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**CHANGING IMAGES OF AMERICA:**  
**A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions**

by

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## Chapter I

### THE PROBLEM: a case study

An Indian student in his early twenties arrives in the United States for further training in his professional field. On disembarking, he is identified at the Customs barrier as an alien, and finds himself lumped together with other Orientals in a category of low-quota immigrants. He is glad to be greeted by the Committee for Friendly Relations among Foreign Students whose representative treats him with cordiality and concern. He welcomes the presence of fellow-nationals who "are in the same boat" and other foreign students whom he meets at the local International Student Center. He is grateful for some friendly tips and fatherly advice from his country's diplomatic representative, and he is reassured to know that he has a local "guardian" in case of an emergency.

During the first week the young Indian picks his bewildered way through a world of fast-moving automobiles and gigantic buildings. Men and women hurry past him to their work, unconcerned with his presence, far too busy, he thinks, and he knows not why. A sense of smallness and loneliness creeps upon him. Now and again, some older women and children stop and stare at

him and ask questions that seem to flatter neither his own homeland nor the questioner's education.

Over the first few months, the young curious and baffled Indian catches himself answering and anticipating questions about India as though he were a cultural representative and a national spokesman for India as a whole. The role of the unofficial ambassador of India is accepted by him with the same alacrity that he assigns to the man-in-the-street the anonymous face of the American public. He feels no longer quite so small, but he feels none the less still lonely. He would make friends, if only he knew how and what to expect. He is nostalgic. . . .

Krishnan, the young Indian, has now completed two years in an American University. He has all but fulfilled the requirements for an advanced degree. He has gained a certain sense of achievement and progress. He is friendly with some of his fellow nationals and a few foreign students. He has visited several American families, mostly middle-aged couples, and he has talked informally about Indian life to well-meaning but, he believes, uninfluential social groups in small suburban communities. He has enjoyed the openness and accessibility of his teachers, the informality of the classroom discussions, and the spirit of debate and enquiry that permeates instruction. He has done summer jobs he would never have dreamed of doing--and he is glad to mention that he worked as janitor or dishwasher during

the vacation. As he compares notes with his fellow nationals whom he meets at the Indian Association meetings every other month, he discovers that they are not all equally sensitive to the social opportunities available on the campus and outside. He is obliged to recognize that after all there are Indians and Indians. The role of the unofficial ambassador suddenly seems to dissipate as he begins further to reflect how he gets on better with some of his American colleagues than with several of his Indian compatriots. The ready friendliness of the Americans pleases him, though lack of the intimacy that he has learned to associate with his Indian friendships is disconcerting and often deeply disappointing. On the other hand, he is excited by the frank interest and warmth that American women are capable of showing toward him. He experiences novel opportunities for spontaneous friendliness toward girls. He is soon disillusioned, however, that the interest of the American girl does not carry over into deep attachment or continued friendship. Nonetheless he retains his sexual curiosity and seems a little gratified to think that he is making out better than many of his co-nationals, though not so well as the American boys. He counts his "dates." He notes that some of them are Jewish, and of all his girl friends, they are particularly sympathetic to him. He has learned to discriminate between Americans and Americans.

Kris is now four years away from home. He has taken a degree and is working on a job for practical experience. He has traveled

quite a bit in the States, and he drives his own car which he picked up through a friend for a couple of hundred dollars. He seldom steps into the International Student Center he used to haunt so frequently some years before, and rarely attends social gatherings of the Indian Student Association. Come fall, he is reminded of his alien status. As he figures out his prospects of returning home, he is worried by the many uncertainties he will encounter there. He has heard about the few openings for men of his qualifications, and the declining prestige of the Western-trained man in general. As he translates his dollar income into the rupees he can expect to earn at home, he reads a figure he thinks inadequate for developing himself professionally. Kris is not cut out to be a rebel or a saint, he tells himself, and he is not going to throw away the standard of living and "the rich full life" he now enjoys for a society that will not absorb his specialized training and pay him a decent wage for his services. Besides, he is not sure he wants the rigid and inhibiting style of life of the middle class Indian family to which he belongs. He has come, he believes, to feel a more robust sense of individuality in the open and informal social contacts he has made with his colleagues, his teachers and employers, and some of his girl friends in the States. He cherishes his privacy and above all his confidence in his own independence, untrammelled by the family and communal pressures he has too well known and dreads to face again. He is no longer thinking of

Indian-American relations, but about his daily problems as an individual seeking to make his way in life.

Five years have passed. Kris wants to be understood and accepted and loved. He is too far from home, and he has been too long away to have vital rapport with his family members. Whom can he turn to for the warm and intimate companionship which he acutely desires and increasingly seems to miss as he gears into the fast tempo of life in the States? He knows some good girl friends. One or two of them he would consider marrying. He believes they are interested too but they cannot wait for him indefinitely. He has to make up his mind. "Let me see," he often reflects, "supposing I marry a foreign girl. Could I make her happy in India? How would she be received among my family members--the whole long line of them--and my professional colleagues, and their families? And would she be happy here, if she felt sooner or later that there was some subtle discrimination against her for marrying a colored Oriental?" He wishes people would realize he is neither white nor colored but an Indian. He fondly believes his girl is brave enough to think the world well lost for love and all that, but marriage does bring up the question of children. What is best for them? Are their children not likely to be exposed perhaps to far worse discrimination in his own home culture than here in the States where the melting pot has been longer at work?

A year later, Kris puts aside all ideas of marriage. He begins to be worried by the fact that some of his girl friends are genuinely interested in him for marriage, not just for fun. But he has decided now that he is only interested in a good time. He begins to be vaguely dissatisfied with his girl friends. He surveys the headlines in the daily news. . .juvenile delinquency, teen-age murders, divorces, alcoholism, racial discrimination. . . Will he pack up and go? . . . No! Not yet! He enjoys his job, his friends, his comforts, his fun, his freedom, his privacy. His parents and relatives write pressing for him to return home. But he knows they will never understand how he has grown. And he likes it out here. When his friends from India ask silly questions about Americans, he recognizes how deeply they misunderstand and underestimate his appreciation of many things about the American way of life. But he, at any rate, has no desire to be a missionary. Had he not been so Western-educated in the first place, perhaps he would be better disposed to fit in with Indian culture than with American society. He feels himself to be an alien, no longer so much to the host country as to his native land. It is true that he expresses critical dissatisfaction about many things here, but he does not feel involved to the same degree that he does when he is critical about many things back home. He seems to be somehow critical about things here with a vaguely disquieting sense that these problems in American society are not quite all his problems. Does he really communicate with

all of the American people? As he comments on the acute needs and problems of India today, he doubts that from such academic heights as he now commands, he could ever communicate his problems to the great masses of villagers who are the core of the Indian people. He is not a rebel nor a saint, he reminds himself, he wants to be free to manage his own life and decide his own personal destiny.



## Chapter II

### SCOPE OF THE ENQUIRY

The foregoing case-study focusses on the major interest of our investigation: namely, changes in the foreign student's image of his host and home cultures over a prolonged sojourn abroad. We are particularly interested in how far he views each culture globally and how far he differentiates in his images of it as time passes.

"Foreign students" arriving in a new culture orient themselves mainly by the perspectives provided by their "reference groups." A reference group has been defined as any group, formal, informal, or symbolic in which the individual has a psychologically functioning membership.<sup>1</sup> Reference groups function mainly as major anchorings for orienting the individual in his social relations. In general, reference groups assist in providing norms, standards, or perspectives for an individual's definitions of various aspects of the social worlds to which he is selectively oriented on given issues.

