

School of Population Health

**A Cultural Model of Prosocial Behaviours: The Intergenerational
Conceptualisation and Transmission of Prosociality**

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Human Ethics

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – updated March 2014 and the Indonesian Government Regulation (PP No. 41/2006) on Foreign Research Permit.

The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00262), Approval Number HRE2018-0643 (see Appendix A: HREC Approval).

Following the Indonesian Government Regulation (PP No. 41/2006) and research permit procedures issued by the Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (No. 01/ 2018) the nature of this research does not require foreign research permits. Each participant was asked to consent (see Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form – Focus Group Discussion) before completing the data collection, and their consent was assumed based on survey completion.

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Abstract

Prosocial behaviour is fundamental for humans such that it is expected in every culture. The social psychology perspective views that for such actions to be labelled as prosocial, they must align with societal goals and group norms. Therefore, prosocial behaviour is not universal across cultures. Some prior studies explored cultural variations in prosocial behaviour in terms of individualism-collectivism and suggested that collectivism, but not individualism, is strongly connected to prosociality. More recently, increased individualism has been reported in many societies around the world to indicate societal changes and, to some extent, suggest corresponding changes in prosocial behaviour. However, whether the pattern of changes in individualism-collectivism affects changes in prosociality requires further examination, particularly in non-Western samples. One promising explanation is from the perspective of cultural dynamics that examine how certain cultural attributes, such as prosociality, are established, maintained, or transformed within societies. This thesis explores how prosocial behaviour is being understood, practised, and maintained in the context of changing sociocultural environment through a series of three studies.

The first study was a scoping review to map what is known by the literature about prosocial behaviour in Australian and Indonesian contexts. The study included 93 peer-reviewed articles (Australia $n = 79$, Indonesia $n = 14$) which were analysed according to the three hierarchical levels: micro, meso, and macro taking the multilevel perspective of prosocial behaviour. Findings from this study suggest that Australian and Indonesian studies on prosocial behaviour differ in terms of its domain. Australian studies were mainly focusing on the interpersonal process of prosocial behaviour, whereas Indonesian research focused on the internal process of enacting prosocial behaviour. The scoping review also found that beyond the predefined typology of prosocial behaviour, there is growing research on other types of prosocial acts. The study suggested the need to understand prosocial behaviour beyond expert conception to accommodate the inclusion of other prosocial behaviour among people in different cultural contexts.

Study 2 was a focus group study involving 42 participants across 7 groups representing different cultures and generations. The study aimed to explain prosocial behaviour in the context of a changing socio-cultural environment by exploring cross-cultural (Australia and Indonesia) and cross-generational (older and younger generations) understanding of prosociality construct from the perspective of a layperson. Analyses of the qualitative data led to four themes and 23 subthemes. The study showed that prosocial behaviour has similar forms, regardless of cultures and generations. Findings also indicate that generational differences were only observed in Indonesian participants, suggesting the need for a further study of prosociality between Indonesian generations.

One important finding is that Indonesian young adults more frequently discussed empathy as the motive of prosocial acts than the older adult generation. Compared to Australia, Indonesia may have larger generational differences in terms of sourcing and directing prosocial acts. As such, an examination of how prosociality is transmitted between generations in Indonesia is valuable to understand the nature of prosociality in changing sociocultural contexts.

Taking the cultural dynamics perspective, Study 3 examined five models of vertical transmission of prosociality in Indonesia. The five models were tested in a sample of 208 parent-young adult dyads and explored five different contexts of values to explicate the mechanism of intergenerational transmission of prosociality. A statistically significant result was found for the model where effective transmission of prosociality from parent to adult children occurred through the moderation of *zeitgeist* values in social focus. More specifically, the more the mainstream society has stronger construction toward social focus values (i.e., universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security-societal) and lower construction toward personal focus values (i.e., self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, and security-personal) the more likely prosociality was transmitted from parent to their adult children. This finding provides an insight that the process of sustaining prosocial behaviour across generations in a culturally changing society can be explicated through the micro-level phenomena of the cultural dynamics perspective.

Overall, this thesis makes three contributions to an understanding of prosocial behaviour research, practice, maintenance, and change in different and changing sociocultural contexts. First, the focus of research on prosocial behaviour is vary across cultures and types of prosocial behaviour may expand beyond the existing categorisation of prosocial behaviour. Second, perspectives through the layperson from different sociocultural contexts should be respectfully explored to broaden our understanding of the nature of prosociality. This exploration is particularly useful to explicate how prosociality can be understood and practised by different societies. Third, the perspective of cultural dynamics provides an insight into how prosociality is transformed and maintained across generations through the mechanism of vertical transmission.

The thesis has several implications for research focusing on prosocial behaviour in changing sociocultural contexts. These include exploring a broader concept of prosocial behaviour beyond the predetermined typology by considering culturally diverse constructs of prosociality, encouraging the use of qualitative methods to illuminate cross-cultural and cross-generational variations of prosocial behaviour, and making use of cultural dynamics perspective to explicate the context of transmitting prosociality across generations. Suggestions for future research include the direction to accommodate the underrepresented non-Western conception of prosociality in broadening the typology of prosocial acts and the use of other research designs in estimating longer-term implications of cultural dynamics.

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We acknowledge that Curtin University works across hundreds of traditional lands and custodial groups in Australia, and with First Nations people around the globe. We wish to pay our deepest respects to their ancestors and members of their communities, past, present, and to their emerging leaders. Our passion and commitment to work with all Australians and peoples from across the world, including our First Nations peoples are at the core of the work we do, reflective of our institutions' values and commitment to our role as leaders in the Reconciliation space in Australia.

Covid-19 Thesis Impact Statement

This thesis was completed for the fulfilment of the requirements of a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Psychology. The candidate completed the associated psychology research across the course of her degree from February 2017 to August 2021.

The pandemic has had several impacts on this research. First, the focus group discussion was originally targeted for at least four group sessions in Australia. However, due to the risk of administering face-to-face discussions during the pandemic, only three sessions were administered before Covid-19 reached Australia. Data was considered sufficient for qualitative analysis, and it was decided to cancel the fourth group during the pandemic. Second, Covid-19 delayed the progress of the writing for the candidate. In August 2021 the candidate lost both of her parents due to Covid-19, she must return to her home country immediately, and ended her PhD Scholarship. She is dealing with bereavement since then.

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	i
Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Acknowledgement of Country.....	v
Covid-19 Thesis Impact Statement.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	x
Chapter 1: Prosocial Behaviour and Culture.....	1
1.1. Prosocial Behaviour and Sociocultural Changes.....	2
1.2. Thesis Overview.....	4
Chapter 2: Understanding Research in Prosocial Behaviour: A Scoping Review in Australian and Indonesian Literature.....	8
2.1. Abstract.....	8
2.2. Introduction.....	8
2.3. Methods.....	10
<i>Stage 1: Identifying the Research Question</i>	11
<i>Stage 2: Identifying Relevant Studies</i>	11
<i>Stage 3: Study Selection</i>	12
<i>Stage 4: Charting the Data</i>	12
<i>Stage 5: Collating, Summarising and Reporting the Results</i>	14
2.4. Results.....	14
2.5. Discussion.....	19
2.6. Conclusions.....	21
Chapter 3: A Qualitative Study of Prosocial Behaviour: Perspectives across Cultures and Generations.....	22
3.1. Abstract.....	22
3.2. Introduction.....	22
3.3. Methodology.....	26
3.4. Results.....	30
3.5. Discussion.....	43

3.6. Conclusions	47
Chapter 4: Vertical Transmission of Prosociality: Basic Human Values and The Context of Intergenerational Transmission in Indonesia	48
4.1. Introduction	48
4.2. Method.....	54
4.3. Results	57
4.4. Discussion	66
4.5. Conclusion.....	69
Chapter 5: Overall Discussion and Conclusion	71
5.1. Review of Thesis Objectives.....	71
5.2. Summary of Major Findings	72
5.3. Future Research and Practical Implications	76
5.4. Conclusion.....	77
References.....	79
Appendix A: HREC Approval.....	87
Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet & Consent Form (Focus Group Discussion).....	89
Appendix C: Focus Group Discussion Protocols.....	93
Appendix D: Flyers for Recruiting Focus Group Discussion Participants (English)	94
Appendix E: Questionnaires included in Indonesian Survey (Manual Version).....	95
Appendix F: Flyers for Recruiting Survey Participants (Bahasa Indonesia).....	109

List of Tables

Table 1. Characteristics of the included studies.....	16
Table 2. Research domains, types, and recipients of prosocial behaviour.....	18
Table 3. Summary of themes and subthemes representing participants' perspective toward prosocial behaviour.....	31
Table 4. Extract samples.	33
Table 5. Mean scores, standard deviations, and Pearson's bivariate correlations between all variables.	59
Table 6. Model 1: The moderation effect of young adults' self-values on the vertical transmission of prosociality.....	60
Table 7. Model 2: The moderation effect of value congruence on the vertical transmission of prosociality.....	61
Table 8. Model 3: Parental socialisation values as the facilitator of the vertical transmission of prosociality.....	62
Table 9. Model 4: Young adults' perceived parental value endorsement as the moderator of the vertical transmission of prosociality	63
Table 10. Model 5: The moderation effect of zeitgeist values on the vertical transmission of prosociality.....	64

List of Figures

Figure 1. PRISMA flow diagram of study selection.....	13
Figure 2. Illustration of calculating zeitgeist values in social focus.	64
Figure 3: The interaction effect of <i>zeitgeist</i> values in social and personal focus on the vertical transmission of prosociality.	65

Chapter 1: Prosocial Behaviour and Culture

Prosocial behaviour has been broadly defined as actions that are directed to others and positively valued by society (Dovidio et al., 2017). These actions may include helping, altruism, volunteerism, and cooperation (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). The term “prosociality” refers to an individual’s propensity to perform particular prosocial behaviours (Caprara et al., 2012). Prosocial behaviour is thought to be fundamental for societies to sustain such that it captures research interest from various perspectives in psychology (Davidov et al., 2016; Dovidio et al., 2017; Gilbert et al., 2019).

From the perspective of social psychology, prosocial behaviour is the core quality of the human species (Schroeder & Graziano, 2017) such that removing prosociality would damage individuals’ capability to function fully in their society. Individuals lacking in prosocial behaviour would be considered as also lacking in social connections since performing prosocial acts involves the formation of social bonds between individuals and their community (Schroeder & Graziano, 2017). By acting prosocially, individuals comply with societal norms and identify themselves as part of the society, receive the benefits of being a member of the society (i.e., social identity formation and fulfilment of social needs), and in return, affirm that they are the member of their group.

Within social psychology, the evolutionary social psychology perspective posits that prosocial behaviour is the “survival strategy” (Simpson & Beckes, 2010, p. 37) for the human species. For instance, cooperation between individuals strengthens individual and group survival capabilities. Cooperation, a type of prosocial behaviour, is fundamental for successful reproduction and evolution. Maintaining long-term cooperation may signal that individuals are willing to be included as member of the group by adhering to group norms. Thus, cooperation strengthens the group not only by adding the quantity of its member through membership and reproduction but also by enforcing group norms through socialisation and internalisation (Simpson & Beckes, 2010). Individuals hesitant to act prosocially would be considered for group exclusion and may be ostracised (Twenge et al., 2007).

These two perspectives highlight the importance of prosocial behaviour or aligning certain behaviour with societal goals and group norms for such actions to be regarded as prosocial, within psychology. However, societal goals and group norms differ across cultures and change over time. For example, because changes in ecological, cultural, societal, and behavioural characteristics are interconnected (Greenfield, 2016; Varnum & Grossmann, 2017), societal goals and group norms that shape prosocial behaviour may differ due to changes in these characteristics. As such, stability and changes in prosocial behaviour should be understood within the context of changing

sociocultural environment. One particularly interesting broad change in ecological, cultural, societal, and behavioural characteristics observed in many societies is rising individualism (Greenfield, 2016; Santos et al., 2017; Sheetal & Savani, 2021). Nevertheless, the relationship between increased individualism and the nature of prosocial behaviour is not yet clear.

Prior literature relates individualism-collectivism and prosociality in a few different ways. In some research, collectivism was more strongly related to prosociality (Carlo et al., 2001; Lampridis & Papastilianou, 2017). In another line of research, rendering help to members of one's in-group was a more common response in collectivist societies, whereas in individualist societies, helping strangers or helping in an emergency and spontaneous situations were more preferred (Miller & Bersoff, 1994; Mullen & Skitka, 2009). In these studies, the theory of individualism-collectivism was predominantly used for understanding different preferences of prosociality across societies.

Beyond cultural variation in prosocial behaviour examined in prior research, more recent literature has incorporated individualism-collectivism to illuminate changes in prosocial behaviour over time (Greenfield, 2016; Smith, 2019). In particular, the multilevel model of social change (Greenfield, 2016) posits that changing value orientation from collectivism to individualism may influence societal preference to favour competition than cooperation. Smith (2019) also noted that compared to individualist nations, a greater increase in prosocial behaviour frequencies was reported in collectivist countries, suggesting that prosocial acts were more frequently practised over time by collectivist societies. Both literatures suggested a direction that increased prosociality is associated with a stronger orientation toward collectivism as opposed to increased individualism. Therefore, further investigation into the way sociocultural changes, particularly rising individualism, and its effect on prosociality is required.

1.1. **Prosocial Behaviour and Sociocultural Changes**

As mentioned, the existing research on prosociality had mainly focused on examining cross-cultural differences (Chopik et al., 2017; Irwin, 2009; Knafo et al., 2009; Mullen & Skitka, 2009; Trommsdorff et al., 2007). For example, in a cross-national study involving 63 countries, Chopik et al. (2017) found that higher prosocial behaviour was found in countries with stronger collectivistic values, higher empathy, and other psychological characteristics including agreeableness, conscientiousness, self-esteem, emotionality, and subjective well-being. Research comparing helping behaviour between a more collectivist society (i.e., Ukraine) with an individualist society (i.e., the US) revealed that collectivists prefer to help members of the in-group whereas for individualists helping strangers and in emergencies were mostly performed (Mullen & Skitka, 2009). Although cross-cultural comparisons help explain how culture affects prosocial behaviour, Kashima (2014) noted that comparative analysis alone may not provide sufficient insights into how cultural information in contemporary societies is obtained, retained, and transformed. Prosociality is

not static because it is aligned with societal norms that change in response to changing sociocultural contexts (Smith, 2019). As such, changes in sociocultural context may affect how people understand this concept and how they behave prosocially.

In considering changes in the sociocultural context relevant to prosociality, one useful theory is Greenfield's multilevel theory of social change. Greenfield (2016) proposed this theory to explicate that changes in sociodemographic characteristics may affect changes in behaviours. For example, an increased tendency to favour competition rather than cooperation at the individual behavioural level can be explained in terms of changes in the learning environment (i.e., from social guidance to independent learning), which in turn resulted from changes in cultural value preferences (i.e., from collectivism to individualism). In turn, a stronger tendency toward individualism was seen as reflecting changes in sociodemographics where more people live alone than with others. Greenfield's (2016) perspective is useful to give a comprehensive framework that behavioural changes can be understood as shaped by multiple layers of contextual factors. In line with this assertion, changes in prosociality may be understood through research examining sociocultural shifts (e.g., increased individualism).

One attempt to describe changes in prosociality over time is provided by Smith (2019). Using the data from the World Giving Index over 6 years intervals (2010/2011 to 2016/2017) from 136 nations, Smith (2019) reported an increasing trend of prosocial behaviour for more collectivist cultures. Upward trends were indicated particularly in helping strangers and volunteering actions in collectivist nations. However, there were no significant increases reported in individualist nations for the three types of prosocial behaviour (i.e., helping, donating, and volunteering). Smith (2018) concluded that the concept of individualism-collectivism may predict not only preferences for prosocial behaviour of the participating nations in a particular timeframe but also investigations toward changes in the frequency of prosocial behaviour over time. Although the finding from this study did not explain the specific way in how changes in value system (i.e., individualism-collectivism) affect prosociality, it is evident that the theory of individualism-collectivism offers some explanation for stability and changes in prosocial behaviour.

In addition to Greenfield's model of cultural change, another framework for understanding how prosocial behaviour changes within societies over time is through the lens of cultural dynamics. Cultural dynamics is "an investigation of how a culture thus defined is formed, maintained, and transformed over time" (Kashima, 2014, p.1). To explain the framework of cultural dynamics, Kashima (2001) postulates the concept of culture as consisting of system- and practice-oriented views altogether, representing both the stability (i.e., system-oriented) and flexibility (i.e., practice-oriented) of culture. At the micro-level, cultural transmission is "the heart of the mechanisms" (Kashima, 2016, p. 93) of cultural dynamics that explains how one person transmits

cultural information to another (Kashima, 2008). According to Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1982), cultural transmissions may occur vertically (from parent to child), horizontally (between peers), and obliquely (from teacher/social leader/mass media to student/younger generation). Transmission may also occur retroactively (Knafo & Schwartz, 2008) from younger to older generations.

Cultural transmission plays a central role in the continuity of certain cultural attributes within societies (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009). One important finding in the literature is that cultural characteristic subject for vertical transmission that has the function to serve group maintenance may be transmitted more effectively (Kashima, 2014). For example, collectivistic values (i.e., humanism, universalism, security, traditionalism, and conformism) tend to be vertically transmitted because it contains cultural information essential for group function rather than individualistic values (i.e., self-direction, power, stimulating life, and hedonism) that promote individual autonomy (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009).

Relatedly, Schönpflug and Bilz (2009) noted that vertical transmission of collectivistic values was more likely to occur rather than individualistic values. Building on these findings, in societies experiencing rapid sociocultural change, Kashima (2014) argued that collectivistic values may be vertically transmitted less effectively than individualistic values. This is because, within the context of a changing sociocultural environment, collectivistic values may transmit to a lesser extent from parents to children, given that parents may feel that the culture they are socialized in and familiar with may no longer be useful for their children (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009). In such a context, parents may be reluctant to socialize their values to their children. Likewise, children may also feel reluctant to accept their parents' values for seeking that they may be outdated and not adaptive in their environment. Moreover, in a rapidly changing environment, people tend to rely more on individual trial-and-error learning rather than learning from others, such that the transmission of cultural information that favours to social integration tend to be less effective (Kashima, 2014). Given the strong connection between individualism-collectivism and prosociality, further investigation is required to explicate whether changes in sociocultural context such as increased individualism may affect the maintenance and changes of prosocial behaviour within societies.

1.2. **Thesis Overview**

1.2.1. *The Rationale for the thesis*

A research project focusing on two distinctive cultural samples that presumably experienced diverging patterns of sociocultural changes would be beneficial to shed light on how prosocial behaviour is understood, practised, changed, or maintained. In this thesis, Australia and Indonesia are selected as the two societies of interest. Santos et al. (2017) included both Australia and Indonesia and found increasing individualism in both countries. In Santos et al. (2017), increases in

individualism were indicated through individualist practices (i.e., smaller household size, a higher percentage of people living alone, a higher percentage of older adults living alone, and a higher ratio of the number of divorced and separated people) and individualist values (i.e., lower emphasis on the family relative to friends, independent children socialisation, greater preference for self-expression).

Australia is generally seen in the literature as an individualist country, whereas Indonesia is generally seen as a collectivist society (Irwin, 2009). Previous research included several indices from the World Values Survey (WVS) to have theoretical and empirical relations to individualism-collectivism such as respect and love for parents, trust in people, child independence for parental socialisation goals, and the importance of friends in life (Hamamura, 2012). These items included in the WVS (Inglehart et al., 2014) reported that between 1999 to 2004 (wave 4), Indonesia predominantly showed characteristics of collectivist societies. This was indicated by the importance of respecting parents (i.e., V13 Respect parents, 89.0%), the importance of family in life (i.e., V4 Family important, 99.0%), and child obedience for socialisation goals (i.e., V24 Child qualities: obedience, 53.3%). On the other hand, Australia (1995-1998, wave 3) reported lower agreement toward the importance of values reflecting collectivism such as respect to parents (72.1%) and child obedience for socialisation goals (29.2%). However, in more recent data in 2005-2009 (wave 5), Indonesian participants indicated increasing importance for independence in child-rearing practices (i.e., wave 4 = 76.6%; wave 5 = 82%) and a lower importance of valuing trust in people (i.e., wave 4 = 45.7%; wave 5 = 37.5%). Thus, following the global trend of increased individualism suggested by Santos et al. (2017) Indonesia seems to adopt more individualist values. Indonesia's shifting orientation from collectivist to individualist may result in changes in prosociality.

1.2.2. Research aim, objectives, and studies

The research aims to explain prosocial behaviour in the context of changing sociocultural environments. Three research objectives were formulated and guided by the respective research question:

1. Objective 1: To map what is currently known in the research literature about prosocial behaviour in Australia and Indonesia.

Research question 1: What is currently known about prosocial behaviour in Australian and Indonesian studies? What are the differences or similarities?

2. Objective 2: To explore cross-cultural and generational differences of prosocial behaviour in Indonesia and Australia.

Research question 2: How do people of different generations in Indonesian and Australian societies understand and practice prosocial behaviour?

3. Objective 3: To examine how prosociality is transmitted across generations.

Research question 3: How is prosociality transmitted across generations?

The research adopts a multi-method design across three studies to examine the three objectives. The first study was a scoping review of Australian and Indonesian literature on prosocial behaviour research and informed the subsequent studies. The second study was a qualitative study exploring prosocial behaviour across cultures and generations and guided the third study, which quantitatively examined the cultural transmission of prosocial behaviour in Indonesian generations.

1.2.1. Thesis structure

This thesis has five chapters including three standalone study chapters formatted in manuscript style. This chapter (Chapter 1) presents the research background by exploring prosocial behaviour and cultural changes to build the rationale for the three studies. This chapter highlights prosocial behaviour as the essence of the human species for survival and summarises the way culture may affect the nature of prosocial behaviour. The literature suggests that prosocial behaviour is not universal across cultures and cultural changes may affect the maintenance of prosocial behaviour over time. Based on these considerations, the objectives of the research and the research questions are articulated.

Chapter 2 documents Study 1, a scoping review of prosocial behaviour research conducted in Australia and Indonesia. This study was designed to address the first research objective. To understand the field of prosocial behaviour research, two frameworks were used to organise the literature. First, the multilevel perspective (Penner et al., 2005) was applied to identify the level of analysis used in the studies included in the review. This perspective is useful to understand prosocial behaviour research in three levels: micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. The micro-level analysis refers to research focusing on the internal factors within individuals to explain the mechanism of prosocial behaviour. The meso-level analysis explicates the interpersonal processes of prosocial acts. Finally, the macro-level analysis considers prosocial behaviour involving intergroup processes such as intergroup cooperation and volunteerism (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Second, the types of prosocial behaviour examined in the studies were categorised into helping, altruism, volunteerism, and cooperation, following Schroeder and Graziano's (2015) typology. Both frameworks are effective to map research literature on prosocial behaviour for both countries and to identify research gaps that future research can address.

Chapter 3 presents Study 2, a qualitative study exploring perspectives on prosocial behaviour involving participants from two generations in Australia and Indonesia. Findings from Study 1 showed that qualitative research was limited, particularly in examining the diversity of prosocial behaviour from a non-Western perspective. As such, focus group methodology was used to capture cultural and generational variations and to understand people's views toward prosocial behaviour that may be manifested differently across societies and generations.

In Chapter 4, a report for Study 3 is provided. This study addressed the third objective and was guided by Study 2. Specifically, the study outlined in Chapter 3 observed generational differences only in Indonesian participants in terms of prosocial motivations. Thus, in Chapter 4, five models of intergenerational transmission in prosociality were tested in Indonesian generations to explain the way prosocial tendencies are transferred between generations. Each model examined the differing role of values to enhance the transmission across generations as theorised in the literature. This study provides quantitative evidence of transmission enablers, particularly in a culturally changing non-Western society.

The final chapter highlights the contributions of the studies to knowledge. It provides a comprehensive summary of each study as well as critical findings to formulate suggestions for future research. Limitations and strengths of the studies are considered for the conclusions.

Chapter 2: Understanding Research in Prosocial Behaviour: A Scoping Review in Australian and Indonesian Literature.

2.1. Abstract

Prosocial behaviour is thought to differ across cultures. This study aims to map the existing literature on prosocial behaviour, focusing on what is known about prosocial behaviour in Australian (Western) and Indonesian (Non-Western) research on the topic. A scoping review of the literature on prosocial behaviour was conducted and included 93 peer-reviewed articles (Australia $n = 79$, Indonesia $n = 14$). Studies' characteristics, objectives, and the construct of prosocial behaviour observed were further analysed according to three hierarchical levels: micro, meso, and macro. Types of prosocial behaviour were classified into four categories: helping, altruism, volunteerism, and cooperation. The result shows that, in Australia, prosocial behaviour was predominantly explored at the *meso-level* perspective, whereas, in Indonesia, the *micro-level* perspective was more frequently reported. This finding suggests that the Australian studies focus more to explain prosocial behaviour through the interpersonal process, while the Indonesian literature tends to focus more on intrapersonal processes. In both countries, helping was the most studied type of prosocial behaviour. Future directions are proposed based on the current findings.

2.2. Introduction

Prosocial behaviour has been extensively researched during the last decades. An exponential growth in prosocial behaviour research particularly in children has been reported (Davidov et al., 2016). Despite the proliferating research in prosocial behaviour within the last 20 years, Gilbert et al. (2019) noted that the conceptualisation of prosocial behaviour might become unclear in the literature. Prosocial behaviour may have various definitions ranging from a single construct such as helping (Boehnke et al., 1989) to a broader conceptualisation with inclusion of several constructs such as helpfulness and generosity (Carlo et al., 1996). Schroeder and Graziano (2018) mentioned that the definition of prosocial behaviour had been kept relatively simple such that this simplicity allows the inclusion of prosocial behaviour from both “bottom-up” and “top-down” research strategies. The bottom-up research strategies focus on how prosocial behaviour is conceptualised from the lay-person understanding. In contrast, the top-down approaches utilize the existing theories to understand what is and what is not prosocial behaviour. Both approaches bring fruitful contributions to the development of the literature and may lead to a broad understanding of the field of prosocial behaviour.

One of the most cited definitions of prosocial behaviour is by Eisenberg (2003), who refers to prosocial behaviour as a positive behaviour that is intentionally, and voluntarily directed to enhancing others' well-being where the motive of the actor may not be clearly defined. Using the developmental perspective, Eisenberg (2003) highlighted the role of motivational bases for

prosocial behaviour. From the perspective of social psychology, Dovidio et al. (2017) used the term prosocial behaviour as a broad range of actions directed to other people that society valued as beneficial. This definition implies that the conceptualisation of prosocial behaviour may differ across society and culture. While a variety of definitions of prosocial behaviour have been suggested, there has been a consensus among scholars that the definition of prosocial behaviour should include behaviour that is (1) voluntary (e.g., paid mentoring to assist vulnerable job seekers is not voluntary), (2) intended to improve others' welfare, and (3) valued positive or beneficial by society (e.g., voluntary suicidal bombing that may benefit terrorism groups is not favourable for society in general).

