Chapter 4: Self-Regulatory Focus and Counterfactual Thinking II: The Interviews and Paper-pencil Experiment

The present set of two studies in this chapter is a step forward in the path I transcended in the previous study. However, the emphasis in the present chapter is to establish the connection between self-regulatory strategy and counterfactual thinking among the young and old Gurkhas using more empirical methods of structured interviews and paper-pencil experiment (a questionnaire study). Moreover, the ambit of the study is enlarged now as Gurkhas residing in rural as well as urban locales of Dehradun are engaged as participants. The previous chapter has shown that operationalizing culture quasi-experimentally through country status is not a good strategy and it is extremely important to look at sub-cultures or sub-groups within a culture. The insights developed from ethnography have been investigated across both rural and urban Gurkha populations.

The urban Gurkha population is also taken into account because unlike the rural Gurkhas who remain somewhat secluded and isolated from other communities, the urban Gurkhas have mixed well with their neighboring communities and live in conjugation with other communities like Gadhwalis, Kumaonis, Punjabis, Tibetans, etc. Upon continuous interactions and observation with Gurkhas residing in urban areas of Dehradun and interactions with Gurkhas at Gurkhalı Sudhar Sabha (their apex body in Dehradun) it was revealed that they are not ‘closed’ with respect to ‘other’ groups, inter-caste marriages with other communities do take place and not harshly condemned in the society. Hence, the urban Gurkhas, especially the old ones, do not seem to be as traditional and conservationist as their rural counterparts are and therefore probably not that much oriented to prevention focus as were rural Gurkhas. This cultural
difference between the rural and urban Gurkhas is expected to mediate the way in which counterfactuals are generated in the young and old population of the two groups and thus makes the study more interesting.

The theoretical reason for taking up the studies was that previous studies on regulatory focus across cultures (Elliot et al., 2001; Lalwani et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2000; Uskul et al., 2009; Van – Dijk & Kluger, 2004) and counterfactual thinking across cultures (Chen et al., 2006; Gilovich et al., 2003; Zou et al., 2009) have bracketed Western cultures (read as nations) as more promotion focused and tuned more to generate additive counterfactuals, and at the same time Eastern cultures (read as nations) as more prevention focused and tuned more to produce subtractive counterfactual thoughts (Zou et al., 2009). These studies by and large have overlooked the possible shades in the ‘way of life’ which develop as a result of differences in socialization patterns in different sub-groups within a larger culture (nation).

Such gross generalization of putting the entire Western or Eastern cultures as one is not just limited to the studies investigating regulatory focus and counterfactual thinking. There are studies which classify whole cultures (nations) as either individualistic or collectivistic (Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997; Nisbett, 2004; Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001) which were criticized by Triandis and his colleagues (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) who came up with notion of verticality (emphasizing hierarchy) and horizontality (emphasizing openness) in cultures.

For example Triandis and Gelfand (1998) noted that self-serving biases may be more prevalent in vertical individualist cultures such as the United States because of the significance of distinguishing the self through contest with others. Horizontal individualist cultures such as Norway that give importance to self-reliance without accentuating competition may not show
these biases to the same extent. Likewise, vertical collectivist cultures such as many Asian nations may be more probable to demonstrate prevention-focus and self-improvement tendencies because of the weight given to living up to the responsibilities that come with social ties. On the contrary, these biases may not occur in horizontal collectivist cultures such as Latin America, where social ties are stressed with no highlight on duty and authority.

Based on these observations by Triandis and colleagues, Lee et al. (2000) remarked that it is probable that construal-induced shifts in regulatory focus may be restricted to cultures that are vertical in structure. My findings from ethnography in the previous chapter supports the above views as it was noted that within a vertical (emphasizing hierarchy) culture like that of Gurkhas different set of people exhibit different levels of horizontality (emphasizing openness). That is, within the Gurkhas the young people are seen to be more open to changes and new ideas while at the same time the older ones are staunch about adhering to traditions and not willing to change.

This led to the belief that a culture (like that of Gurkhas) which has various sub-groups or sub-cultures (like rural, urban, young and old) which are potentially different in their way of life (including ways of thinking) should not be treated as one unit and studied separately to holistically understand the phenomena within the group. Moreover, in the current research it has been tried to specifically link a particular way of thinking (counterfactual thinking) of an individual with his or her age group (as age also explains an individual’s position in the family and social structure of society at large) and how the focus in life varies across the age group and rural or urban contexts in Gurkhas.

It was decided to study Gurkhas in particular for the reason that it is a community in transition and going through changeover. The changes are in their value systems, their beliefs, their thinking patterns which is evident in the fact that there is a growing tendency in Gurkha
youth to break out of the label (which has actually become a taboo for them) of ‘Nepali’ (citizen of Nepal) and ‘soldier’. Simultaneously, the old Gurkhas are conscious about preserving their identity by not mixing with ‘others’ and maintaining distances in social ties also. It appears that these predispositions in the young and old generations of Gurkha are not identical for the rural and urban areas of Dehradun and vary relatively in the rural and urban contexts. As discussed in the Introduction chapter that ‘if the difference(s) in feature(s) between two cultures is not of extreme kind then perception of existence of two different cultures will be difficult but not deniable.’ This line of reasoning prompted me to make cross-cultural comparisons between the rural and urban Gurkhas.

4.1 The studies

The comparison of young and old Gurkhas from rural and urban Dehradun was performed in two phases. The first stage comprised of structured interviews among young and old Gurkhas of rural and urban Dehradun and treated as pilot study for the next stage. This stage helped me to concretize hypotheses developed in the previous chapter. The second stage comprised of paper-pencil experiment (a questionnaire study) performed to validate hypothesis developed so far using a more objective way of experimentation in Gurkhas. By using structured interviews and experimental methods, which take less time to administer in a sample compared to ethnographic methods, it provides us the flexibility to now cover the urban Gurkha population and generalize the inferences to the entire Gurkha community in Dehradun. Moreover, inferences drawn using one kind of methodology if triangulated using other methods enhances the validity of the results.
However, the methodological reason for involving varied techniques in my study is the fact that area of study (self-regulatory focus orientations and nature of counterfactual thinking across cultures and contexts) is novel and therefore data driven approach for understanding the phenomenon is perhaps better suited. Thus, I started with ethnography, followed it up with structured focused interviews and then the paper-pencil experiment (basically a questionnaire based study in a larger sample).