The concept of reference group behavior has considerable importance in social psychology for interpreting apparent incon-

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<sup>1</sup>T.M. Newcomb, "Social Psychological Theory," Chapter 2 in J.H. Rohrer and M. Sherif (Eds.), Social Psychology at the Cross-Roads, New York: Harper, 1951, p. 18.

sistencies in the behavior of individuals moving from one social context to another. Common examples of such behavior are to be found in adolescent "revolt" in American culture, symbolic status-strivings in social mobility, conflicts in group loyalty, dilemmas of marginality, and differential sensitivity of various segments of a society to mass communication. A reference group is usually a warmly accepted group or a group in which the individual wishes to be included. However, not all an individual's in-group memberships necessarily constitute his reference groups nor do all his reference groups imply only positively valued membership groups. Various uses of the concept of reference group behavior have been critically reviewed in the author's dissertation, "Acculturative Learning: a study of reference groups."<sup>2</sup>

### Related Studies

A number of previous studies have explored the process of adaption and adjustment of foreign students and migrants, and have examined in part the changing reference groups which affect these visitors.

Lambert and Bressler did intensive case-histories of 19 students from India, Pakistan and Ceylon. The students' orientations to their new culture are determined by reference groups

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<sup>2</sup>Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, April 1956.

that were generalized membership groups having a "cultural past" emphasis, or a "national future emphasis." Furthermore, according to these investigations the primary determinant of image-formation and development of Indian student attitudes toward the host culture involves:

. . . a process by which American institutional areas are perceived and interpreted in the context of their relevance to Indian culture, history and aspirations, and is operative among all students and is applicable to all institutional areas over all points of time, whether or not images of American life are derived from the media of mass communication or from direct observation.<sup>3</sup>

This mechanism of cultural reference operates, however, with selective bias accentuating the most valued traits that are perceived by the individual in his home reference groups. One study of changes in attitudes, opinions and information, and English language ability of 62 Latin American trainees who came to the United States for a year's study in agriculture showed that the trainees at the end of their sojourn compared the situation in the home country unfavorably with respect to such items as: "tendency to deal with problems scientifically"; "tendency to recognize the dignity of labor"; "tendency to regard practical utility as the highest criterion of value"; "tendency of education to emphasize what is essential to making a living"; "the importance of the middle class". On the other hand, a year's stay in the United States increased the trainees' belief that a woman's sexual

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<sup>3</sup>R.D. Lambert and M. Bressler, "Indian Students and the United States: Cross-Cultural Images," The Annals, 1954, 295, 62-72.

freedom before marriage, immorality of women, and lack of sanctity of marriage were more typical of the United States.<sup>4</sup>

Further evidence that foreign students are sensitized to learn about those categories of social groups in a new culture which represent important reference groups to them in their own society at home, comes from a recent study of Brazilian students over a period of six years' sojourn in the United States. This study using two control groups--one American in the United States and the other Brazilian in Brazil--shows that there is a gain in cultural knowledge as a result of acculturation, the foreign student almost matching the scores made by the American group in the areas of Religion, Family, and Marriage.<sup>5</sup> However, it must be noted that the host culture is perceived in terms of important values that are brought over from the home culture, and these are the areas that are learned.

Given the foreign student's need to enhance or protect the status of his familiar home reference groups, he tends to erect barriers against "meanings" that he perceives to be incoherent with or threatening to his important value-orientations. This phenomenon is demonstrated in the heightened defensiveness on the part of the foreign student especially during the initial period

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4P. Loomis and E.A. Schuler, "Acculturation of Foreign Students in the United States," Applied Anthropology, Spring, 1948, 7, 17-34.

5L.M.K. Long, "The Brazilian Student in the United States," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, February, 1956.

of his sojourn when he has to "figure out" the meanings of complex ambiguous cues in an unfamiliar field. Negative and unfavorable criticisms of the United States may often result through the operation of the visitor's ego-defenses when he perceives implicit references to certain "sensitive areas" specific to his own culture:

[The Indian student] perceives hostility as an active component of low-status ascription especially when it includes references to certain "sensitive areas," e.g., statements in the American press or implications "to which Indians react strongly," such as: Indians are basically inferior, India will never be the equal of Western countries; India is an undesirable place to live in (dirt, disease, etc.); Indians have objectionable personal traits; India is too divided to form a nation; India's social structure is undemocratic, inhumane, unenlightened; the bases on which India expects acclaim from the West are hypocritical and not in accord with Indian practice (India's history of rioting, as contrasted with India's statements about non-violence) . . . .

The recognition of low-status ascription is enhanced when the Indian finds among other things that ignorance of India is widespread; India is ignored in essential contexts; general statements about United States superiority are rife; that he is subjected to treatment which he perceives is like that accorded to low-status individuals in the host country. . . .

Finally, the Indian student reacts to these perceived assaults by erecting a series of defense mechanisms shown, for instance, by the tendency to compare American practices with the home creed; the tendency to selectively interpret "favorable", American practices; unconscious striving to be a victim of American malpractice; American practices are judged in a contemporary value context, whereas Indian practice is judged in its historical setting; American foreign policy is judged as though the U.S. were free to choose between unlimited options, while India's alternatives are thought to be severely restricted.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>R.D. Lambert and M. Bressler, "The Sensitive Area Complex: A Contribution to the Theory of Guided Culture Contact," American Journal of Sociology, 1955, 60, 583-592.

The visitor's defensive reactions to the host culture are likely to be accentuated by historical or socio-economic factors, e.g., colonial subjection and technical underdevelopment (Lambert-Bressler), or defeat in war and impoverishment of industrial strength (Watson-Lippitt). For instance, in a study of twenty-nine German visitors composing three teams of 12, 10 and 7 who stayed twelve, six and six months in the United States respectively, the following factors appear to have increased the probability of defensiveness operating with regard to certain sensitive areas specific to the German post-war situation:

For the German visitor, there were at least three areas in which America had the advantage over Germany. The first was military strength. Germany lost World War II and America was on the winning side. The second was the high standard of living, but war damage considerably reduced it. The third advantage was our long democratic tradition, and a casual expertness in the practice of democracy. It was possible for the visitors to deny either the desirability or the importance of these attributes but it was not possible to assert German superiority with respect to them.<sup>7</sup>

It was also found, however, that whereas defensiveness about Germany was highest in the initial interview, it dropped by the time of the departure, and was even lower on follow-up interviews (six months after the team returned to Germany.) Accompanying this decline of defensive reactions between the first and the last interview was an increase of direct criticism of Germany

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<sup>7</sup>Jeanne Watson and R. Lippitt, Learning Across Cultures: A Study of Germans Visiting America, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955, p. 17.

during the same period. German characteristics that were omitted or reported without evaluation in the early interviews came to be more openly criticized.<sup>8</sup>

Thus foreign students may selectively respond on terms of some negative aspects they perceive in their own home reference groups. Or again, they may be oriented to some aspects of their host reference groups negatively, and to other aspects positively. For instance, one of the earliest studies showed that the foreign student tends to see more defects with acculturation, but he has also more opportunity to see counteracting influences at work.<sup>9</sup> He thus gains a differentiated perspective of his reference groups both in the host and in the home cultures.

Evidence of long-run changes in behavior comes from the case histories of 110 Indian students who returned to India after training in the United Kingdom and the United States.<sup>10</sup> The foreign society appears to have served as a "positive" reference group for those students who showed changes of outlook and personality in the following respects: "gain in self-confidence"; "an enlarged vision of social life"; learning of "improved methods of thinking"; "improved methods of working"; and "learning of

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Hodge S. Sanmann, "A Study of the Experiences of Selected Oriental Students in Colleges and Universities in the United States and Implications of Higher Education," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Northwestern University, August, 1948.

<sup>10</sup> J. Useem and Ruth H. Useem, The Western Educated Man in India: A Study of His Social Roles and Influences, New York: Dryden, 1955, pp. 35-61.

democratic ways of acting in interpersonal relations." The Useem study also shows that positive changes are reported by even those students who were "antagonistic" to the host culture:

. . . even those who reacted negatively to their foreign experience, who were antagonistic to the alien culture, who considered the customs of the inhabitants inferior, or who rejected what they observed as unsuitable for India return home with a changed outlook and changed habits . . . . A comparative view engenders a fresh perspective and presents a new model by which persons judge their own society.<sup>11</sup>

This finding reflects a shifting orientation to reference groups that accompanies a process of restructuring of the cognitive field during the foreign student's acculturation. It was noted, for instance, that although there was heightened defensiveness among the German teams in the early phase of their visit in the United States, there was also a "restructuring" process at work that sets in motion "certain processes of thinking and revaluation which are then carried through by the visitor regardless of external pressures, and regardless of temporary emotional bias."<sup>12</sup>

#### Working hypothesis

Both the evidence of previous studies and the evidence of exploratory interviews with a small number of foreign students who were not included in the final sample suggest that there are several more or less distinct phases in the foreign student's "coming to

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-31.