Because societies may differ in judging what is prosocial depending on historical, economic, and sociocultural circumstances, prosocial behaviour may be understood differently across cultures (Dovidio et al., 2017). Previous studies have shown that cross-cultural variability is evident in prosocial behaviour (Trommsdorff et al., 2007). For example, the prevalence of helping as a type of prosocial behaviour differs across cultures (Smith, 2019). Smith (2019) explained that helping directed to strangers was more common in individualistic societies than in collectivistic societies because of the stronger emphasis on freedom rather than group conformity. In a cross-cultural study involving 63 countries, Chopik et al. (2017) found that countries with higher levels of collectivism tend to score higher on measures of empathy and charitable acts. Although the connection between empathy and prosociality is still debated (Batson & Powell, 2003; Eisenberg, 2003), these findings suggest that certain types of prosocial behaviour may be more prevalent in some cultures due to different cultural practices and values.

To better understand how prosocial behaviour may be understood and engaged across cultures, prosocial behaviour research from different cultures should be compared. While prosocial behaviour research has been documented to examine its relation with relevant constructs (e.g., Eisenberg, 1991; Fabes & Eisenberg, 1998), it remains unclear how the previous studies can be best organised and understood from cultural perspectives. Given much of the prior literature consists of studies conducted in Western countries (Eisenberg et al., 2004), it remains unknown whether prosocial behaviour beyond Western society can be captured effectively using the frameworks currently available in the literature. Thus, it is important to understand how prosocial behaviour has been examined in non-Western literature. Focusing on non-Western countries not well-represented in the literature, such as Indonesia, is especially suitable. Therefore, comparing Indonesian research on prosocial behaviour with Western literature may provide a unique contribution to illuminating the current limitation in the literature.

In their review of prosocial behaviour studies, Schroeder and Graziano (2015) argue that at least four research areas in psychology (i.e., evolutionary psychology, developmental psychology,

personality and individual differences, and social psychology) have contributed to the field of prosocial behaviour research. To better organise and understand the literature on prosocial behaviour, Penner et al. (2005) suggested a multilevel perspective that considers three hierarchical levels to understand prosocial behaviour: micro, meso, and macro-levels. The micro-level analysis refers to research focusing on the internal factors within individuals to explain “the *why* and *who* questions” relevant to the mechanism of prosocial behaviour (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). At the meso-level, prosocial behaviour is being analysed to investigate “the *what* and *when* questions” explicating the interpersonal processes of prosocial acts (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Finally, the macro-level considers prosocial behaviour involving intergroup processes such as intergroup cooperation and volunteerism (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). The multi-level perspective is helpful to document studies across cultures since it can accommodate different fields of research in psychology that tend to use different levels of analysis (i.e., evolutionary, personality, social, and developmental psychology). For example, at the micro-level of analysis, the evolutionary psychology approach provides an explanation of the mechanism of kin selection to understand the prevalence of the human species to choosing closer family rather than strangers as the recipient of the help (Penner et al., 2005).

Another helpful approach for synthesising the literature would be to differentiate types of prosocial behaviour into four categories, specifically helping, altruism, volunteerism, and cooperation (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). First, *helping* refers to a broad range of prosocial acts involving the interaction between the helper and the recipients. Second, *altruism* refers to a specific type of helping in which the intention of the helper is only to benefit the other. Third, *volunteerism* refers to the planned allocation of personal resources (time, energy, or expertise) to an organisation that serve people in need. Lastly, *cooperation* refers to interdependent resource sharing between parties involved to obtain mutual benefit. Our review uses this categorisation to document the existing literature. We expect other types of prosocial behaviour may appear especially in Indonesian studies given the conceptualisation of prosociality may differ in non-Western research.

2.3. Methods

This review attempts to map Australian and Indonesian research on prosocial behaviour in different cultures. The multilevel perspectives (Penner et al., 2005) were incorporated to organise the broad range of prosocial behaviour studies into micro, meso and macro levels. Types of prosocial behaviour were categorised into four types: helping, altruism, volunteerism, and cooperation, following Schroeder and Graziano (2015). The study used the five stages protocol for conducting a scoping review (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005; Armstrong et al., 2011).

Stage 1: Identifying the Research Question

Two review questions were generated: (1) what is known about prosocial behaviour in Australian and Indonesian studies? (2) does the currently available evidence in the literature indicate differences in prosocial behaviour research between Australia and Indonesia?

Stage 2: Identifying Relevant Studies

Sources. Two sources were utilised in the literature search, conducted from May to July 2018. These sources were (1) electronic databases (PsycINFO (Ovid) and Medline® (Ovid)) and (2) hand-searching of relevant journals. Hand-searching was performed as an additional strategy because the electronic database search may miss some records due to system differences in timeline covering and abstract indexing (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). Following the electronic database search results, journals that were mostly sourced were sorted (journal hit). Due to time pressure and resource limitations, the top 10 journals with the highest hit were identified by their impact factor. We decided to use a considerably good impact factor of greater than 1.0 at the time (according to <https://www.scimagojr.com>). As a result, 7 key journals were included for manual hand-searching. These journals were: The Journal of Social Psychology, Australian Psychologist, Australian Journal of Psychology, Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Journal of Adolescence, Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, and Developmental Psychology. Additionally, four leading psychology journals in Indonesia with abstracts written in English were hand-searched. These journals were Makara Human Behaviour Studies in Asia, Jurnal Psikologi Universitas Diponegoro, Jurnal Psikologi UGM, and HUMANITAS: Indonesian Psychological Journal.

Search terms. Terms related to prosocial behaviour were identified by consulting the Thesaurus of Psychological Index Terms (Walker, 1997) and included terms “prosocial behaviour; altruism; assistance; charitable behaviour; cooperation; and sharing”. Other search terms from previous relevant studies were also consulted. Curry et al. (2018) included the terms “kindness; altruism; prosocial; and cooperation” whereas Kuusi (2016) used search terms “prosocial; benevolence; generosity; altruism; do good; act of kindness; warmheartedness; warm glow; spending money on other; donating; pay it forward/PIF, volunteering; and mentoring”. We applied a general search strategy (in a Scopus format, without database-specific study filters to exclude some study types) using the following search terms:

prosocial behav* or "prosocial behav*" or prosociality or prosocial or prosocial or benevolence or beneficence or genero* or altruis* or "do* good" or "act* of kindness*" or "kind act*" or kindness or warmheartedness or "warm glow" or "spend* money on other*" or sharing or donati* or "charitable behav*" or "charitable giving" or "provid* help" or "giv* help" or "help* behavi*" or "helper's high" or helpfulness or assistance or "pay* it forward"

or "PIF" or "volunt* activit*" or cooperati* or trust* or mentor* AND Indonesia* or Australia*

Stage 3: Study Selection

The review included studies on prosocial behaviour with abstracts written in English, using primary data (qualitative, quantitative, mixed methods), sampling Australian or Indonesian participants (mono-cultural study) or both (cross-cultural study) with the full-text available. The study used English as the language criterion since English was the only language that all team researchers able to understand such that it enables the assessment of articles against eligibility criteria performed by the team researchers. Moreover, since the study used search terms in English, the inclusion of English abstracts was considered essential to enable the indexing system find relevant articles. To label particular behaviour as prosocial, we include characteristics of prosocial behaviour consistent with the definitions from Eisenberg (2003) and Dovidio et al. (2017) as follows: (1) voluntary, (2) aimed to improve others' well-being, (3) valued positive and beneficial for the society. Therefore, we excluded studies where: (1) the construct examined was different from prosocial behaviour (e.g., benevolence values, prosocial personality and trust), (2) the observed behaviours were not performed voluntarily (e.g., compulsory mentoring program as part of a course requirement), (3) the observed behaviours did not benefit the society in general (e.g., voluntary suicidal bombing). Furthermore, we excluded studies that pre-screened participants (e.g., sampling children with disabilities). The study selection process was reported using a four-phase flow diagram following the Preferred Reporting of Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) Statement (Moher et al., 2010) and described in Figure 1.

Stage 4: Charting the Data

A total of 8,839 articles were identified from the databases and key journals. After removing 119 duplicates, potential records were scrutinised for inclusion based on title and abstract. Those records meeting the inclusion criteria were examined closely with full text ($n = 178$). Two researchers independently assessed the eligibility by selecting a random 25% ($n = 47$) of the full-text records. Selected records available in Indonesian were assessed by reviewing their English abstract (e.g., Ekawati and Martani (2013)) since English is the only language in which all team researchers are fluent. Amongst 47 records, the two reviewers found 27% ($n = 13$) of incompatibility. These discrepancies were discussed to obtain a consensus on whether the record should be included or excluded and then reassessed the eligibility of studies based on this consensus. In the second round, the two researchers randomly selected 10 records and assessed the eligibility using the amended criteria and found 20% ($n = 2$) of the records resulted in a different decision. After discussing the discrepancy and clarifying the assessment of eligibility, the first

author assessed the eligibility for the remaining records. As a result, 93 studies were included in the final sample. From each of these studies, the team researchers extracted information on authors, publication year, title, research aims, the purpose of the study,

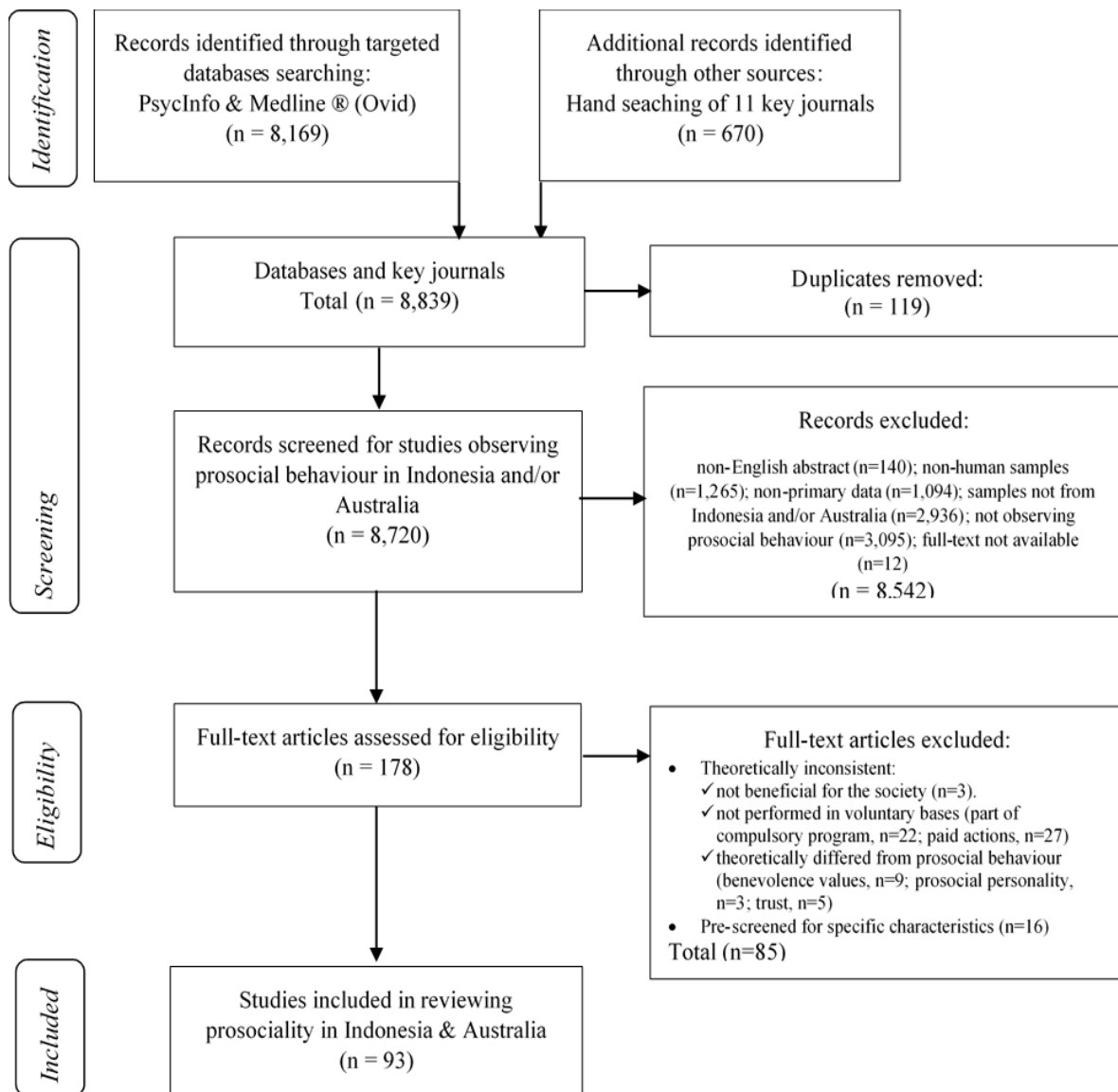


Figure 1. PRISMA flow diagram of study selection.

study location, methods (study design, participants, and instrument/data tools), research domains, type of prosocial behaviour observed in the study, and recipient of prosocial behaviour. The research team checked data extractions by randomly selecting 10% ($n = 10$) of the included records and charting them independently using the same spreadsheet template. No differences between the researchers' data charting were found in data extraction using the same template. The first author then charted the remaining records ($n = 83$).

Stage 5: Collating, Summarising and Reporting the Results

The extracted data were examined in two ways: (1) numerical analysis of study characteristics and (2) thematic analysis of prosocial behaviour research domains, types, and recipients. Themes were theoretically identified by analysing the pattern of the study purposes as well as forms of prosocial behaviour documented in the selected studies. Domains of the research were deductively coded from research aims by consulting the multilevel perspectives of prosocial behaviour (Penner et al., 2005). Types of prosocial behaviour were coded following Schroeder & Graziano's (2015) subcategorisation of prosocial behaviour.

2.4. Results

In total, the 93 records included 79 (85%) Australian studies published from 1975 to 2018 and 14 (15%) Indonesian studies published between 1995 to 2018. The Australian studies were conducted in almost all states and territories (Victoria 13.9%, NSW 12.7%, South Australia 11.4%, Queensland 11.4%, and Western Australia 10.1%). Ten studies (12.7%) involving Australia nationwide participants, and 24.1% ($n = 19$) studies did not report from where in Australia the participants were recruited. In Indonesia, amongst 14 studies included in this review, 71.4% were predominantly conducted on Java Island. One Indonesian study did not specify their sample origin. No study was reported involving participants from Indonesia nationwide.

2.4.1. Characteristics of the Studies

Characteristics of the included studies were highlighted in Table 1. Due to the small number of Indonesian records, percentages in this numerical analysis need to be interpreted cautiously.

Study timeline and participants involved. Prosocial behaviour has been examined in Australia as early as 1975 and increasingly since then. The first Indonesian study on prosocial behaviour was reported twenty years later and increased during the last fifteen years. The existing Australian studies commonly involve adults (e.g., university students), whereas the Indonesian studies predominantly target adolescents (e.g., school children). There were no records reported in Indonesian literature studying prosocial behaviour in younger or older adults. Participants were ranging from age 3 (House et al., 2013) to 93 years old (Murphy & Cherney, 2011) in the Australian studies and from age 1.5 (Farver & Wimbari, 1995) to 56 years old (Septianto & Soegianto, 2017) in the Indonesian literature.

Methods. The included literature mostly used quantitative non-experimental design (Australia 72.5%; Indonesia 92.9%). Nineteen studies (23.8%) in Australia and only one study (7.1%) in Indonesia used an experimental design. There were a small number of studies in Australia using qualitative ($n = 1$, 1.3%) and mixed-method approaches ($n = 2$, 2.5%). In Indonesia, there were no qualitative and mixed-method approach studies.

Sampling strategies. Both countries predominantly used non-probability sampling strategies, whether convenience or purposive sampling (Australia 77.8% and Indonesia 92.96%). In the Australian studies, the sample size ranged from 8 (Wallace & Chou, 2001) to 24,474 (Laurens et al., 2017). The sample size in the Indonesian studies was typically smaller than in Australian studies, ranging from 30 (Farver & Wimbari, 1995) to 1,254 (Vaughan et al., 2008). Cross-cultural analysis was reported in 11 of the Australian studies; five of them compared prosocial behaviour in the context of Western and non-Western sociocultural differences. For example, Nesdale and Naito (2005) used the individualism-collectivism framework to compare Australian and Japanese students' behaviour in helping bullying victims. In the Indonesian literature, a cross-cultural study was found only in one study (Trommsdorff et al., 2007). This study used an experimental design to compare the emotional reaction and prosocial behaviour of five-year-old children from Western (Germany and Israel) and non-Western (Malaysia and Indonesia) cultures.

Measures of prosocial behaviour. The Australian studies used various data collection tools such as questionnaires (74.4%), observational checklists (20.7%), and interview or focus group discussions (4.9%). In the Indonesian literature, questionnaires (53.3%) and observational checklists (46.7%) were used.

2.4.2. Level of Analysis

We coded the level of analysis used in each study according to the multilevel perspectives (Penner et al., 2005): (1) the *micro-level* of analysis, which focuses on studying the sources of individual differences in prosocial behaviour; (2) the *meso-level* of analysis, which investigates antecedents of prosocial behaviour at interpersonal level; and, (3) the *macro-level* of analysis, to represent studies of prosocial behaviour involving group or organisational context. Table 2 summarises the level of analysis identified.

Prosocial behaviour was predominantly examined in *micro-level* analysis in Indonesian studies, 71.4%, $n = 10$). In this level of analysis, internal factors of prosocial behaviour within individuals such as developmental (e.g., age, moral and socioemotional development), and individual differences aspects were explained. For example, taking the developmental perspective, prosocial behaviour had been examined concerning adolescents' development in emotion regulation (Eisenberg et al., 2004; Trommsdorff et al., 2007) and social competence (French et al., 2008). Findings from Sallquist et al. (2010) explained that spiritual experiences were associated with prosocial tendencies in Indonesian adolescents.

Table 1. Characteristics of the included studies.

Characteristics	Australian records		Indonesian records	
	N=79	%	N=14	%
Publication timeline				
1975 - 1990	7	8.9%	none	
1991 - 2005	19	24.1%	4	28.6%
2006 - 2018	53	67.1%	10	71.4%
Age group				
Child (aged 12 years and younger)	20	25.3%	3	21.4%
Adolescent (aged 13 to 17 years)	13	16.5%	5	35.7%
Adult (aged 18 years and older)	31	39.2%	4	28.6%
Older adults (aged 65 years and older)	2	2.5%	none	
Methods				
Mixed method	2	2.5%	none	
Qualitative	1	1.3%	none	
Quantitative-experiment ^{a)}	19	24.1%	1	7.1%
Quantitative-non experiment ^{a)}	58	73.4%	13	92.9%
Sampling				
Non-probability Convenience ^{b)}	45	55.6%	8	57.1%
Non-probability Purposive	18	22.2%	5	35.7%
Probability Sampling-Simple Random ^{b)}	12	14.8%	1	7.1%
Probability Sampling-Stratified Random	4	4.9%	none	
Sample size	8 to 24,474		30 to 1,254	
Mono-cultural : cross-cultural analysis	68 : 11		13 : 1	
Measure				
Questionnaire ^{c)}	61	74.4%	8	53.3%
Observational checklists	17	20.7%	7	46.7%
Interview or FGD ^{c)}	4	4.9%	none	

Note:

- a) One Australian quantitative study (Berndsen & Gausel, 2015) used experiment and non-experiment study.
- b) Two Australian mixed-methods studies used different sampling strategies (1) Wallace and Chou (2001) used confirming sampling & non-probability convenience (2) Warburton et al. (2007) used non-probability convenience & probability simple random.
- c) Three Australian studies used combined data collection methods: (1) Newton et al. (2010) used observational checklists and attitudinal questionnaires (2) Wallace and Chou (2001) used one-on-one interviews and questionnaire for attitudinal measures (3) Warburton et al. (2007) used focus group

discussion and questionnaire. One Indonesian study used an observational checklist and questionnaire for attitudinal measure (Vaughan et al., 2008).

The *meso-level* analysis was most likely reported in Australian studies (43%, $n = 34$). This level of analysis examines the interpersonal processes of prosocial behaviour that explain the interpersonal bases of prosocial acts. The existing studies in the Australian literature have published research investigating the interpersonal process between the actor and the recipient of prosocial behaviour in different situational settings. For example, people were more likely to help because they know the person in real life (Rossetto et al., 2016) and had positive appraisal toward interpersonal relations (Slee & Rigby, 1993).

At the *macro-level* of analysis, 36.7% ($n = 29$) of the Australian studies and 14.3% ($n = 2$) of the Indonesian literature reported the study of prosocial behaviour performed by individuals in organisational and group contexts. For example, Flanagan et al. (1998) investigated the dynamic interaction of school culture and family values in explaining community volunteering in Australian adolescents. The Indonesian studies reported volunteering activities (i.e., giving time and energy) in charitable organisations (Arli & Lasmono, 2015) and donating money (i.e., giving resources) to a local charitable organisation (Septianto & Soegianto, 2017).

2.4.3. Types of Prosocial Behaviour

Prosocial behaviour was classified into helping, altruism, cooperation, and volunteerism, following Schroeder and Graziano (2015). Both countries reported helping as the most frequently observed form of prosocial behaviour (Australia 53.1%, and Indonesia 63.2%). Helping was further classified into four subtypes: (1) *casual*, which refers to giving a small favour with little or no cost, (2) *substantial*, which refers to giving help involving significant effort, (3) *emotional*, which refers to helping under emotionally provocative situations, (4) *emergency*, refer to helping in dangerous, life-threatening condition. In both countries, casual helping was most frequently studied (Australia $n = 27$ and Indonesia $n = 8$).

The second type of prosocial behaviour was altruism, which in the current analysis refers to prosocial acts driven by an empathic concern for others (Australia 7.4% and Indonesia 10.5%). Altruistic donation to strangers was found motivated by altruism that differentiated organ donors from non-donors (Newton et al., 2010) and donors for bequest giving (Wiepking et al., 2012). Altruism was also examined as attitude and belief that determine characteristics of eco-friendly consumers and differentiate characteristics of supporters of Queensland's political parties (Ray & Najman, 1988). In Indonesian studies, altruism was conceptualised as a tendency of helping without explicit reward (Vaughan et al., 2008) and an act that benefits others (Arli & Lasmono, 2015).

Table 2. Research domains, types, and recipients of prosocial behaviour

Level of Analysis, Types and Recipients of Prosocial Behaviour	Australian records		Indonesian records	
	N=79	%	N=14	%
Level of Analysis				
Micro level	16	20.3%	10	71.4%
Meso level	34	43.0%	2	14.3%
Macro level	29	36.7%	2	14.3%
Types				
Helping	43	53.1%	12	63.2%
Casual helping	27		8	
Substantial personal helping	3		1	
Emotional helping	2		1	
Emergency helping	11		2	
Altruism	6	7.4%	2	10.5%
Cooperation	11	13.6%	3	15.8%
Intragroup cooperation	7		3	
Intergroup cooperation	4		none	
Volunteerism	17	21.0%	1	5.3%
Uncategorised	4	4.9%	1	5.3%
Ethical consumer behaviour	3		1	
Tolerance of human diversity	1		none	
Recipient(s)				
Strangers	32	40.5%	5	35.7%
Acquaintances	26	32.9%	5	35.7%
Friends	10	12.7%	2	14.3%
Family	11	13.9%	2	14.3%

Note:

Three (3) records studied two types of prosocial behaviour at once. Two (2) Australian records: (a) Newton et al. (2010) studied altruism and volunteerism, and (b) Rigby et al. (1997) studied cooperation and helping. One (1) Indonesian record (Vaughan et al., 2008) studied multiple forms of prosocial tendencies: altruism, compliance, and emotional. dire and anonymous.

Some studies examined cooperation (Australia 13.6% and Indonesia 15.8%). Cooperation can be further classified into intragroup and intergroup cooperation. For example, Rigby et al. (1997) investigated intragroup cooperation in Australian school children and its relationship with bullying or victimised behaviour. Intergroup cooperation was observed in how Australian ethnic

minorities are willing to assist the police when asked (Murphy & Cherney, 2011). In Indonesian literature, only intragroup cooperation was documented in three studies. For example, Alvard (2003) investigated the mechanism of cooperative hunting within the Lamalera community.

Another type of prosocial behaviour documented in the included record was volunteerism. The Australian records reported volunteerism ($n = 17$, 21%) involving blood or organ donation (Delaney & White, 2015), giving personal resources for charitable donations (Warren & Walker, 1991), and giving time or expertise for community volunteering (Hyde & Knowles, 2013). In the Indonesian literature, volunteerism was documented as participation in the community's charitable organisations (Arli & Lasmono, 2015). Some forms of prosocial behaviour extracted from the included articles could not be categorised under the current typology (4 Australian studies and 2 Indonesian studies).

2.4.4. *Recipient(s) of Prosocial Behaviour*

Both Australian and Indonesian studies predominantly examined prosocial behaviour directed at strangers (Australia 40.5%, $n = 32$ and Indonesia 35.7%, $n = 5$). In Indonesian studies, prosocial behaviour directed to acquaintances was also common (Australia 32.9%, $n = 26$, and Indonesia 35.7%, $n = 5$).

2.5. **Discussion**

The purpose of this scoping review was to compare research on prosocial behaviour with a particular focus on Australian and Indonesian literature. The current review offers an important insight obtained through our use of the multilevel perspectives as well as the categorisation of prosocial behaviour. Although the uneven number between Australian and Indonesian literature included in this scoping review limits the ability to make a strong comparison, the current findings support that Australian and Indonesian studies present both similarity and variability in terms of their level of analysis and types of prosocial behaviour examined.

Both Australian and Indonesian studies predominantly used the quantitative non-experimental approach to examine prosocial behaviour. The use of a qualitative approach was limited. Particularly in Indonesian studies, the use of focus group discussion and interviews had not been explored. The three-level analysis based on the multilevel perspective (Penner et al., 2005) identified different proportions in Australian and Indonesian literature across the levels. The Australian studies predominantly explored the *meso-level* whereas the Indonesian studies tended to examine prosocial behaviour from the *micro-level* of analysis. With regard to types of prosocial behaviour, helping behaviour was predominantly researched in both countries. It is interesting to note that, for this type of prosocial behaviour, the subtype of casual helping was most frequently studied. This amalgamation might be due to the non-specific definition currently applied to the

construct of helping such that it may cover a broad range of actions (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015). Beyond the four categorisations of prosocial behaviour, other forms of prosocial actions such as ethical consumer behaviour and tolerance were documented.

