of income of the household

1. Less than 5000
2. Between 5000 and 10000
3. Between 10000 and 20000
4. Between 20000 and 50000
5. More than 50000

B. Satisfaction with life scale

Do you think that your life is in most ways close to your ideal? Do you STRONGLY DISAGREE (SD), DISAGREE (D), NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE (N), AGREE (A), OR STRONGLY AGREE (SA), don't know (DK) with this statement.

	SD	D	N	A	SA	DK
1. In most ways your life is close to your ideal.	1	2	3	4	5	9
2. The conditions of your life are excellent	1	2	3	4	5	9
3. You are satisfied with your life	1	2	3	4	5	9
4. So far do you have gotten the important things you want in life	1	2	3	4	5	9
5. If you could live your life over, you would change almost nothing	1	2	3	4	5	9

C. Positive and negative affective scale

In the last 4 weeks how often, you had felt each emotion at a 4-point scale ranging from (1 not at all, 2 sometimes, 3 often and 4 all the time)

	Not at all	sometimes	often	all the time	don't know
Happy	1	2	3	4	9
Cheerful	1	2	3	4	9
Pride	1	2	3	4	9
Gratitude	1	2	3	4	9
Pleasant	1	2	3	4	9
Contented	1	2	3	4	9
Anger	1	2	3	4	9
Unpleasant	1	2	3	4	9
Guilt	1	2	3	4	9
Shame	1	2	3	4	9
Worry	1	2	3	4	9
Stress	1	2	3	4	9
Jealous	1	2	3	4	9
Sad	1	2	3	4	9

D. Goals

Please rank the following (1 being most important to 10 being least important) in terms of Importance of these goals in your life?

Goals	Good Afterlife	Physical health	Interesting activities	Behaving according to people's perceptions	Behaving according to internal norms	Good relationship with children	Well-being of the children	Respect	Monetary resources	Status
Ranking										

Give rank to the following (1 being most difficult to surrender to 10 being most easy to surrender) in terms of surrendering these goals. (if someone says that he cannot surrender a certain goal then give 0 but this category is not to be mentioned)

Goals	Good Afterlife	Physical health	Interesting activities	Behaving according to people's perceptions	Behaving according to internal norms	Good relationship with children	Well-being of the children	Respect	Monetary resources	Status
Ranking										

Do you think that Good afterlife is 1 Very much attainable 2 attainable 3 not attainable 4 impossible to attainable for you looking at your health, age, and other monetary and non-monetary recourses

Goals	Good Afterlife	Physical health	Interesting activities	Behaving according to people's perceptions	Behaving according to internal norms	Good relationship with children	Well-being of the children	Respect	Monetary resources	Status
Ranking	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

Do you think that you are so committed to Good afterlife that **1. you cannot surrender this goal in any case? 2.It's difficult to me to surrender this goal but you can in some situations**

3.It's very easy to surrender this goal in difficult situations 4. You don't regard this goal as important

Goals	Good Afterlife	Physical health	Interesting activities	Behaving according to people's perceptions	Behaving according to internal norms	Good relationship with children	Well-being of the children	Respect	Monetary resources	Status
Ranking	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

Afterlife well-being

1. For what reason you follow teachings of Islam (can be answered for more than one option)

1. To be close to Allah
2. To make good relationship with close intimates
3. To have a good afterlife
4. Don't know
5. Any other please specify

2. Do you believe that performing of rituals are very important, important, somewhat important, or not at all important for a good afterlife?

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not at all important
5. Don't know

3. Do you believe that adhering to the moral teachings of Islam are **very important, important, somewhat important, or not at all important** for a good afterlife?

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not at all important
5. Don't know

4. Do you believe that having right beliefs are **very important, important, somewhat important, or not at all important** for a good afterlife?

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not at all important
5. Don't know

5. Do you believe that adherence of children according to the teaching of Islam are **very important, important, somewhat important, or not at all important** for a good afterlife?

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not at all important
5. Don't know

6. Do you believe that righteous earning is **very important, important, somewhat important, or not at all important** for a good afterlife?

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not at all important
5. Don't know

7. For what reason you want a good afterlife? (can be answered in yes for all three options)

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not at all important
5. Don't know

Do you think that your preparation for afterlife in the last 4 weeks is VERY GOOD, GOOD, NEUTRAL, BAD, OR VERY BAD?