<sup>12</sup>Jeanne Watson and R. Lippitt, op. cit., p. 61.



terms" with the new culture:

In the broadest terms, an initial spectator phase can probably be identified, usually followed by a period in which more or less difficult problems of cross-cultural adjustment are worked out, leading, if the sojourn is sufficiently prolonged, to a stabilized modus vivendi in the host culture. As the time of return looms near, a final phase may be distinguished in which preoccupation with problems of readjustment may come to the fore. Some progression of this sort seems inherent in the cross-cultural experience, if the visitor moves out of the relatively undemanding spectator role.<sup>13</sup>

The hypothesis which guided the early planning phases of the present research was that a foreign student's orientation to his reference groups in the host culture will show increasingly differentiated responses with increasing length of sojourn.

#### Theoretical Assumptions and the Conceptual Framework

The principle of learning underlying the hypothesis of phase differentiation is derived from a body of theory on the processes observed in cognitive development in personality.

The initial phase of the foreign student's acculturation may be defined largely in terms of his role as a spectator. But it cannot be assumed that this spectator's role is a passive one. Experimental studies in the psychology of cognitive processes clearly demonstrate that all perception is functionally selective.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>M. Brewster Smith, "Research in the Field of International Education," Chapter 8 in Handbook on International Study, Institute of International Education, New York, 1955, p. 241.

<sup>14</sup>D. Krech and R. S. Crutchfield, "Perceiving the World," in W. Schramm (Ed.), The Process and Effects of Mass Communication, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954, pp. 116-137.

That is, the foreign student early in his visit is sensitized to perceive those objects in the environment that serve not only his immediate needs and emotions, but also the previously-formed patterns of belief, social ideals, and value-orientations that are important to his style of life. The visitor, cut off from the habitual cues provided by the in-group memberships familiar to him needs to "feel at home," and to stabilize his perspective in a friendly but unfamiliar world. On arrival in a new culture he is aided in defining his "fields" of belongingness by assimilating categories of objects and persons which he needs in the new country to ones with which he is familiar at home. This process involves selecting and often "overchoosing" objects and events on the basis of their proximity to him or similarity to ones with which he is more familiar.<sup>15</sup> Not all differentiations are adapted to reality. Experimental studies have demonstrated, for instance, that the individual's subjective structurings of an unclear field may be a matter of fitting perceived material to pre-existing verbal cliches.<sup>16</sup> They may serve cultural stereotypes that have functional significance for the given perceiver, but are "inescapable handicaps in becoming acquainted with strangers."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Some of the complex theoretical issues of equivalence and similarity involved in transfer--a crucial problem in acculturative learning--are discussed in G. W. Allport, Personality, New York: Henry Holt, 1937, pp. 259-285.

<sup>16</sup>G. W. Allport and L. J. Postman, "The Basic Psychology of Rumor," in G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley, (Eds.), Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Henry Holt, 1952, pp. 160-170.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. H. S. Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry, New York: W. W. Norton, 1953, pp. 300 f.

The foreign visitor is probably at no time, then, a mere passive spectator. The alien cultural scene is not just an "unstructured situation." There is abundant proof that the individual's cognitive field is organized and meaningful.<sup>18</sup> This means that the visitor, unlike the proverbial babe, is not exposed to a "blooming buzzing confusion." The visitor tends to perceive, more or less immediately, strange and novel situations as fraught with meaning.

A new cultural situation, however, will provoke undue anxiety if it is perceived as threatening in some way the visitor's sense of belongingness and esteem. Perceptual defense against inimical stimuli has been shown to be an important mechanism that normally operates to advance the perceiver's effort after meaning in an unclear and unfamiliar field.<sup>19</sup> The implications of this process for cross-cultural education are pointed out by psychoanalytic theory: ego-defenses retard new learning in devious ways of which the perceiver is usually unconscious. They usually protect the valued self-image and narrow the scope of the perceiver's orientations to the environment:

"The defense mechanisms of the ego are irrational ways of dealing with anxiety because they distort, hide or deny reality and hinder psychological development. They tie up psychological energy which could be used for more effective ego activities. When a defense mechanism becomes very

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<sup>18</sup>J. S. Bruner and Cecile C. Goodman, "Value and Need as Organizing Factors in Perception," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1947, 62, 33-44.

<sup>19</sup>L. Postman, J. S. Bruner, and E. McGinnies, loc. cit., p. 382.

influential it dominates the ego and curtails its flexibility and adaptability. Finally, if the defenses fail to hold, the ego has nothing to fall back upon and is overwhelmed by anxiety. The result is a nervous breakdown."<sup>20</sup>

Various kinds of ego-defenses may be adopted as protective measures:

"If the ego cannot reduce anxiety by rational means, it has to utilize such measures as denying the danger (repression), externalizing the danger (projection), hiding the danger (reaction formation), standing still (fixation), or retreating (regression). The infantile ego needs and uses all of these accessory mechanisms."<sup>21</sup>

For example, repression may prevent a person from seeing something that is in plain view, or distort that which he does see, or falsify the information coming in through the sense organs, in order to protect the ego from apprehending an object that is dangerous or that is associated with a danger that would arouse anxiety.

The studies of Lambert and Bressler and of Watson and Lippitt show how these mechanisms operate in the visitor's reactions to the alien cultural scene. The latter study also suggests that underlying the operation of perceptual defense there is a subjective effort after meaning. Only when the defense mechanisms get the upper hand in the individual's personality is new learning blocked and realistic transactions with reference groups may easily break down. Several sources of evidence indicate that an on-going process of restructuring the cognitive field towards a relatively ordered

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<sup>20</sup>C. S. Hall, A Primer of Freudian Psychology (New York: World Publishing Co., 1955) contains a clear and concise presentation of the basic conceptions of Freudian psychology, as applicable to the organization, dynamics, and development of personality.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

perspective must be postulated to explain the relative consistency and continuity of the individual's value-orientations in the midst of changes of context.

To sum up: Several processes are involved in the course of acculturative learning:

Value-orientation makes for perceptual sensitization to valued stimuli, leads to perceptual defense against inimical stimuli, and gives rise to a process of value-resonance which keeps the person responding in terms of objects valuable to him even when such objects are absent from his immediate environment.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>L. Postman, J. S. Bruner, and E. McGinnies, loc. cit., p. 383.

## Chapter III

### METHODS AND PROCEDURE

In order to test the hypothesis presented in the last chapter, we devised an internal "communications" instrument. This consisted of a short talk given by the subject and followed by a focused interview in which we systematically elicited spontaneous and explicit reference groups involved in the talk.

During their sojourn in the United States, foreign students are often invited to talk to informal social groups in the community on various subjects relating to the student's country, her economic, social, and political problems. The experimental task was thus a relatively realistic assignment. First the subject was instructed to imagine himself presenting his own thoughts and feelings to an American group on the subject of Indo-American Relations and to write out his intended communication. When this "talk" was completed, the subject's imagined audiences--a special case of reference groups--were elicited through systematic interviewing.

#### Rationale of Foreign Student Sample

Compared to other major classes of alien visitors--the businessman, the tourist, the foreign press correspondent, the diplomatic envoy, the missionary, the immigrant or refugee--the foreign student

enjoys a unique status, privileged in some ways and in some ways restricted and ambiguous. The tourist, for example, is not expected to assume the culturally imposed duties to which the foreign student must quickly conform if he is to achieve his academic objectives. On the other hand, the diplomatic representative must mind the p's and q's of official channels while the student is free to associate with whomever he likes as he likes. The foreign press correspondent is committed to reporting his impressions for a particular audience, while the student, by contrast, is freer to express his feelings and reactions to various aspects of the home and host cultures. The immigrant or refugee must reach certain permanent adjustments while the student is only temporarily transplanted and temporarily compromising the demands of simultaneous membership in two societies.