The Australian and Indonesian studies on prosocial behaviour seem to contribute to research in a unique way. In terms of study characteristics, the Australian research predominantly sampled adults, whereas sampling adolescents were more prevalent in Indonesia. The Australian studies explained prosocial behaviour through the interpersonal process, such that the *meso-level* analysis is more pronounced. It seems that the Australian literature follows the traditional focus of the research in *meso-level* of analysis (Penner et al., 2005). On the other hand, the Indonesian literature predominantly explored the *micro-level* of analysis which explains the internal process of prosociality. However, due to the limited number of Indonesian studies found in this scoping review, the prevalence at the *micro-level* in the current study may not accurately represent the focus of Indonesian research in the field of prosocial behaviour.

The present study is the first in the literature to compare research on prosocial behaviour between Western (Australia) and non-Western (Indonesia) contexts. One strength of this scoping review is that it included all studies that broadly relate to prosocial behaviour and hence resembles the “real-world evidence” (Schroeder & Graziano, 2018, p. 245). Many constructs related to prosocial behaviour were included with this approach, rather than narrowly selecting prosocial behaviour using the predetermined typology. In addition, the current review found growing research reporting ethical consumer behaviour (i.e., recycling and doing good consumer behaviour practices) in both countries (Arli, 2017; Chowdhury, 2017; Chowdhury & Fernando, 2014; Septianto & Soegianto, 2017). These behaviours deserve some explanations from the perspective of prosocial behaviour. We also found that tolerance to human diversity was observed in Australian records (Butrus & Witenberg, 2013). This is consistent with Schroeder and Graziano (2018) who included tolerance as a form of prosocial behaviour within the context of group relations.

2.5.1. Limitations of the current study

The study has several limitations. First, the study may exclude potential records that should be analysed in the scoping review study for at least two reasons. One reason is because of the use of an impact factor greater than 1.00 when selecting key journals for the hand-searching procedure to address resource pressure and maintain the good quality of the selected journals. This cut-off criterion may limit potential records that should be included in the analysis. Another reason is because the search strategy did not include grey literature, potential records relevant to prosocial behaviour available may not be included (e.g., the CAF World Giving Index Survey Report). Second, the included studies have different measures of prosocial behaviour, which included both tendencies and actual behaviour. Measures of prosocial tendencies included the use of

questionnaires to assess attitudes and propensity to act prosocially (Arli & Lasmono, 2015; Burke et al., 2012). Prosocial acts were commonly measured using the observational checklist (Amato, 1981; Farver & Wimbari, 1995). One reason for this inclusion was to obtain a comprehensive understanding of how prosocial behaviour was studied in the two countries. Third, agreement for the eligibility criteria was challenging to obtain, with 20% of sample records yielding different decisions for exclusion between the two independent reviewers. Although we had revised our application of these criteria, there remains some possibility of having falsely included or excluded the records for the subsequent analysis. Finally, our reliance on English language may bias the search results, especially concerning Indonesian studies. Only a limited number of Indonesian studies were identified in this scoping review due to language criteria that may underrepresent the actual research on prosociality in Indonesia. Due to the small sample size, interpretation of the aggregated Indonesian studies should be made cautiously.

2.6. Conclusions

This scoping review documented the Australian and Indonesian studies of prosocial behaviour in terms of study characteristics, level of analysis, and types of prosocial behaviour. Despite the exponential growth in prosociality research in Western literature including Australia, the Indonesian literature showed only a limited number of records. Due to our dependency on English, the included Indonesian records in this study may be underrepresented such that it limits the ability to make strong comparisons with Australian literature. However, it may indicate that more studies are needed to better understand prosociality from the Indonesian perspective. In both countries, the study of prosocial behaviour predominantly uses the quantitative non-experimental approach. Future research should also use qualitative methods to further explore the construct of prosocial behaviour. Using the multilevel perspectives, the current review finds that prosocial behaviour is examined through different levels of analysis in Australian and Indonesian studies. Helping was the most frequently studied type of prosocial behaviour in both countries. Other types of prosocial behaviour such as cooperation is explored with different focus between Australia and Indonesia. With respect to the broad conceptualisation of prosocial behaviour currently documented in the literature across Indonesia and Australia, it seems that prosocial behaviour may be explored with different nuances across cultures and thus, reflecting differences in the research environment between Indonesia and Australia. Future studies will be required to explicitly illuminate the way prosocial behaviour is being understood, pronounced, and practised among people that may represent their cultural environments.

Chapter 3: A Qualitative Study of Prosocial Behaviour: Perspectives across Cultures and Generations.

3.1. Abstract

Sociocultural and generational differences may affect people's prosocial behaviour. The current study aimed to describe and understand prosocial behaviour in the context of a changing socio-cultural environment, using samples from two countries (Australia and Indonesia) and two generations (older and younger generations). A total of 42 participants participated in focus group discussions. Themes were generated using thematic analysis and compared using a consensual qualitative research-modified (CQR-M) approach. Four themes and 23 subthemes were identified in the dataset. Findings suggest that prosocial behaviours have similar forms, across cultures and generations. However, cultural differences observed in the older and younger generation reflect that Australia and Indonesia hold different perspectives of prosocial behaviour. Interestingly, generational differences were evident in Indonesian but not in Australian participants. This may be an indication of a larger generational difference in Indonesia. Thus, the current study illuminates that prosocial behaviour may be transferred differently across generations in a society going through rapid sociocultural changes.

3.2. Introduction

Prosocial behaviour refers to positive behaviours that are intentionally and voluntarily directed to the enhancement of others' well-being for which the motive is unspecified (Eisenberg, 2003). Twenge et al. (2007, p. 56) ascertained that prosocial behaviour is "vital to the social system" (p. 56). They argued that, by acting prosocially, individuals conform with the social norm and identify themselves as part of the group, receive the benefits of being a member of the group (e.g., fulfilment of social needs), and in return, affirm membership of their group. Prosocial behaviour is the essence of human psychological functioning which is fundamental for human existence (Schroeder & Graziano, 2017).

Prosocial behaviour is an important field in psychology research deserving much attention. However, despite the rapid progress in prosocial behaviour research, the concept of prosocial behaviour remains obscured (Bierhoff, 2002; Gilbert et al., 2019). At least two issues can be noted concerning the definition of prosocial behaviour. First, the term prosocial behaviour is often used interchangeably with seemingly-related constructs such as helping, altruism, and cooperation (Bierhoff, 2002; Dovidio et al., 2017). Bierhoff (2002) differentiated prosocial behaviour from helping and altruism in that prosocial behaviour has more specific characteristics than helping, where the motive is more general than altruism. On the other hand, Dovidio et al. (2017) included

helping, altruism, and cooperation as the three subcategories of prosocial behaviour. Therefore, the definition of prosocial behaviour may include various types of behaviour. Second, prosocial behaviour may be defined and performed differently across cultures (Callaghan & Corbit, 2018) such that cultural contexts should be accounted for in understanding prosocial behaviour. The way society conceptualises prosocial behaviour may vary from another since culture represents a shared understanding of words, meanings, and sample behaviours. For example, Gherghel et al. (2020) explained the Indian concept of *dharma* to represent both the individual willingness and societal expectation of serving other people with kindness and generosity other than self. They further explained that, in typically Western societies, prosocial action was determined by personal willingness rather than fulfilling social obligations.

Previous reviews on prosocial behaviour research in Indonesia and Australia found that prosocial behaviour had been investigated using different perspectives with various types and conceptualisations (see Chapter 2). There was growing research reporting other types of prosocial behaviour such as ethical consumer behaviour (Australian and Indonesian studies) and tolerance to human diversity (Australian studies). This finding is consistent with the assertion that prosocial behaviour may be understood differently depending on what, when, and where society judges whether an action can be defined as prosocial (Dovidio et al., 2017). While the previous study instigated the broad definitions of prosocial behaviour across cultures and societies used in the literature, evidence on how prosocial behaviour can be understood and practised among people across cultures and generations is worth substantial explanation. The scoping review study (Chapter 2) has suggested that the use of qualitative research in the field of prosocial behaviour research is still limited. Therefore, a qualitative approach is suitable to explore how people of different sociocultural backgrounds may define and experience prosocial behaviour in their lives.

3.2.1. Culture and prosocial behaviour

In considering the possible cross-cultural variability in prosocial behaviour, the theory of individualism-collectivism which has been extensively used in the field of cross-cultural psychology (Vignoles et al., 2016; Yao & Enright, 2020), can be useful. Individualism-collectivism characterises cultures and societies in terms of the way personal and collective goals are differentiated and prioritised (Triandis, 1989). In individualistic cultures, parental socialization goals are strongly emphasised on autonomy, whereas, in collectivist cultures, the focus is on family relationships, respect and obedience toward parents and social obligations (Albert et al., 2009).

Chiao et al. (2012) reviewed the degree to which individualism-collectivism affects individuals' self-concept and the way people feel and think of others. They argued that collectivistic cultures encourage their members to have interconnected as opposed to independent views toward others. Additionally, Irwin (2009) explained that as collectivist cultures emphasise on

interdependence with the ingroups one perceived they belong to, trust toward other people outside this group would be lower. In line with this argument, Smith (2019) noted that directing prosocial behaviour toward strangers may be less prevalent in collectivist cultures than those from individualistic cultural backgrounds. This suggests that individualism-collectivism may explain the way prosocial behaviour is being endorsed in different societies.

3.2.2. *Prosocial behaviour from the perspective of cultural dynamics*

A cultural perspective suggests that prosocial behaviour may be understood differently across each society rather than being universal (Dovidio et al., 2017; Schwartz, 2010). In a recent study involving eight culturally diverse societies, House et al. (2020) observed an increasingly similar pattern of sharing behaviour in children and adults in each society. Using experimentation in the dictator game to measure costly sharing, their study revealed that children's responsiveness toward societal norms was first developed universally across societies until middle childhood. However, prosocial behaviour was later predicted by individual acceptance of norms about prosocial behaviour that society endorsed at that time. This finding implies that starting from middle childhood prosocial behaviour may be determined by individual conformity toward societal judgment and whether certain behaviour can be accepted as prosocial. Due to the relativity of societal judgement, prosociality may be manifested differently across societies and cultures.

In considering sociocultural changes over time, the way societal judgement may implicate prosociality should be accounted such that to better understand the changing nature of prosociality the perspective of cultural dynamics may offer some explanation. The perspective of cultural dynamics provides a conceptual framework to explain the stability and change of culture over time through the mechanism of cultural transmission. Cultural transmissions may occur horizontally from peers, vertically from parent to child, or obliquely from an older generation to a younger generation without genetic acquaintance (Kashima, 2014). Within the context of changing sociocultural environment, Schönplflug and Bilz (2009) explained that particularly in collectivistic values, the transmission of cultural information from parents to children would be less likely due to incompatibility between parental and societal values. According to this explanation, parents would be reluctant to promote the culture that their generation shared since the existing culture (that their children are embedded) may espouse values that are relatively distinctive from the previous generations. Likewise, children may also feel resistant to accept parental values orientation which they may feel is not adaptive in the new environment. This model suggests that changing life experiences in different societies may explain the way cultural information is maintained or changed across generations.

It is believed that the global increase in individualism is occurring around the world (Greenfield, 2016; Santos et al., 2017) such that it may be associated with changes in prosocial

behaviour. Smith (2019) highlighted that trend in increasing individualism and decreasing collectivism may be reflected in stronger endorsement of “emancipative values” (p. 1197) which affirm autonomy, equality, and tolerance. Using the data from 24 countries between 2009 to 2014, Smith (2019) found that increases in emancipative values over time were related to decreased donating. This finding is consistent with Greenfield’s (2016) theory of social change, cultural evolution, and human development. Greenfield (2016) proposed a multilevel model to explain the interconnection between sociodemographic, cultural values, learning environment and behavioural changes. Specifically, changes from cooperation to competition may occur through changes in the sociodemographic environment (i.e., from rural to urban society), which in turn influence changes at the cultural level (e.g., from collectivism to individualism values) and in socialization practices (e.g., from social guidance to independence). It appears that with global increases in individualism, the current literature suggested that prosocial behaviour would be less endorsed by society.

3.2.3. *A Comparison of Australia and Indonesia*

To capture how cultural dynamics may explain prosocial behaviour, the current study focused on two distinctive cultural samples that appear to experience a different pattern of socio-cultural changes. Previous studies reported that Australia and Indonesia share similar trends in increasing individualism (Santos et al., 2017; Smith, 2019). However, unlike Australia, which has been identified as an individualist, Indonesia predominantly shares collectivistic values in its society (Irwin, 2009). For example, compared with samples from nine other countries in 1985, Indonesia placed family integrity and interdependence as highly important, whereas the value of self-reliance and hedonism were placed in the lowest priority (Triandis et al., 1986). However, a recent report showed that Indonesia is currently transitioning from a collectivistic to an individualistic society as indicated by smaller household size, a higher percentage of people living alone, and a higher ratio of divorce (Santos et al., 2017).

Previous research included several indices from The World Values Survey (WVS) to have theoretical and empirical relations to individualism-collectivism such as respect and love for parents, trust in people, child independency for parental socialization goals, and the importance of friends in life (Hamamura, 2012). The WVS (Inglehart et al., 2014) reported that between 1999 to 2004 (wave 4), Indonesia predominantly showed characteristics of collectivist societies. This was indicated by the importance of respecting parents (89%), the importance of family in life (99%), and child obedience to socialization goals (53.3%). On the other hand, Australia (1995-1998, wave 3) reported lower agreement toward the importance of values reflecting collectivism such as respect to parents (72.1%) and child obedience for socialization goals (29.2%). However, in more recent data in 2005-2009 (wave 5), Indonesia showed an increasing degree of importance for valuing

independence in child-rearing practices (i.e., V12 Child qualities: independence) and a lower importance of valuing trust in people (i.e., V23 Most people can be trusted) compared to the previous wave. Thus, following the global trend of increased individualism, Indonesia seems to adopt more individualist values.

The CAF World Giving Index provides the annual report of giving behaviour across the world. In 2018, the survey reported three types of giving behaviours (i.e., helping strangers, charity donation and volunteering) between 2013 to 2017 from 146 countries. In this period, Indonesia was listed at the top, followed by Australia in the second rank (https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/caf_wgi2018_report_webnopw_2379a_261018.pdf). Despite the similar proportion of people engaging in giving behaviour reported in Indonesia and Australia (59%), proportions of giving were different across the three types. In Indonesia, donating (78%) and volunteering (53%) were more prevalent, whereas, in Australia, helping a stranger (65%) and donating (71%) were more frequently reported. Similarly, Smith (2019, p. 1204) also reported that between 2009 to 2016 one of the largest increases in the proportion of respondents donating was reported in Indonesia. He further noted that both value changes (collectivism-individualism) and specific events (refugee problems, political tensions, natural disasters) might be responsible for changes in donating. Taken together, the current literature suggests that prosocial behaviour may be undergoing changes and differ across countries over time. Whether socio-cultural changes may explain the prevalence of prosocial behaviour needs to be evidenced by investigating patterns of prosociality across cultures and generations in different societies.

3.2.4. *Study aims.*

This study aims to explore cross-cultural and generational differences of prosocial behaviour in Indonesia and Australia: conceptions, types, and motives that contribute to prosocial acts. The research question is: how do people of different generations in Indonesian and Australian societies understand and practise prosocial behaviour?

3.3. **Methodology**

The current study adopted an interpretivist approach to understand the multiple meanings of phenomena (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Gilbert et al. (2019) suggested that only through discussion could one gain a shared understanding of a particular construct. Focus groups were utilised to provide natural settings for participants to interact with each other (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Additionally, the use of focus groups allows the participants to formulate shared meanings of the topic being discussed in their everyday language, rather than from the theoretical perspective of the researcher (Bloor, 2001). Data were collected from multiple focus group discussions involving participants from four types of groups representing different cultures and generations (Australian younger adults, Australian older adults, Indonesian younger adults, and Indonesian older adults).

Participants were encouraged to elaborate, exchange, and negotiate their thoughts with others to seek collective understanding of prosocial behaviour. As such, diverse perspectives were generated to better understand the construct of prosocial behaviour across cultures and generations.

3.3.1. Participants

Following ethics approval (see Appendix A: HREC Approval), participants were recruited based on age categories to allow generational differentiation. For each country, all participants self-identified as either Australian or Indonesian citizens, aged between 17 to 26 (younger generation) or 38 to 55 (older generation) at the time data were collected, and living in urban areas (Perth metropolitan area for Australian groups and Surabaya City for Indonesian groups). The two age groups are selected to enable generational variability in defining, displaying and sourcing prosocial behaviours within each cultural sample. The primary targeted age group was young adults (age 17 to 26) which has been argued to have a higher probability of engaging in various prosocial activities (Carlo & Randall, 2002; Knafo & Schwartz, 2008). To allow generational comparisons, young adults' parent generation (age group 38 to 55) was selected. Inclusion criteria were consistent to optimise group comparability across cultures. There was a total of 42 participants across seven focus groups. The group size was kept small (from 4 to 8 participants) to facilitate discussion with sufficient time for considerable input from each member yet adequate to yield variability in information (Bloor, 2001).

Australian older adults. Eight Australian older adults participated in a focus group discussion ($N = 8$, 87.50% female, age range = 38-50, $M = 44.88$). Three participants had postgraduate qualifications, two had an undergraduate degree, and the remainder had completed high school. Half of the participants were employed, and the other half were university students.

Australian young adults. Two focus groups were conducted for Australian young adults. The first group comprised eight participants and the second had four ($N = 12$, 75% female, age range = 17-25, $M = 21.33$). Two-thirds (66.67%) were university students and one-third (33.33%) were employed.

Indonesian older adults. Focus group data were collected from two groups of Indonesian older adults ($N = 12$, 66.67% female, age range = 38-53, $M = 44.92$). More than half of the participants were employees (66.67% employees, 33.33% unemployed) and mainly had their undergraduate qualifications (16.67% postgraduate, 58.33% undergraduate and 25% high school completion).

Indonesian young adults. Focus group data were collected from two groups of Indonesian young adults ($N = 10$, 70% female, age range = 22-26, $M = 23.40$). Each group initially had six sign-ups, yet only five participants attended the session. The Indonesian young adults were mainly students (60% students, 30% employees, and 10% unemployed).

3.3.2. *Focus group protocols*

A focus group protocol on English was developed by a team of researchers. The protocol was back-translated to ensure construct equivalence in Bahasa Indonesia (Behling & Law, 2000). Each session was designed to take up to 90 minutes, with a 15-minute group introduction. The core session was designed to take an hour and centred on four main questions formulated to address the study objectives: what kind of positive behaviour is done intentionally and voluntarily to benefit others?; what makes people decide to take that kind of action?; to who are these positive behaviours directed?; and what is the impact of performing such behaviour? Each session closed with a 15-minute summary of the discussion, and participants were afforded the opportunity to provide additional comments.

Two volunteers with English as their first language and experienced in delivering focus group discussions facilitated the discussion with the Australian groups. One facilitator was a woman with a postgraduate qualification and was employed in a student support role within a university. The second facilitator was a man with a doctoral qualification who managed a university learning centre. Prior to data collection, the first author and both facilitators discussed and practised the protocol to ensure all questions had been asked without potential bias. Throughout the process of data collection, the first author observed the groups and took notes. The Indonesian focus groups were facilitated by the first author, who is proficient in Bahasa Indonesia and followed the same protocol used for Australian groups.

3.3.3. *Procedure*

The study adopted a purposeful sampling strategy (Clark & Creswell, 2014) by applying particular criteria (i.e., age categories) so that participants in each group shared similar demographic characteristics. Recruitment flyers were distributed in public places and advertised on university official communication platforms (see Appendix D: Flyers for Recruiting Focus Group Discussion Participants). Additionally, some Australian participants were recruited through the university research participant pool. Potential participants were provided with an informed consent sheet (see Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form – Focus Group Discussion) and asked to indicate their availability.

The three focus groups in Australia lasted from 51 to 67 minutes, and the four groups in Indonesia lasted from 56 to 92 minutes. At the end of each session, participants were offered a voucher or credit points (for student participants recruited through the research participant pool) for their time attending the session. The group discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed in the participants' original language. The first author made transcriptions for Indonesian groups.

Data from the Indonesian groups were kept in the original language for the subsequent analysis. The challenge of using conventional translation in cross-cultural research has been

criticised for inadequate conceptual congruence (Larkin et al., 2007). They argued that the predominantly translation procedure has overpowered word equivalence rather than conceptual equivalence such that the capability of each language to explain its own meaning became declined. Therefore, keeping the qualitative data in its original language provides support for the source language in generating meanings as naturally as it could. The English translation was used for Indonesian data only when labelling the codes and synthesising the codes into themes to enable comparison across groups. For Australian data, transcriptions were done by professional transcribers.

Following transcription for Indonesian and Australian data, codes containing a combination of letter and number that represents country, generation, gender, and participant's number were generated to identify responses from particular participants. For example, responses recorded from the third participant from group 1 of the Australian younger generation, gender female were coded into AU-Y1F03.

3.3.4. Data analysis

Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013) was used to allow the flexible approach to identifying themes that are data-driven and theory-driven where both approaches may be used for one analysis. It followed six analytic steps starting with reading and re-reading the transcription to familiarise the data. The second step involved applying complete coding to the data using a “bottom-up” approach. All data that seemed relevant to the research questions were inductively coded using NVivo 12. All data extract were coded by the first author. For Indonesian data, extracts that contained codes were translated into English such that labels can be generated in English as well. Codes with similar patterns and meanings were collated under a theme in the third step. In this stage, codes were scrutinised to review connections with each other and identify central concepts that capture similar ideas. The fourth step involved reviewing these concepts by the research team to identify potential overarching themes and subthemes by exploring relationships between them. Themes and subthemes were then defined and named in the fifth step. At this stage, the existing literature on types (Carlo & Randall, 2002) and motives (Eisenberg et al., 2016) of prosocial behaviour were consulted to label the themes. The analysis was then finalised by producing the report in the last step by the first author.

To explore generational and cultural differences across groups, the study adopted consensual qualitative research – modified (CQR-M) as suggested by Spangler et al. (2012). CQR-M is a useful tool for the exploration and discovery of phenomena that accommodates comparison using large participants with simple qualitative data. This approach was used to determine the prevalence of themes within each group by establishing consensus within the research team rather than emphasising the interrater agreement quantitatively. Any disagreements regarding the prevalence of

the themes across groups were discussed to seek mutual understanding. Within each group, the extent to which a theme was representative was categorised into four types: (1) general, if a theme was present to all or all but one of the participants; (2) typical, if a theme applied to more than half of the participants; (3) variant, if a theme applied to less than half of the participants; and (4) absent, if the theme does not present in a group. For example, the subtheme “How people decide to act prosocially” was mentioned by more than half ($n = 9$) of the participants in the Australian young adult group ($N = 12$) such that the prevalence of this subtheme was “Typical” for this group. Following Hill (2012), differences between generations (younger and older) and cultures (Australia and Indonesia) were noted when there was a two-category discrepancy for each theme and subtheme (i.e. absent vs. typical; variant vs. general; and absent vs. general).

3.3.5. *Trustworthiness*

The study described the specific context and circumstances of how the research was undertaken in Indonesia and Australia to enhance the transferability of the study. The primary analysis was conducted by the researchers, who kept a detailed audit trail of all actions and analytic decisions. Participants had the option to confirm, add to, or challenge the data summary presented in detail near the end of each focus group, which is an appropriate form of participant validation for focus groups (Bloor, 2001). Team members examined the draft analyses to review and discuss the coding scheme. The engagement in these processes minimised researcher bias and promoted rigour in the extraction and development of data themes. The thematic analysis was conducted following the 15-point criteria for good thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013). To ensure the study had been reported comprehensively, the 32-item COREQ checklist (Tong et al., 2007) was followed. The study used triangulation via researchers as one form of triangulation (Braun & Clarke, 2013) by involving a team of researchers in data collection and analysis.

3.4. **Results**

Corresponding to the four main questions that facilitated the focus group, participants' perspectives toward prosocial behaviour were documented in four themes: (a) layperson's understanding of prosocial behaviour; (b) types of prosocial behaviour; (c) prosocial motivations, and (d) recipients of prosocial behaviour. Table 3 lists these four themes and their subthemes that emerged in the data analysis as well as their prevalence within each of the four groups. Examples from extracts for each theme and subthemes are provided in Table 4.

Table 3. Summary of themes and subthemes representing participants' perspective toward prosocial behaviour.

Themes and subthemes		Occurrence/Commonality of a theme ^{*)}				Group Difference ^{**)}
		Australian Group		Indonesian Group		
		Older Adult	Young Adult	Older Adult	Young Adult	
<i>Theme 1: Layperson's understanding of prosocial behaviour</i>						
1.1	What it means to be prosocial	Variant	Variant	Variant	Variant	None
1.2	How people decide to act prosocially	Variant	Typical	General	Typical	Cultural differences among older adults
1.3	The factors of prosocial acts	Typical	Typical	Typical	Variant	None
1.4	The changing nature of prosocial behaviour	Variant	Typical	Variant	Variant	None
<i>Theme 2: Types of prosocial behaviours</i>						
2.1	Altruistic prosocial behaviour	Variant	Variant	Typical	Typical	None
2.2	Anonymous prosocial behaviour	<i>absent</i>	Variant	<i>absent</i>	Variant	None
2.3	Prosocial behaviour for compliance	Typical	Typical	Variant	Typical	None
2.4	Prosocial behaviour in dire circumstances	Variant	Variant	Variant	Variant	None
2.5	Public prosocial behaviour	Typical	Variant	Variant	Variant	None
<i>Theme 3: Prosocial motivations</i>						
3.1	Empathic concern or sympathy	General	Typical	Variant	General	Generational differences among Indonesian samples & Cultural differences among older adults
3.2	Adherence to internalised principles	Variant	Variant	Variant	Variant	None
3.3	Adherence to social norms	Typical	Typical	Variant	Variant	None
3.4	Empathic joy and sustaining positive emotion	Typical	Typical	Variant	Typical	None

3.5	Social relatedness	Variant	Variant	Variant	Variant	None
3.6	Goal completion and increased feelings of competence	Variant	Typical	Variant	Typical	None
3.7	Reduce aversive or negative arousal	Variant	Typical	<i>absent</i>	<i>absent</i>	Cultural differences among younger adults
3.8	Social approval and reputation-related rewards	<i>absent</i>	Variant	<i>absent</i>	<i>absent</i>	None
3.9	Material rewards and avoidance of punishment	Variant	Typical	Variant	Variant	None
<i>Theme 4: Recipient of prosocial behaviours</i>						
4.1	Family	<i>absent</i>	Variant	Variant	<i>absent</i>	None
4.2	Friends	Variant	<i>absent</i>	Variant	Variant	None
4.3	Community	Variant	Variant	Variant	Variant	None
4.4	Strangers	Typical	Typical	Variant	General	Generational differences among Indonesian samples
4.5	Underprivileged or marginalised groups	Variant	<i>absent</i>	Variant	Typical	Cultural differences among younger adults

Note: *) Occurrence of a theme within a group is “general” if applied to all participants, or all but one of the participants; “typical” if applied to more than half of the participants; “variant” if applied to less than half of the participants; and “absent” if not existed in all participants (Hill et al., 2012).