4.2 Study I: The Structured Interviews

Eight Gurkhas, out of which four were from rural Dehradun and four from urban Dehradun, were interviewed. From both the rural (Karbari Grant village) and urban locales of Dehradun two participants were young adult Gurkhas and two were old adult Gurkhas. The interviews were of focused-structured type and conducted by me (NS). Participants were first asked to describe a routine event from the past one year and thereafter asked to ponder over how they could have improved their performance in this event or improved their experience for this event. Subsequently, they were asked to tell about a negative event from the past one year and then to ponder over how they could have improved their performance in this event or improved their experience for this event.

4.2.1 Method

The interviews were conducted only after taking prior consent from the participants. In the interview the participant was first asked to describe a ‘routine or regular’ event. Once he has described the event at length, thereafter he was asked to think and tell about ‘things which he could have done’ or ‘things which he had not done’ then the outcome/performance in the event
would have been better. That is he was asked to ponder over the event in the “if….then” manner. After this the participant was asked to describe a ‘negative’ event or some ‘bad thing’ which has taken place in the past one year. Once he has described the negative event at length, this was again followed by the “if….then” way of pondering. The focus was only on “improvement” because thinking about improvement of past performances or past experiences seems to be salient and more fruitful for our day-to-day life. Moreover, research from Indian context (Saxena et al., 2012) has found thinking in the direction of improvement upon past performance to be salient for counterfactual thinking across different domains of life and for participants who are from dissimilar areas.

The interviews were conducted in Hindi in the homes of the participants. At the time of interview nobody other than the respondent was allowed to intervene. Notes of events and counterfactual thoughts related to them were taken where possible at the time of interview or as soon as possible thereafter. The interviews lasted between 50 and 90 minutes. Elaboration of shorthand and translation were also completed soon after the interview. Later on full interview notes were translated in English by the interviewer and then rechecked by another person. Interviews were content analysed and the interview data (coded as ‘Int’ followed by participant details) was analysed together using a combination of inductive and deductive methods. Details about the participants for the structured interview have been provided in the Appendix section.
4.2.2 Result and Analysis

The structured interviews were intended to qualitatively investigate the bent of young and old Gurkhas from urban and rural areas of Dehradun to promotion or prevention focus and check for their predilection towards additive or subtractive counterfactual thinking.

4.2.2.1 Self-regulatory focus difference between the old and young Gurkha

Outsiders vs. insider: It is very much evident from the analyses that when the old (rural and urban) Gurkha are asked to describe a routine event then the strong sense of discrimination between the ‘outsider’ and ‘insider’ is reflected:

Extract 1 (Int- BS, 58yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to rural area)

BS-I monetarily helped one of the villagers (a Gurkha) for his daughter’s marriage. We do this so that the person in need refrains from asking money from someone who is not one of our own….this will not be good for us (community) if happens.

BS-You see every year we get contributions from all the households which are the members of the traditional village council in Gurkha Karbari. This money is used for the welfare of the village be it maintaining roads, maintaining cleanliness in the hamlet including our temples of the village, etc. Sometimes this money is given to other Gurkhas in dire need for marrying their children or for their education or health.

Part of this discrimination between ‘outsider’ and ‘insider’ is the mind-set of not socially mixing with ‘other’ communities:

Extract 2 (Int- HS, 69yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to rural area)

HS -Praying at home, praying in the Barah Devta (village deity) temple is routine for me, my family and village people here. …..every year after the Sansari Mata Puja (annual worship of the Goddess) in the next fortnight a big puja takes place at the
Barah Devta temple….this year also I took part in it. Participating in it is very important for the entire community.

NS – What could be done so that people participate more in such activities?
HS - Well…. nothing could be said explicitly but if today’s generation does not give too much time to eating-drinking habits then things will be much better. If they put this time into prayers and their work then things will improve…. The main reason for this change in attitude is that our children are now mixing too much with other communities, even doing inter-marriages and this is changing their point of view. Earlier it was not like this.

Thus, there is a strong focus among the old Gurkhas from rural area in participating in community events like. While on the other hand the young ones do not discriminate between people from within or outside the Gurkha community as depicted below:

Extract 3 (Int- AS, 20 yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to urban area)

NS – Are your best friends Gurkha?
AS – Only one out of the three is Gurkha….one is a Tibetan (girl)…another is Panjabi.
NS - Are your new friends Gurkha?
AS – No they are not Gurkhas……they are from other communities.
NS – How do you go to your institute….I mean what kind of transport you use?
AS – I ride my bike (motor-cycle) to my institute daily…these days due to the injury I am not riding the bike myself…my Punjabi friend takes me to the institute.

This shows that AS is keen to make relationships with persons from other communities also.

Participation in community event and the ‘we’ feeling: A strong sense of ‘we’ feeling through participation in events which bind the community was observed among the old Gurkha participants from both rural (first paragraph of Extract 2) and urban areas:
Extract 4 (Int- MT, 56yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to urban area)

MT – As a member of the Gurkahi Sudhar Sabha I offer Shramdan (free service to needy Gurkha families) on regular basis. Two days ago only we were in Lachhewala (an area in Dehradun) to help one of the very loyal patrons of Gurkahi Sudhar Sabha for his daughter’s marriage. It is believed that when we offer hands to somebody in need or distress then God takes care of our problems too.

NS – For what kind of occasions you have the tradition of offering Shramdan?

MT – Like I told you earlier occasions like marriage, death, organization of feast for some special purpose or some special occasion which calls for large scale arrangements requires Shramdan. Sometimes even our folks work for cleaning roads, river banks, and even lend a hand if somebody is building a home.

Extract 5 (Int- VG, 63yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to urban area)

VG - Do you know about Antarang Sabha (meet)….. Antarang Sabha is the weekly meet of Gurkahi Sudhar Sabha which takes place in Garhi Cant. office on Sundays. In this Sabha all the Adhayakshas (Head-men) from different areas come together to discuss the problems, achievements, etc. of their respective areas….like I represent the Kaulagarh area. I am fond of going there regularly because it tells me where we are heading as a society.

While the old ones in the Gurkha community are concerned about ensuring participation of the fellow members in the community events like worship of the Goddess or weekly meetings, the young ones are more focused about themselves that is ‘self’ as they wish to enhance their skills and capacities for grabbing the upcoming opportunities of life:

Extract 6 (Int- SC, 23 yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to rural area)

SC- Well…there are many…but the most common for me is to get up in the morning and open my shop….it’s like worship for me…I do this almost every day.