The academic freedom and hospitalities which the foreign student usually enjoys expose him to a variety of opportunities for coming close to the people of the host culture. On the other hand, his educational program and modest funds considerably limit his "field" to a specialized segment of the host culture and circumscribe his realistic transactions within a socio-academic circle that reflects professional interests similar to his own. If this assumption is correct, then foreign students require probably more than a year to be sensitized to the various aspects of the host culture outside of the academic milieu. The process of acculturation therefore, must be viewed over a long time-span--and it was accordingly decided in the selection of our sample to provide for length of sojourn up through seven years.

### Selection of the Sample

Our sample was drawn mainly from the Indian student population in the Greater Boston area. The Foreign Student Advisors of Harvard University and of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology were approached for the lists of Indian students enrolled during the current year. From the official lists a sample of 45 subjects was selected in alphabetical order according to their length of sojourn in the United States. Since the required number of long-term residents could not be filled from the local institutions, a few subjects (six in number) were selected from among Indian students at Boston and New York Universities. In addition, a group of students were interviewed immediately upon arrival from India and before they had reached the universities to which they were going. The composition of the samples is described more fully below.

### The Sample

The sample of 60 subjects consisted of four sub-samples of 15 each, divided according to their length of sojourn in the United States as follows:

1. Group t1: one week's sojourn in the new culture
2. Group t2: 3 to 10 months' sojourn
3. Group t3: 18 to 36 months' sojourn
4. Group t4: 48 to 84 months' sojourn

The measures obtained in our tabulated data have been shown for the four groups in terms of four so-called "phases," t1, t2, t3, t4 respectively.



Composition of the Sample by Age, Institution, and Field of Training

The mean age for the four groups of subjects, t<sub>1</sub>, t<sub>2</sub>, t<sub>3</sub>, t<sub>4</sub>, was 30½ years, 23 years, 24½ years, and 27 years respectively.

The sample consisted mainly of graduate students, with the exception of four undergraduates in Group t<sub>2</sub> and three undergraduates in Group t<sub>3</sub>. The fifteen subjects in Group t<sub>1</sub> were assigned to about as many different colleges in the United States. The 38 students from Harvard and M.I.T. were 50% of the total population of Indian students enrolled at those institutions during 1954-55. The precise distribution of these 45 subjects by educational institution is given below:

<u>Institution of Training</u>	<u>t<sub>2</sub></u>	<u>t<sub>3</sub></u>	<u>t<sub>4</sub></u>
Harvard	7	6	4
M.I.T.	8	7	7
Other (Boston Univ. and N.Y. University)	0	2	4
TOTALS	15	15	15

The composition of the sample by field of training is as follows:

<u>Field of Study</u>	<u>t<sub>1</sub></u>	<u>t<sub>2</sub></u>	<u>t<sub>3</sub></u>	<u>t<sub>4</sub></u>	<u>Total</u>
Anthropology	0	1	0	0	1
Architecture	0	1	2	2	5
Biochemistry	0	0	3	2	5
Botany	2	0	0	0	2
Economics	3	0	0	0	3
Business Administration	0	1	0	0	1
Education	2	0	0	0	2

<u>Field of Study</u>	t <sub>1</sub>	t <sub>2</sub>	t <sub>3</sub>	t <sub>4</sub>	<u>Total</u>
Engineering	0	5	5	4	14
Geology	0	0	1	0	1
Labor Relations	1	0	0	1	2
Law	0	3	0	1	4
Library Science	1	0	0	0	1
Mathematics	1	1	0	1	3
Medical Sciences	0	0	1	1	2
Philosophy	1	0	0	1	2
Physics	1	3	2	2	8
Political Science	1	0	0	0	1
Social Work	0	0	1	0	1
Zoology	2	0	0	0	2
TOTALS	15	15	15	15	60

### "Comparison Group"

Our research design involved interviewing a baseline group of 15 Indian students who had newly arrived in the United States and had come in a group on the same boat. These 15 subjects were selected out of a group of 18 men students--all Fulbright grantees with no previous foreign travel experience. They were approached through the Committee for Friendly Relations among Foreign Students at New York and interviewed at their New York hotel within a week of their arrival. The basic instrument was administered to these 15 subjects before they left for their respective orientation courses sponsored by the Institute of International Education, New York.

### Panel Study

A modified panel design was also introduced into the enquiry with a view to exploring "longitudinally" the predicted temporal shifts in reference groups of the foreign student during acculturation. Fourteen subjects (six, four, and four from each of Groups t2, t3, t4 respectively) who had been interviewed during the fall of 1954 were re-interviewed with the standard basic instrument six months later. These 14 re-interviews were completed during the early part of the summer of 1955. At the conclusion of the second interview session, each subject was invited to make both general and specific comments on his respective two protocols which were placed before him. The subject's comments were recorded verbatim. The written protocols of the 14 subjects and their respective comments are reproduced in Appendix C.

### The Interview Situation

Each interview lasted about 2½ hours on the average. Rapport was readily established and easily maintained. The interviewer shared the cultural background of his Indian subjects. Also the students were generally eager to cooperate in what they understood to be useful social science research. Most subjects spontaneously reported that they found the experience interesting and worthwhile and expressed willingness to cooperate in the future. All the 60 subjects that were selected for the sample were interviewed.

### Language Used in the Interview

The interviews were conducted throughout in English. All the subjects had their high school and college education in English, and both wrote and spoke English fluently.

### Time and Place of Interview

The interviewing of the 45 subjects selected for their varying length of sojourn in the United States was completed partly during the Christmas vacation of 1954, partly during the summer vacation of 1955. The subjects were phoned at their residences or approached at the meetings of the local Indian Student Association of Greater Boston. The investigator introduced himself by mentioning that the research was part of his doctoral dissertation at Harvard University. The interviewer also explained that he was interested in some theoretical aspects of social communication and that the study had practical bearing on programs of educational exchange.

The interviews were mostly conducted in one of the offices of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge. For reasons of convenience, a few were conducted at the residence of the subject or of the interviewer.

### Coding the Interview Material

Systematic quantification of spontaneous responses elicited in focused but relatively unstructured interviews invariably presents difficulties in developing meaningful categories and reliable coding systems.

Our instrument was devised (1) to elicit the foreign student's spontaneously and explicitly mentioned reference groups, and (2) to reveal trends in his cognitive and affective reactions to acculturation. Altogether we obtained data on (a) amount, detail, and variety of the foreign student's information regarding his "audiences"; (b) specificity of the images he holds of the host and home "audiences": and (c) direction of affective responses he spontaneously expresses with regard to host and home cultures.

To make the best use of our interview material consistent with our objectives, we coded the material in three ways; first we coded the written protocols of the 60 subjects for:

- A. Length of Communication
- B. Style of Communication
- C. Diversity of Explicit Themes of Communication
- D. Diversity of Explicit Audiences
- E. Number of Specific Audiences

Second, the coder rated the interview material for:

- F. Most Dominant Theme of Communication
- G. Slant of Communication
- H. Image of the Audience

Third, the coder rated all spontaneous affective responses reflecting favorable, unfavorable, and ambivalent attitudes to host and home cultures.

The three types of coding require increasing inference amounts in rating the interview material.

### Reliability Study

The reliability of the coding procedure was determined by the ability of trained judges<sup>1</sup> who were familiar with the definitions given in the scoring manual to apply them to the 60 cases and independently to produce comparable ratings. The classification systems tested were:

1. Style of communication
2. Various themes of communication
3. Dominant theme of communication
4. Slant of communication
5. Images of audience
6. "Mass audiences"
7. Direction of affective responses

The percentage agreement between the judges rating the communication content independently, the probability of error are tabulated on page 30. We employed the matching model for estimating the probability of obtaining the number of observed (agreements) matches if the ratings were made on the basis of chance alone.<sup>2</sup>

The mean number of chance matches (or agreements) is given by the formula:  $m = \frac{t_1 c_1}{n}$  where  $t_1$ ,  $t_2$ , and  $c_1$ ,  $c_2$  correspond to

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<sup>1</sup>The Reliability Study was completed with the kind assistance of Drs. Lewis Long and David Shapiro who served as judges in rating the interview material.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. F. Mosteller and R. R. Bush, "Selected Quantitative Techniques," in G. Lindzey (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. I, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 310.