**) Group difference is evident with at least two categories differences (i.e. “absent” vs. “typical”; “variant” vs. “general”; and “absent” vs. “general”), as suggested by Ladany et al. (2012).

Table 4. Extract samples.

Themes and Subthemes	Exemplar Extracts
Theme 1: Layperson's understanding of prosocial behaviour	
1.1 What it means to be prosocial	<i>"I think even sometimes less than that. It's just being considerate of other people around you. So, if you've got some extra time on a parking ticket, giving that to somebody because you don't need it, or offering to stand because you don't need to sit. Just kind of being aware of other people and helping them in small capacities."</i> (Extract 1.1, AU-Y1F06)
1.2 How people decide to act prosocially	<p><i>"I guess I, I was always naturally inclined to want to help people, anyway. I sort of outgrew that after thirty years, actually, but it was a framework that actually got me into the habit of thinking in that way."</i> (Extract 1.2a, AU-O1M01)</p> <p><i>"I usually give donations for orphans to a charity organisation. A volunteer would come to me so I could drop some money on a regular basis. I would cautiously ask where my donation goes to. I only gave my donation to that organisation because I trust them, although I never had the chance to see the orphans by myself."</i> (Extract 1.2b, IN-O2F04)</p>
1.3 The factors of prosocial acts	<p><i>"You start to form, like, more solid opinions and, you know, logic so you can start to form ... well, at least something you think is logical, anyway, and makes sense to you. But when you're younger, it's harder to make that decision, to make a solid decision that you're certain is the right thing to do. But the older you get, the more comfortable you are with making that final decision."</i> (Extract 1.3a, AU-Y1M07)</p> <p><i>"I think like, um, if people are motivated, say, by the religious thing or by anything like that, I'm not, I mean, and I'll come back to it, but, um. I -it provides a framework for those who either won't, would never have thought of it, or might not feel obliged to do certain things so that these say, uh, acts of charity and stuff like that are, maybe motivated, say, from a</i></p>

religious framework, but at least it's being put out there. But I, I do agree that it's a shame if it is the sole motivation."
(Extract 1.3b, AU-O1M01)

"No, I'm sure, like, for me, guilt is a big part of it. Because, I... like, do you go... do you guys know about the universal distribution of goods? You went to Catholic school, so you'd know. Yeah. So, it's kind of the idea that everyone should have the same amount of wealth. Um, and I don't know if that was drilled into me or that was how it was, but I see myself as a rather well-off person, and I feel like it's my responsibility, ((laughs)) this is whack, to distribute my wealth to people who are not necessarily as wealthy." (Extract 1.3c, AU-Y2F02)

"I think... I think with the positive... yeah, with positive and pro-social behaviour, I feel it kind of does stem from a very young age, like, what you are brought up with, I feel, especially with children. Especially as, like, when you're looking at it from a psychological perspective we're kind of... we're kind of these pieces of dough when we're younger, and, ((laughs)) like, like, or like play dough, and every, every experience, um, especially interacting with our parents and interacting with our family and our family in a cultural context, it kind of moulds the dough a bit more. Um, and influences our behaviour later on down... like, later on down the line, so, as an adult, as a teenager. So, subconsciously, we are kind of mimicking all those behaviours and kind of, well, we're kind of... these super behaviours that we're kind of drawing from, and all these learning experiences that we've had" (Extract 1.3d, AU-Y2M01)

"My friend's a nurse and she says that if she is wearing her scrubs, there's an incident, that she can likely get in trouble if she doesn't help ... um, because if they see her scrubs, and she just keeps on going by, then she can ... someone can complain about it. So, she was saying that she, like, just changes out of her uniform when she's, going home." (Extract 1.3e, AU-Y1F04)

1.4 The changing nature of prosocial behaviour	<p><i>“I feel like prosocial behaviour is conforming to, is conforming to the social ideologies of the day. ... Prosocial behaviour is being on social media, is posting, is ... doing a hashtag, or something. Like, it is part... it is part of... it’s conforming. It’s... and if you’re not seen to undertake those behaviours, you’re not seen as a social or normalised human being.”</i> (Extract 1.4a, AU-Y2M01)</p> <p><i>“Yeah, that’s kind of why I said relatively selfless because nothing is completely selfless. You know? Like, at the bottom of your heart, you’re still like, ‘That was a good thing I did. So, you may be doing it for that person in that instance, but, like, deeply it could be to consolidate your own morality somehow.”</i> (Extract 1.4b, AU-Y1M07)</p> <p><i>“I feel like you might relate to this. I feel like when... with this netball thing that I’ve been telling you guys about, every single time I catch a glimpse of any committee member, they just bombard me with, like, ‘Post this, do this, do that, we need this doing,’ and instead of being like, ‘No, I have three uni assessments to do this week, I have absolutely zero time’ I just fill my plate ‘til it’s literally overflowing. I’m like, ‘No, I can get it done.’ And then I forgo my sleep, (laughs) my well-being, my uni grades. All goes out the window just to help people.”</i> (Extract 1.4c, AU-Y2F04)</p>
Theme 2: Types of prosocial behaviour	
2.1 Altruistic prosocial behaviour	<i>“but in terms of selflessness, I think the big one for me was giving blood regularly.”</i> (Extract 2.1, AU-Y1M02)
2.2 Anonymous prosocial behaviour	<i>“There are many crowd-funding platforms available online now. To me, I would prefer to give it online without them knowing my name. Only on the basis of urgency and severity.”</i> (Extract 2.2, IN-Y2F05)
2.3 Prosocial behaviour for compliance	<i>“Well, maybe, because I live in a house with, like, a few housemates, so, maybe just cleaning the kitchen or the bathroom if I’m, like, free, then I might as well do that, ‘cause, you know, it’s my living space, but it’s also theirs. So, if it’s something that I can do, then why not just do it? You know?”</i> (Extract 2.3, AU-Y1M07)

2.4 Prosocial behaviour in dire circumstances	<p><i>“One example that I often did was when I saw people injured in a traffic accident. In that situation, I spontaneously stopped and directly helped the victim. It is just an automatic response, when I saw an accident, I am obliged to help.”</i></p> <p>(Extract 2.4, IN-Y1M03)</p>
2.5 Public prosocial behaviour	<p><i>“My partner volunteers for the local community a bit at [a local arts festival] Darlington Arts Festival, um, and I volunteer at that, too. He does it a lot more but, um, I just do it on the weekend, um... We keep to things like, regularly.”</i></p> <p>(Extract 2.5, AU-O1F08)</p>
Theme 3: Prosocial motivations	
3.1 Empathic concern or sympathy	<p><i>“That's about having empathy, too, I think, ‘cause you go, "Oh I know how I would feel," you know, if that were me, yeah. ((crosstalk))”</i> (Extract 3.1a, AU-O1F08)</p> <p><i>“I was thinking it was not safe for the victim being in the middle of the road, so I stopped and walked him to a safe corner. Things like that were driven by the reason that as human beings, we help each other. Kind of morally responsible because we are social beings.”</i> (Extract 3.1b, IN-Y1M03)</p>
3.2 Adherence to internalised principles	<p><i>“There... there is also a program for Indonesian children. It covers education for children in remote, almost isolated areas. I was self-funded to volunteer in this program. So, we voluntarily assigned ourselves there. Living with the locals for about two weeks or a month. I feel addicted to this... I feel happy seeing new people from different parts of the world. It is like... I was dictated to give something back to our environment.”</i> (Extract 3.2, IN-Y2F05)</p>
3.3 Adherence to social norms	<p><i>“I think there are things that I would do in some circumstances but not others, not necessarily because I wouldn't be willing to, but because social norms dictate that it's not really appropriate.”</i> (Extract 3.3, AU-Y1F01)</p>
3.4 Empathic joy and sustaining positive emotion	<p><i>“.. and I was sitting down. But there's also a big sense of, um, you know, of pride, I guess. It's not really ... I don't know the person who's going to receive the blood. I have zero contact, but there is still a sense of, yeah, pride, I guess, that comes</i></p>

	<i>with it. I understand that I, right now, I'm in a better spot than you might be, complete stranger. Here's what I can do to help."</i> (Extract 3.4, AU-Y1M02)
3.5 Social relatedness	<i>"So, um, but then there's a different perspective to that, you've got the group that wants to be the in, in a group so it's a ... But I think most of us are motivated by wanting to belong to something, whichever group it is that we wanna belong to."</i> (Extract 3.5, AU-O1F03)
3.6 Goal completion and increased feelings of competence	<i>"I think with, um, volunteering, I think a few people like to volunteer because it'll look good on their resume as well. So, it's, um, like you said it's helping them to up-skill and develop. Um, also it benefits you in return as well because it can help you get a job, once you graduate."</i> (Extract 3.6, AU-O1F04)
3.7 Reduce aversive or negative arousal	<i>"Like, I think as a friend that's ... I wouldn't see myself as a good friend if I didn't respond to that kind of hurt, you know, by offering support. Um, but I guess as well, like, you could see it as a bit selfish in other ways because, like, it reduced my distress by knowing that I had reduced his."</i> (Extract 3.7, AU-Y1F01)
3.8 Social approval and reputation-related rewards	<i>"I mean, like, I know it doesn't, like, directly benefit me, but when I do something nice for, like, a random person, I kind of hope that they go home and go, 'Oh, this nice, like, this lady, like, you know, helped me do this.' Or, 'She did this for me.' And then that kind of makes me feel better... It benefits me because I feel like I've done, like, a good thing and they get to go home and tell their family about it."</i> (Extract 3.8, AU-Y1F06)
3.9 Material rewards and avoidance of punishment	<i>"I feel like circling back to what outcomes we would want, personally I feel like if I give a smile to someone, or, you know, have a nice conversation with someone and they walk away and don't really care for that conversation at all, I probably personally wouldn't feel like that's any loss off my back. Yet if I donated blood or gave money or something, and that blood ended up, you know, being contaminated or my money was wasted on something, I don't know, I feel like I would take... I would be much more disappointed in that. I feel like the more personal sacrifice your kindness comes at, the more you care about the outcome of it. Does that make sense?"</i> (Extract 3.9, AU-Y2F02)

Theme 4: Recipient of prosocial behaviours	
4.1 Family	<i>"I was thinking, um, it depends on how I know the person and how much help I'm willing to give them, because there's, like, random acts of kindness that you can do. There's, like, standing up on the bus or opening the door for a stranger. Um, but in terms of like favours, I'm more likely to do, like, a significant favour for like a family [member] or a friend."</i> (Extract 4.1, AU-Y1F04)
4.2 Friends	<i>"Usually, they need my help for tax report issues. I know it should be their responsibility, but at least 20% of my colleagues needed me to assist them."</i> (Extract 4.2, IN-O1F03)
4.3 Community	<i>"Oh yes, yes. Um, so my main focus in both my professional life and my personal life is supporting people with cancer, and so some of that I do as a paid role, but a lot of it I do as a volunteer and I get involved in community events like the [local fun run], ((crosstalk)) my training has been really terrible this year ((laughter)), but I'm still doing it, and I'm hoping people will ((crosstalk)) um so that's probably the main, kind of, obvious charitable work."</i> (Extract 4.3, AU-O1F07)
4.4 Strangers	<i>"Compared to my Mum's generation...She often asked me why I gave online donations. 'Why did you give it to strangers and not to our relatives?' I think because if I gave it to people I have familiar with, I would expect them to help me back in return, someday... and there would be a risk that it won't be anonymous?"</i> (Extract 4.4, IN-Y2F01)
4.5 Underprivileged or marginalised groups	<i>"I think, you know, even if walking past you see somebody who looks like they're homeless, it doesn't mean that you would go out and buy them a meal, because you don't want to feel like you're stepping into, you know, their space."</i> (Extract 4.5, AU-Y1F03)

3.4.1. Theme 1: Layperson's understanding of prosocial behaviour

Layperson's understanding of prosocial behaviour is a theme that reflects participants' understanding of what behaviour is prosocial, its underlying processes, factors that predict prosocial acts, and the changing nature of prosocial behaviour. There are four subthemes.

The first subtheme 'What it means to be prosocial' explores participants' plain understanding that prosocial behaviours require minimum effort such as performing low-risk help and displaying positive gestures toward others. Across all groups, participants variantly mentioned that prosocial behaviour was as simple as giving small help and displaying positive body language. All groups listed effortless, spontaneous help that can be included in prosocial behaviour such as offering a seat at public transport, holding the door for other people, being tolerant of others, and being kind toward the others (Extract 1.1). Participants considered displaying positive gestures as prosocial signalling to give a positive experience for other people.

The second subtheme 'How people decide to act prosocially' describes participants' diverse perspectives of the underlying process of prosocial actions. People's decision to perform prosocial behaviour may vary from an intuitive, automatic decision process (Extract 1.2a) to a deliberative, controlled process of thoughts (Extract 1.2b). The way people decide to engage in prosocial behaviour was culturally different for older groups. This cultural difference appeared when participants rationally consider factors associated with their decision to act prosocially. The Indonesian older adults generally discussed that potential risks associated with giving help such as trust to the recipient, personal sacrifice, and effectiveness of the help should be thoughtfully considered. One participant from the Indonesian older adults said that due to the risk of fraud, charity donations should be given only through reputable organisations (Extract 1.2b). For the Australian older generation, assessing the risks was mentioned to a lesser extent.

The third subtheme 'Predictors of prosocial acts' explains two factors that predict prosocial behaviour: individual differences and socio-cultural context. Participants variantly discussed different aspects of individual-level factors such as age (Extract 1.3a), gender, personality, self-efficacy, and ideological belief. The connection between prosociality and religion was discussed by all groups. For Australian older adults, religion was seen as a framework to act prosocially, but not necessarily needed by all people (Extract 1.3b). Other groups added that prosocial behaviour was dictated by religion as people might relate to their religious values when deciding to act prosocially. Two participants from Australian young adult groups referred to Catholic guilt and the universal distribution of goods taught in Catholic schools that dictated people's responsibility to look after each other (Extract 1.3c). Within the sociocultural level, parenting practices were variantly discussed in all groups (Extract 1.3d). Participants recalled parents' socialisation on the importance of acting prosocially by giving direct examples, imitated by their children. One participant from the

Indonesian older adult group mentioned that parents used reward and punishment to maintain children's positive behaviour. Prosocial behaviour was further developed through social learning, where individuals resembled their personal values with society norms. It was noted that the social role attached to individuals might evoke prosocial behaviour (Extract 1.3e).

The fourth subtheme 'The changing nature of prosocial behaviour' captures participants' understanding that forms, motives, and consequences of prosocial behaviours were changing across time. Participants variantly perceived that forms of prosocial behaviour changed over time. For example, Australian young adults considered that social media made it possible to give support to others by "liking" or "hashtagging" postings from social media platforms that were believed never existed in the previous generation (Extract 1.4a). The Indonesian young adults recommended giving an online donation to reputable charity platforms where they can transparently monitor their funding online rather than conventionally giving cash and direct donation to the receiver. The changing motives of prosocial behaviour were variantly reported across groups. Australian young adults frequently discussed the shifting motives of prosocial behaviour from selflessness to self-concern (Extract 1.4b). This group discussed that although prosocial behaviour often stems from other-oriented motives, in the end, it was self-care that drove people to act prosocially (e.g., to boost their self-esteem, to reduce their own's distress). Lastly, participants variantly reported prosocial behaviour consequences that might not always be positive as people generally thought, as some participants experienced compassion fatigue after performing prosocial acts (Extract 1.4c).

3.4.2. Theme 2: Types of prosocial behaviour.

This is an overarching theme that covers different forms of prosocial behaviour. Five types were identified across groups as the subthemes. The subtheme 'Altruistic prosocial behaviour' documents participants' experiences in prosocial acts associated with sympathy. Participants mentioned prosocial acts such as giving charity donations (money, food and goods), donating blood (Extract 2.1), and volunteering in assisting street children and underprivileged communities.

The subtheme 'Anonymous prosocial behaviour' explains prosocial behaviour performed anonymously without knowing who received the help. Young Australians and Indonesians promoted online donations to reputable and well-established charity organisations. One participant from the Indonesian young adults mentioned they preferred giving an online donation since the giver was kept anonymous (Extract 2.2).

The subtheme 'prosocial behaviour for compliance' refers to helping in response to others' verbal or non-verbal requests. Participants documented actions such as being kind to the consumer in work settings, doing household chores in a shared living space (Extract 2.3), responding to a friend's request (e.g., being a designated driver) and giving non-serious help as a response to non-verbal situational cues (e.g., giving seats to the elderly).

The subtheme 'prosocial behaviour in dire circumstances' summarises helping performed under crises or emergencies. Helping in an emergency situation was reported variably across groups. This includes helping an injured person in a traffic accident (Extract 2.4), helping people with a mental health problem, and volunteering for natural disasters (earthquakes) by looking after young children at a temporary shelter.

The subtheme 'Public prosocial behaviour' explains prosocial behaviour performed in front of the public to gain the approval and respect of others or enhance self-worth. Forms of prosocial behaviour performed in front of the public were documented as participation in volunteering in local community events (Extract 2.5), picking up rubbish in public places, and contributing to a community's social media group.

3.4.3. *Theme 3: Prosocial motivations.*

This theme explains the motivational bases that drive people to engage in particular prosocial behaviour. Prosocial behaviour may stem from a range of altruistic to egoistic motives. There are nine subthemes documented from the participants.

The first subtheme 'Empathic concern or sympathy' refers to motives associated with the ability to aim attention and responses toward others' emotions and needs. Participants variably believed that sympathy and concern toward others motivated prosocial acts. However, it appeared that cultural and generational differences were evident in this subtheme. In older generations, cultural difference was observed as the Australian group discussed more frequently that their prosocial acts were based on empathy (Extract 3.1a) than the Indonesian groups. Perspective-taking was frequently discussed when deciding to help other people in need such as relating the current situation with personal experience, imagining that the person being helped was a family member, or putting themselves being at the same situation. In Indonesian groups, generational differences were noted as the younger participants generally mentioned helping in crisis was motivated by concern for others' need for safety (Extract 3.1b). Interestingly, the Indonesian older generation rarely associated their motives with concern toward others.

The subtheme 'Adherence to internalised principles' reflects participants' motives attached to moral principles such as fairness and justice. Motives that related to moral value were variably discussed across groups. A desire for fairness, social obligation dedicated to the community or justice-related orientation appeared across groups. For example, volunteering was driven by the desire to give back kindness to the community for the Indonesian young adult generation (Extract 3.2).

The subtheme 'Adherence to social norms' explains prosocial motives associated with the desire to act following society's norms. Prosocial behaviour motivated by compliance with norms was typically occurred in Australian groups and variably in Indonesian groups. Help was

performed in accordance with social norms endorsed within each society. Additionally, the Australian young adult generation mentioned that social norms might regulate the decision of giving help in a particular situation (Extract 3.3).

The subtheme 'Emphatic joy and sustaining positive emotion' explains motives related to the desire to maintain pre-existing positive emotions when other's needs were met. Prosocial behaviour performed for the reason of maintaining positive emotions such as gratitude, satisfaction, pride, and happiness was typically reported in Australian groups (Extract 3.4). Helping was performed because it brought positivity to the giver.

The subtheme 'Social relatedness' reflects participants' motives for social interaction and belongingness with others. The need for social interaction was variably recorded across groups. Examples of motives related to social relations were to feel a sense of belongingness, to be a part of the community, and to enjoy social interaction with other people (Extract 3.5).

The subtheme 'Goal completion and increased feelings of competence' describes participants' desire to strive for mastery and enhance personal competence. Across Australia and Indonesia, younger generation groups typically reported that prosocial behaviour was aimed to improve personal competencies. Particularly for volunteering, both younger groups referred that being a volunteer was the opportunity to learn and develop skills that would benefit them in the future (Extract 3.6).

The subtheme 'Reduce aversive or negative arousal' explains motives to reduce participants' distress or alleviate guilt. Motives related to reducing negative arousal appeared culturally different in younger generations. The Australian young groups mentioned that prosocial behaviour might be evoked by the desire to reduce negative emotions or to relieve guilt. However, these motives did not present in all Indonesian groups. For Australian young adults, helping was performed because the helper perceived someone's pain as a pain in him/herself, and therefore, providing help was intended to soothe their own's pain (Extract 3.7).

The subtheme 'Social approval and reputation-related rewards' relates to motives associated with the desire to obtain acceptance and acknowledgement from the other. The Australian young adult groups mentioned that prosocial act was done for the reason of protecting self-image and obtaining praise, trust or approval from others (Extract 3.8).

The subtheme 'Material rewards and avoidance of punishment' reflects participants' expectation to obtain something in return from the recipient. The expectation that prosocial behaviour may result in material rewards was variably discussed across groups. In Australian young adults, helping was typically performed for the reason of reciprocity from the recipient (Extract 3.9).

3.4.4. *Theme 4: Recipient of prosocial behaviour.*

This theme reflects recipients of prosocial behaviour. The subtheme 'Family' describes the inclusion of immediate family as the primary receiver of prosocial behaviour. Australian young adults and the Indonesian older generation variably discussed prosocial behaviour directed to a family member such as taking household chores and picking up a family member. Additionally, Australian young adults tend to put their families first when needed (Extract 4.1).

The subtheme 'Friends' includes friends and co-workers as recipients of help. Helping friends were variably mentioned by younger groups, whereas for older groups helping were directed to colleagues at work (Extract 4.2).

The subtheme 'Community' refers to society members whom participants feel attached. All groups variably mentioned prosocial behaviour directed to support their local community. Examples of community-directed prosocial acts were supporting community art events, donating goods to the local community, and volunteering in community events (Extract 4.3).

The subtheme 'Strangers' refers to people with whom participants never had interactions before. Strangers as the recipient of prosocial behaviour were most frequently mentioned, particularly in young adult groups. Generational differences were reported in Indonesian groups. Compared with the older generation, Indonesian young adult participants generally and more likely directed their prosocial acts toward strangers rather than to people they feel familiar with (Extract 4.4).

The subtheme 'Underprivileged or marginalised groups' refers to disadvantaged communities such as street children, homeless people, people living in isolated areas, or victims of a natural disaster. Helping directed to less privileged communities differed in the prevalence between the two cultural groups for young adult groups. Across younger generations, helping disadvantaged or marginalised societies were typical for Indonesian young adults. In contrast, this was absent in Australian young adults (Extract 4.5).

3.5. **Discussion**

This focus group study explored cross-cultural and generational differences in understanding the concept, types, motives, and recipients of prosocial behaviour. Informed by the perspective of cultural dynamics, this study compared two distinctive cultural samples across generations that presumably experienced different patterns of socio-cultural changes. Overall, findings from this study indicate similarities and differences in prosociality across cultures and generations. While meaning and forms of prosocial behaviour were in many ways similar across cultures and generations, some cultural and generational differences were documented in some subthemes on prosocial motivations and recipients.

3.5.1. *Similarities across cultures and generations.*

Participants shared a similar understanding of prosocial behaviour that it can be seen as a simple positive behaviour directed to other people (subtheme 1.1). Participants across cultures and generations similarly mentioned a range of underlying factors to determine prosocial behaviour, including individual differences and socio-cultural factors (subtheme 1.3). In subtheme 1.4, participants recognised the changing nature of prosocial behaviour noting that it may change in terms of forms, motives, and consequences from time to time.

Types of prosocial behaviour were described similarly across groups (theme 2). Participants recalled different forms of prosocial acts they may experience or observe, which may vary from altruistic (subtheme 2.1), anonymous (subtheme 2.2), compliance (subtheme 2.3), dire (subtheme 2.4), and public (subtheme 2.5) types of prosocial actions.

Furthermore, participants across cultures and generations commonly perceived that prosocial behaviour was directed by various motives (theme 3). Participants described that prosocial acts may stem from other-focused motives such as the desire to comply with moral principles (subtheme 3.2) and society's norms (subtheme 3.3). Participants also noted that self-focused motives such as maintaining positive emotion (subtheme 3.4), the need to maintain social relations (subtheme 3.5), personal competence (subtheme 3.6), maintaining reputation (subtheme 3.8), as well as obtaining material rewards (subtheme 3.9) were existed as the potential drivers of prosocial behaviour.

In attempts to differentiate motives for prosocial behaviour, Eisenberg et al. (2016) summarise various kinds of prosocial motivations in a continuum that reflects other-benefiting to self-benefiting orientation. In this study, participants reported both altruism and egoism motives to engage in prosocial behaviour with some degree of prevalence (Theme 3). This finding suggests that across cultures and generations, prosocial behaviour was driven by both other- and self-orientation motives. Thus, consistent with Frimer et al. (2014), the dualistic motives of prosocial behaviour were found across cultures and generations. In a study involving participants from individualist (Americans) and collectivist (Indians) societies, Frimer et al. (2014) noted that prosocial behaviour was performed by two selves: the self as an actor, which was motivated by idealistic moral values, and, the self as an executor, which was motivated by realistic selfish motives. The dualistic function of self when performing prosocial acts supports the notion that motives of prosocial behaviour can be either selfish or selfless or both (Batson & Powell, 2003).

In theme 4, participants similarly mentioned that prosocial behaviour was directed to family (subtheme 4.1), friends (subtheme 4.2), and community (subtheme 4.3). These results also suggest that across cultures and generations, participants similarly discussed family, friends and community as the beneficiary of prosocial behaviour as less prevalent than helping strangers. It is noteworthy

that helping strangers were more frequently discussed within each group. Directing prosocial acts to familiar others and people with familiarity and acquaintances might be perceived as the fulfilment of duties to show that individuals have internalised social expectations (Gherghel et al., 2020). As such, it may be the case that there is no need to raise concern to discuss prosocial behaviour directed to a person one knows since helping and caring for this person might be valued as a common behaviour that represents compliance with social norms and fulfilment of social obligations. In contrast, in a public forum like a focus group, discussing helping strangers can be potentially valued (i.e., to increase self-presentation in front of others). That is, participants might have judged that the action of helping strangers requires much effort to satisfy social expectations (McAuliffe et al., 2020) such that this topic might have been seen as worthwhile to discuss within the group.