NS – What you could have done then things would have been better for you regarding opening the shop every day?

SC-I should have invested more in this shop then my business would have been much better… I should have saved more money thinking about the future and invested that money in the shop… you see my father did good for me by helping me to stand on my feet, but now its my turn, new shops are coming up which look better than mine and provide more dishes as they have more number of workers and they are planning about future also as they are thinking of expansion…like providing mobile recharge
NS- hmm….so its good that you realize all these things and want to do well in the future.
SC- yes...

Extract 7 (Int- DB, 25 yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to rural area)

DB- When I look back then I feel that that my decision to leave the computer course and join the work of driver was the worst thing to happen...about one-and-a-half year ago I joined this computer course of 1 year diploma in one of the institutes nearby the village. But I don’t know what happened to my mind and I suddenly decided to leave the course. Later on people told me that I can work as driver and just need to get a valid driving license and this thing struck to me and I came to this drivery (work of driver).
NS – What you could have done then the present situation would have been much better for you?
DB- I should have completed my course...in the entire village very few people know computer, if I would have known how to handle and got a degree in it then it would have been of reputation to me .... after the course I could have even set up my own computer business like computer café which is not present in the entire area here and then I would not have been wandering like this as I am doing today being a driver.

Extract 8 (Int- ABS, 23 yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to urban area)

ABS –Had I studied more (that is beyond 10\textsuperscript{th} standard) then I also could have been working in a better place...at least not as a guard but at least as a security supervisor who earns almost double than me.
NS – But, I came to know that you won award for your bravery...
ABS – Bravery is in our blood being Gurkha...people remember you for some time and then they forget you....it was part of my job to stop those three robbers from robbing the home.

Thus it is observed that participants SC, DB and ABS want to move ahead in life by improving their skills and are more attentive about themselves only. Moreover, the young Gurkhas also want to explore new fields as carrier options as depicted below (Extract 9) and even find pleasure in jobs that are not white collared (Extract 10)
Extract 9 (Int- AS, 20 yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belongs to urban area)

AS - My institute (Arena Animation, Rajpur Road, Dehradun) is a nice place to be in. I have been going there for almost two years now. I joined the course along with three of my best friends….and have made many new friends also. I like getting up in the morning, getting ready and riding to my institute......it's a place where we learn new creative things...it keeps my adrenaline going.

Extract 10 (Int- ABS, 23 yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to urban area)

ABS – Sir my father was a farmer and he sent me to Dehradun to study.....I gained education till 10th class. But, the untimely demise of my father forced me to do this job of guarding apartments, buildings, etc.
NS – For how long you have been doing this?
ABS – Six years now....and this is something in which I have settled in...though it is a bit boring sometimes...but it’s okay to do this as it gives me satisfaction...to look after people’s homes...may be one day I’ll also have my own big house....(smiles).

Traditionalism and opposition to change: The old Gurkhas, of both rural and urban areas are traditionalistic and are opposed to changes in their life:

Extract 11 (Int- HS, 69yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to rural area)

HS - a few months ago one of my grandsons Viren married a girl from low caste...
NS- which caste?
HS - Magar
NS- from this village...??
HS - yes....
NS- why is this a bad thing..
HS - because firstly she is from other caste....... And secondly that too from a lower caste. We are reputed people of the village and this should not have happened.

Even one of the narrations of a young Gurkha also indicates towards the closed approach of the old Gurkhas:
Extract 12 (Int- SC, 23 yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to rural area)

SC- I fled with one of the girls of lower caste in the village and married her..... (again silent)...
NS- how it all happened....?
SC- I liked this girl from one of the Gurung families in the village. She also liked me. We told about this to our families. They were not happy with this and refused to marry us. So I fled with her with the help of my friends and married her. We didn’t tell about this immediately to our families.....and told them only about a few months ago. We had to face lot of problems...but since we married so both families gave their consent for a proper marriage.

See that the young Gurkha is pointing to the fact about the hardships faced on marrying a girl from another caste group of Gurkha. At the same time, the young ones in Gurkha community are more geared towards changing the age-old traditions and not limit their mindset.

Extract 13 (Int- DB, 25 yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to rural area)

DB- Since I am directly attached to the process of offering sacrifice in the Puja (referring to the Sansari Mata Puja), I believe that we should introduce some sort of symbolic sacrifice in the Puja .....and we have started doing it in some way by letting 5 pigeons to let go this year. This should happen as sacrifice in front of small kids is not good....the goat to which the kids very fondly offer grass for days when slaughtered in front of them doesn’t give a good impact...we have to change this...I will not want my kids to see this.

The participant wants to do away with the tradition of sacrifice in annual community worship which is a big leap in the direction of changing traditions.

Preserving age-old relations: The old Gurkhas are serious about maintaining and protecting old relationships within the community:
Extract 14 (Int- BS, 58yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to rural area) in continuation of Extract 1

NS- do you charge any rate of interest?
BS- no
NS- did you got your loan back?
BS- not so far....
NS- are you disappointed or unhappy about it
BS- no I am not as it’s a village affair and this is the way we manage things here in our village.
NS – What you would have done then things would have been better today?
BS-I think I should not have given money separately.......Handling money matters is difficult and also affects the relationships we share.

On one hand the old Gurkhas are sincere about maintaining and protecting ties with community members, while on the other hand they are often suspicious of their relations with the persons from other communities as exemplified below.

Lack of faith in ‘outsiders’: There is also lack of faith for the persons from other communities (even if they might be neighbours) in situations when something negative happens:

Extract 15 (Int- VG, 63yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to urban area)

VG - My forefathers and even my father were soldiers…they used to fight for the country and for their people. I did not want to be a soldier as I hate violence and decided to open a shop (general merchant and mobile phones) which has been the source of my bread and butter for the past thirty-five years. About five months ago a robbery took place in my shop. Only two years ago I had started selling mobile phones also as I wanted to engage my son in the business. We suffered losses in lacs of rupees (hundreds of thousands of rupees). Still we are trying to come out of it.
NS – What you would have done then this would not happen?
VG - I should not have shown blind faith in my adjacent shop owner and give him the keys. Actually, since the time we have started selling mobile phones and mobile
recharge coupons, customers keep pouring in at every hour of the day....sometimes we have to tackle them on phone in odd hours also. We had to leave Dehradun to attend an important marriage for a week’s time. Keeping this in mind we left the keys with our neighbor shop owner, though with some hesitation. Two days before we had to come back, we came to know about the robbery and rushed back.