Results of Reliability Check on the Analytic Procedure

	No. of cases observed	No. of observed agreements	Percentage agreement	No. of expected agreements	Probability of obtaining observed agreements by chance
Style	30	26	87%	18	.01
Various themes:					
Diplomatic	15	14	93%	10.8	.01
Economic	15	12	80%	9.6	NS
Educational	15	11	73%	7.9	NS
Social	15	12	80%	9.0	NS
Religious	15	11	73%	7.4	NS
Mass Media	15	13	87%	7.5	.05
Various themes combined <sup>a</sup>	90	73	81%	52.2	.001
Dominant theme	30	21	70%	8.3	.01
Slant	60	50	83%	19.3	.001
Images:					
Host	60	51	85%	28.9	.01
Home	60	58	97%	24.1	.001
Blurred vs. focused	120	109	91%	53.0	.001
Mass audiences vs. specific groups	360	342	95%	293	.01
Direction of Affective Responses	30	25	83.3%	10.1	.001

<sup>a</sup>Assumptions:

- i) Independence of themes--each theme is considered separately.
- ii) Baseline--relative frequencies of judged presence and absence of theme.

the number of times each category was used or not used in the particular independent rating of the two judges respectively, and  $n$  is the total number of cases rated. As our reliability study shows, the observer-agreement is sufficiently high to warrant our confidence in the analytic procedure.



## Chapter 4

### RESULTS

The results of our study follow in two parts. Part A is devoted to the quantitative analysis of the changes in degree of differentiation that are observed to occur in the Indian student's image of the host and home countries during a prolonged period of his residence abroad. Part A concludes with an examination of the major characteristics of the four phases of acculturative learning.

The qualitative findings presented in part B are divided into five sections as follows:

- 1) Restructuring of the national perspective over time;
- 2) Traits that are spontaneously attributed to the American and Indian peoples respectively;
- 3) Religious value-orientations of the Indian student;
- 4) The Indian student's audiences in international communication;
- 5) Characteristic perceptions of international issues at various phases of the Indian student's acculturative learning.

#### A. Quantitative Analysis

1. Style and Length of Communication; The style and length of communication used by the subjects in discussing "Indo-American Relations" show an interesting relationship during acculturation.

From Table 1 we note that the frequency of the discussion-outline (or "telegraphic style") increases progressively in preference to the more formal essay (or "paragraphic style").

TABLE 1

Percentage of Indian Students Using Two Different Styles of Communication During Acculturation In the United States

Style of Communication	t1		t2		t3		t4	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Paragraphic	13	87	11	73	8	53	7d	47
Telegraphic	2	13	4	27	7	47	8	53

(The average number of words used by the students in the sample were: 396, 528, 408, 383, at t1, t2, t3, t4, respectively. The mean differences for the 60 subjects, computed by the Method of Allowances,<sup>1</sup> were not significant.) It should be noted that in the experimental design the students were all given a fixed period (15 minutes) to write their speeches. They therefore could vary only within severe limits the amount they would write. They could express a larger number of ideas only by abbreviating the expression. It would appear that up through Phase 3, students tend to produce, for approximately the same number of words, an increasingly greater number of discussion topics in considering international relations

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<sup>1</sup>Cf., F. Mosteller and R. R. Bush, "Selected Quantitative Techniques," Chapter 8 in G. Lindzey (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954, Vol. I, p. 304.

affecting their home country.

## 2. Themes of Communication

Of the six themes most commonly found in the student's communication through all phases of acculturation, the most dominant are, in relative emphasis, the political in Phases 1 and 2, the educational in Phase 3, and the social-personal in Phase 4. The results, graphically represented in Figure 1, are given in Table 2:

TABLE 2

Percentage of Students Mentioning Dominant Themes During Acculturation

Category of Theme	t1		t2		t3		t4	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Diplomatic and political	6	40	6	40	1	6	3	20
B. Economic and industrial	2	13	0	0	2	13	1	6
C. Educational and cultural	3	20	3	20	5	40	1	6
D. Social and personal	2	13	5	33	4	27	6	40
E. Religio-philosophical and theoretical	2	13	0	0	1	6	4	27
F. Mass media	0	0	1	6	2	13	0	0

The diplomatic-political themes show the highest frequency of all kinds of themes, as Table 3 indicates. They persist, but with varying content, in each phase. They are articulated with other themes that differ in the emphasis given to them at each phase.

FIGURE 1

PERCENTAGE OF VARIOUS THEMES MENTIONED AND THEIR RELATIVE DOMINANCE AT VARIOUS PHASES

- A - Diplomatic & political
- B - Economic & industrial
- C - Educational & cultural
- D - Social & personal
- E - Religio-philosophical & theoretical
- F - Mass media

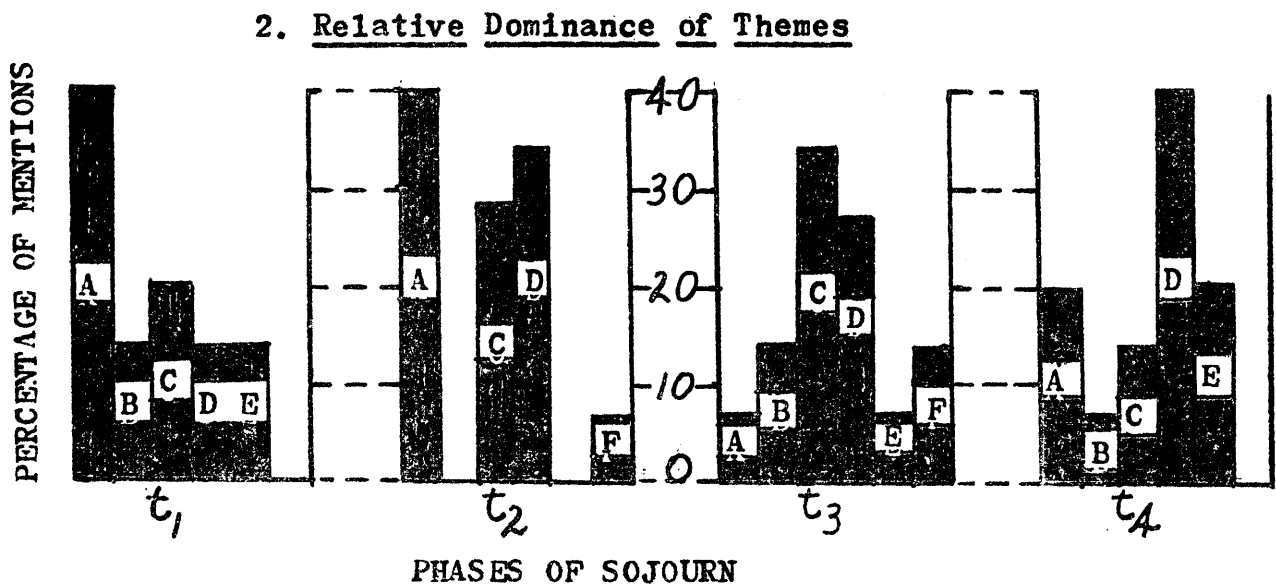
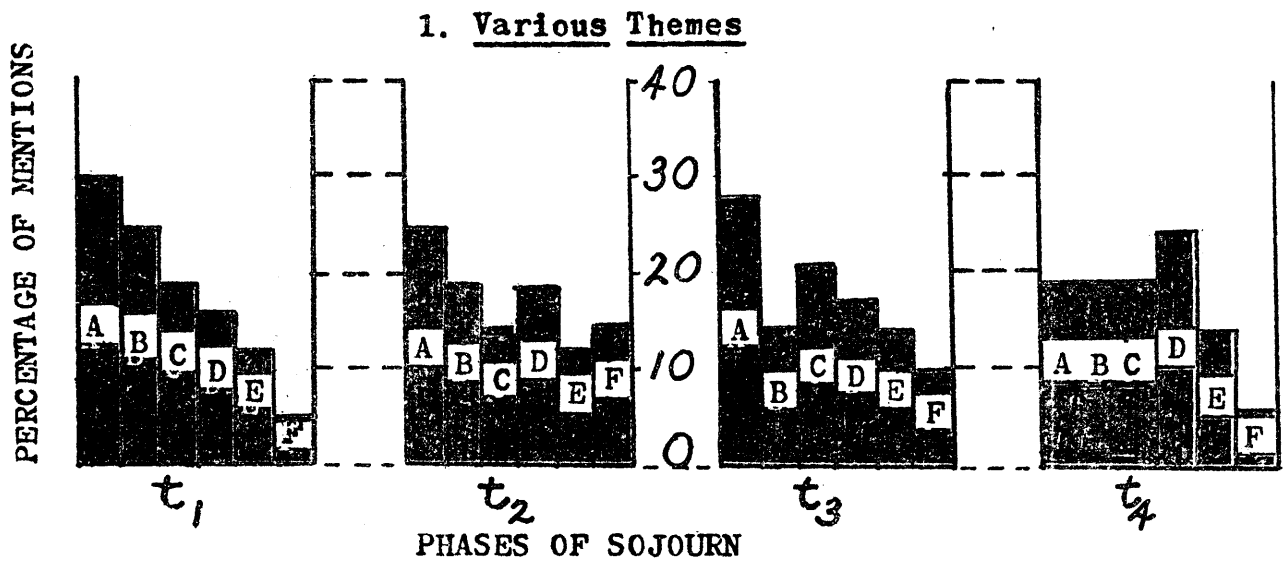