3.5.2. *Differences across cultures and generations*

Cultural differences were observed in the way people understand the decision-making process in prosocial acts (subtheme 1.2), the prevalence of empathy (3.1) and reducing negative arousal as prosocial motives (3.7), and recipients of prosocial behaviour (4.4 & 4.5). With respect to the way people understand the decision-making process in prosocial acts (subtheme 1.2), Indonesian older adults more frequently discussed risks associated with deliberately processed prosocial acts than Australian older adults. The decision to act prosocially may be based on several factors such as proximity or familiarity with the recipient, the effectiveness of assisting, including the trustworthiness of the charity organisation. The decision to act prosocially may involve two different processes of thinking: intuitive or deliberative (Rand & Epstein, 2014). It appears that, for the Indonesian older generation, performing prosocial acts may not be intuitive but requires careful thinking and effort. The theory of individualism-collectivism posits that people from collectivistic backgrounds perceived a greater obligation to respond to others in need than those from individualistic cultural backgrounds (Gherghel et al., 2020) such that performing prosocial acts may be perceived as responding to social obligations and valued as a highly moralised choice in collectivistic cultures. Therefore, for Indonesian older adults who may hold strong preferences toward collectivistic values, prosocial responses may be decided using careful consideration since it represents moral choice rather than relying on intuitive speculations. The Australian older generation discussed empathic concern or sympathy motives more than the Indonesian older adults (subtheme 3.1). This finding is contrary to previous research that suggests higher collectivism countries are associated with a higher level of empathy (Chopik et al., 2017). One explanation for this is that following the pattern of perceiving a greater moral obligation to help others in collectivistic cultural background (Gherghel et al., 2020), Indonesian older adults may perceive

prosocial actions as social obligations they had to fulfil to society rather than seeing prosocial actions as stemming from empathetic concern for others.

Cultural differences in younger generations were documented in two subthemes: reduce aversive or negative arousal (subtheme 3.7) and underprivileged or marginalised groups (subtheme 4.5). Australian young adults more frequently reported that prosocial acts were provoked by the intention to reduce negative arousals, such as reducing their own distress or eliminating worry and sadness. In Indonesian young adults, this topic was absent. One interpretation of this finding is that for Australian young adults, performing prosocial acts provoked by the concern to alleviate self-distress reflects an expression of individual choice. This could be considered as an indication of agentic motivations which are prevalent in individualistic societies (Gherghel et al., 2020). With respect to recipients of prosocial behaviours, Indonesian young adults reported helping directed to underprivileged or marginal groups such as homeless people, street children and geographically isolated communities. In Australian young adults, helping directed to this type of recipient was absent, possibly because helping less privileged communities could be perceived as overstepping the boundary (Extract 4.5).

The study observed generational differences only within Indonesian groups concerning two subthemes: empathic concern motives (subtheme 3.1) and strangers as the recipient of prosocial behaviour (subtheme 4.4). Compared to older adults, Indonesian young adults more frequently discussed that prosocial acts were more frequently provoked by empathic concern toward others (subtheme 3.1). Previous research found that higher empathy is associated with higher collectivism (Chopik et al., 2017; Greenfield, 2016). Although Santos et al. (2017) noted that as Indonesia is currently seen as transitioning from a collectivistic to a more individualistic society, the Indonesian younger generation tends to source their prosocial acts from empathy than any other motives. The current data also confirm that Indonesian young adults were more likely to direct their prosocial acts to strangers (subtheme 4.4). Smith (2019) and Irwin (2009) ascertained that people with collectivistic cultural backgrounds were less inclined to direct their prosocial acts toward strangers than acquaintances. In collectivist societies, trust toward people outside the group exists at a low level (Knafo et al., 2009) such that helping will be directed to people inside the group. It appears that Indonesian younger generations still maintain both collectivist (i.e., prosocial acts provoked by empathy) and individualist (i.e., directing prosocial acts to strangers) characteristics.

3.5.3. Limitations and direction for future research

In this focus group study, increased social desirability among participants may present, such that it may affect the way people respond to each other. Particularly in Australia, some participants were recruited from the university research participant pool, such that there is a possibility of familiarity with other participants that may induce participants to give responses that conform with

desired moral characters within a group (McAuliffe et al., 2020). Since the study attempted to gain insight into how people conceptualise different aspects of prosociality through dialogue, the risk of social desirability bias was unavoidable (Gilbert et al., 2019). Prosocial behaviour is a desirable behaviour expected in every culture and society (Twenge et al., 2007) such that participants may feel the topic worth presented to obtain public recognition rather than to express the actual experiences they may have. Future studies may be directed to specify the inquiry into actual personal experiences when performing prosocial acts. Since female participants were over-represented in this study, there is a possibility that the prosocial behaviour reported here may reflect those more accessible to the female gender (Nielson et al., 2017). Future research should attempt to minimise social desirability and gender imbalance by implementing a different approach to participant recruitment.

The current study indicated generational differences found in Indonesian groups in terms of prosocial motives and recipients. While Callaghan and Corbit (2018) noted that only a few studies examine the psychological and cultural mechanisms of similarity or diversity of prosocial behaviour, this focus group study was not directed to provide an explanation of how differences and similarities across generations may occur. Future research is required to investigate the way prosocial behaviour can be maintained or changed from time to time in a different cultural context.

3.6. **Conclusions**

Across cultures and generations in Australia and Indonesia, the current study found that participants mainly understood prosocial behaviour as spontaneous helping behaviour, determined by a range of individual differences and socio-cultural factors that had changing nature. Participants understood various forms of prosocial behaviour driven by a range of motives from altruistic (empathic concern or sympathy) to egoistic (reciprocity from the recipient). Cultural differences were indicated within both older and younger generations. It is interesting to note that generational differences were only present in Indonesian groups in terms of the prevalence of empathy as the motive of prosocial acts and the way prosociality was directed to strangers.

Findings from this study confirm that although the pattern of similarities was predominant across cultures and generations, differences in aspects of prosociality are evident and worth explaining. Cultural differences observed may reflect that Australia and Indonesia hold different perspectives of prosocial behaviour. Further, generational differences were evident in Indonesian but not in Australian participants. This finding may be an indication that, for Indonesian generations, cultural information related to prosocial behaviour may not be transferred as congruence as found in Australian generations. This finding may support that changes in sociocultural contexts across time in different societies may influence the way cultural information is transferred across generations.

Chapter 4: Vertical Transmission of Prosociality: Basic Human Values and The Context of Intergenerational Transmission in Indonesia.

4.1. Introduction

Prosocial behaviour refers to a broad category of actions generally labelled by society as benefiting other people Dovidio et al. (2017). This definition implies two components. The first component is that prosocial behaviour is an interpersonal, mutual act involving one party as the benefactor and the other party as the target recipient(s). The later component emphasises the changing nature of prosociality and implies the active contributions of the society in perceiving given actions as prosocial. In line with this notation, the previous scoping review study reported that prosocial behaviour was studied in Indonesian and Australian literature with different emphases on the level of analysis using a broad range of definitions (see Chapter 2). This finding indicates that prosociality had been examined using different facets and conceptualisations across cultures. Populations characterised by different socio-cultural attributes may differ in labelling certain behaviours as prosocial. Therefore, what constitutes prosocial behaviour is not universal. It is guided by a range of desirable behaviours based on societal judgements within a particular timeframe (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015) such that to understand prosocial behaviour requires an understanding of the context in which it is enacted.

The importance of prosocial behaviour to our society is undeniable. Prosocial behaviour is encouraged in every culture because it reflects individual's, group's, and society's adaptive values for survival Dovidio et al. (2017) such that it is "vital to the social system" (Twenge et al., 2007, p. 56). For Schroeder and Graziano (2018), prosocial behaviour is the core of psychological functioning that defines the essence of humanity. Prosocial behaviour is positively valued and considered functional to group survival (Eisenberg, 2003; Twenge et al., 2007). If prosocial behaviour is fundamental for the human species, it is important to understand how it sustains across time within culturally changing societies.

In attempts to explain generational and cultural variations in prosocial behaviour, we previously conducted a focus group study involving participants from different cultures and generations in Indonesia and Australia. The qualitative study revealed that generational differences were evident in Indonesian but not in Australian participants, suggesting that larger generational differences were found in Indonesia (see Chapter 3).

One framework that may explain the changing nature of prosociality across cultures and generations is through the perspective of cultural dynamics. This perspective considers the dynamic nature of cultural information over time within a society such that transformations and/or maintenances of prosocial behaviour can be better understood (Kashima, 2014). Cultural dynamics

is "an investigation of how a culture thus defined is formed, maintained, and transformed over time" (p. 1). According to Kashima (2016), a culture is a set of existing non-genetic information that is transferable within a society. At the micro-level mechanism, cultural transmission is "at the heart" (p. 93) of cultural dynamics that explain the social distribution of cultural information from one person to another. Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1982) asserted that cultural transmissions might occur vertically (from parent to child), horizontally (between peers), and obliquely (from teacher/social leader/mass media to student/younger generation). According to Schönplflug and Bilz (2009), vertical transmission is "the ground for continuity" (p. 212) of cultural information that allows both novelty and stability such that the maintenance of prosociality within a society might occur through the mechanism of intergenerational transmission from parents to their children.

In the literature, research on vertical transmission has predominantly focused on congruence between parent and offspring as the outcome of the transmission (Albert et al., 2009; Knafo-Noam et al., 2020; Schönplflug & Bilz, 2009; Tam, 2015). To better explain the transmission mechanism, Trommsdorff (2009) suggested the ecocultural model which considers the components that affect the process and outcomes of transmission: the persons (i.e., parents and children), their relationship (e.g., parent and child relation), the contents (i.e., cultural information subject to transmission) and the context (e.g., socioeconomic and cultural changes) involved in the transmission. Thus, the intergenerational transmission of cultural transmission should not be limited to the observation towards the transmission outcomes by simply estimating the similarity of scores on transmission contents between parents and children. Rather, the transmission mechanism should be explained using a comprehensive framework, by considering all relevant components.

There has been discussion in the literature to explain how intergenerational transmission indicated by similarity in a particular psychological construct between parent and child may occur (Boehnke, 2015; Hadjar et al., 2012; Knafo-Noam et al., 2020). According to Knafo-Noam et al. (2020), intergenerational transmission of values can be represented by congruences between parents' and child's personal values, which may reflect four mechanisms: (1) parental influence on children through socialisation, (2) children's influence on parents, (3) both parents and children share an overlapping social environment, and (4) parents and children share a genetic co-disposition. Boehnke (2015) and Hadjar et al. (2012) had a similar view that the four mechanisms explained the context where transmission may occur between generations. Additionally, Boehnke (2015) extended that the four mechanisms may not be limited to the transmission of values, but applicable to any psychological measures.

With respect to the pathway where parents and children live in a similar social environment, Boehnke (2015) used the term "*zeitgeist*" (p. 3000). *Zeitgeist* (a German term for the spirit of the times) refers to the prevalent value climate taken by most people in a given society (Boehnke et al.,

2009). *Zeitgeist* provides an explanation towards the context of the transmission since it captures the way society perceives the dominant values, ideas, and facts in a given time (Hadjar et al., 2012). The role of *zeitgeist* to explain the intergenerational transmission of self-interest as the main characteristic of contemporary German societies has been extensively explored by Boehnke et al. (2007) and Boehnke et al. (2009). They suggested that because transmission did not occur in isolated environments, *zeitgeist* influences individual value preferences and therefore affects value congruence between parents and children. Stronger transmissions were found for families with atypical values with the mainstream society than for families holding similar values with the dominant culture. One explanation for this was that parents were more likely to frequently communicate values less preferred by the society toward their children such that the transmissions were attenuated.

There is a plethora of research investigating the cultural transmission of psychological phenomena mostly in European and the United States contexts (Schönpflug, 2009). Given that much of the available literature on vertical transmission focusses on European and Western societies, the applicability of such models of cultural transmission to non-Western societies needs further examination. One notable framework that explains the context of intergenerational value transmission in Asia is the intersubjective model from the work of Tam et al. (2012) which considers the influence of perceived normative norms in parental socialisation. Their perspective to some degree may resemble the concept of *zeitgeist* that the Western literature noted in terms of the inclusion of societal normative values in the process of transmission. However, what Tam et al. (2012) refer to as normative values focuses on individual perception in labelling such values as important for society. For Boehnke et al. (2007), the concept of *zeitgeist* is the value climate that represents the average value preferences of the society independent from the individuals. Whether vertical transmission of prosociality can be explained using a similar framework applied in Western research in a socio-culturally changing society in non-Western societies particularly in Asia, deserves a further explanation.

The current study contributes to the existing literature by exploring mechanisms of intergenerational transmission of prosociality using five models. We included two of the four models identified by Boehnke (2015) and Knafo-Noam et al. (2020). These two models are the parental socialisation model and the *zeitgeist* model. Specifically, the current study tested the parental socialisation model by observing the contribution of parental value socialisation (*Model 3* in the current study). The *zeitgeist* model was tested by estimating the shared social environment (*Model 5* in the current study). In addition to these two models, the current study examines three additional models. *Model 1* examines the role of personal values in moderating the transmission process, adopting the work of Six et al. (2009). *Model 2* examines the moderating role of parent-

child value congruence in the transmission of prosociality. Model 4 examines young adults' perceptions of their parents' endorsement of certain values. These perceptions were examined as the moderators of the vertical transmission of prosociality. These models are elaborated in the section "Models of Vertical Transmission Examined."

4.1.1. *The Indonesian Context*

Indonesia is experiencing accelerated socio-cultural changes. Previously, Indonesian societies shared collectivistic values (Irwin, 2009). For Indonesian older generations, family integrity and interdependence were valued as highly important, whereas self-reliance and hedonism were placed in the lowest priority (Triandis et al., 1986). Obedience, harmony and conformity were essential socialisation goals for parents (Albert et al., 2009). Following the global trend of increased individualism (Greenfield, 2016; Santos et al., 2017), it appears that Indonesia is currently transitioning from a collectivistic to an individualistic social environment. Increased importance of friends over family, parental socialisation of independence values, and self-expression values reported in current society indicate that individualism values are more strongly adopted in Indonesia (Santos et al., 2017). This suggests that parents who belong to older generations in Indonesia may hold stronger collectivistic values because they may be exposed to a collectivistic sociocultural environment cherished by the previous society. Compared to their parents, the current younger generation may increasingly adopt individualistic values from their socio-cultural environment that may differ from what their parents hold.

Increased individualism may partially explain how prosocial behaviour remains constant or changes across generations in Indonesia for at least two reasons. First, collectivistic cultures tend to more strongly endorse social norms that encourage empathy and interdependence with others compared to individualistic cultures (Chiao et al., 2012). At the individual level, Schwartz (2010) posits that collectivist values such as *benevolence* and *universalism* motivate prosocial acts. On the contrary, individualistic values such as *hedonism* and *power* may deter prosociality. This suggests that individualism-collectivism at the cultural and individual levels can be linked to the diminishment or maintenance of prosociality. Second, the distribution of cultural information depends on environmental stability and change. Kashima (2014) noted that in a stable environment, cultural information that emphasises social integration, such as collectivist values, are more likely to transmit vertically than individualist values. Conversely, with the environment changing rapidly, collectivist values are less likely to transmit, and individualist values are more likely to transmit. If - following the global trends of increased individualism- the Indonesian generations have become more individualists, how would this transformation affect the vertical transmission of prosociality?

Prior studies on how cultural change and stability may affect vertical transmission yielded mixed patterns. For Hong Kong Chinese immigrant parents who presumably experienced changing sociocultural context, values they wish to socialise to their children were more strongly predicted by perceived normative values than personal values (Tam et al., 2012). This finding suggests that cultural transmission should consider not only parents' personal values but also values that the parents perceived as important within a society. In a similar vein, Boehnke (2001) found that in the context of changing East German societies from communist to industrialist, within-family transmission in individualism values (i.e., *openness* and *self-enhancement values*) occurred more effectively than collectivism values. It appears that values being endorsed by the community at a given time were more likely transmitted from parents to the children than parental value preferences.

Finding from Schönplflug and Bilz (2009) yielded a different pattern. In their study, both communities experiencing cultural discontinuity (Turkish immigrants living in Berlin and Southern Germany) as well as cultural continuity (Turkish people living in Istanbul) showed more vertical transmission of collectivistic values (i.e., *humanism, universalism, security, traditionalism, and conformism*) than individualistic values (i.e., *stimulation, hedonism, and power*). They argued that collectivistic values were generally transmitted within the context of highly empathetic parenting and less authoritarian parenting styles regardless of changing sociocultural contexts. Despite reporting different results, findings from Boehnke (2001) and Schönplflug and Bilz (2009) confirmed the effect of socio-cultural dynamics to elucidate mechanisms of cultural transmission. Whether stability or changes in the socio-cultural environment may explain the pattern of cultural information transfer between generations has not been tested in Indonesia.

4.1.2. *The Present Study*

The current study examined the vertical transmission of prosociality. Vertical transmission of prosociality was examined through the degree of congruence between the persons involved in the transmission process (i.e., parent and children). The current study considered five different models of vertical transmission focusing on values as the moderators as elaborated below. To study the vertical transmission of personal values, Schönplflug and Bilz (2009) categorised Schwartz's (1992) basic values into two major dimensions: *collectivistic values* (humanism, universalism, traditionalism, security, and conformism) and *individualistic values* (power, self-direction, stimulating life, and hedonism) which further refined into *social* and *personal* focus value categories in Schwartz's et al. (2012) theory of basic values. The current study followed the same approach in differentiating types of values.

4.1.3. *Models of Vertical Transmission Examined*

Model 1. This model examines the role of young adults' personal values in facilitating the intergenerational transmission of prosociality. This model follows the work of Six et al. (2009) who examined the moderating role of personal values on the vertical transmission of xenophobia. This research considers the 'dualism of values' (p. 373) where values have two differing roles: to facilitate/inhibit the vertical transmission of xenophobia. Therefore, values were included to explain the context of transmission. Findings from their study confirmed that adolescents' preferred values of achievement, security and tradition moderated the vertical transmission of xenophobia. In relation to prosocial behaviour, Schwartz (2010) indicated that prosocial behaviour was motivated by *collectivistic values* (humanism, universalism, traditionalism, security, and conformism) rather than *individualistic values* (power, self-direction, stimulating life, and hedonism). As such, it is anticipated that vertical transmission of prosociality is facilitated by young adults' collectivistic values. However, within the context of changing sociocultural environment indicated by increased individualism, little is known about the role of collectivism values in facilitating the process of transmission. Our postulate is that, due to changing sociocultural context in Indonesian society, young adults' personal values may facilitate the vertical transmission of prosociality.

Model 2. This model postulates that vertical transmission of prosociality is moderated through value congruences between parents-children. A stronger value congruence between parents-children may indicate that these values had been clearly communicated by parents to their children (Schönplflug & Bilz, 2009). A stronger congruence may also indicate that low disagreement and misinterpretation occur within a family. This congruence, according to Hadjar et al. (2012), is a fundamental facilitator of "behavioural confirmation" (p. 56) that enhances the production of expected behaviour among children. In contrast, weaker congruences may indicate unsuccessful parental influences toward the children (Knafo & Schwartz, 2008). Therefore, it follows that parent's and children's similarity in values enables the transfer of cultural information relevant to prosociality. Therefore, this model proposes the moderating role of intrafamilial value congruence in the vertical transmission of prosociality.

Model 3. This model postulates that parental socialisation values facilitate the transmission of prosociality from parents to their young adult children. Parental socialisation value refers to values that parents expect their children to have (Knafo & Schwartz, 2008). This model follows the traditional perspective of socialisation which focuses on the "fax model" (p. 1042), where children fully accept those values their parents wanted to socialise (Tam et al., 2012). The fax model postulates the unidirectional influence of parents on children, and it does not emphasize the active role of the child in selecting which values they want to internalize (this is the effect examined in Model 1). Nevertheless, since parents are the primary transmitter of cultural ideas to their children,

values that parents wish to socialise are important to understand. Specifically, this model postulates the moderating role of parents' socialisation values in the vertical transmission of prosociality.

Model 4. This model focuses on the role of young adults' perceived parental value endorsement in the vertical transmission of prosociality. Trommsdorff (2009) noted that children actively process parental socialisation by understanding, selecting, and deciding whether to accept or reject cultural information endorsed by their parents. Perspectives from the developmental psychology view that young adults, who gain increased autonomy and greater exposure to values beyond their family, may misinterpret the values that parents want to socialise to children (Carlo & Randall, 2002; Eisenberg et al., 2002). Thus, contrary to the "fax model" assumption, this model posits that discrepancy may occur as young adults perceive parental value endorsement differently from the values parents wish to socialise. Children may also perceive parental value endorsement accurately which contributes to greater occurrence of vertical transmission (Knafo & Schwartz, 2008). Therefore, this model examines the role of young adults' perceived parental value endorsement in moderating the intergenerational transmission of prosociality.

Model 5. This model postulates the role of *zeitgeist* values to explain the context of vertical transmission of prosociality. Parents and children are likely exposed to a similar value climate that the mainstream society embraces to the extent that they share the overlapping social environment (Boehnke et al., 2007). Transmission from parent to children is not direct, it is rather determined by the societies that construct the mainstream culture (Knafo-Noam et al., 2020). This implies that the context of intrafamilial transmission may be determined by the dominant culture of a particular society. Boehnke et al. (2009) refer the values dominant in mainstream culture as *zeitgeist* values and argue that *zeitgeist* influences cultural transmission. Although *zeitgeist* represents preferences toward certain values held by most people in a particular society, individuals may perceive or accept the *zeitgeist* variably. Boehnke et al. (2009) suggest that one way to estimate *zeitgeist*'s influence on the transmission process is by including the variable as the moderator on the transmission model. Therefore, in this model, we postulate that the vertical transmission of prosociality occurs through *zeitgeist* values.

4.2. Method

4.2.1. Procedures and Participants

Following ethics approval (see Appendix A: HREC Approval), participants were recruited from three major cities in Java, Indonesia. Five volunteer research assistants assisted with in-person data collection: two were assigned in Surabaya, one in Yogyakarta, and two in Jakarta. They provided interested participants with a survey kit containing the information sheet, measures, and a sealable envelope. After providing written informed consent (see Appendix E: Questionnaires included in Indonesian Survey – Manual Version), participants returned the completed measures

and consent form in a sealed envelope to the research assistants, who posted it to the researcher's office in Indonesia. The data was collected from July 15 to December 31, 2019. At the end of the survey, participants were asked to include the nominating family member (parent or young adult children) by providing the researcher with the email for further contact. After completing the survey, participants were given the option to win one of ten shopping vouchers equal to IDR 300,000 (AUD 30).

We recruited young adults aged between 17 to 26 years (Eisenberg et al., 2002). This age range was targeted due to our focus on early adulthood. Within early adulthood, individuals have greater autonomy to engage in various prosocial activities (Carlo & Randall, 2002; Knafo & Schwartz, 2008). Other inclusion criteria were Indonesian citizens living in Indonesia and willing to nominate one of their parents for this survey. A total of 548 (young adult group $n = 312$, older group $n = 236$) responses were collected. To enable young adult and parent dyads identification, we asked the participants to provide the gender and date of birth of a nominating family member. As a result, 416 responses or 208 young adult-parent dyads were matched. Responses unable to be matched (young adult group, $n = 55$, older group, $n = 15$) were excluded. Also excluded were responses not meeting the young adult age criteria (below 17, $n = 18$, above 26, $n = 2$), and not completing one or more sections of the questionnaire (young adult group, $n = 29$, older group, $n = 13$).

We used the 208 dyads (63% mother-daughter; 18.3% father-daughter; 10.6% mother-son; and 8.2% father-son dyads) to estimate the vertical transmission of prosociality from parents to their young adult children. All young adults were living in Indonesia for life long and predominantly from urban areas (63.9%). More than half of the young adults have high school completion (62.5%) and some university qualifications (28.4%). The parent group aged from 31 to 68 years (73.6% female, $Mage = 49.57$). All parents were living in Indonesia since birth and mostly from urban areas (60.1%). In terms of educational background, parents reported having university qualifications (47.1 %), high school completion (36.1%), partial completion of secondary school (9.1%), and primary school completion (7.7%).

4.2.2. Measures

Prosociality. We used the Prosocial Tendencies Measure/PTM (Carlo & Randall, 2002) to assess young adults' tendencies toward six types of prosocial behaviour. This measure was selected since it includes various types of prosocial behaviour that young adults potentially engaged with. Both Eisenberg et al. (2002) and Carlo and Randall (2002) noted that due to the greater exposure on social relation and stronger autonomy in early adulthood, young adults are capable of exploring various prosocial actions and deciding which prosocial acts they would like to commit. PTM is an objective measure of prosocial tendencies that was constructed to specifically explore 6 types of

prosocial behaviour in late adolescents. Participants indicated the extent to which each statement describes them with scales from 1 (*does not describe me at all*) to 5 (*describes me greatly*). The 23-item scale measures *altruism* (e.g., "I think that one of the best things about helping others is that it makes me look good (reversed item)", 5 items), *compliant* (e.g., "When people ask me to help them, I don't hesitate", 2 items), *emotional* (e.g., "Emotional situations make me want to help needy others", 4 items), *dire* (e.g., "It is easy for me to help others when they are in a dire situation", 3 items), *public* (e.g., "I can help others best when people are watching me", 4 items), and *anonymous* (e.g., "Most of the time, I help others when they do not know who helped them", 5 items). At the time of the current project planning, there was no report that the PTM had been used in Indonesia. As such, the PTM scale was translated using the back-translation procedure for our pilot study. We did subsequently identify a study with the PTM with an Indonesian sample. This study by Vaughan et al. (2008) reported satisfactory reliabilities for the aggregated PTM score (Cronbach's α T1 = .78 and T2 = .82) and an adequate concurrent validity (correlation with empathy-related responding measures, $r = .53, p < .01$) for the aggregated scale. To simplify and interpret prosociality, the PTM scale in this study also used aggregated score similar to Vaughan et al. (2008). The current study reported an adequate internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$).

Values. We used the PVQ5X (Schwartz et al., 2012) to assess ten basic values. In the first section, participants reported their *self-values* by responding to 48 items with a 6-point scale (1=*not like me at all* to 6=*very much like me*), indicating to what extent the person in the given vignette is similar to themselves. Then, after completing the PTM scale, participants were asked about their *perceived parental endorsement values* (for young adult respondents) or *socialisation values* (for participating parents). To assess *young adults' perceived parental value endorsement*, young adult participants were asked to respond to the same set of 48 items with the instruction "How would your nominating parent want you to respond to each item?" (Knafo & Schwartz, 2008). To assess *socialisation values*, parents were asked to indicate how much they want to socialise each value to their children with respect to the same set of 48 items.

Sample of the 48 items in the PVQ5X includes: self-direction (e.g., "It is important to him [or her] to form his own opinions and have original ideas", 6 items); stimulation (e.g., "Excitement in life is important to her [or him]", 3 items); hedonism (e.g., "Enjoying life's pleasures is important to him [or her]", 2 items); achievement (e.g., "Being very successful is important to him [or her]", 3 items); power (e.g., "It is important to him [or her] to be the one who tells others what to do", 4 items); security (e.g., "His [or her] personal security is extremely important to him [or her]", 7 items); conformity (e.g., "It is important to him [or her] to follow rules even when no one is watching", 7 items); tradition (e.g., "He [or she] strongly values the traditional practices of his [or her] culture", 3 items); benevolence (e.g., "It's very important to him [or her] to help the people dear

to him [or her]", 5 items); and universalism (e.g., "He [or she] strongly believes that he [or she] should care for nature", 8 items).