NS – Is your neighbor shop owner also of the same community?
VG – No......he is from a different community...but before this incident there was no bone of contention between us.....his shop has been next to mine for the past ten years...probably he was slack and careless about locking the shop properly....perhaps he is not that attached with it as we are and therefore forgot to lock it...

This extract also shows that in the urban areas Gurkhas are sharing neighbourhoods with people from other communities. Moreover, one distinction which is pretty clear is that while the old Gurkhas are concerned about protecting ties within the community and apprehensive about maintaining relationships with person of other communities, whereas the young Gurkha are not shy of developing friendship with persons from groups which are very diverse when compared with Gurkha like Punjabi, Tibetan as exemplified in Extract 3 (given below):

NS – Are your best friends Gurkha?
AS – Only one out of the three is Gurkha....one is a Tibetan (girl)...another is Panjabi.
NS - Are your new friends Gurkha?
AS – No they are not Gurkhas......they are from other communities.

Confused state of urban old Gurkha: However, the urban old Gurkhas sometimes seem not sure whether they want to abstain from socializing with other communities (like their rural counterparts) or are happy with the present scenario where there is some level of interaction with ‘others’ also:
Extract 16 (Int- VG, 63yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to urban area)

VG - Look the Antarang Sabha is not a political place...it is not intended to play politics in this Sabha....but what is happening now-a-days is that some of our own men for their own vested interests are becoming very political and want to settle scores with each other in these Sabhas. We should stop such people from being a part of this sacred place and event....rather, they should be thrown out of the Sabha and not allow them or their representatives to attend the Sabha and we can invite other members – even from other communities – who have lived in this area for a long time and who understand our culture to come and grace the occasion. This will do well to the community and the people also.

Extract 17 (Int- MT, 56yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to urban area)

MT – These days it is seen that few of our Gurkha folks have started socializing with other community members like Panjabis, Gadhwalis, Kumaoni, etc. It is okay for their personal convenience and ease but we should not offer Shramdan in such households.
NS – What do you mean by socializing?
MT – By socializing I am primarily referring to the concept of intermarriages. Also, some have started celebrating important traditional festivals like Teej with other folks. Look we are not village folks that we’ll excommunicate those who go for intermarriages and some level of tolerance has to be there.

The last part of the Extract 16 “…we can invite other members – even from other communities – who have lived in this area for a long time and who understand our culture to come and grace the occasion. This will do well to the community and the people also.” shows that the urban old Gurkhas are not that closed about interacting with persons from other communities and do no mind mixing with ‘others’.

Personal loss: When the old Gurkhas were asked to illustrate some negative event from the past one year of their life they mostly narrated an event which depicted personal loss which was either an economic loss (Extract 18 and 15) or health related (Extract 19) as follows:
Extract 18 (Int- BS, 58yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to rural area)

BS------in the past one year I had a big loss in agriculture and now I am trying to recover from it ....last year I was seriously ill for quite a long time and it was getting close to the sowing time. Then I decided to call my wife’s brother’s son, who lives nearby, for help at home and in the field. He was very helpful with the household chores and we gave him responsibilities of the crop also. He being not much experienced sprayed the wrong pesticide on crops (wheat) which ruined it completely and we incurred heavy losses.

Likewise in the first paragraph of Extract 15 by participant VG also depicted an event of personal economic loss

Extract 19 (Int- MT, 56yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to urban area)

MT –As I told you earlier I have served in the Indian army for a long time during which I was stationed at very remote and tough locations like Laddakh, etc. During my service years I picked up the habit of smoking....slowly became a chain smoker and used to finish two packets in a single day. Soon after my retirement three years ago I suffered with lung infection and it was cured after a long stint of medication which had a severe impact on my health.

These instances show the concern of the elderly Gurkhas about maintaining the status-quo in their life. While on the other hand when the young Gurkhas narrated an incident of personal loss there were references to moving ahead in life and doing better for themselves:

Extract 20 (Int- AS, 20 yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belongs to urban area)

AS - As you can see I have my left hand plastered! Actually I met a road accident about one-and-half months ago.....luckily for me only the left hand bone broke...I was wearing a hamlet, even though I was not riding the bike, and that saved me.
NS – how it all happened?
AS – While returning from the institute I along with my friends decided to visit Robber’s Cave (a famous tourist spot in Dehradun). The road has many dangerous curves....even some blind curves. My girlfriend asked me for bike riding to which I
agreed hesitantly as she is a novice. Just when she has started riding it.....on one of those curves...a car came in suddenly...and she could not handle the bike. Because we were in group and both of us were with a hamlet there was no fatal injury.
NS – sure you were lucky...!!

Extract 21 (Int- ABS, 23 yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to urban area)

ABS – About two years ago I developed the bad habit of drinking....every day after completing my scheduled duty hours I used to drink....slowly I became a heavy drinker.
NS – But you don’t look drunk now?
ABS – Because of this drinking problem I started making mistakes while on duty...I even missed my duty hours a few times. The apartment people then complained to my supervisor who threatened me throw out of this job if I do not get rid of it quickly. Then some of friends from Dehradun who got to know about this condition of mine came to my rescue and sent me to rehabilitation centre nearby for therapy. It helped me immensely to leave this bad habit.
NS – Good that you have realized it and worked hard to come out of it.

Thus we see that there are shades of positive attitude in the young Gurkhas (first paragraph of Extract 20 by AS and last paragraphs of Extract 21 by ABS and NS) even though they suffered with personal hardships.

Inferences

The different events narrated by the old and young Gurkha participants from rural and urban area gives a glimpse of their regulatory focus orientations. For instance it seems that for the young Gurkhas (of both the rural and urban area) the crucial drive in life is to improve themselves (Extracts 6, 7 & 8), explore new fields and diversify in occupations (Extract 9), they are satisfied with jobs even if their present job is not white-collared and aspire of doing good in future (Extract 10). In the same vein, the young Gurkhas wanted to perform better even if suffered personal hardships (Extract 20 & 21). Also, the young ones do not discriminate between
the ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ and are open about developing relationships with person from other communities (Extract 3). In addition to these if a tradition or practice seems to be barrier for the development of a better tomorrow the young Gurkhas do not hesitate in altering it (Extract 13). All these aspects point to the more promotion focused nature of the young Gurkha.