TABLE 3

Number of Indian Students Mentioning Various  
Themes During Acculturation

<u>Category of Theme</u>	t1	t2	t3	t4
A. Diplomatic and political	13	13	14	8
B. Economic and industrial	11	10	7	8
C. Education and cultural	8	8	10	8
D. Social and personal	7	10	9	10
E. Religio-philosophical and theoretical	5	6	7	6
F. Mass media	2	8	5	2
Totals	46	55	52	42

### 3. Slant of communication

Table 4 shows that arguments presenting more or less exclusively the home position tend to decrease and arguments presenting both home and host positions tend to increase in the student's discussion of "Indo-American Relations" between Phase 2 and Phase 4. We may note that no changes seem to occur till after Phase 2 or 18 months of the Indian student's sojourn in the United States.

In Phase 4 a considerably greater frequency of interpersonal problems appears to slant the student's communications than in other phases. It would appear then that in Phase 3 there is an enlargement of political perspective to include the host's problems and points of view on international relations, followed in Phase 4 by the student's preoccupation with interpersonal problems arising out of his cross-cultural experiences.

TABLE 4

Percentage of Indian Students Giving Various Slants  
to Communication During Acculturation

	t1		t2		t3		t4	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. International issues: presenting mainly home position	9	60	9	60	7	47	3	20
2. International issues: presenting home <u>and</u> host positions	2	13	2	13	5	33	6	40
3. Interpersonal issues regarding accultural adaptation	2	13	2	13	1	6	5	33
4. "Leaving the field" avoiding national or cultural issues	2	13	2	13	2	13	1	6

Summary

During acculturation in the United States, the Indian students in our sample tend to show, in general, progressive differentiation, on the various dimensions of their national perspective. Through the four phases an increasing diversity of themes dominates their discussion of Indo-American Relations, and an increasing articulation of the political with other themes, educational, economic, social and personal. However, through the first two phases, in communications on the issue of Indo-American Relations, student emphasis is primarily on political issues, in the third Phase (18 to 36 months) on educational and cultural problems, and in the fourth Phase (48 to 84 months) on social and personal problems.

#### 4. Range of imagined audiences

With increasing exposure to the American educational experience, Indian students perceive the "average middle class American" as an audience with progressively decreasing frequency. Table 5 suggests that the total range of audiences in the communications of the Indian student on International issues is on the whole somewhat limited.

TABLE 5

Percentage of Indian Students Mentioning Various  
Host Audiences During Acculturation

<u>Category of Host Audiences</u>	t1		t2		t3		t4	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. "Average middle class American"	10	67	5	33	4	27	0	0
2. University group	4	27	8	53	8	53	4	27
3. Friends	0	0	1	6	0	0	2	13
4. Localized group	0	0	1	6	0	0	4	27
5. International group	0	0	0	0	2	13	5	33
6. "No group in mind"	1	6	0	0	1	6	0	0

#### 5. Specificity of image of audience

Another indication of the progressively decreasing tendency of the Indian student to make stereotypical generalizations in describing his audiences in the American society is to be found in Table 6.

On the other hand, in regard to descriptions of the imagined home audience, no definite or consistent trend through time appears.

#### 6. Frequency of mass audiences

Progressive differentiation in the Indian student's perspective

TABLE 6

Percentage of Indian Students Holding Various Images of  
the Host and Home Societies During Acculturation

	t1		t2		t3		t4	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Host Society:</b>								
1. Blurred image	10	67	8	53	5	33	3	20
2. Focused image	4	27	7	47	9	60	12	80
3. No image	1	6	0	0	1	6	0	0
<b>Home Society:</b>								
1. Blurred image	8	53	4	27	7	47	4	27
2. Focused image	7	47	9	60	6	40	7	47
3. No image	0	0	2	13	2	13	4	27

is further suggested by the sharp decline in the proportion of  
"mass audiences" at Phase 3:

TABLE 7

Total Number of "Mass Audiences" in Host and Home  
Societies Mentioned by Indian Students  
During Acculturation

<u>Locus of Mass Audience:</u>	t1	t2	t3	t4
Host society	8	9	2	7
Home society	6	7	3	15
Totals	14	16	5	22

It is interesting to note that this trend toward differentiation  
is "maximum" at Phase 3, with respect to both host and home societies.  
At Phase 4, there is a sharp rise in the total proportion of mass  
audiences suggesting a new generalization of the home audiences



relevant to the communication, or a fading out of "specific audiences" in the home culture.

### Summary

Phase 3 probably represents the phase in acculturation of the foreign student when, becoming sensitive to differentiated aspects (interests, traits, or particular membership of the social groups) of the new society, he makes fewer stereotypical generalizations in thinking about the American people.