We grouped ten values from PVQ5X into two value categories: personal and social focus. Following Schwartz et al. (2012), the social focus value category was obtained by averaging responses in 26 items on security (societal, 3 items), tradition (3 items), conformity (rules, 2 items and interpersonal, 3 items), humility (2 items), benevolence (dependability, 3 items and caring, 2 items), and universalism (concern, 3 items; nature, 3 items; and tolerance, 2 items). The personal focus value category was calculated by averaging responses in 22 items on the PVQ5X, including measures of self-direction (thought, 3 items; and action, 3 items), stimulation (3 items), hedonism (2 items), achievement (3 items), power (resources, 2 items and dominance, 2 items), face (2 items), and security (personal, 2 items).

The PVQ5X has been widely used with satisfactory reliabilities (Cronbach's α s from .66 to .83) and acceptable construct validity for the 48 items with a 6-point scale (CFI (comparative fit index) = .92, RMSEA = .04) across countries (Schwartz et al., 2012). In the literature, the use of an earlier version of the PVQ5X (PVQ40) in Indonesia has been reported and found to have adequate construct validity (Liem et al., 2011). However, PVQ5X differs from PVQ40 with the items included. As such, the PVQ5X was translated via the back-translation procedure (Werner & Campbell, 1970) for our pilot study. In the current sample, the scales had satisfactory internal consistencies for self-values (Cronbach's α s .93 for the social focus category and .86 for the personal focus category), young adults' perceived parental value endorsement (Cronbach's α s .94 for the social focus category and .88 for the personal focus category), and socialisation values (Cronbach's α s .94 for social focus category and .88 for personal focus category).

Demographic variables. We included participants' date of birth, gender, duration of stay in Indonesia, area of stay (rural/urban), educational background, and the nominating family's date of birth and gender for further analysis.

Pilot data. Because the items were newly translated, we conducted a pilot study involving 30 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 33.29$, 46.7% female, 46.7% undergraduate qualification, 80% employee) to check the internal consistency of the measures. The measures in the pilot sample were internally consistent (Cronbach's α of 0.80 for the PTM scale and 0.94 for the PVQ5X Value Survey items).

4.3. Results

Before analysing the data, missing values were scrutinised. There were three cases with one missing value, and these values were substituted by mean values for a particular item scale. For example, case number 76 had one missing value for the PVQ5X on item 28 (PVQ5Xc28) measuring young adults' perceived parental value endorsement on conformity value such that score on that corresponding item was replaced with the mean score for that particular item ($M_{\text{PVQ5Xc28}} =$

4.66). Assumptions were checked before conducting each analysis. Histogram observation indicated that each variable in the regression was normally distributed. Inspection of the normal probability plot of standardised residuals and the scatterplot of standardised residuals against standardised predicted values indicated no violation of the assumptions of linearity, normality, and homoscedasticity of residuals. The VIF values were well below 10 and the tolerance statistics were all above 0.2, suggesting that multicollinearity was not a concern in the data (Field, 2017). Young adults' and parents' prosociality were computed for each participant group by averaging their responses on the aggregated PTM scale (Vaughan et al., 2008).

Table 5 shows the bivariate correlations between all variables. Parents and young adults' correlation for prosociality is $r = .28$ indicating a weak similarity between parents and their young adult children. Correlations between the two value categories are found all significant (young adults' values $r = .69$; parents' values $r = .73$; value congruences $r = .39$; parents' socialisation values $r = .72$; young adults' perceived parental value endorsement $r = .71$; and *zeitgeist* values $r = .74$), implying that social and personal focus values categories are interdependent. No significant correlations are found between *zeitgeist* values and young adults' or parents' values (for social focus values: $r_{zeitgeist/young\ adults} = -.02$ and $r_{zeitgeist/parents} = .06$; for personal focus values: $r_{zeitgeist/young\ adults} = -.04$ and $r_{zeitgeist/parents} = -.04$) suggesting that *zeitgeist* values that are dominant in the society are not significantly associated with young adults' or parents' personal values. It seems that mainstream society endorses different values that are independent from personal values.

Table 5. Mean scores, standard deviations, and Pearson's bivariate correlations between all variables.

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1) Young adults' prosociality	3.13	.53	-													
2) Parents' prosociality	3.07	.57	.28***	-												
3) Young adults' value in social focus	4.74	.59	.20**	.14*	-											
4) Young adults' value in personal focus	4.50	.53	.33***	.20**	.69***	-										
5) Parents' value in social focus	4.79	.63	.05	.34***	.34***	.29***	-									
6) Parents' value in personal focus	4.45	.58	.13	.45***	.16*	.26***	.73***	-								
7) Value congruence in social focus	.18	.26	-.12	-.07	.15*	.05	.06	.04	-							
8) Value congruence in personal focus	.32	.32	-.12	-.17	.33***	.12	.24***	.05	.39***	-						
9) Parents' socialisation in social focus	4.79	.63	.00	.33***	.40***	.27***	.81***	.61***	.09	.23**	-					
10) Parents' socialisation in personal focus	4.53	.59	.14*	.46***	.22**	.32***	.64***	.79***	.03	.03	.72***	-				
11) Perceived endorsement in social focus	4.72	.67	.30***	.12	.73***	.57***	.43***	.32***	.16*	.34**	.45**	.35**	-			
12) Perceived endorsement in personal focus	4.53	.61	.40**	.14*	.48**	.72**	.35**	.39**	.07	.13	.32***	.44***	.71***	-		
13) <i>Zeitgeist</i> values in social focus	4.76	.45	.03	.03	-.02	.00	.06	.09	-.03	-.07	.05	.11	.02	.07	-	
14) <i>Zeitgeist</i> values in personal focus	4.48	.41	.02	-.03	-.02	-.04	-.01	-.04	-.02	-.06	-.06	-.03	.03	.03	.74***	-

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

4.3.1. Model 1

The analysis examined the role of young adults' values on personal and social focus categories on the vertical transmission of prosociality. To examine this model, we conducted a multiple regression analysis that included young adults' responses on prosociality predicted from parental responses to prosociality. The corresponding regression coefficient indicates vertical transmission of prosociality. This analytic approach is modelled after prior studies (Knafo & Schwartz, 2008; Schönplflug & Bilz, 2009). Model 1 postulates that vertical transmission of prosociality is moderated by young adults' values. As such, young adults' values in personal focus and social focus and their respective interaction with parental prosociality were entered into the regression model. Table 6 reports the results from the regression model.

Table 6. Model 1: The moderation effect of young adults' self-values on the vertical transmission of prosociality

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Constant	3.128 [3.06, 3.20]	0.035	89.249	<i>p</i> < .001
(X) Parent's prosociality (centred)	0.204 [0.08, 0.33]	0.062	3.317	<i>p</i> < .001
(W) Young adult's self-value in social focus (centred)	-0.036 [-0.20, 0.13]	0.083	-0.433	<i>p</i> = .666
(X) x (W)	0.166 [-0.17, 0.50]	0.167	0.977	<i>p</i> = .330
(Z) Young adult's self-value in personal focus (centred)	0.311 [0.13, 0.49]	0.092	3.378	<i>p</i> < .001
(X) x (Z)	-0.135 [-0.50, 0.23]	0.183	-0.739	<i>p</i> = .461

Note: $R^2 = .16$, $p < .001$.

The regression model accounted for 16% of the variability of young adults' prosociality, $R^2 = .16$, $F(5, 202) = 7.83$, $p < .001$. Parents' prosociality ($b = 0.204$, 95% CI [0.08, 0.33], $t = 3.317$, $p < .001$) was significant, evidencing vertical transmission. Young adults' value in personal focus, $b = 0.311$, 95% CI [0.13, 0.49], $t = 3.378$, $p < .001$ was also a significant predictor, but not young adults' value in social focus ($b = -0.036$, 95% CI [-0.20, 0.13], $t = -0.433$, $p = .666$). These findings indicate that young adults' self-focused value is a positive predictor of their prosociality. No significant moderation was evident, not providing support to Model 1.

4.3.2. Model 2

The second model focuses on the role of value congruences between parents and young adults in moderating the transmission of prosociality. We computed congruence coefficients by correlating young adults' and their parents' values. Specifically, to obtain scores for value

congruence in social focus, we correlated young adults' responses to the 26 items measuring social focus value category with parental responses on the same items. Similarly, scores for value congruence in personal focus were obtained by correlating young adults' responses to the 22 items measuring the personal focus value category with parental responses on the same items.

Same as Model 1, vertical transmission was estimated by the regression coefficient for young adults' response to prosociality predicted from parental responses to prosociality. To test the moderation effect of value congruences on the vertical transmission of prosociality, we entered the two congruence coefficients computed above included as the moderators of vertical transmission. Table 7 reports the results.

Table 7. Model 2: The moderation effect of value congruence on the vertical transmission of prosociality

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Constant	3.134 [3.06, 3.21]	0.036	86.507	$p < .001$
(X) Parents' prosociality (centred)	0.242 [0.12, 0.37]	0.064	3.797	$p < .001$
(W) Value congruence in social focus (centred)	-0.180 [-0.47, 0.11]	0.146	-1.231	$p = .220$
(X) x (W)	0.188 [-0.31, 0.69]	0.255	0.738	$p = .462$
(Z) Value congruence in personal focus (centred)	-0.077 [-0.32, 0.17]	0.123	-0.624	$p = .533$
(X) x (Z)	0.170 [-0.28, 0.62]	0.227	0.747	$p = .456$

Note. $R^2 = .10$, $p < .001$.

The model accounted for 10% of the variability of young adults' prosociality, $R^2 = .10$, $F(5,202) = 4.51$, $p < .001$. Similar to Model 1, there was evidence of vertical transmission ($b = 0.242$, 95% CI [0.12, 0.37], $t = 3.797$, $p < .001$). Value congruence in social focus, $b = -0.180$, 95% CI [-0.47, 0.11], $t = -1.231$, $p = .220$, and value congruence in personal focus, $b = -0.077$, 95% CI [-0.32, 0.17], $t = -0.624$, $p = .533$ were not significant. No significant moderations were found. These findings do not support Model 2.

3. Model 3

This model tested whether values parents are wanting to socialise to their children moderate the extent of vertical transmission of prosociality. Parents' socialisation value was computed separately for items pertaining to social and personal focus. Vertical transmission was estimated in the same way as before. To test the moderating role of socialisation values, we included parents'

socialisation values for social and personal focus as the moderators of vertical transmission. Table 8 reports the results from the regression model.

Table 8. Model 3: Parental socialisation values as the facilitator of the vertical transmission of prosociality

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Constant	3.115 [3.04, 3.19]	0.038	82.218	$p < .001$
(X) Parents' prosociality (centred)	0.244 [0.11, 0.38]	0.070	3.493	$p < .001$
(W) Parents' socialisation in social focus (centred)	-0.175 [-0.34, -0.01]	0.082	-2.141	$p = .034$
(X) x (W)	0.208 [-0.11, 0.53]	0.163	1.281	$p = .202$
(Z) Parents' socialisation in personal focus (centred)	0.149 [-0.03, 0.33]	0.092	1.613	$p = .108$
(X) x (Z)	-0.080 [-0.40, 0.24]	0.163	-0.493	$p = .623$

Note. $R^2 = .12$, $p < .001$.

The model accounted for 12% of the variability of young adults' prosociality, $R^2 = .16$, $F(5,202) = 5.28$, $p < .001$. There was evidence of vertical transmission ($b = 0.244$, 95% CI [0.11, 0.38], $t = 3.493$, $p < .001$). Moreover, parental socialisation value in social focus, $b = -0.175$, 95% CI [-0.34, -0.01], $t = -2.141$, $p = .034$ was significant predictor of young adults' prosociality score. No significant moderations were found, hence not supporting Model 3.

4.3.4. Model 4

This model examined whether young adults' perceived parental value endorsement moderated the extent of vertical transmission. Young adults' perceived parental values endorsement was computed separately for social and personal-focused items. Vertical transmission was estimated in the same way as previous Models. We entered young adults' perceived parental value endorsement for social focus and personal focus as moderators of vertical transmission. Table 9 reports the results.

The model accounted for 22% of the variability of young adults' prosociality, $R^2 = .22$, $F(5,202) = 11.10$, $p < .001$. Vertical transmission was evident ($b = 0.219$, 95% CI [0.10, 0.33], $t = 3.711$, $p < .001$). The perceived endorsement in personal focus, $b = 0.300$, 95% CI [0.14, 0.46], $t = 3.762$, $p < .001$ also accounted for significant variance in the young adults' prosociality score. No significant moderations were found. These results do not support Model 4.

Table 9. Model 4: Young adults' perceived parental value endorsement as the moderator of the vertical transmission of prosociality

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Constant	3.130 [3.06, 3.20]	0.034	93.209	$p < .001$
(X) Parents' prosociality (centred)	0.219 [0.10, 0.33]	0.059	3.711	$p < .001$
(W) Young adults' perceived parental value endorsement in social focus (centred)	0.025 [-0.12, 0.17]	0.074	0.335	$p = .738$
(X) x (W)	0.057 [-0.20, 0.32]	0.131	0.433	$p = .665$
(Z) Young adults' perceived parental value endorsement in personal focus (centred)	0.300 [0.14, 0.46]	0.079	3.762	$p < .001$
(X) x (Z)	-0.109 [-0.39, 0.18]	0.144	-0.757	$p = .450$

Note. $R^2 = .22$, $p < .001$.

4.3.5. Model 5

This model tested whether *zeitgeist* values moderated the vertical transmission of prosociality. Following Boehnke et al. (2009), we conceptualised *zeitgeist* as the dominant value that mainstream society constructed. We assigned the family data set as the case (*i*) and subsequently calculated *zeitgeist* values by (1) creating random scores (*i*-1) from the distribution of parents' personal values responses; (2) creating random scores (*i*-2) from the distribution of young adults' personal values responses; and (3) averaging scores obtained from step (1) and (2) to obtain *zeitgeist* values score on a particular value category.

Figure 2 illustrates an example of *zeitgeist* values calculation in social focus for Case 5. This procedure follows Boehnke et al. (2009). For example, in Case 5, the score for *zeitgeist* value in social focus (i.e., score 4.98) was calculated through 3 steps. First, the random score of the parent's social focus was created from the previous case (i.e., Case 4) and added to the *i*-1 data (i.e., score 4.85) as a variable of 'randomly selected parent's social focus' for Case 5. Second, the score of the young adult's social focus from the previous two cases (i.e., Case 3) was added to the *i*-2 data (i.e., score 5.12) as a variable of 'randomly selected young adult's social focus' for Case 5. Finally, the two added scores (i.e., scores 4.85 and 5.12) were averaged to calculate the *zeitgeist* value in social focus for Case 5 (i.e., score 4.98).

Case (<i>i</i>)	Parent's Social Focus	Young Adult's Social Focus	Randomly selected Parent's Social Focus (<i>i</i> -1)	Randomly selected Young Adult's Social Focus (<i>i</i> -2)	<i>Zeitgeist</i> Values in Social Focus
1	4.73	4.38			
2	3.77	4.77			
3	4.12	5.12			
4	4.85	5.50			
5	5.08	4.96	4.85	5.12	4.98
...
<i>i</i>					

Figure 2. Illustration of calculating zeitgeist values in social focus.

To analyse *zeitgeist* values' influences on the vertical transmission of prosociality, we examined a multiple regression model that included *zeitgeist* values as the moderating variable of vertical transmission. Vertical transmission was computed the same way as all previous models. Table 10 reports the results.

Table 10. Model 5: The moderation effect of zeitgeist values on the vertical transmission of prosociality

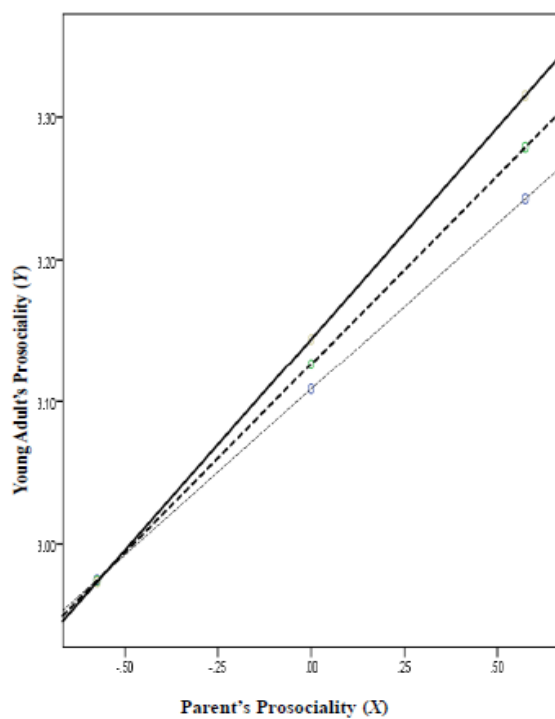
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Constant	3.118 [3.05, 3.19]	0.036	87.531	$p < .001$
(X) Parents' prosociality (centred)	0.245 [0.12, 0.37]	0.063	3.901	$p < .001$
(W) <i>Zeitgeist</i> values in social focus (centred)	0.060 [-0.18, 0.30]	0.121	0.492	$p = .623$
(X) x (W)	0.519 [0.07, 0.97]	0.228	2.279	$p = .025$
(Z) <i>Zeitgeist</i> values in personal focus (centred)	-0.005 [-0.26, 0.25]	0.132	-0.037	$p = .970$
(X) x (Z)	-0.643 [-1.17, -0.12]	0.265	-2.424	$p = .016$

Note. $R^2 = .11$, $p < .001$.

In combination, the model accounted for 11% of the variability of young adults' prosociality, $R^2 = .11$, $F(5,202) = 4.92$, $p < .001$. Vertical transmission was evident in this model too ($b = 0.245$, 95% CI [0.12, 0.37], $t = 3.901$, $p < .001$). Moreover, the two interactions examined

were both significant. The significant moderation effects were probed through a simple slope analysis (Figures 2A & 2B). Figure 3A shows the moderation of *zeitgeist* values on social focus. As depicted in the figure, while parents' prosociality was predictive of their children's prosociality (indicating vertical transmission), the extent of transmission differed depending on *zeitgeist* values on social focus. Specifically, the slope for vertical transmission was steeper with stronger *zeitgeist* values on social focus, suggesting that the higher the mainstream society endorsed the social focus value category, the more likely vertical transmission of prosociality to occur.

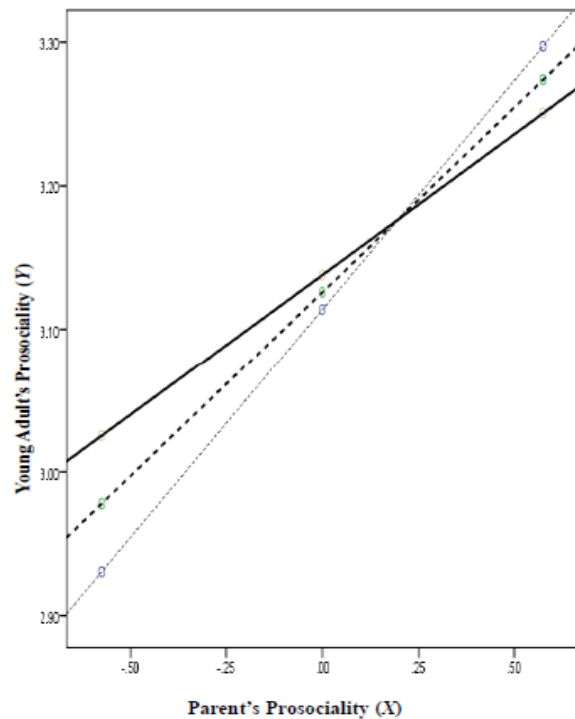
Figure 3B shows the moderation of *zeitgeist* values on personal focus. This figure again depicts vertical transmission, or that parents' prosociality was predictive of their children's prosociality. The extent of vertical transmission differed depending on *zeitgeist* values on personal focus. Specifically, the slope for vertical transmission was steeper with weaker *zeitgeist* values on personal focus. This means that the lower the mainstream society endorsed the personal focus value category, the more likely was the vertical transmission of prosociality.



Zeitgeist values in social focus (*W*)

————— (*W*) = .45
 - - - - - (*W*) = .00
 (*W*) = -.45

(Figure 3A)



Zeitgeist values in personal focus (*W*)

————— (*W*) = .45
 - - - - - (*W*) = .00
 (*W*) = -.45

(Figure 3B)

Figure 3: The interaction effect of *zeitgeist* values in social and personal focus on the vertical transmission of prosociality.

4.4. Discussion

This study explores five models of cultural transmission of prosociality among Indonesian parent-child dyads. It examined the extent to which the intergenerational transmission of prosociality occurred through the facilitation of social and personal focus value categories in five ways. The study found support for the moderating effect of zeitgeist values in facilitating the transmission (Model 5). In this model, vertical transmission of prosociality was more likely to occur when the mainstream society endorsed stronger social focus value category and lower personal focus value categories. The data did not support the first model, suggesting that young adults' values do not facilitate the process of transmission. The second model included value congruences to the process of transmission was not supported either. This implies that value similarity between parents and children does not moderate the transmission of prosociality. The role of parental socialisation values as the moderator was tested in the third model. The finding indicates that parental influence through socialisation does not facilitate the transmission. In the fourth model, young adults' perceived parental value endorsement was included in the moderation and not supported by the data. This finding confirms that children's acceptance of values their parents endorsed does not facilitate the transmission of prosociality.

The current results did not support Models 1 to 4, indicating that the role of values represented as young adults' self-values, value congruences between parent and young adult children, parental socialisation values, and young adults' perceived parental value endorsement do not facilitate the process of vertical transmission. At least two factors may explain the insignificance: the content and the context of the transmission process.

In regards to prosociality as the content of vertical transmission, Schwartz (2010) mentioned that it is personal values that were generally linked to prosocial behaviour. However, he noted that this relationship may not be found for individuals who consider conformity as highly important. This notation is in line with Lönnqvist et al. (2006) who found that prosocial behaviour did not relate to basic values for those holding conformity as an important value. These researchers argued that performing prosocial acts was rather driven by social obligation than personal values since it is important to fulfil the societal expectation. Previous research has found that conformity values are paramount for Indonesian societies (Irwin, 2009). In Indonesia, harmony and conflict avoidance have been regarded as important (Vaughan et al., 2008) such that adherence to social norms is essential. Previous research had reported that Indonesian parents emphasised interpersonal harmony as the goal of socialisation (Farver & Wimbari, 1995; Trommsdorff et al., 2007). The importance of conformity in Indonesian societies had been emphasised to Indonesian children in their childhood (Albert et al., 2009). Therefore, normative norms may have a stronger influence than

personal values in predicting prosociality in Indonesian societies. This may be the case for the proposed models representing personal values such as Model 1 (young adults' personal values) and Model 2 (congruence between parent's and young adult's personal values) where personal values did not significantly account for young adults' prosociality.

The context of the transmission can be explained by the socialisation process and sociocultural changes in Indonesian societies. Taking the intersubjective model of value transmission, Tam et al. (2012) ascertained that parents may refer to both their personal values as well as normative values they perceived to be important for society. Parents may have the pressure to socialise values that comply with current normative values and help their children to meet societal expectations. Following the global increase in individualism, socialisation goals may shift from obedience to self-expression and independence (Greenfield, 2016). This shifting may not align with what the parents had from their previous socialisation experience where parents internalised obedience as opposed to independence. The extent to which parents used personal and/or normative values as references when socialising values to their children was not explored in Model 3 such that it may influence the moderating role of socialisation values on the transmission of prosociality.

The vertical transmission of prosociality in this study involves two persons: parents as the transmission agent and their young adult children as the receiver of cultural information subject to transmission. From the developmental perspective, both Carlo and Randall (2002) and Eisenberg et al. (2002) offer similar explanations in that compared to adolescents, young adults are often attributed to greater exposure to societal values and increased autonomy. This may result in a weaker influence of parents in young adults (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009). A broader sociocultural context may be developed by young adults children, such that cultural messages from other sources beyond the family were often discussed with their parents to foster independence and autonomy (Trommsdorff, 2009). Because values that the society holds may not always be similar to the values parents want to socialise (Boehnke, 2001), there are some possibilities that societal values may have a stronger influence on the maintenance of prosociality. In Indonesian young adults, value socialisation may be sourced from friends rather than parents due to increased importance of friends than family (Santos et al., 2017). It is also possible that other sources of value socialisation such as teachers and social media may account for the transmission of prosociality. Differences between what parents teach and what young adults learn from society may lower the accuracy of the young adults in perceiving parental value endorsement and make the relationship of such values to the transmission process becoming insignificant (Model 4).

In model 5, the study found the moderating effect of *zeitgeist* values. Transmission of prosociality from parents to their young adult children were clearest among participants randomly assigned to have their *zeitgeist* stronger in social focus values (i.e., *universalism*, *benevolence*,

tradition, conformity, and security-societal) and lower in personal focus values (i.e., *self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, and security-personal*). This result partly reflects those of Boehnke et al. (2007), who also found that *zeitgeist* values affect the transmission of self-interest values in Germany. The way *zeitgeist* values affect the vertical transmission of prosociality in Indonesia may reflect the societal norm in Indonesia that predominantly emphasise interpersonal harmony and sensitivity to others' need (Vaughan et al., 2008) such that transmission of prosociality occurs effectively from parents to their young adult children.

The finding in Model 5 needs to be interpreted with caution. As Kashima (2014) noted, the *zeitgeist* method provides 'indirect evidence' (p. 7) since randomising the case to obtain the *zeitgeist* values does not allow direct estimation of who the transmitter is and to whom the cultural information is being transferred. While Boehnke (2015) used the label of “*zeitgeist*” to refer to the overlapping shared of the social environment, Kashima et al. (2018) argued that in the context of dyadic interaction, shared reality needs to be verified through mutual recognition for further dissemination. The extent to which mutual recognition towards certain values between parents and their adult children had not been observed in this study.

4.4.1. *Limitations and directions for future research*

Previous studies have discussed that individualism-collectivism may affect the way prosocial behaviour is studied in the literature (Scoping Review Study) and is understood by societies (Focus Group Study). While the two earlier studies used the theory of individualism-collectivism at the cultural and societal level, the current study may provide an explanation at the individual level by contrasting social (societal security, tradition, conformity, humility, benevolence, and universalism) and personal (self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, face, and personal security) focus value preferences toward the nature of prosociality. However, as Triandis et al. (1993) noted that the construct of individualism-collectivism may not be simply reducible from the cultural level to the individual level, cautions should be made when interpreting findings from this study as the aggregated personal and social focus value preferences observed in this study may not interpret individualism-collectivism at cultural level.