On the other hand, the rural old Gurkha seem to strongly discriminate between the ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ (Extracts 1 & 2) that is do not want to mix with ‘others’, feel that participation in the community events is essential for maintaining the ‘we’ sentiment in the community (Extract 2), seem to be traditionalistic in approach and opposed to changes in cultural values, norms and traditions (Extracts 11 & 12), and appear to be cautious about protecting and maintaining the age-old relations (Extract 14). These observations clearly point to the more prevention focused nature of rural old Gurkhas.

At the same time, gauging the predilection towards prevention or promotion focus for the urban old Gurkha is not clear-cut. They intend to foster the ‘we’ feeling in the community through participation in community events (Extracts 4 & 5) while on the contrary sometimes show suspicion of the intentions of their own community members in these events (Extract 16). Similarly, their attitude towards the members of other community is not clear as on one hand they intend to invite eminent scholars who can contribute positively to Gurkha culture (Extract 16) while show suspicion on those people (of other communities) with whom Gurkha have shared neighbours and lived for past ten years (Extract 15).
4.2.2.2 Counterfactual thinking difference between the old and young Gurkha

It has already been discussed in detail that previous researches (Pennington & Roese, 2003; Roese et al., 1999) have shown the relation between regulatory focus orientations of an individual with counterfactual thinking and need not be reiterated again. In preceding section the regulatory focus orientations of old and young Gurkhas from rural and urban areas of Dehradun have been described and analysed. Let us have a look at the kind of counterfactuals brooded over by them.

It was observed that most of the counterfactuals generated by the old Gurkhas were of subtractive nature and both rural and urban Gurkhas showed a preference for it, though sometimes the old urban Gurkhas did not show a very clear predilection for subtractive counterfactuals.

Relationships: Old Gurkhas brooded a lot about relationships and thus generated many counterfactuals about them as exemplified by the two extracts given below:

Extract 22 (Int- HS, 69yrs, Male, Lower Caste, belong to rural area)

HS -We should not have given him so much of freedom..... we should not have allowed him to do what he thinks is right.....his father Birendra handled him wrongly.
(Related to Extract 11)

Part of Extract 15, a counterfactual

VG - I should not have shown blind faith in my adjacent shop owner and give him the keys. Actually, since the time we have started selling mobile phones and mobile recharge coupons, customers keep pouring in at every hour of the day....sometimes we have to tackle them on phone in odd hours also. We had to leave Dehradun to attend an important marriage for a week’s time. Keeping this in mind we left the keys with our neighbor shop owner, though with some hesitation. Two days before we had to come back, we came to know about the robbery and rushed back.
Community members’ behaviour: Often the old Gurkhas found faults with the doings of the fellow community members and their counterfactual were centered about it. The two extracts given below depict this:

Part of Extract 2, a counterfactual

*HS* - Well….. nothing could be said explicitly but if today’s generation does not give too much time to eating-drinking habits then things will be much better. If they put this time into prayers and their work then things will improve…. The main reason for this change in attitude is that our children are now mixing too much with other communities, even doing inter-marriages and this is changing their point of view. Earlier it was not like this.

Part of Extract 17, a counterfactual

*MT* –These days it is seen that few of our Gurkha folks have started socializing with other community members like Panjabis, Gadhwalis, Kumaoni, etc. It is okay for their personal convenience and ease but we should not offer Shramdan in such households.
(Related to Extract 4)

As discussed above, the extracts given below exemplify that predilection for either subtractive or additive counterfactual is not very clear-cut in urban old Gurkhas.

Not believing ‘others’:

Extract 23 (Int- MT, 56yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to urban area)

*MT* –I should not have followed the advice of my neighbours who are different from us in a lot of respects. Upon their advice only I initially went to an allopathic doctor to seek treatment which did not work for me. Rather, I should have seen the Vaidya (local medicine man) who has a clinic in Naya-GaonPaleo village (in Sahaspur block of Dehradun district) and to whom all of us visit when in need of any such help.
(Related to Extract 19)
Inviting ‘others’:

Part of Extract 16

VG - ....we should stop such people from being a part of this sacred place and event....rather, they should be thrown out of the Sabha and not allow them or their representatives to attend the Sabha and we can invite other members – even from other communities – who have lived in this area for a long time and who understand our culture to come and grace the occasion. This will do well to the community and the people also.
(Related to Extract 5)

Hence, we see that in urban old Gurkhas the focus towards prevention (not believing ‘others’) or promotion (inviting ‘others’) focus is not very clear which transcends in their counterfactual thought also which is a mix of both subtractive and additive types.

However, the young Gurkhas generate mostly additive counterfactuals which are mainly centered on improving their own future showing their more promotion focused nature also.

Improving the future:

Part of Extract 6

SC- I should have invested more in this shop then my business would have been much better... I should have saved more money thinking about the future and invested that money in the shop...

Part of Extract 7

DB- I should have completed my course...in the entire village very few people know computer, if I would have known how to handle and got a degree in it then it would have been of reputation to me .... after the course I could have even set up my own computer business like computer café which is not present in the entire area here
and then I would not have been wandering like this as I am doing today being a driver.

Extract 24 (Int- AS, 20 yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belongs to urban area)

AS - I feel like changing a few things about my institute and about the course. Recently, I went to another multimedia-animation institute of the city - ITM Multimedia with one of my old friends. They are giving their students exposure of working in the studios and shoot animation films as part of the course which we are lacking. I think in my institute also they should provide this kind of hands-on training. Also, if we are given Honours degree then it will be more valuable for the future...for our placements.  
(Related to Extract 9)

Part of Extract 8

ABS – Had I studied more (that is beyond 10th standard) then I also could have been working in a better place...at least not as a guard but at least as a security supervisor who earns almost double than me.  
(Related to Extract 10)

Extract 25 (Int- SC, 23 yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belong to rural area)

SC- I think we should have tried more to get their consent first and tell about the whole issue to our families properly....what I mean is that first of all we should have tried to convince our parents....now sometimes it seems to me that my family is not fully supportive of me as they used to be.  
(Related to Extract 12)

The core of above discussed counterfactuals by the young Gurkhas (of both rural and urban areas) is improving in life and the focus is on different domains like enhancing his business (participant SC), or enhancing his education (participants DB, AS and ABS) and enhancing the relations within the family (participant SC). Apart from these the counterfactuals by young Gurkhas sometimes focused on the following themes also:
Changing traditions for betterment of future generations:

Part of Extract 13

*DB* - I believe that we should introduce some sort of symbolic sacrifice in the Puja .....and we have started doing it in some way by letting 5 pigeons to let go this year.