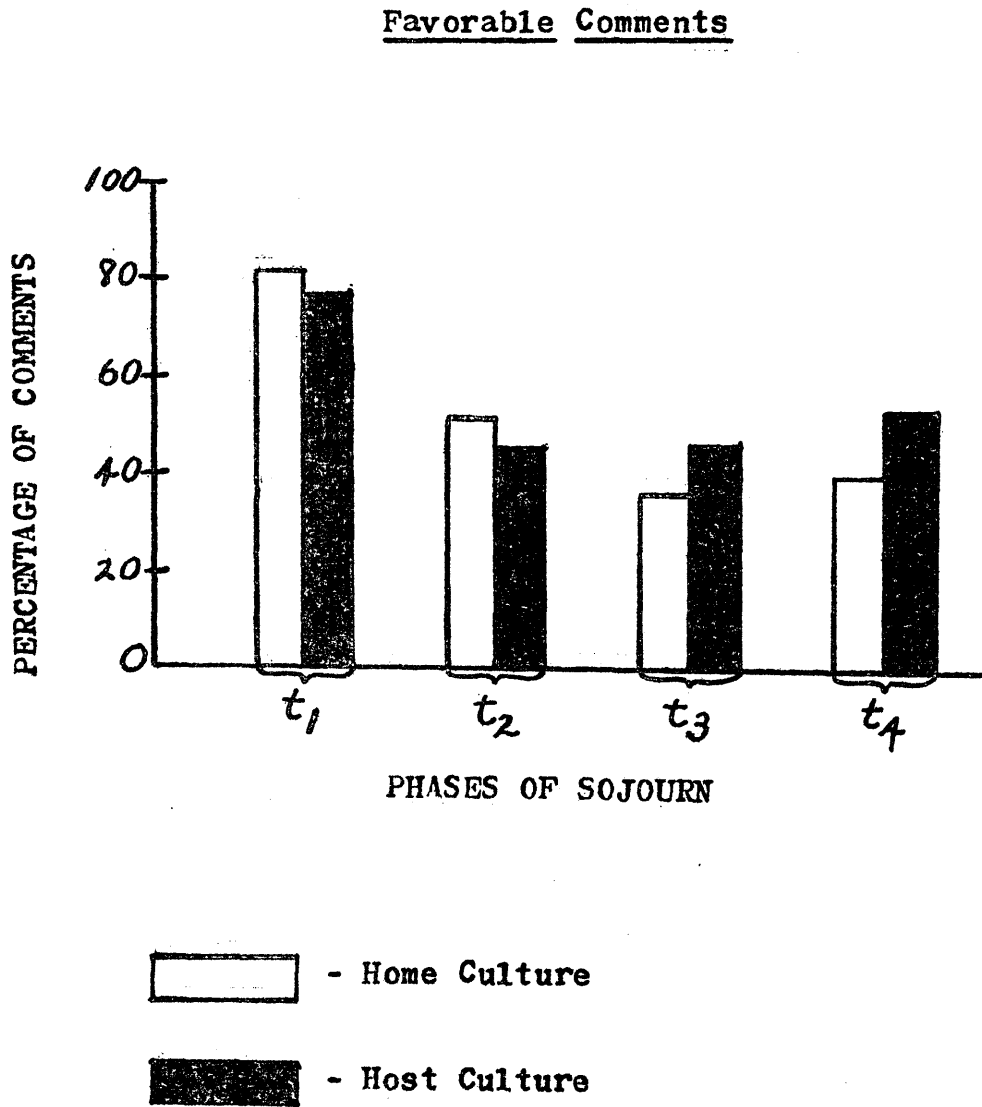
### 7. Direction of affective responses

Figure/<sup>2</sup> shows graphically the relative proportion of favorable and unfavorable comments spontaneously expressed by the students during acculturation. We discuss the affective trend with respect to direction (favorable or unfavorable responses) and with respect to locus (host or home culture).

We used, and here report, three different measures of the favorableness of student attitudes towards their home and host cultures. The first (reported in Figure 2 and Table 8) is the proportion of favorable and unfavorable comments spontaneously expressed by the Indian students. The second (reported in Table 9), consolidates these comments for each student into an over-all characterization of the student's comments. The third (reported in Table 10), is an over-all judgment of the student's attitude towards his host culture, a judgment made without reference to the specific frequency of favorable and unfavorable statements. All three measures show substantially the same results. These are:

FIGURE 2

RELATIVE PROPORTION OF FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE COMMENTS  
SPONTANEOUSLY EXPRESSED BY INDIAN STUDENTS  
TOWARD HOME AND HOST CULTURES



1) Judgments towards the home and host culture are highly correlated. When the student is in a mood to be positive, he is favorable towards both. When he becomes critical he does not, as one might expect, strengthen his condemnation of the host culture by contrasting it with a glorified home culture. On the contrary, he expresses simultaneous criticism of both.

2) The student's initial reaction to both the home and host culture is largely uncritical. It is rapidly followed by a period of disillusionment. After 6 months he is highly critical of both.

3) The disillusionment regarding the home culture persists though not increases, after 18 months. If there is any recovering from it, it is not while the student stays in the United States.

4) The disillusionment regarding the host culture slowly gives way to somewhat more favorable judgments after the first year.

There is just a kind of J-curve regarding attitudes expressed towards the host culture.

TABLE 8

Percentage of Favorable and Unfavorable Comments Spontaneously Expressed  
by Indian Students Towards Host and Home Cultures  
During Acculturation

	t1		t2		t3		t4	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Favorable to:								
Host	30	77	27	45	26	46	24	55
Home	31	82	18	53	9	36	9	39
Unfavorable to:								
Host	9	23	33	55	30	54	20	45
Home	7	18	16	47	16	64	14	61

TABLE 9

Relation Between Direction of Spontaneous Affective Responses  
and Phases of Acculturation of Indian Students in  
the United States

	t1 (15)	t2 (15)	t3 (15)	t4 (15)
Host:				
Favorable	13	4	5	6
Unfavorable	1	8	9	6
Ambivalent (or indeterminate)	1	3	1	3
Home:				
Favorable	10	5	5	4
Unfavorable	3	4	7	8
Ambivalent (or indeterminate)	2	6	3	3

TABLE 10

Relation Between Direction of Spontaneous Affective Responses  
of Indian Students Towards Host Society  
and Phases of Acculturation\*

	<u>t1</u>	<u>t2</u>	<u>t3</u>	<u>t4</u>
Favorable	11	3	6	8
Unfavorable	2	7	7	5
Ambivalent (or indeterminate)	2	5	2	2
Totals	15	15	15	15

\*A reliability check on 30 cases showed an observer agreement  
of 83.3 per cent.

Conclusion: The newly arrived foreign student is selectively oriented to those aspects of the new culture which he has generalized as reflecting his own cultural norms and values. This process shows a high accentuation of favorable responses to host and home cultures in Phase 1. In Phase 2, however, there is a considerable negative interpretation of various aspects of the host culture and to some extent of the home culture. Phase 3 on the other hand reveals not only a more enlarged perspective in the student's communications in which more detailed aspects of the host culture are considered, but also a differentiated perspective in which certain aspects of the home culture are critically reviewed.

#### Major Characteristics of the Four Phases of Acculturation

Phase 1: No one goes voluntarily to a country without vaguely utopian expectations. He may have some advance stereotypes ("materialism"), but yet he goes with high and rosy expectations. On arriving in a new culture, the visitor is sensitized to those impressions that fit his familiar cultural norms and important social values.

On the given issue of Indo-American relations, the newly arrived Indian student refers to his audience as the "average educated American" or "commoner." These stereotypical labels are more frequently used in Phase 1 (67 per cent) than in any other Phase. There is no mention of them at all in Phase 4. We also find that the student's images of social groups at Phase 1 are "blurred," with respect not only to the host society, but also to the familiar

home society he left but a month or so previously.

We saw that the political and educational themes tend to dominate his communications on Indo-American relations, whereas the other themes seem relatively undifferentiated in importance (Fig. 2). This suggests that the anchoring points for orienting himself in the host culture derive from his national prestige and professional status that are important values for him. In Phase 1 it would seem then that the visitor's cognitive scope is limited by his urgent needs to establish a secure status and an esteemed self-image in an unstructured field where unfamiliar demands and ambiguous cues are crowding upon his attention.

Phase 2: During his first semester at school, the Indian student has the job of defining for himself a complex and unstructured field. How does he guess at "meaning" with the ambiguous evidence of passing bits of information and fleeting contacts with people? His communications show, according to Table 4, a continuing slant in the direction of home reference groups.

Also, the themes that seem most dominant in the student's attention at Phase 2 are the political and the social-personal. During these early months, the student seems to pre-empt the role of the unofficial cultural spokesman for his country. The more frustrated in his social needs for friendship in unfamiliar surroundings, the more salient his attitudes to his home reference groups and the more vulnerable their valued image. Perceptual defense, therefore, occurs in Phase 2 as a means of over-protecting the image of valued home reference groups (e.g., family, province).

This selective inattention to new reference groups is apparent in the high frequency of "blurred images" of the host society, and the high frequency of "mass audiences" which show no change from Phase 1.

Phase 2 is characteristically the most defensive phase in acculturative learning. It appears to be the phase of considerable conflict and ambivalence. Tables 11 and 12 illustrate this point. When we analyze the sources of the "peak" negative orientations to the host culture we note from Table 11 that they derive largely from the student's spontaneous comments regarding "mass media" and the "sensitive area complex" and to a lesser extent from criticism regarding American "democracy" and "national character traits."