The cross-generational method in this study is feasible but limited to examine vertical transmission from an older generation to a younger generation (Kashima, 2014). Conducting a cross-sectional study may not be able to address historic changes in different life phases of the participants as well as a conclusive relationship between parents and their young adults' prosociality. Additionally, it should be noted that mono-cultural studies limit the validity of findings to one given cultural context which may change over time. To estimate cultural transmission, Boehnke (2001) suggested a longitudinal, cross-cultural study of parents and children as a prospective study. Our estimation on value congruences using correlation was selected based on the

literature. Other alternative method such as using absolute differences should be considered to improve the replicability of the results. As the current study analyse within a culture and not aimed for cross-cultural comparison, we did not perform centring for value score to address response bias issues (Knafo & Schwartz, 2008). Future studies investigating intergenerational transmission should consider the use of longitudinal design involving more than two generations from different cultures to better estimate historic changes in cross-cultural context.

The use of self-reported responses in our survey was intended to measure attitudes and tendencies. The single measure of prosociality (i.e., PTM scale) in this study does not measure the actual prosocial behaviour and is subject to reporter bias (Fischer, 2017) and reliability issues. To check the reliability of the measures, other scales such as the SDQ measures (Dray et al., 2016; Kelly & Jorm, 2007) or altruism scale (Johnson et al., 1989) may be worth included as the parallel measures of prosociality. Additionally, other measures of prosocial behaviour such as behavioural observation or parental report on young adult's prosocial behaviour may be used on future studies aimed to measure the actual behaviour. Lastly, it should be noted that this study only allowed responses from one parent only with typical responses from mothers. It is suggested that future studies involving parental responses should include both parents' participations to better explain the influence of both parents to their children.

Finally, while this study focused on the moderating effect of values, other variables beyond values may have interacted with the transmission process. Schönplflug and Bilz (2009) noted that the transmission mechanism should include the important aspects of transmission belts which refer to conditions that enhance the process of intergenerational transmission. These conditions may include relational context such as parenting styles, marital quality, and sociodemographic variables such as parents' education, developmental stages of the children, and birth order. According to Trommsdorff (2009) transmission belts are influenced by cultural values such that these variables should be accounted when examining the process of cultural transmission. Future research is expected to explore such variables beyond values to better explain the process of transmission.

4.5. Conclusion

The current study tested the moderating role of values on the vertical transmission of prosociality. Within the context of changing sociocultural environment in Indonesian societies, this study found that cultural transmission of prosociality from parents to their young adult children occurred more (less) effectively within the context where the family has stronger (weaker) *zeitgeist* values on social (personal) focus values. The study contributes to the current literature by testing two out of four models of parent-child congruence in cultural information as explained in Boehnke (2015) and Knafo-Noam et al. (2020): (1) parental influence on children by observing the contribution of parental value socialisation (Model 3) and (2) overlapping shared of the social

environment by estimating value *zeitgeist* (Model 5). The study expands on other moderators to explain the context of vertical transmission of prosociality. In Model 1, the study adopts the work of Six et al. (2009) by including personal values as the facilitator of the transmission. Further expansions on whether basic values function as the moderators were estimated in Model 2 by considering intrafamilial congruence. In Model 4, young adults' perceptions of parents' value endorsement were included as the moderators of vertical transmission of prosociality.

Chapter 5: Overall Discussion and Conclusion

5.1. Review of Thesis Objectives

The present research aimed to understand stability and changes in prosocial behaviour within the context of changing sociocultural environments experienced by culturally different societies. Prosocial behaviour is thought to be essential for the human species such that it is expected in every society (Twenge et al., 2007). However, how prosocial behaviour is understood and enacted across cultures, especially in the context of sociocultural changes over time, is poorly understood. The research sought to contribute to an understanding of prosocial behaviour from the perspective of cultural dynamics (Kashima, 2014) which would provide a comprehensive explanation of how cultural attributes such as prosociality might be understood, sustained, and changed over time.

This research applied two broad conceptual frameworks. First, in applying Greenfield's (2016) multilevel theory of social change to prosocial behaviour, it is believed that prosociality is linked to sociodemographic changes via changes in cultural, environmental, and behavioural levels. Second, in applying the lens of cultural dynamics that views culture as representing both stability and flexibility, cultural attributes such as prosociality may be formed, changed, and maintained over time (Kashima, 2001). Therefore, prosocial behaviour may not only change in response to sociodemographic changes, but it may also be maintained by society through certain mechanisms that enable transfers of cultural attributes across people participating in culture.

It is believed that many societies are currently experiencing a global increase in individualism (Greenfield, 2016; Santos et al., 2017), though there are exceptions to this pattern (Hamamura, 2012; Hamamura et al., 2021). Previous literature has established an association between individualism-collectivism and the prevalence of prosocial behaviour (Lampridis & Papastylianou, 2017; Smith, 2019) focusing on elucidating cross-cultural differences in prosocial behaviour. However, previous literature has suggested that cross-cultural comparison studies may not suffice the inquiry of behavioural transformation over time in response to rapid sociocultural changes (Kashima, 2014; Sheetal & Savani, 2021). In particular, stability and changes in prosocial behaviour should be explicated from the perspective of cultural dynamics. Using the multi-method research design, this research comprised three interrelated studies: (1) a scoping review of the literature (Chapter 2) focusing on documenting prosocial behaviour research in Indonesia and Australia; (2) a qualitative study (Chapter 3) emphasising cultural and generational differences in understanding and practising prosocial behaviour; and (3) a quantitative study (Chapter 4) examining mechanisms of vertical transmission of prosociality in Indonesian generations.

5.2. Summary of Major Findings

Overall, the three studies contribute to an understanding towards prosocial behaviour practices, maintenance, and changes within cultures in changing sociocultural environments. Table 11 summarises the key findings and the relevance of each study to the research objectives.

Table 11. Key findings and their relevance to the research objectives.

Key findings	Research aim 1:	Research aim 2:	Research aim 3:
	To map research on prosocial behaviour with a particular focus on Australian and Indonesian literature.	To explore cross-cultural and generational differences of prosocial behaviour in Indonesia and Australia.	To examine how prosociality is transmitted across generations in Indonesia.
Cultural variations of Australian and Indonesian studies on prosocial behaviour.	Study 1		
Generational differences of prosocial behaviour in Indonesian participants.		Study 2	
Vertical transmission of prosociality in Indonesia: the role of <i>zeitgeist</i> values.		Study 3	Study 3

Note: The left column indicates the key findings of the studies. The top row of the table highlights the objectives that the project aimed to address.

5.2.1. *Cultural variations of Australian and Indonesian studies on prosocial behaviour.*

Study 1 (Chapter 2) documented the existing literature on prosocial behaviour in Australia and Indonesia. The study incorporated two frameworks. First, the scoping review drew from the multilevel perspectives of prosocial behaviour (Penner et al., 2005) to understand the extent to which the existing study examined prosocial behaviour on micro, meso, and macro levels. Second, because studies in prosocial behaviour often included a broad range of conceptualisation and domain (Gilbert et al., 2019), the review categorised types of prosocial behaviour into helping, altruism, volunteerism, and cooperation (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015).

The scoping review found that how prosocial behaviour is studied differs between the two cultures in terms of the frequently engaged level of analysis, forms of prosocial behaviour, and recipients of prosocial actions. Australian studies predominantly explored the *meso-level* by focusing on the interpersonal processes of prosocial behaviour, whereas Indonesian studies tended to focus on the *micro-level* by explicating internal processes of prosocial behaviour. Although similar types of prosocial behaviour have been researched across both countries, the scoping review also identified forms of prosocial behaviour that could not be included in the four-category system used in our review, such as ethical consumer behaviour (Australia, $n=3$; Indonesia, $n=1$), and tolerance (Australia, $n=1$). It is also interesting to note that Australian studies explored both intra- and inter-group forms of cooperation, whereas in Indonesian research only intergroup cooperation was documented. In terms of the recipients of prosocial behaviour, the Australian studies recorded that prosocial behaviours are commonly directed to strangers (40.0% of studies), whereas in Indonesia both strangers (35.7%) and acquaintances (35.7%) are included.

The scoping review study contributes to the literature as the first study that documents how prosocial behaviour is examined in Western (i.e., Australia) and non-Western (i.e., Indonesia) research. Findings from this study contribute to a better understanding of how prosocial behaviour is studied in Australia and Indonesia by incorporating the multilevel perspectives and system categorisation of prosocial behaviour. The use of multilevel perspectives (Penner et al., 2005) in this study has been effective to identify which level of analysis each research in different cultural domains was focusing on. The four-category system (Schroeder & Graziano, 2015) was useful to map the broad types of prosocial behaviour as well as understanding other forms of prosocial behaviour beyond the existing categorisation which deserve further attention. Because the scoping review focuses on how prosocial behaviour is defined in research, the findings do not necessarily illuminate how prosocial behaviour is understood among people in different contexts. Therefore, findings from this study guided Study 2 (Chapter 3) was conducted to explore how prosocial behaviour is understood and practised over time within the two countries of interest.

5.2.2. *Generational differences on prosocial behaviour in Indonesian participants.*

Study 2 (Chapter 3) focused on lay persons' understanding of meanings, practices, and drivers of prosocial behaviour across different generations and cultures. Specifically, this study extended findings from the scoping review by exploring not only cross-cultural (i.e., Australian compared to Indonesian) but also cross-generational (i.e., older adults compared to young adults) comparisons. Consistent with findings from the scoping review, the way people understand, generated, and direct prosocial behaviour differed between the two cultures. An important finding from this study was that generational differences were only observed in Indonesian but not in Australian participants, indicating that Indonesian generations had different nuances in understanding aspects of prosocial motives and directing prosocial actions.

The focus group study found generational differences in Indonesia in two subthemes: empathy as the motive of prosocial acts and strangers as the recipient of prosocial behaviour. Indonesian young adults were more frequently motivated to engage in their prosocial acts from empathic concern than older adults. This implies that the connection between prosocial acts and empathy towards others was more likely to occur in Indonesian younger participants compared to older adults. Strangers often received prosocial behaviour performed by younger adults, whereas, for older adults in Indonesia, the target of prosocial behaviour may vary from family, friends, community, and strangers to less privileged groups. These findings show that in Indonesia, prosocial acts were enacted from—and directed to—different aspects for each generation.

With respect to the finding that Indonesian younger adults were more likely directed their prosocial acts to strangers compared to older adult participants, it seems that the younger generation placed more trust to general others (i.e., stranger). This finding was also confirmed by the absence of family as the recipient of prosocial behaviour in younger adult participants. Previous research has noted that one of several indices that characterise individualistic societies is that social relations are more extensive beyond the in-group bounds (Hamamura, 2012). Although this finding may not be sufficient to claim that Indonesian younger generations are shifting to be more individualist, it may imply that potentially strengthening of individualism may occur in Indonesia.

Both Study 1 and Study 2 informed that cultural context contributes to the variety of prosocial behaviour practises. Differences found in Study 1 may represent variability in studying prosocial behaviour documented in the literature from both countries, whereas, in Study 2, these differences were reflected from the perspective of laypersons. Study 2 also found that larger generational differences were found in Indonesia. In Australia, more congruences were shown between generations in understanding and practising prosocial behaviour. This finding indicates that, compared to Australia, the process of delivering cultural attributes relevant to prosocial behaviour between Indonesian generations may have different patterns and mechanisms deserving

further examination. Through the lens of cultural dynamics, it is understood that cultural transmission is “the heart of the mechanism” (Kashima, 2016, p. 93) which play a central role in behavioural maintenance within societies (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009). Therefore, findings from Study 2 informed Study 3 (Chapter 4) to examine the cultural transmission of prosociality from parent to child in the Indonesian context. An examination of how the transmission of prosocial behaviour occurred between generations in Indonesia is essential to understand how prosociality is sustained or changed over time.

5.3.2. *Vertical transmission of prosociality in Indonesia: the role of zeitgeist values.*

Informed by the cultural dynamics’ perspective, Study 3 focused on the micro-level phenomena of cultural transmission and examined the mechanism of cultural transfer between individuals. The study specifically focused on the vertical transmission of prosociality from parent to children (Cavalli-Sforza et al., 1982). This focus is based on the literature that effective transmission from parents to child indicates a successful transfer of certain cultural attributes where the later generation maintains cultural attributes their parents wish to transmit (Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009).

Drawing on the literature, Study 3 explored five models of vertical transmission focusing on values as the context of transmission of prosociality in Indonesia. Of the five models examined, statistically significant support was found for the model that prosociality was transferred from parents to their young adult children moderated through the *zeitgeist* values (i.e., value climate that the mainstream society constructed). Specifically, the transmission of prosociality from Indonesian parents to their young adult children were more likely to occur in the presence of stronger *zeitgeist* values in social focus (i.e., universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security-societal) and lower *zeitgeist* values in personal focus (i.e., self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, and security-personal).

One possible explanation for this result is that Indonesian societies had previously shared collectivistic values (Irwin, 2009) such that these values have been lifelong internalised in the current generation. Following Chiao et al. (2012), a theory of individualism and collectivism would predict a greater parent-children congruence in constructs related to prosociality. In collectivist societies concerning others’ needs and providing help is part of social norms such that it may strengthen the connection between *zeitgeist* values in social focus and vertical transmission in prosociality. Indonesian societies are characterised by strong preferences for maintaining interpersonal harmony and awareness towards others’ need (Vaughan et al., 2008). For Indonesian parents, having harmonious relationships has been emphasised since early childhood as important socialisation goals (Farver & Wimbarti, 1995). Therefore, the current generation may be strongly embedded in social- rather than personal-focus values as taught by their parent generation.

Although the current study did not provide an explanation on a shift towards individualism in Indonesia due to differences on the level of analysis, the current model testing approach can be useful for studying the changing nature of individualism-collectivism at the individual level. Models of cultural transmission explored in this study may be replicable to different variables relevant to indices of individualism-collectivism by including children's responses in a particular variable associated with individualism-collectivism as the criterion and having parental responses on the observed variable as the predictor (Knafo & Schwartz, 2008). Changing in individualism can be observed by comparing larger transmission coefficients in variables representing individualism compared to variables corresponding to collectivism.

5.3. Future Research and Practical Implications

First, future research can make use of the multilevel perspective to effectively map literature in prosocial behaviour research and compare research domains in different cultural contexts. The scoping review of the literature contributes to the literature by elucidating how prosocial behaviour is researched in different cultural contexts. The study is the first that incorporates the multilevel perspectives (Penner et al., 2005) to understand domains of prosocial behaviour research between cultures of interests which is beneficial in mapping the what, why, and how prosocial behaviour has been studied in the existing literature, especially in a non-Western context. In addition to that, the current scoping review found growing research of prosocial behaviour beyond the predetermined typology of prosocial behaviour deserving further attention. For example, the construct of ethical consumer behaviour and tolerance of human diversity included in Australian and Indonesian literature may be considered to further expand other types of prosocial behaviour. Due to expansive development in prosocial behaviour research, future prosocial behaviour research should be directed to accommodate the inclusion of broader definitions of other prosocial acts, particularly from the underrepresented non-Western literature. For instance, Gherghel et al. (2020) noted the Indian concept of *dharma* refers to the act of performing kindness and generosity to other people rather than the self, driven by both external social obligation and internal individual willingness to serve the society. This and other similar concepts relatively unfamiliar to the Western literature should be incorporated into future research on prosociality.

Second, researchers in the field of prosocial behaviour are encouraged to make use of qualitative research methods. The focus group study (Chapter 3 in this thesis) added a contribution toward the qualitative approach in understanding cross-cultural and generational differences in prosocial behaviour, especially as qualitative methods have been rarely used in the literature. As shown in the current study, the use of a qualitative approach is beneficial in exploring lay person's understanding of prosocial behaviour as experienced in daily social interactions such that it may broaden definitions and practices of prosociality beyond the literature. In the current research, the

focus group was chosen as a methodology, as it provides natural settings for participants to interact with each other (Braun & Clarke, 2013) and allows participants to formulate shared meanings toward the construct of prosocial behaviour in their everyday language rather than from theoretical perspectives (Bloor, 2001). However, the focus group setting may bias participants' responses to social desirability tendencies when sharing their experiences of performing prosocial acts with other participants. Future qualitative research focusing on socially desired behaviour should consider the interaction between participants to minimise such social desirability. For example, individual interview sessions may be used for the main data collection or to follow up the focus group discussions.

Finally, findings from the third study have important implications for understanding the context of cultural transmission through the lens of cultural dynamics, particularly from the non-Western perspective, which is currently under-explored. The use of a cross-sectional method involving two generations in this study is useful to estimate medium-term cultural transmission. Researchers focusing on intergenerational transmission are encouraged to make use of parent-child dyads. Especially in non-Western contexts, research utilising multi-generations data to investigate cultural transmission is still limited (Tam et al., 2012). However, since it does not document historic changes as well as the quality of intergenerational relationships it may limit estimation toward longer-term implications of cultural dynamics (Kashima, 2014). Other types of research designs that have been overviewed such as cross-temporal methods (Hamamura, 2012; Hamamura & Septarini, 2017; Twenge et al., 2008), experimental simulation methods, and formal models (Kashima, 2014) are encouraged for future research to better illuminate cultural dynamics. The five models tested in this study used regression analysis to estimate the moderation effect of values as suggested by Six et al. (2009). While the use of this analytic approach is useful to compare the five models, other approaches may be applicable to explain the context of vertical transmission. For example, Eriksson et al. (2016) used a two-by-two ANOVA analysis to estimate whether cultural difference in emotional selection interacts with transmission of information. Future research should consider the use of structural equation modelling to evaluate transmission models (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001) by including values as mediating variables on the transmission process.

5.4. **Conclusion**

Prosocial behaviour is expected in every culture. However, changes in sociocultural context may implicate stability and transformation of prosociality over time. The existing literature included in the scoping review found that prosocial behaviour, had been extensively studied in Australia and Indonesia using different focus, and, thus, reflecting differences in the research environment between the two countries. Despite the numerous records included in prosocial behaviour studies, the way prosociality may change or be sustained over time has not been explored in the literature.

Therefore, study 2 probed the layperson perspectives using a qualitative methodology and found that people's understanding and practices of prosocial behaviour varies across cultures and generations. Larger generational differences were found in Indonesian compared to Australian participants. This variation implies that the way prosocial behaviour being maintained or changed across cultures was not universal. Different mechanisms may explain the way prosociality transmitted across generations. With respect to the inquiry of the maintenance of prosociality within societies, the perspective of cultural dynamics was incorporated in this project. In study 3, vertical transmission of prosociality was explored in five different contexts. The study found that prosociality was more likely to transmit from parents to their young adult children through the facilitation of *zeitgeist* in social focus value preferences and less effectively within the context where the family has weaker *zeitgeist* values on personal focus value preferences. Overall, the perspective of cultural dynamics provides an insight that changes and maintenance of prosocial behaviour within societies can be explained in a culturally specific way by estimating vertical transmission. While it has been noted that cultural transmission is "at the heart" (p. 93) of cultural dynamics (Kashima, 2016), future studies are encouraged to explore other mechanisms beyond vertical transmission.

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Appendix A: HREC Approval



Office of Research and Development

GPO Box U1987
Perth Western Australia 6845

Telephone +61 8 9266 7863
Facsimile +61 8 9266 3793
Web research.curtin.edu.au

26-Sep-2018

Name: Takeshi Hamamura
Department/School: School of Psychology
Email: Takeshi.Hamamura@curtin.edu.au

Dear Takeshi Hamamura

RE: Ethics Office approval
Approval number: HRE2018-0643

Thank you for submitting your application to the Human Research Ethics Office for the project **A Cultural Model of Prosocial Behaviours: Transmission of Basic Values and Selfhood in Contemporary Generations**.

Your application was reviewed through the Curtin University Low risk review process.

The review outcome is: **Approved**.

Your proposal meets the requirements described in the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)*.

Approval is granted for a period of one year from **26-Sep-2018** to **25-Sep-2019**. Continuation of approval will be granted on an annual basis following submission of an annual report.

Personnel authorised to work on this project:

Name	Role
Septarini, Berlian	Student
Breen, Lauren	Co-Inv
Hamamura, Takeshi	CI

Approved documents:

[Document](#)

Standard conditions of approval

1. Research must be conducted according to the approved proposal
2. Report in a timely manner anything that might warrant review of ethical approval of the project including:

- proposed changes to the approved proposal or conduct of the study
 - unanticipated problems that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project
 - major deviations from the approved proposal and/or regulatory guidelines
 - serious adverse events
3. Amendments to the proposal must be approved by the Human Research Ethics Office before they are implemented (except where an amendment is undertaken to eliminate an immediate risk to participants)
 4. An annual progress report must be submitted to the Human Research Ethics Office on or before the anniversary of approval and a completion report submitted on completion of the project
 5. Personnel working on this project must be adequately qualified by education, training and experience for their role, or supervised
 6. Personnel must disclose any actual or potential conflicts of interest, including any financial or other interest or affiliation, that bears on this project
 7. Changes to personnel working on this project must be reported to the Human Research Ethics Office
 8. Data and primary materials must be retained and stored in accordance with the [Western Australian University Sector Disposal Authority \(WAUSDA\)](#) and the [Curtin University Research Data and Primary Materials policy](#)
 9. Where practicable, results of the research should be made available to the research participants in a timely and clear manner
 10. Unless prohibited by contractual obligations, results of the research should be disseminated in a manner that will allow public scrutiny; the Human Research Ethics Office must be informed of any constraints on publication
 11. Approval is dependent upon ongoing compliance of the research with the [Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research](#), the [National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research](#), applicable legal requirements, and with Curtin University policies, procedures and governance requirements
 12. The Human Research Ethics Office may conduct audits on a portion of approved projects.

Special Conditions of Approval

Please remove reference to providing results in the 'Prosocial survey questionnaire' and email a revised copy to ORD-ethics@curtin.edu.au.

This letter constitutes low risk/negligible risk approval only. This project may not proceed until you have met all of the Curtin University research governance requirements.

Should you have any queries regarding consideration of your project, please contact the Ethics Support Officer for your faculty or the Ethics Office at hrec@curtin.edu.au or on 9266 2784.

Yours sincerely



Catherine Gangall
Manager, Research Integrity

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet & Consent Form (Focus Group Discussion)



Curtin University

Cross-cultural conceptualisations of prosocial behaviour

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

HREC Project Number:	HRE2018-0643
Project Title:	<i>Cross-cultural conceptualisation of prosocial behaviour: meaning, motives and implications</i>
Chief Investigator:	<i>Dr. Takeshi Hamamura School of Psychology, Curtin University</i>
Student researcher:	<i>Berlian Gressy Septarini</i>
Version Number:	2
Version Date:	22/September/2018

Dear Participant,

This Information Sheet contains detailed information about the research projects. Its purpose is to explain to you as openly and clearly as possible, all the procedures involved in this project so that you can make a fully informed decision whether you are going to participate. Please read this Information Sheet carefully. Feel free to ask questions about any information in the document to the researcher. Once you understand what the project is about and if you agree to take part in it, you will be asked to sign the Consent Form. By signing the Consent Form, you indicate that you understand the information and that you give your consent to participate in the research project. You will be given a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form to keep as a record.

What is the Project About?

This project is intended to explore cross-cultural diversity of prosocial behaviour across generations. We define prosocial behaviour as a positive behaviour that is intentionally and voluntarily directed to the improvement of others' well-being. Almost all society in the world expect this range of behaviour because it is important for human relation. However, because of its broad definition, our understanding toward these range of behaviours may diverse across cultures and generations. This includes how we perceive, display, and reinforce this positive behaviour to emerge. An exploration on how you experience these range of positive behaviours will provide essential insights on how prosocial behaviour are uniquely cherished within each culture and generation.

Previous research has been focusing its investigation on cross-cultural comparison of prosocial behaviour. However, only limited study considers how the process of changing life experiences across generation and culture may accounts to the nature of prosocial behaviour. The current project is a pilot study to explore how different generations experience prosocial behaviour relatively in their culture. As researchers, we are interested to hear how you experience this behaviour and discuss it within a small group consisting other participants from the same age cohort as yours. We expect that through your important opinion in your group we will come up with a better understanding of how cultural and generational context explain diversity in conceptualising these positive behaviours.



Cross-cultural conceptualisations of prosocial behaviour

Who is doing the Research?

This project is being conducted by Dr. Takeshi Hamamura as the Chief Investigator, Associate Professor Lauren Breen as the Co-Supervisor, and Gressy Septarini as the student researcher. This project is part of a Doctoral Degree in the School of Psychology at Curtin University, Western Australia. This research is partly funded by the Graduate Research School, Curtin University and Australia Awards Scholarships (a scholarship funded by Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia). There will be no cost to you for taking part in this research.

Why am I being asked to take part and what will I have to do?

We are looking for participants who are Australian citizens living in Australia and Indonesian citizens living in Indonesia, with specific age cohort between 17-26 years old (younger generation) and 38-55 years old (older generation). As you read this information sheet and willing to participate in our study, you need to return the consent form to the researcher. We will send you an email to confirm your availability to participate in one session of our focus group discussion with 4-6 other participants from the same age group as yours, including a mutually convenient choices of available schedule and venue.

The session will take around 60 to 90 minutes depending on how the participants interact as a group. A moderator will facilitate the discussion and ask the group a range of questions. This will include how you and your group identify what kind of positive behaviours are directed to benefit the others; what would be the reasons of people performing that behaviours, as well as the impact of displaying such positive behaviours. We will make a digital audio recording during the session so we can concentrate on what you have to say. After the session we will transcribe the recordings using pseudo names for the purpose of data analysis. A \$20 voucher will be given to you at the end of the session for your valuable time participating in this session.

Optional Consent. This study will provide you with optional consent to be contacted for future research projects that are related to this project.

Are there any benefits' to being in the research project?

This project will provide the researcher with a better understanding of how cultural and generational context explain diversity in conceptualising positive behaviours intended to benefit the others. Findings from this study may help the researcher in developing further instrument in exploring how this behaviour is being formed, maintained and changed over time within the context of cultural changes. However, we cannot guarantee that you will receive any direct benefits from this project.

Are there any risks, discomforts or inconveniences from being in the research project?

Apart from giving up your time, we do not expect that there will be any risks or inconveniences associated with taking part in this study. A moderator will facilitate your group to set up ground rules to ensure each participant discuss their opinion in an open and convenient manner during the session. We will provide you with an AU\$20 voucher for your valuable time participating in this session.

Who will have access to my information?

The information collected in this research will be re-identifiable (coded). This means that we will remove identifying information on any data or sample and replace it with a code. Only the research team have access to the code to match your name if it is necessary to do so. Any information we collect will be treated as



Cross-cultural conceptualisations of prosocial behaviour

confidential and used only in this project unless otherwise specified. The following people will have access to the information we collect in this research: the research team and, in the event of an audit or investigation, staff from the Curtin University Office of Research and Development.

Electronic data will be password-protected and hard copy data (including audio tapes) will be in locked storage. The information we collect in this study will be kept under secure conditions at Curtin University for 7 years after the research has ended and then it will be destroyed. The results of this research may be presented at conferences or published in professional journals. You will not be identified in any results that are published or presented.