	Very good	good	neutral	bad	very bad	don't know
1. Your preparation for afterlife is	1	2	3	4	5	9
2. Your attitude towards family in the light of the teachings of Islam is	1	2	3	4	5	9
3. Your attitude towards relatives in the light of the teachings of Islam is	1	2	3	4	5	9
4. Your attitude towards neighbours in the light of the teachings of Islam is	1	2	3	4	5	9
5. Your performance of all the rituals of Islam is	1	2	3	4	5	9
6. Your children's adherence to the teachings of Islam is	1	2	3	4	5	9
7. In the light of the teachings of Islam about righteous income, your income is	1	2	3	4	5	9
8. Your level of giving alms according to the teachings of Islam is	1	2	3	4	5	9
9. Your actions in the light of the teachings of Islam are	1	2	3	4	5	9

Affection

1. Do you have very affectionate relationship with your spouse? Do you Strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree.

	Strongly agree	agree	neutral	disagree	strongly disagree	don't know
1. Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	9
2. Children	1	2	3	4	5	9
3. Grand children	1	2	3	4	5	9
4. Friends/colleagues	1	2	3	4	5	9
5. Siblings	1	2	3	4	5	9
6. Any other (specify)						

Do you feel that people really like you? Have you ALWAYS, OFTEN, SOMETIMES OR NEVER felt in the past 4 weeks?

	Always	often	sometimes	never	don't know	NA
1. People really like you	1	2	3	4	9	0
2. Your children really like you	1	2	3	4	9	0
3. your spouse really likes you	1	2	3	4	9	0
4. Your children show good support/cooperate with you	1	2	3	4	9	0
5. Your spouse shows good support/cooperate with you	1	2	3	4	9	0
6. You are properly taken care by your children	1	2	3	4	9	0
7. You are properly taken care by your spouse	1	2	3	4	9	0
8. You get proper time by your children.	1	2	3	4	9	0
9. You get proper time by your spouse	1	2	3	4	9	0
10. your children regard your successes and failures as of their own	1	2	3	4	9	0
11. your spouse regards your successes and failures as of his/her own	1	2	3	4	9	0
12. your children care about how you feel	1	2	3	4	9	0
13. your spouse care about how you feel	1	2	3	4	9	0

Status

	Always	often	sometimes	never	don't know
1. People regard you as worthy	1	2	3	4	9
2. You are better than others with respect to your children	1	2	3	4	9
3. You are better than others with respect to your family	1	2	3	4	9
4. You are better than others with respect to your monetary assets	1	2	3	4	9
5. You are better than others with respect to your non-monetary assets/inner qualities	1	2	3	4	9
6. You are obeyed by your children	1	2	3	4	9
7. You are obeyed by your family	1	2	3	4	9
8. Have you achieved those goal for which you have aimed for	1	2	3	4	9
9. Do you get respect from others	1	2	3	4	9
10. You have put over your responsibilities	1	2	3	4	9
11. People think poorly of you?	1	2	3	4	9
12. You are dependent on others	1	2	3	4	9
13. Others are dependent on you?	1	2	3	4	9

Behaviour confirmation

1. Do you think that you are doing different things in a good manner	Always	often	sometimes	never	don't know
2. Do people think that you are doing different things in a good manner	1	2	3	4	9
3. Do you think that you are doing right things	1	2	3	4	9
4. Do people think about you are doing the right things	1	2	3	4	9
5. Do you think that you are useful to others	1	2	3	4	9
6. Do people think that you are useful to others	1	2	3	4	9
7. Do people think that you are a burden to them?	1	2	3	4	9
8. Do people think that you strive for the wrong things?	1	2	3	4	9
9. Do people think that your way of doing different things is bad?	1	2	3	4	9
10. Do you think that you are a burden to them?	1	2	3	4	9
11. Do you think that you strive for the wrong things?	1	2	3	4	9
12. Do you think that your way of doing different things is bad?	1	2	3	4	9

Comfort

Do you feel	always	often	sometimes	never	don't know
1. Ill		1	2	3	4
2. Physically dependent		1	2	3	4
3. Restless		1	2	3	4
4. Pain		1	2	3	4
5. Insecurity		1	2	3	4
6. That you have comfortable place of living		1	2	3	4
7. That you get your due rights		1	2	3	4
8. Impairment in hearing		1	2	3	4
9. Impairment in eye sight		1	2	3	4
10. Dementia		1	2	3	4
11. Weakness		1	2	3	4

Do you find reading books as **very uninteresting, uninteresting, neutral, interesting, or very interesting**

	VU	U	N	I	VN	DK
Reading books	1	2	3	4	5	9
Gardening	1	2	3	4	5	9
Watching TV	1	2	3	4	5	9
Gossips with close intimates	1	2	3	4	5	9
Any other specify						

Stimulation

	Always	often	sometimes	never	don't know
1. You have some challenging activities to do	1	2	3	4	9
2. You have some interesting things to do	1	2	3	4	9
3. Do you enjoy your activities	1	2	3	4	9
4. Do fully concentrate when doing something?	1	2	3	4	9

Section F. Satisfaction with goals

1. How satisfied are you with your overall preparation of afterlife?

1 very much satisfied	2.satisfied	3. Neutral	4. Unsatisfied	5.very much unsatisfied
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2. How satisfied are you with your performance of rituals.