Having faith in his own abilities:

Extract 26 (Int- AS, 20 yrs, Male, Higher Caste, belongs to urban area)

*AS* – I should have been riding the bike then such a case could have been avoided...or perhaps if one of my other friends (male friend he is referring to) had been riding the bike then we would have been safer.

(Related to Extract 20)

Thus, we find that the young Gurkha has self belief that if he would have been riding the bike then accident would not have occurred.

Inferences

It is seen that the counterfactuals generated by the young Gurkhas from both rural and urban area of Dehradun are primarily additive in structure and this relates very well with their promotion focused nature which is exemplified in the previous section on regulatory focus orientations. However, for the old Gurkhas the predilection seems to be towards prevention focus and subtractive counterfactual thinking but not very precisely for the urban old Gurkhas. Moreover, the presence of different shades of self-regulatory strategies of promotion focus and prevention focus among the young and old Gurkha individuals respectively and the different nature of counterfactual thinking (additive counterfactuals by young and subtractive
counterfactuals by old) strongly questions the recent finding by Zou et al. (2009, ) that at the cultural level whole of China is prevention focused and engages more in subtractive counterfactual thinking as compared to Americans.

Using grounded methods in ethnography I started developing my hypothesis relating regulatory-focus orientation with counterfactual thinking, which also had underpinnings from previous studies (Pennington & Roese, 2003; Roese et al., 1999), and it is seen that data collected from interviews is echoing with inferences drawn from ethnography. Rather, the interviews helped me to further concretize my hypothesis. However, the methods drawn so far to explore the relation between counterfactuals and regulatory-focus orientation have been qualitative which had their own limitation like small sample size and non-representation of females in the sample. Thus, it was felt that there is a need to probe the question and the hypothesis developed so far using more quantitative approach. In line with this thought I decided to embark upon a rating-scale cum questionnaire based study (which is named as Paper-pencil experiment) among the old and young Gurkhas from rural and urban areas of Dehradun.

4.3 Study II: The Paper-pencil Experiment

From both ethnography and the focused-structured interviews we come to know that young Gurkhas (rural and urban) seem to be promotion focused and inclined to generate more additive counterfactuals for improving the situations. Likewise, rural old Gurkhas appear to be prevention focused and inclined to improving scenarios by employing subtractive counterfactuals. But unlike the rural old Gurkhas, in the urban old ones this trend is not very
clear and certainly needs to be explored further. As discussed earlier, it was decided to investigate further regulatory focus and counterfactual thinking among the Gurkhas through the methodology of paper-pencil experiment.

Taking a cue from ethnography and focused-structured interviews it was hypothesized that: young Gurkhas from both rural as well as urban areas are likely to be more promotion focused and having predilection for generation of more additive than subtractive counterfactuals. Similarly, rural old Gurkhas are expected to be more prevention focused and thus likely to generate more subtractive than additive counterfactuals. However, the urban old Gurkhas owing to their less traditionalist/conservationist nature (when compared with their rural counterparts) are predicted to be not that much prevention focused and hence should be tuned to a lesser degree to the generation of subtractive counterfactuals. Also, previous studies (Higgin & Silberman, 1998; Shah, 2003) investigating the way an individual’s regulatory focus strategy is shaped through caregiver’s social regulatory style found that chronic individual differences in regulatory focus emerge through caregiver’s social regulatory style, especially individual’s representation of his/her father (Shah, 2003), which affects the way an individual navigates his/her social world. In the ethnography and interview study I found different regulatory focus orientations among the young and old of the same culture viz. Gurkha which is opposite to the inferences drawn by Higgin and Silberman (1998) and Shah (2003) and thus similar predictions were made for the paper-pencil study as well.

Furthermore, in the present study the aim was two-fold: firstly, to assess the regulatory focus orientation of the young and old generations of both rural and urban Gurkhas; and secondly, to investigate solicitation of which type of counterfactual (additive or subtractive) is
preferred by which generation (young or old) of Gurkhas residing in two distinct areas of Dehradun district (rural and urban). Both objectives have been probed using the methodology of paper-pencil experiment.

4.3.1 Method

4.3.1.1 Participants

One hundred and ten Gurkha participants voluntarily participated in the study. Sixty rural Gurkha men and women were from Karbari Grant village. Out of sixty, thirty were young (10 female; mean age = 22.73 yrs) and thirty old (10 female; mean age = 59.23 yrs). Similarly, fifty urban Gurkha men and women from Dehradun city also voluntarily participated in the study. Out of these fifty urban Gurkha participants, twenty-five were young (8 female; mean age = 23.32 yrs) and twenty-five were old (8 females; mean age = 57.8 yrs). While collecting data from both the sub-cultures viz. rural and urban Gurkhas, we ensured that both the young and old always belonged to the same family so as to rule out the differences, as far as possible, on the basis of socialization. Also, during the process of data collection from a family the participant was always asked to do the task alone. Moreover, for data collection in the village and in the city I established camp in both locations. For establishing camp in village the help of village Pradhan was taken, while cooperation from the Gurkali Sudhar Sabha in Garhi Cantontment was sought for forming the came in city where all participants came and performed the experiment.
4.3.1.2 Materials and Procedure

The ‘paper-pencil experiment’ is a questionnaire having two sections. The first section is a 9 point rating scale for assessing the regulatory focus orientation, and the second section is open ended questionnaire focusing on solicitation of counterfactuals. If during the data collection somebody was found to be incapable of writing then help was taken from other family member but this helper was not allowed to prompt.

Regulatory Focus Questionnaire by Higgins, Roney, Crowe, and Hymes (1994, also see Roese et al., 1999,) was used for assessing the regulatory focus orientation. The questionnaire was translated to Hindi and back translated with the help of locally available experts. The measure contained 10 items (adapted from Roese et al., 1999), 5 items were on promotion focus and 5 on prevention focus. The items were simple common everyday behaviours like “making new friends” (oriented towards promotion focus) and “not making enemies” (oriented towards prevention focus). For each item the participant was asked to rate on a 9 point scale about “How important it is in your life?” where 1 meant extremely unimportant and 9 meant extremely important. Higher scores indicated higher promotion or prevention focus. The rating by each participant on promotion and prevention items was averaged separately to form indices of promotion and prevention focus.