Whilst all care will be taken to maintain privacy and confidentiality of any information shared at a focus group discussion, you should be aware that you may feel embarrassed or upset if one of the group members repeats things said in a confidential group meeting.

Will you tell me the results of the research?

We are not able to send you any results from this research. However, the result may available in an academic journal publication authorised by the research team.

Do I have to take part in the research project?

Participation in this study is voluntarily. If you do not wish to take part you are not obliged to. Before you make your decision, please ask the researcher to answer any questions and concerns you have about the research project. Sign the Consent Form only after you have had a chance to ask your questions and have received satisfactory answers.

What happens next and who can I contact about the research?

Should you require further information, or would like to take part in this study, please feel welcome to contact:

Gressy Septarini

Email: septarini@postgrad.curtin.edu.au

Mobile: 0431038659 (for Australian participants)

Alternatively, you may contact my supervisors:

Dr. Takeshi Hamamura

Email: Takeshi. Hamamura@curtin.edu.au

A/Professor Lauren Breen

Email: Lauren.Breen@curtin.edu.au

Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) has approved this study (HREC number HRE2018-0643). Should you wish to discuss the study with someone not directly involved, in particular, any matters concerning the conduct of the study or your rights as a participant, or you wish to make a confidential complaint, you may contact the Ethics Officer on (08) 9266 9223 or the Manager, Research Integrity on (08) 9266 7093 or email hrec@curtin.edu.au for Australian participants and Office of the Dean, Faculty of Psychology, Airtangga University, Phone: +62 31 503 2770, email: info@psikologi.unair.ac.id for Indonesian participants.



CONSENT FORM

HREC Project Number:	HRE2018-0643
Project Title:	<i>Cross-cultural conceptualisation of prosocial behaviour: meaning, motives and implications</i>
Chief Investigator:	Dr Takeshi Hamamura School of Psychology, Curtin University
Student researcher:	Berlian Gressy Septarini
Version Number:	1
Version Date:	31/August/2018

- ✓ I have read the information statement version listed above, and I understand its contents.
- ✓ I believe I understand the purpose, extent and possible risks of my involvement in this project.
- ✓ I voluntarily consent to take part in this research project and being audio-recorded.
- ✓ I have had the opportunity to ask questions, and I am satisfied with the answers I have received.
- ✓ I understand that this project has been approved by Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee and will be carried out in line with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).
- ✓ I understand I will receive a copy of this Information Statement and Consent Form.

OPTIONAL CONSENT:

<input type="checkbox"/> I do	<input type="checkbox"/> I do not	consent to be contacted about future research projects that are related to this project.
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Participant Name	Participant Signature	Date

Declaration by researcher:

I have supplied an Information Letter and Consent Form to the participant who has signed above and believe that they understand the purpose, extent and possible risks of their involvement in this project.

Researcher Name	Researcher Signature	Date
Berlian Gressy Septarini		

Note: All parties signing the Consent Form must date their own signature.

Appendix C: Focus Group Discussion Protocols



CROSS-CULTURAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR:
MEANING, MOTIVES AND IMPLICATIONS

PROTOCOLS FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD)

The Objective

The aim of this focus group is to explore cross-cultural diversity of positive behaviours intended to benefit the others in two diverging cultural societies across generations: conceptions, types in which each culture and generation emphasizes the underlying motives or values that contribute to the emergence of such positive behaviours, as well as its implications.

The Process

The focus group requires around 90 minutes to complete.

STAGE	TIME	ACTIVITIES
Introduction	15'	<p>The researcher:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Introduces herself and the facilitator (on his/her first name). o Explains the aims of the focus group. o Briefly explains the Information Sheet and Consent Form to confirm that all participants understand that the process is verbally recorded, de-identified, transcribed and confidential. o Addresses questions related to the Information Sheet. o Obtains consent forms and demographic data from all participants. o Facilitates ice breaking: Asks participants to introduce himself/herself on their first name, to share their reasons to participate in this study.
Main session	60'	<p>The facilitator:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Asks the participants the main questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In regard to your own experience, what kind of positive behaviours are done intentionally to benefit others? What indicates a person is doing a positive action to benefit others? <i>Prompts: kindness, helping others, volunteering, altruistic actions, selfless</i> 2. Referring to yourself, what positive action have you ever done for the benefit of others? What makes you decide to do that? What are the underlying thoughts and feelings that make you do that action? <i>Prompts: emotional, social norms, self-belief, sympathy, compliance, emergency conditions, humanity, religiosity, social sanctions.</i> 3. Refer to the community that you share your social life with, where or to whom would these positive behaviours be directed? <i>Prompts: directed to strangers (outgroup) rather than the in-group</i> 4. What would you expect from your actions to be of beneficial to others? What did you gain as the consequences of acting to benefit others? What is the impact toward yourself of performing such behaviour? Toward others? Have you ever not put yourself first? <i>Prompts: gratitude, praise, social acceptance, personal well-being (happiness).</i> <p>All participants is encouraged to express their opinions equally. The facilitator plays a significant role in directing the process, delivering the contents of the discussion, as well as encouraging participants' engagement within the group.</p>
Debriefing	15'	<p>The facilitator:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Asks the participants their conclusion of today's session. o Ends the session. <p>The researcher:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Thanks the participants for their attendance and, if required, provide contact details for further questions and inquiries. o Distributes a copy of the consent form and a gift card to each participants. o Ends the forum.

Appendix D: Flyers for Recruiting Focus Group Discussion Participants (English)



Focus Group Discussion

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED



ABOUT THE FOCUS GROUPS

We aim to explore how different generations perform positive actions for the benefit of others. We are interested to hear how you experience these behaviors and discuss it within a small group with other participants from the same age group as yours. Your participation will help us come up with a better understanding of how generational contexts explain positive behaviors in our society.

- Perth Metro Residents
- Australian Citizen
- Age between 17-26 OR 38-55
- up to 90 minutes' participation

Shopping Vouchers Provided!



For further information and available schedules, please email:

Gressy Septarini

PHD RESEARCHER, SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY

email: septarini@postgrad.curtin.edu.au

CURTIN UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HREC) HAS APPROVED THIS STUDY (HRE2018-0643)

Appendix E: Questionnaires included in Indonesian Survey (Manual Version)

**SURVEI PERILAKU PROSOSIAL:****DATA INDONESIA****KUESIONER MANUAL***Untuk dilengkapi oleh
responden Orangtua***ANONIM & RAHASIA**



LEMBAR INFORMASI & PERSETUJUAN

Survei ini bertujuan untuk menggali pengalaman Anda dalam melakukan tindakan baik yang secara sukarela ditujukan untuk kepentingan orang lain. Sebagai tim peneliti, kami tertarik untuk memahami bagaimana Anda, sebagai bagian dari masyarakat Indonesia, memiliki keunikan cara pandang di lintas generasi dan lintas budaya.

PARTISIPASI ANDA

Anda dapat berpartisipasi jika Anda adalah warga negara Indonesia atau Anda tinggal di Indonesia serta berada pada rentang usia 17-26 tahun atau Anda memiliki anak berusia 17-26 tahun. Karena penelitian ini menghendaki data berpasangan orangtua dan anak, kami akan meminta Anda untuk meneruskan tautan survei kepada orangtua (ibu atau bapak) atau anak Anda (rentang usia anak 17-26 tahun). Anda juga dapat memberikan alamat e-mail orangtua atau anak Anda agar kami dapat mengirimkan tautan dan pengingat untuk mengisi survei. Untuk mencocokkan ketepatan data Anda dengan keluarga Anda, kami akan meminta kesediaan Anda untuk mengisi data (tanggal lahir dan jenis kelamin) anggota keluarga yang Anda rekomendasikan untuk berpartisipasi dalam survei ini.

Dikarenakan partisipasi dalam studi ini bersifat sukarela, terdapat kemungkinan anggota keluarga Anda (anak/orangtua) tidak berkenan untuk ikut serta. Jika ini terjadi, data Anda tetap akan kami sertakan dalam penelitian kami sebagai data tunggal.

Survei ini membutuhkan waktu pengisian hingga 30 menit. Di akhir survei, Anda akan diberikan pilihan untuk turut serta dalam undian kami dengan memberikan detail pribadi Anda (alamat e-mail atau nomor telepon). Tersedia 10 buah voucher belanja senilai Rp. 300.000,- yang dapat Anda menangkan melalui undian secara acak. Tidak ada resiko berarti jika Anda memutuskan untuk berpartisipasi dalam survei ini.

KERAHASIAAN & KEAMANAN

Seluruh informasi yang kami peroleh akan dipertakukan secara rahasia sesuai etika penelitian kami dan dipergunakan hanya untuk penelitian ini. Adapun pihak yang dapat mengakses data Anda adalah tim peneliti dan staf dari Curtin University Office of Research and Development (hanya jika dibutuhkan untuk keperluan audit penelitian).

Semua data akan terlindungi dengan password dan disimpan dalam sistem penyimpanan yang aman di Curtin University selama tujuh tahun setelah penelitian ini berakhir, untuk selanjutnya dimusnahkan sesuai prosedur. Hasil penelitian ini dapat ditampilkan pada konferensi atau jurnal akademik tanpa menyertakan detil pribadi Anda.

Untuk informasi lanjut penelitian ini, silahkan hubungi:

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Penelitian ini telah disetujui oleh Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee.
Approval Code: HRE2018-0543

PERNYATAAN PERSETUJUAN

Saya telah membaca dan memahami dokumen lembar informasi penelitian ini. Saya menyatakan SETUJU untuk secara sukarela berpartisipasi dalam studi ini.

Tanda tangan:

Tanggal:



DATA DIRI ANDA & ANAK ANDA

BERAPA LAMA ANDA MENETAP DI
INDONESIA (DALAM TAHUN)? tahun

DI AREA MANAKAH ANDA
BERMUKIM? Daerah pinggiran kota/pedesaan
 Wilayah kota/pusat perkotaan

JENIS KELAMIN ANDA? Laki-laki Perempuan Lainnya

TANGGAL LAHIR ANDA? Tanggal Bulan Tahun

Mohon berikan data yang tepat, data Anda akan divalidasi dengan data orangtua Anda dalam analisis kami.

APA TINGKAT PENDIDIKAN AKHIR
ANDA? Tamat sekolah dasar Sebagian pendidikan
sekolah menengah
 Tamat sekolah menengah Tamat perguruan tinggi

BERAPAKAH JUMLAH ANAK ANDA? orang

Dalam survei ini, Anda berpartisipasi sebagai ORANGTUA.

Mohon memberikan beberapa informasi terkait anak Anda yang mungkin setuju untuk ikut serta dalam survei ini. Data ini akan kami cocokkan dengan data anak Anda untuk memungkinkan kami melakukan analisis data secara berpasangan.

TANGGAL LAHIR ANAK ANDA? Tanggal Bulan Tahun

Mohon berikan data yang tepat, data Anda akan divalidasi dengan data anak Anda dalam analisis kami.

ANAK SAYA, YANG
BERPARTISIPASI DALAM SURVEI
INI ADALAH... Laki-laki Perempuan Lainnya

Akhir Data Diri & Anak Anda, lanjutkan ke Bagian 1



BAGIAN 1

Instruksi:

Di bawah ini adalah deskripsi mengenal orang lain.

Bacalah setiap pernyataan, dan berikan respon seberapa jauh deskripsi tersebut memiliki kemiripan dengan Anda.

Lingkari satu angka di setiap pernyataan.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| [1] Tidak mirip sama sekali | [4] Cukup mirip saya |
| [2] Tidak seperti saya | [5] Seperti saya |
| [3] Sedikit menyerupai saya | [6] Sangat mirip dengan saya |

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1 | Menjadi kreatif adalah hal yang penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 2 | Penting baginya bahwa negara melindungi dirinya dari berbagai ancaman. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 3 | Menikmati waktu adalah hal yang penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 4 | Penting baginya untuk tidak mengecewakan orang lain. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 5 | Melindungi masyarakat yang lemah dan tidak berdaya adalah hal yang penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 6 | Dia ingin orang melaksanakan apa yang ia katakan. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 7 | Penting baginya untuk puas dengan apa yang ia miliki dan tidak meminta lebih dari itu. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 8 | Dia sangat percaya bahwa ia harus menjaga semesta. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 9 | Penting baginya bahwa tidak ada orang lain yang bisa mempermalukannya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 10 | Dia selalu mencari hal-hal yang baru untuk dilakukan. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 11 | Penting baginya untuk setia pada orang-orang terdekatnya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 12 | Penting baginya untuk berada dalam lingkungan yang aman. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 13 | Memiliki perasaan bahwa uang dapat membeli segalanya adalah penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |

14	Dia menginginkan semua orang diperlakukan adil.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
15	Dia selalu mencoba untuk peka terhadap orang lain dan tidak mengganggu orang lain.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
16	Dia pikir, menjadi ambisius adalah hal yang penting.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
17	Penting baginya untuk mempertahankan nilai dan kepercayaan tradisional.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
18	Penting baginya untuk memutuskan sendiri hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan kehidupannya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
19	Menjaga citranya di depan publik adalah hal yang penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
20	Penting baginya untuk memiliki opini dan ide tersendiri.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
21	Dia pikir, tidak mengganggu orang lain adalah hal yang penting.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
22	Menjadi kaya adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
23	Penting baginya untuk membantu orang yang ia sayangi.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
24	Penting baginya untuk bertindak mengatasi ancaman lingkungan semesta.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
25	Keamanan pribadinya adalah yang terpenting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
26	Kebahagiaan dalam hidup adalah hal yang penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
27	Dia ingin dapat diandalkan oleh orang-orang yang menghabiskan waktu dengannya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
28	Penting baginya untuk mengikuti aturan meskipun tidak ada yang melihatnya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
29	Menurutnya adalah penting bagi setiap orang untuk memiliki kesempatan yang sama dalam hidup.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
30	Ia ingin negara menjadi kuat agar dapat melindungi warganya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
31	Menikmati kesenangan hidup adalah hal yang penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
32	Pedulikan kesejahteraan orang dekatnya adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
33	Melakukan segalanya secara mandiri adalah hal yang penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 34 | Penting baginya untuk rendah hati. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 35 | Penting baginya untuk menjadi seseorang yang dapat mengarahkan orang lain. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 36 | Penting baginya untuk dapat menjadi pendengar bagi orang yang berbeda dengannya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 37 | Menjadi sukses adalah penting bagi dirinya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 38 | Mengikuti kebiasaan keluarga dan agama adalah penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 39 | Belajar dan mengembangkan diri sendiri adalah penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 40 | Mematuhi segala hukum adalah penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 41 | Dia pikir, memiliki berbagai pengalaman baru adalah hal yang penting. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 42 | Dia berusaha menjadi teman yang terpercaya dan dapat diandalkan. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 43 | Meskipun tidak setuju dengan orang lain, penting baginya untuk memahami orang lain. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 44 | Dia sangat menghargai tradisi budayanya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 45 | Melindungi alam dari kerusakan dan polusi adalah penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 46 | Ia ingin orang lain mengagumi pencapaiannya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 47 | Memiliki stabilitas dan keteraturan di masyarakat adalah penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| 48 | Kebebasan untuk memilih apa yang ingin ia lakukan adalah hal yang penting baginya. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |

Abah Bagian 1, lanjutkan ke Bagian 2

BAGIAN 2

Instruksi: Seberapa baik pernyataan berikut menggambarkan Anda?

Lingkari satu angka di setiap pernyataan.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
	Sama sekali tidak		Sedikit		Cukup		Baik		Tepat
1 Anda suka menjadi berbeda dari orang lain.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
2 Kebahagiaan Anda tidak berkaitan dengan kebahagiaan keluarga Anda.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
3 Anda lebih memilih untuk mewujudkan keinginan Anda tanpa campur tangan keluarga.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
4 Anda mencoba untuk tidak tergantung pada orang lain.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
5 Anda selalu melihat diri Anda sebagai pribadi yang sama, meski sedang berinteraksi dengan orang yang berbeda.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
6 Anda memilih untuk mengatakan apa yang Anda pikirkan, meski situasinya kurang tepat.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
7 Anda melihat diri Anda berbeda di lingkungan yang berbeda.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
8 Anda melihat diri Anda unik dan berbeda dari orang lain.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
9 Jika ada anggota keluarga Anda bersedih, Anda merasa menjadi bagian dari kesedihan itu.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
10 Anda selalu minta nasihat pada keluarga Anda sebelum membuat keputusan.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 11 | Anda memilih untuk meminta bantuan orang lain daripada mengandalkan diri sendiri. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 12 | Anda berperilaku sama, baik di rumah maupun ditempat umum. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 13 | Anda menunjukkan perasaan terdalam Anda meski itu merusak keharmonisan keluarga. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 14 | Anda mementingkan prestasi pribadi daripada relasi dengan orang terdekat Anda. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 15 | Menjadi berbeda dari orang lain membuat Anda tidak nyaman. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 16 | Anda menghargai relasi baik dengan orang terdekat Anda daripada prestasi pribadi. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 17 | Anda memilih untuk mengandalkan diri sendiri daripada orang lain. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 18 | Perilaku Anda tetap sama meski bersama orang-orang yang berbeda. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 19 | Perilaku Anda sangat berbeda ketika di rumah dan ditempat umum. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 20 | Anda mencoba menyesuaikan diri dengan orang lain, meskipun itu mengorbankan perasaan terdalam Anda. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 21 | Kesuksesan pribadi Anda sangat penting, meskipun itu merusak persahabatan. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |
| 22 | Anda mencoba untuk tidak terlihat berbeda dengan orang lain. | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] | [9] |

Akhiri Bagian 2, lanjutkan ke Bagian 3

BAGIAN 3

Instruksi:

Di bawah ini tersedia beberapa pernyataan untuk menggambarkan diri Anda. Berilah tanda **SEBERAPA TEPAT PERNYATAAN TERSEBUT MENGGAMBARAKAN DIRI ANDA** dengan menggunakan pilihan respon:

Lingkari satu angka di setiap pernyataan.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| [1] Tidak menggambarkan | [4] Menggambarkan dengan baik |
| [2] Sedikit menggambarkan | [5] Tepat menggambarkan |
| [3] Cukup menggambarkan | |

- 1 Saya dapat membantu dengan terbaik saat ada yang melihat saya. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 2 Saya merasa sangat lega jika bisa membuat orang yang sedang tertekan merasa nyaman. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 3 Lebih mudah bagi saya untuk membantu orang yang membutuhkan saat ada orang lain di sekitar saya. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 4 Saya pikir membantu orang lain membuat saya terlihat baik. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 5 Saya mendapat manfaat terbaik dari menolong saat melakukannya di depan banyak orang. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 6 Saya cenderung membantu orang yang sedang menghadapi situasi krisis dan nyata. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 7 Saat orang meminta saya untuk membantu, saya tidak keberatan. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 8 Saya lebih suka menyumbangkan uang secara anonim. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 9 Saya cenderung membantu orang-orang yang menyakitinya sendiri. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 10 Saya percaya donasi barang dan uang akan efektif untuk mengurangi pajak penghasilan. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 11 Saya cenderung membantu orang yang membutuhkan saat mereka tidak mengetahui siapa yang membantunya. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]
- 12 Saya cenderung membantu orang terutama saat mereka mengalami tekanan emosional. [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]



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|----|---|---------------------|
| 13 | Membantu orang saat saya menjadi sorotan adalah saat yang terbaik. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 14 | Mudah bagi saya untuk membantu orang lain dalam keadaan darurat. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 15 | Hampir setiap saat saya memberikan bantuan pada orang tanpa mereka mengetahuinya. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 16 | Saya percaya, seharusnya saya mendapat pengakuan atas waktu dan tenaga yang saya gunakan dalam kegiatan amal. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 17 | Saya memberikan bantuan jika situasinya sangat emosional. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 18 | Saya tidak pernah menolak untuk membantu jika diminta. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 19 | Saya pikir, membantu orang tanpa sepengetahuan orang yang dibantu adalah sesuatu yang baik. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 20 | Satu hal yang penting dalam melakukan kegiatan amal adalah nilai lebih pada data riwayat hidup saya. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 21 | Situasi emosional membuat saya ingin membantu orang lain. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 22 | Saya sering memberikan sumbangan tanpa nama karena itu membuat saya merasa nyaman. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |
| 23 | Saya merasa jika saya membantu orang lain, ia akan membantu saya nantinya. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] |

Akhiri Bagian 3, lanjutkan ke Bagian 4

BAGIAN 4

Instruksi:

Di bawah ini adalah deskripsi mengenal orang lain.

Bacalah setiap pernyataan, dan berikan respon:

**SEBERAPA JAUH ANDA INGIN DESKRIPSI TERSEBUT
MENYERUPAI ANAK ANDA?**

Lingkari
satu angka
di setiap
pernyataan.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [1] Tidak mirip anak saya sama sekali | [4] Cukup mirip anak saya |
| [2] Tidak seperti anak saya | [5] Seperti anak saya |
| [3] Sedikit menyerupai anak saya | [6] Sangat mirip dengan anak saya |

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1 Menjadl kreatif adalah hal yang penting baginya. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 2 Penting baginya bahwa negara melindungi dirinya dari berbagai ancaman. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 3 Menikmati waktu adalah hal yang penting baginya. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 4 Penting baginya untuk tidak mengecewakan orang lain. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 5 Melindungi masyarakat yang lemah dan tidak berdaya adalah hal yang penting baginya. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 6 Dia ingin orang melaksanakan apa yang ia katakan. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 7 Penting baginya untuk puas dengan apa yang ia miliki dan tidak meminta lebih dari itu. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 8 Dia sangat percaya bahwa ia harus menjaga semesta. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 9 Penting baginya bahwa tidak ada orang lain yang bisa mempermalukannya. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 10 Dia selalu mencari hal-hal yang baru untuk dilakukan. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 11 Penting baginya untuk setia pada orang-orang terdekatnya. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |
| 12 Penting baginya untuk berada dalam lingkungan yang aman. | [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] |



13	Memiliki perasaan bahwa uang dapat membeli segalanya adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
14	Dia menginginkan semua orang diperlakukan adil.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
15	Dia selalu mencoba untuk peka terhadap orang lain dan tidak mengganggu orang lain.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
16	Dia pikir, menjadi ambisius adalah hal yang penting.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
17	Penting baginya untuk mempertahankan nilai dan kepercayaan tradisional.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
18	Penting baginya untuk memutuskan sendiri hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan kehidupannya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
19	Menjaga citranya di depan publik adalah hal yang penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
20	Penting baginya untuk memiliki opini dan ide tersendiri.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
21	Dia pikir, tidak mengganggu orang lain adalah hal yang penting.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
22	Menjadi kaya adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
23	Penting baginya untuk membantu orang yang ia sayangi.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
24	Penting baginya untuk bertindak mengatasi ancaman lingkungan semesta.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
25	Keamanan pribadinya adalah yang terpenting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
26	Kebahagiaan dalam hidup adalah hal yang penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
27	Dia ingin dapat diandalkan oleh orang-orang yang menghabiskan waktu dengannya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
28	Penting baginya untuk mengikuti aturan meskipun tidak ada yang melihatnya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
29	Menurutnya adalah penting bagi setiap orang untuk memiliki kesempatan yang sama dalam hidup.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
30	Ia ingin negara menjadi kuat agar dapat melindungi warganya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
31	Menikmati kesenangan hidup adalah hal yang penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
32	Pedulikan akan kesejahteraan orang dekatnya adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]

33	Melakukan segalanya secara mandiri adalah hal yang penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
34	Penting baginya untuk rendah hati.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
35	Penting baginya untuk menjadi seseorang yang dapat mengarahkan orang lain.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
36	Penting baginya untuk dapat menjadi pendengar bagi orang yang berbeda dengannya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
37	Menjadi sukses adalah penting bagi dirinya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
38	Mengikuti kebiasaan keluarga dan agama adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
39	Belajar dan mengembangkan diri sendiri adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
40	Mematuhi segala hukum adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
41	Dia pikir, memiliki berbagai pengalaman baru adalah hal yang penting.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
42	Dia berusaha menjadi teman yang terpercaya dan dapat diandalkan.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
43	Meskipun tidak setuju dengan orang lain, penting baginya untuk memahami orang lain.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
44	Dia sangat menghargai tradisi budayanya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
45	Melindungi alam dari kerusakan dan polusi adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
46	Ia ingin orang lain mengagumi pencapalannya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
47	Memiliki stabilitas dan keteraturan di masyarakat adalah penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
48	Kebebasan untuk memilih apa yang ingin ia lakukan adalah hal yang penting baginya.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]

Akhir Bagian 4. Lanjutkan ke Bagian Akhir Survei



BAGIAN AKHIR SURVEI

PERSETUJUAN MEMBERIKAN REFERENSI

*Studi kami membutuhkan anak Anda sebagai responden kami.
Mohon berkenan merekomendasikan partisipasi survei ini pada anak Anda
melalui salah satu pilihan berikut:*

SAYA secara mandiri akan memberikan tautan survey ini kepada anak saya untuk kelengkapan data studi.

Saya menghendaki TIM PENELITIAN untuk mengirimkan tautan survey ini melalui alamat e-mail anak saya sebagai berikut:
Alamat email anak:

Anak saya telah melengkapi survei ini terlebih dahulu.

PERSETUJUAN MENGIKUTI UNDIAN

Terima Kasih Atas Kesediaan Anda Melengkapi Survei Kami.

*Anda dapat memilih untuk mengikuti undian kami dan memenangkan sebuah
voucher GoPay senilai Rp.300.000,-.*

Mohon berikan detail kontak Anda:

Saya bersedia mengikuti undian, berikut nomor HP saya untuk pengisian voucher GoPay:
Nomor Handphone untuk pengisian voucher:

Saya tidak bersedia mengikuti undian.

Abdita Survei

DATA ANDA BERSIFAT RAHASIA.

Mohon masukkan kuesioner yang telah terisi dalam amplop tertutup yang tersedia di balik halaman ini dan menyegelnya untuk kemudian diberikan pada tim survei kami.

Appendix F: Flyers for Recruiting Survey Participants (Bahasa Indonesia)




Bantu Kami!

Memahami Perilaku Prososial

Jadilah bagian dari studi kami untuk berbagi pengalaman Anda melakukan perbuatan baik bagi kepentingan orang lain.

Melalui survei ini kami akan mempelajari bagaimana dinamika generasi dan budaya dapat menjelaskan perilaku prososial masyarakat Indonesia.

Bagaimana Anda memahami perilaku yang mengutamakan kebutuhan orang lain?
Bagaimana perilaku ini terpola di lintas generasi dan lintas budaya?

Jika Anda:

- ▶ WNI atau bermukim di Indonesia.
- ▶ Berusia 17 hingga 26 tahun, atau memiliki anak berusia 17 hingga 26 tahun.

Berpartisipasilah dalam survey 20 menit kami.

Scan QR Code di samping atau ikuti link berikut:

<http://bit.ly/Prosociality-Indonesia>