1 very much satisfied	2.satisfied	3. Neutral	4. Unsatisfied	5.very much unsatisfied
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3. How satisfied are you with your morals according to the teachings of Islam?

1 very much satisfied	2.satisfied	3. Neutral	4. Unsatisfied	5.very much unsatisfied
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4. How satisfied are you with your beliefs?

1 very much satisfied	2.satisfied	3. Neutral	4. Unsatisfied	5.very much unsatisfied
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- 5. How satisfied are you with the condition of affectionate relationship in your life as a whole?**
- 1 Very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5. very much unsatisfied
- 6. How satisfied are you with your relationship with your children**
- 1 Very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5. very much unsatisfied
- 7. How satisfied are you with your relationship with your spouse**
- 1 very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5.very much unsatisfied
- 8. How satisfied are you with your overall behaviour?**
- 1 very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5.very much unsatisfied
- 9. How satisfied are you with your way of doing different things(with respect to right and wrong)?**
- 1 very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5.very much unsatisfied
- 10. How satisfied are you with your way of doing different things(with respect to good and bad)?**
- 1 very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5.very much unsatisfied
- 11. How satisfied are you with your status in the society**
- 1 very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5.very much unsatisfied
- 12. How satisfied are you with the amount of respect you get from others?**
- 1 very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5.very much unsatisfied
- 13. How satisfied are you with the level of independence you enjoy in your life**
- 1 very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5.very much unsatisfied

14. How satisfied are you with the level of putting over different responsibilities in your life?

1 very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5.very much unsatisfied

15. How satisfied are you with your

1 very much satisfied 2 Satisfied 3 Neutral 4 Unsatisfied 5 very much unsatisfied

- a) Physical health 1 2 3 4 5
- b) Hearing 1 2 3 4 5
- c) Eye sight 1 2 3 4 5
- d) Physical independence 1 2 3 4 5
- e) Circumstances 1 2 3 4 5
- f) Security 1 2 3 4 5

16. How satisfied are you with your activities

1 very much satisfied 2.satisfied 3. Neutral 4. Unsatisfied 5.very much unsatisfied

Samenvatting

Subjectieve welbevinden van ouderen in Islamabad, Pakistan

Lagere vruchtbaarheid en sterfte hebben de omvang en samenstelling van de wereldbevolking sterk veranderd, met verschillende gevolgen voor ontwikkelde landen en ontwikkelingslanden. Ontwikkelde landen hebben te maken met vergrijzing en de daarbij horende gevolgen in de vorm van een toename van de grijze druk en de daarbij behorende uitgaven voor het onderhouden van de oudere generatie. In ontwikkelingslanden volgt het patroon van vergrijzing een ander scenario, omdat het aandeel ouderen zeer laag is in vergelijking tot de ontwikkelde landen; desalniettemin is het aantal ouderen in de ontwikkelingslanden veel groter dan in de rijke landen van de wereld. Daarbij komt dat vanwege de wijdverspreide armoede in ontwikkelingslanden vergrijzing veelal geassocieerd wordt met armoede en problemen rond sociale zekerheid en gezondheid. Dat is ook zeker het geval in Pakistan. Vergrijzing in Pakistan heeft tot op heden ook niet erg in de belangstelling gestaan van onderzoekers of beleidsmakers. De studies en rapporten in Pakistan die over vergrijzing gaan, richten zich ook meestal op gezondheids- en armoedeproblemen. Daardoor is er nauwelijks aandacht voor het welzijn van ouderen, wat een breder perspectief is dan armoede of gezondheid op zich. Dit onderzoek wil het perspectief verbreden door de focus te richten op een emische benadering van welbevinden, dat wil zeggen iemand's persoonlijke waardering van zijn of haar leven. Het is vastgesteld dat subjectief welbevinden (SWB) een noodzakelijke maar niet voldoende voorwaarde is voor een 'goed leven' op het persoonlijke en maatschappelijke niveau. Het overkoepelende doel van dit proefschrift is daarom:

Het verkrijgen van een gedetailleerd inzicht in de determinanten van subjectief welbevinden van ouderen in Pakistan.