After the ratings, on the subsequent page participants were asked to briefly describe a negative event from the past one year. Thereafter the following instructions were given:

After a negative experience often we think “what if....” Then things would have been better. In the space provided below describe such thoughts which you must have gone through soon after the negative experience. These thoughts could be of two types:
1. **About things which you never did but should have done then things would have been better** like “after failing in an examination the student thinks that he should have studied for more number of hours....”.

2. **About things which you did but should not have done then things would have been better** like “after failing in an examination the student thinks that he should have play less...”.

*Kindly describe at least 3 such thoughts.*

This part of the questionnaire was about solicitation of counterfactuals. The counterfactual responses were later coded for additive/subtractive type. Apart from the researcher, help from an independent coder was also taken to ascertain whether the sentence expressed (a) an additive counterfactual thought – insertion of an antecedent factor that was not present, and/or (b) a subtractive counterfactual thought – deletion of a factor that was present. If a response contained both an additive counterfactual thought and a subtractive counterfactual thought (that is substitutive counterfactual), then it was counted as both an additive and a subtractive counterfactual.

The design of the paper-pencil experiment was 2 X 2 X [2] mixed factorial for assessing both the regulatory focus orientation and preference for generation of counterfactual thoughts. In the assessment of self-regulatory strategy the design was 2 (culture: Rural Gurkhas vs. Urban Gurkhas) X 2 (age: young vs. old) X 2 (focus: promotion vs. prevention) mixed factorial with culture and age as between-subjects variable while focus was within-subjects variable. Likewise, for assessing the preference for generation of counterfactuals the design was 2 (culture: Rural Gurkhas vs. Urban Gurkhas) X 2 (age: young vs. old) X 2 (counterfactual type: additive vs.
subtractive) mixed factorial with culture and age as between-subjects variable while counterfactual type was within-subjects variable. Participants first completed the ratings and then moved to recording of negative event followed by generation of counterfactual thoughts. They were instructed that there is no right or wrong answer and they should feel free to respond according to their personal experience and opinions. Once the responses were recorded, the participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

To avoid emotional consequences or effect counterfactuals thoughts on the ratings the participants were given the ratings scale first, followed by the counterfactual solicitation questions. Previous literature showed that different kinds of counterfactuals leads to different emotional consequences (Roese, 1994; Roese & Olson, 2003).

4.3.2 Results

4.3.2.1 Regulatory focus

A 2 (culture: Rural Gurkhas vs. Urban Gurkhas) X 2 (age: young vs. old) X 2 (regulatory focus: promotion vs. prevention) mixed factorial ANOVA showed that the main effect of regulatory focus was significant with people across the cultures (that is for both rural and urban Gurkhas). It is found to be more promotion focused ($M = 6.16$) than prevention focused ($M = 5.43$), $F(1, 106) = 57.79$, $p < .0001$, $mse = 0.89$ as predicted and contrary to earlier findings for the Asian population (Zou et al., 2009). The main effects for culture and age were not significant.
As per the predictions, the two-way interaction between age and focus was significant \( F(1, 106) = 92.76, p < .0001, \text{mse} = 0.51 \). Planned comparisons showed that overall the young Gurkhas are more promotion \((M = 6.92)\) than prevention \((M = 4.5)\) focused, \( t(108) = 19.47, p < 0.0001 \) where as old Gurkhas are more prevention \((M = 6.37)\) than promotion \((M = 5.39)\) focused, \( t(108) = 4.84, p < 0.0001 \). The two-way interaction effects between culture and age as well as culture and focus were not significant.

The three-way interaction between culture, age, and focus was also significant \( F(1, 106) = 28.55, p < .0001, \text{mse} = 0.51 \). Planned comparisons for the significant three-way interaction between culture, age, and focus revealed that both young Gurkhas in the rural as well as urban are more promotion focused than prevention focused, \( t(58) = 20.67, p < 0.0001 \) and \( t(48) = 9.79, p < 0.0001 \) respectively. However, the old Gurkhas in the rural area show a different pattern compared to those in the urban areas. Rural old Gurkhas are more prevention \((M = 6.53)\) than promotion \((M = 5.07)\) focused, \( t(58) = 5.01, p < 0.0001 \) but the urban old Gurkhas are not more prevention focused \((M = 6.15)\) than promotion focused \((M = 5.77)\), \( t(48) = 1.54, p = \text{ns} \).

The above results clearly reveal that young Gurkha population whether residing in rural or urban area is more promotion focused in general. While on the other hand, for the old Gurkhas the social environment and context seems to be playing an important part. The old Gurkhas in rural area are more prevention focused owing to their more secluded and isolated living style. However, at the same time urban old Gurkhas are not more prevention focused like their rural counterparts, probably due to their more mixed style of living with other communities.
4.3.2.2 Counterfactual type preference

Each participant was asked to record at least three counterfactuals. The dependent measure was the number of additive and/or subtractive counterfactuals generated by each participant. A 2 (culture: Rural Gurkhas vs. Urban Gurkhas) X 2 (age: young vs. old) X 2 (counterfactual type: additive vs. subtractive) mixed factorial ANOVA with counterfactual type as within-subjects variable was performed (Figure 4.2). The main effect of counterfactual type was significant with Gurkhas across culture (that is both rural and urban Gurkha) found to be generating more additive counterfactuals ($M = 1.64$) than subtractive counterfactuals ($M = 1.33$), $F(1, 106) = 4.8$, $p < .05$, $mse = 1.1$ as predicted and contrary to earlier findings for the Asian population (Zou et al., 2009). The main effects for culture and age were not significant.
In line with the predictions, the two-way interaction between age and counterfactual type was significant $F(1, 106) = 14.32, p < .0001, mse = 1.1$. Planned comparisons for this significant two-way interaction revealed that: young Gurkhas in general had preference for generation of additive ($M = 1.91$) than subtractive ($M = 1.06$) counterfactuals $t(108) = 5.1, p < 0.001$, while the old Gurkhas preferred more to generate subtractive ($M = 1.6$) than additive ($M = 1.36$) counterfactuals $t(108) = 1.69, p < 0.05$. The two-way interaction effects between culture and age as well as culture and counterfactual type were not significant.