Onderzoekers hebben twee gerelateerde maar onderscheiden componenten van SWB geïdentificeerd: een waardering van het bestaan als geheel, dat in het algemeen de *cognitieve* component van SWB wordt genoemd, en een emotionele component die zowel positieve als negatieve emoties omvat, en die de *affektieve* component wordt genoemd. SWB is de uitkomst van een evaluatief proces, dat gebaseerd is op een afweging van de huidige omstandigheden en de gewenste toestand, waarbij bepaalde doelen worden verbonden aan de gewenste toestand. Doelen worden daarom opgevat als voorafgaand aan het beleven van SWB. In dit onderzoek leggen we een expliciet verband tussen die specifieke doelen en het subjectieve welbevinden van ouderen. Nu zijn er binnen de psychologie en economie diverse theorieën over welbevinden ontwikkeld, maar die zijn niet zonder tekortkomingen. Lindenberg (1996) heeft een theorie ontwikkeld, de Sociale Productiefunctie (SPF) theorie, die deze tekortkomingen niet heeft. De SPF theorie gaat niet alleen uit van een set van doelen maar bevat ook een hiërarchische structuur die een substitutieproces tussen diverse doelen omvat. In dit onderzoek wordt de SPF theorie gebruikt.

De theorie postuleert dat het vervullen van hiërarchisch gestructureerde doelen naar hoger welbevinden leidt, waarbij twee universele doelen op het hoogste niveau van belang zijn: fysiek en sociaal welbevinden. Lagere orde doelen zijn instrumenteel om deze hogere

doelen te bereiken. Bovendien is er sprake van mogelijke substitutie tussen de doelen. De SPF theorie was ontwikkeld in een westerse context. Hoewel de theorie een universele geldigheid claimt, hebben we in dit onderzoek allereerst geprobeerd door middel van een kwalitatief onderzoek om de theorie in de Pakistaanse context te grondvesten. Het gaat hierbij met name erom te onderzoeken welke doelen in deze andere culturele context belangrijk zijn, en om de hogere orde doelen van de theorie in deze andere context te conceptualiseren, op het niveau van de *aspecten* van die doelen.

Uit dit kwalitatieve onderzoek werd duidelijk dat behalve de twee universele doelen uit de SPF theorie van fysiek en sociaal welbevinden voor de ouderen in Pakistan een derde eerste orde doel van belang is, namelijk het zorgen voor een goed leven in het hiernamaals. Religiositeit wordt daarbij gezien als het belangrijkste aspect van dit doel. De SPF theorie houdt bovendien alleen rekening met hoe ver men gevorderd is in het streven naar elk van de doelen, waarbij voorbij gegaan wordt aan andere belangrijke doelkenmerken, zoals de *haalbaarheid* (of bereikbaarheid) en de *toewijding* aan een doel. In dit onderzoek worden de drie elementen: voortgang, haalbaarheid en toewijding, gebruikt in het conceptuele model om een zo goed mogelijke relatie te vinden tussen doelen en SWB. Op basis van de resultaten van de kwalitatieve exploratieve studie is een kwantitatieve survey ontwikkeld op basis waarvan de relatie tussen de drie kenmerken van de doelen en SWB is gekwantificeerd.

De resultaten van de kwantitatieve survey komen voor een belangrijk deel overeen met die van de kwalitatieve studie voor zover het de aspecten van de verschillende doelen betreft. Bovendien komt uit de survey naar voren dat het doel van leven in het hiernamaals het belangrijkste (in de zin van toewijding) wordt gevonden, gevolgd door de doelen van comfort en affectie. Stimulatie als doel wordt daarentegen het minst belangrijk gevonden. Ook wordt uit de survey duidelijk dat men in het algemeen alle doelen wel als haalbaar aanmerkt. Gemiddeld genomen vindt men dat men het minste voortgang heeft geboekt bij de doelen van stimulatie en de voorbereiding op het leven in het hiernamaals.

Ouderen hebben meer emoties die te maken hebben met religie. Tevredenheid wordt in de islam vertaald met *qanaát* – een gevoel van innerlijke tevredenheid naar God, dat niet rereleerd is aan de individuele levensomstandigheden. Ook rapporteerde een groot deel van de respondenten in het onderzoek een grote tevredenheid met het leven. Vergeleken met eerdere studies onder Pakistaanse moslims is die gemeten tevredenheid hoger. Bovendien blijkt uit deze studie, conform eerdere studies, dat de tevredenheid vooral samenhangt met positieve affectieve componenten.

De onderscheiden kenmerken van de gestelde doelen – toewijding, haalbaarheid en voortgang– blijken niet heel sterk met elkaar samen te hangen. Ze meten dus duidelijk verschillende dimensies en dat is een reden te meer om ze ook op te nemen in het onderzoek naar subjectief welbevinden. Van de drie kenmerken is bereikbaarheid van een gesteld doel kaderstellend voor de twee andere kenmerken. Omdat gemiddeld genomen alle respondenten de doelen voor SWB haalbaar vinden is zijn er geen belemmeringen om voortgang te boeken op de doelen. In het onderzoek concentreren we ons daarom vooral op voortgang en toewijding.

Het gebruik van zowel toewijding als voortgang met betrekking tot doelen voor SWB geeft de hier gekozen methodologie een voorsprong op eerder gebruikte versies, die alleen voortgang gebruikten. Vanuit theoretisch oogpunt is de toevoeging van toewijding van belang. Voortgang op een doel dat verder als totaal onbelangrijk wordt beoordeeld is wellicht van een andere orde dan voortgang op een doel dat heel belangrijk gevonden wordt voor SWB. De verwachting is dat doelen met een hoge toewijding meer bijdragen aan SWB dan doelen met minder toewijding, en dat voortgang op doelen met een hoge toewijding meer belang heeft dan voortgang op doelen met minder toewijding. De betekenis van een doel hangt dus af van de interactie tussen toewijding aan en voortgang op het doel. Deze interactie is ingebouwd in het in dit onderzoek voorgestelde model. Dit model geeft bijvoorbeeld ook het effect weer van voortgang op niet belangrijke doelen voor het bereiken van SWB.

Een vergelijking van de resultaten van verschillende modelvarianten, waarbij we zowel de simpele variant met alleen voortgang op de gestelde doelen meenemen, alsook de meer gecompliceerde variant met de interactie tussen toewijding en voortgang, leidt tot een aantal observaties. Op de eerste plaats zien we dat de fit van het model verbetert door het opnemen van toewijding aan het doel. Dit geldt met name voor de modelvormen waarbij SWB gemeten wordt in de vorm van tevredenheid met het bestaan en met (het vermijden van) negatieve emoties. Op de tweede plaats zien we dat in de modellen met interactie tussen toewijding en voortgang voor een deel andere doelen significant zijn dan in de eenvoudiger modellen met alleen voortgang. Met andere woorden, de inclusie van toewijding leidt tot op zekere hoogte tot andere conclusies. Op de derde plaats blijkt dat de interactie tussen toewijding en voortgang voor de meeste doelen sterk significant is. De theoretische meerwaarde van het meenemen van beide kenmerken van doelen wordt aldus empirisch ondersteund. Het niet meenemen van toewijding in modellen die SWB verklaren leidt dus tot vertekende en inconsistente resultaten.

De resultaten van het optimale model met interactie geven aan dat status, affectie en comfort de belangrijkste doelen zijn in het leven van de ouderen om het subjectieve welbevinden te verhogen. Deze resultaten blijken consistent, of we nu SWB meten in de vorm van tevredenheid met het bestaan, of op basis van positieve emoties of negatieve emoties. Daarbij is de belangrijkste bron voor het realiseren van de doelen van status en affectie de familie, en dan met name de kinderen. Daarnaast blijkt dat het doel van het welbevinden in het hiernamaals een belangrijke voorspeller is van tevredenheid met het bestaan. Een significante relatie tussen dit doel en de emotionele componenten van SWB kon in het onderzoek niet worden aangetoond.

De relatie tussen het nastreven van doelen en SWB kan alleen goed worden begrepen met inachtneming van het tijdsperspectief dat aan het bereiken van de doelen gekoppeld is. Uit de kwalitatieve interviews bleek dat sommige doelen sterk gerelateerd waren aan huidige gebeurtenissen, zoals het doel van comfort. Andere doelen zijn meer gericht op toekomstige gebeurtenissen, zoals welbevinden in het hiernamaals. Sommige doelen hebben een combinatie van beiden: het al dan niet hebben van succes in het bereiken van deze doelen kan zowel gerelateerd zijn aan huidige als aan toekomstige gebeurtenissen, zoals herinneringen uit