It was predicted for the three way interaction between culture, age, and counterfactual type to be significant, but it has not turned out to be the case. Since the three-way interaction for culture, age, and focus was significant and revealed interesting results, and because focus and counterfactual generation is related (Pennington & Roese, 2003; Roese et al., 1999; Roese, Hur & Pennington, 1998; Pennington, Roese & Gardner, 2000; Zou et al., 2009; also the studies in preceding sections) it was decided to carry out planned comparisons for three-way interaction between culture, age, and counterfactual type. The planned comparison shows that both young Gurkhas in the rural as well as urban produce more additive than subtractive counterfactuals, $t(58) = 3.98, p < 0.0001$ and $t(48) = 3.17, p < 0.001$ respectively. However, the old Gurkhas in the rural area show a different pattern compared to those in the urban areas. Rural old Gurkhas have preference for subtractive ($M = 1.63$) than additive ($M = 1.30$) counterfactuals $t (58) = 1.66, p < 0.05$ but the urban old Gurkhas do not produce more subtractive ($M = 1.56$) than additive counterfactuals ($M = 1.44$), $t(48) = 0.622, p = ns$. Thus we find that even though the above mentioned three-way interaction between culture, age, and counterfactual type was not significant, but its further fine-grained analysis led to some interesting revelations about the pattern of counterfactual thinking.
4.4 Discussion

Results indicate that Gurkhas in general are more promotion focused and engage more in additive counterfactual thinking. This agree with findings from the previous study on counterfactual thinking in India (Saxena et al., 2012) where preference for additive over subtractive counterfactual thinking was found in two different cultural groups. This is not in agreement with the findings by Zou et al. (2009) which found Asians to be more prevention focused. Our results indicate that this is not true for all Asian cultures and gross generalization about all the Asian nations or even a culture is hard to make with studies involving single or very few cultures.
Young Gurkhas whether residing in rural or urban areas are more promotion focused. Thus it can be said that irrespective of Gurkha youth being socialized in rural or urban locale their preference is for improvement and growth in life and this was illustrated in the previous chapter also which employed the ethnographic method to probe this question among rural Gurkhas. Moreover young Gurkhas of both rural and urban locale have a predilection for additive counterfactual thinking. This finding is in agreement with findings from the previous studies that relate promotion focus and additive counterfactual thinking (Roese et al., 1999; Zou et al., 2009).

However, the story is not so simple in case of the old Gurkhas. The rural old Gurkhas are clearly more prevention focused (as found in previous chapter too), while their urban counterparts do not seem to have a preference for prevention focus or a particular strategy of self-regulation. This is so because rural old Gurkhas are traditional and conservationist in their disposition which even extends to non-maintenance of social ties with other communities (like for marriage). This in turn has shaped their preference for preserving the status quo and clear inclination for prevention focus and subtractive counterfactual thinking. On the other hand, the urban old Gurkhas are in the process of mixing with their neighbouring communities and are not that much geared to sustaining distance with ‘others’ and thus not entirely oriented to prevention focus type self-regulatory strategy. This, uncertainty in regulatory focus orientation among the urban old Gurkhas also shows its effect on the preference for subtractive counterfactual thinking which is not present as well. Pennington and Roese (2003) while working on the relationship between self-regulatory strategy and counterfactual content pointed out that the relationship between prevention focus and subtractive counterfactual thinking may not always be as robust as the one between promotion focus and additive counterfactuals. However, the present study goes
a step ahead because it does provide a culturally valid justification for this anomaly while Pennington and Roese (2003) could not accomplish this.

The present study shows that bracketing an entire culture as promotion or prevention focused and having fondness for generation of additive or subtractive counterfactual thinking respectively is not appropriate. Rather, it is important to look at the possible “ways of living” present within the sub-groups in a culture as exemplified by the old Gurkhas. The old Gurkha population living in rural and urban areas seems to have different set of values, goals, and motivation in life which affects their self-regulatory styles and predilection for the type of counterfactual generated by them.

Also, the point made by Triandis and his colleagues (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) that cultures differ in the extent to which they are vertical (emphasizing hierarchy) and horizontal (emphasizing openness) is well exemplified by present research, especially the concept of horizontality. The detailed description of the social structure in Gurkhas given in previous chapter very neatly points out the hierarchical nature of their society. Old Gurkhas in rural and urban seem to be “open” to other communities to different degrees which influences their self-regulatory styles and therefore impinges on their preference for counterfactual type. While at the same time, young Gurkhas from both rural and urban areas of Dehradun have preference for similar kind of self-regulatory style and counterfactual thinking. Thus, ignoring the various internal patterns found within a culture in form of the presence of various sub-groups and their sub-cultures could prove costly to the understanding of a phenomenon.

Lastly, the findings of previous research which claimed that an individual’s regulatory focus is shaped by that of caregiver’s self-regulatory style (Higgins & Silberman, 1998),
especially individual’s representation of his/her father (Shah, 2003), which in turn affects the way individual navigates his/her social world is not the case in the present research. On the contrary, in the present study we come to opposite conclusions where there is no parallel between regulatory focus styles and nature of counterfactual thinking among the young and old ones of a culture (remember that both young and old were sampled from same families for the paper-pencil experiment). One probable reason could be that conclusions made by Higgins & Silberman (1998) and Shah (2003) were based on studies conducted in Western nations where families are mostly nuclear or single-parent type, while among the Gurkhas kinship ties are more extended. This might be playing a part and could be looked in future studies.

The overarching goal of the present study was to test how differences in regulatory focus across cultures (rural and urban Gurkhas) and across age-groups (young and old Gurkhas) shapes the nature of counterfactual thinking (additive or subtractive counterfactual), and this was demonstrated with brevity. The difference in regulatory focus and counterfactual thinking across cultures and sub-cultures is the consequence of different socialization process. The socialization process in a community shapes the regulatory focus orientation which in turn shapes the preference for generation of a specific type of counterfactual is well exemplified here.

However, an important determinant of content of counterfactual thought is ‘outcome’ (Roese & Olson, 1993) which could not be tested using the methods of ethnography, structured interviews and paper-pencil experiment as it requires more controlled condition to test the effect of outcome on counterfactual type. Hence, it was decided to carry out this endeavor by administering computer based experiments among the old and young Gurkhas. But, as old Gurkhas are not even minimally computer proficient and expressed their apprehensions about doing experiment on computer it was resolved that I shall go for comparison between the young
Gurkhas and undergraduate students of Allahabad. This study also gave me the opportunity to test the premise that whether the predilection for additive counterfactual thinking is only limited to young Gurkhas or is common in the youth at other places also. The study comparing young Gurkha with young Allahabad students is presented in the next chapter.