On the other hand, we note from Table 12 that whereas the "political" and "national character" aspects (with reference to the home culture) account for most of the favorable responses, the "social" as well as the "national character traits" (of the home culture) also seem to account for nearly all of the unfavorable responses. Thus the Indian student in Phase 2 tends to show ambivalent attitudes towards "national character traits" perceived in the home culture. Aggravated defensiveness could therefore be expected in his orientations to the host culture. Our qualitative findings discussed later in the present chapter confirm this negative trend found in Phase 2.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in Phase 2, host "contact" and "national character traits" account for the greatest proportion of the total number of spontaneous favorable

TABLE 11

Frequency of Favorable and Unfavorable Comments Expressed  
Spontaneously by Indian Students with Regard to  
Host Culture and Traits

Aspects of Host Culture	t1		t2		t3		t4	
	Fav.	Unfav.	Fav.	Unfav.	Fav.	Unfav.	Fav.	Unfav.
Social relations	0	0	2	3	4	2	4	2
Contact	5	2	6	1	5	3	3	2
Education	5	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
Mass media	0	1	0	6	0	2	1	0
Culture	1	0	1	1	0	2	1	1
Religion	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	2
Democracy	1	0	1	4	2	1	1	1
"Sensitive area complex"	11	4	2	10	1	13	2	8
"National charac- ter"	17	2	11	6	12	7	11	4
TOTALS	30	9	27	33	26	30	24	20

TABLE 12

Frequency of Favorable and Unfavorable Comments Expressed  
Spontaneously by Indian Students with Regard to  
Home Culture and Traits

Aspects of Home Culture	t1		t2		t3		t4	
	Fav.	Unfav.	Fav.	Unfav.	Fav.	Unfav.	Fav.	Unfav.
Political	17	0	9	1	4	0	4	0
Economic & Industrial	0	6	0	0	0	4	0	2
Social	1	0	0	10	1	9	1	8
Philosophical ("Cultural")	1	1	2	0	2	0	2	0
"National Character"	12	0	7	5	2	3	2	4
TOTALS	31	7	18	16	9	16	9	14



comments about the host culture (Table 11). We interpret this to mean that defensiveness in the student's orientations to the host culture does not tell the whole story of his acculturation through the first year. There is in Phase 2 apparently a tentative restructuring of the cognitive field and a broader view of new categories of evaluation. References to the "average educated American" are considerably fewer than in Phase 1 (37 per cent). Moreover, the nature of the favorable references to the host culture, though relatively few (compared to Phase 1), and of the unfavorable references to certain social conditions in the home culture, would suggest on the whole that underlying the considerable defensiveness there is also in Phase 2 a review of differentiated aspects of the two cultures to which they are oriented.

Phase 3: According to the hypothesis of phase differentiation, we should expect, therefore, to find in the foreign student's orientations at Phase 3 more finely differentiated and highly articulated responses to his reference groups than at other phases. Our results appear, on the whole, to confirm the expected trends.

Table 3 graphically presents the "happily" proportioned distribution of dominant themes in the student's communications, balanced around the educational and the social-personal values which are the student's realistic contemporary concerns.

Another aspect of the differentiated orientations to his reference groups in the direction of greater realism than was found in the earlier phases is indicated by the change in the national frame of reference. Phase 3 shows an enlargement of the national

perspective: there is a shift, from the one-sided slant given to their communications by students at the earlier Phases 1 and 2, to a broader consideration of the political realities including the host's position and purposes in the conduct of international relations. The least number of "mass audiences" are mentioned in this Phase (Table 7).

Phase 3 seems to mark a turning point in the affective trend of the student's orientations. Regarding both favorable and unfavorable responses to the host culture, there is a trough-like effect from Phase 2 through Phase 3. On the other hand, there seems to be an increasing proportion of unfavorable responses to the home culture. It would appear that at Phase 3 a decrease of ego-defensiveness is accompanied by a restructuring process that facilitates a more differentiated perspective on home reference groups. Thus the student's criticisms of certain conditions in the home culture already frequent in Phase 2, are probably less defensive in character. Differentiation brings to light "bad" traits in the surroundings that an individual is aware of, but it also leads to realistic transactions with his most relevant and important reference groups.

Phase 4: A highly personalized and specialized orientation is reflected in the communication of students at Phase 4. Fuller consideration is given by the students to the host's position in Phase 4 than in other phases (see Table 4). In contrast with Phase 3, however, students seem to emphasize their personal inter-cultural experiences rather than the broader international issues involved in Indo-American relations. Social-personal themes are more

frequently mentioned than any other type of theme (see Table 3). Moreover, in Phase 4 there is not further mention of the "average educated American" as an audience. The highly "personalized" responses of the students at Phase 4 may reflect in part a "privatistic" value orientation that is found to be characteristic of the dominant mores of contemporary college students in American society.<sup>2</sup>

We also find a high frequency of unfavorable attitudes to the host culture in the "sensitive areas" such as race relations, colonialism, militarism, etc. Thus the breadth of cognitive scope which the student has acquired by Phase 4 and which is reflected in detailed information about and full consideration of various aspects of the host culture, is apparently not accompanied by the high frequency of favorable affective responses to the host culture

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<sup>2</sup>In a cross-national study of the attitudes of college students in ten different countries toward their individual and collective futures, J. Gillespie and G. W. Allport (Youth's Outlook on the Future: A Cross-National Study, Doubleday Reports in Psychology, New York: Doubleday, 1955), discuss the "privatistic" value orientation:

In keeping with his search for a rich, full life, and with his unconcern for social problems, we find other evidence that the American student, by and large, manages to separate himself from the political and social context of his existence. The term privatism has been used to label this particular state of mind.

Privatism is not confined exclusively to the American sample. We find that here again, New Zealanders and European South Africans are similar to Americans. To a considerable extent Europeans also show the privatistic tendency. By contrast, however, the Egyptians, Bantus, Mexicans, and Japanese are far more oriented to their social and political groups. (p. 16).

that was found in Phase 1. Considering that about half the number of students in Phase 4 plan to make their permanent home in the United States, and presumably have come to terms with American culture, we should normally have expected to find a much higher frequency of favorable responses in Phase 4. This anomaly can be explained, however, if we postulate a temporal shift in reference groups. That is, the student at this phase is evaluating certain aspects of the host culture from the point of view of the relatively self-critical academic reference groups with whom he has realistic transactions and whose privatistic norms he apparently reflects in his attitudes to American society in general.

There is a decline over time in the Indian student's generalized favorable responses not only with respect to the host culture but with respect to the home culture as well.

#### B. Qualitative Analysis

Considerably rich data that were not readily quantifiable emerged from the focussed interviews that we held with each of the 60 Indian students in our sample, immediately after they had completed the task we had assigned to them. It will be recalled that the task consisted of preparing an informal address on the topic of 'Indo-American Relations' for presentation to an American group. The Indian student was given 15 minutes to prepare his 'talk'. At the end of that time, with his outline in hand, we interviewed him about his image of the audience he had been addressing and other relevant images as, for example,

his image of comparable Indian groups to whom the same address might be of interest. The qualitative analysis of the data reported in the following section is based on the responses given in these interviews, including spontaneous comments of an emotional significance, and on the total evaluative content of the 'talks' characteristic of each of the four phases.

1. Restructuring of the national perspective

Our minor panel study (described on page 26) of fourteen subjects was designed to explore longitudinally to what extent and in what manner the same subjects, selected at various points of their sojourn, show and report changes in their perspective on international relations. Our results, based on this small sub-sample, confirm the expected trends: namely, there was an increase in amount of detail and variety of information about the host culture, and both an enlarged as well as differentiated "field" or framework of considerations reflected in the Indian student's changed orientations to the American people and their culture. All the fourteen subjects but one started by asserting that there was "no essential change" between the first and second speeches they wrote, six months apart.

Examples of their general introductory comments are:

Supplementary not contradictory. (t2-1, 2nd interview)

I stand by all I have said before. (t2-3, 2nd interview)

Essentially the same ideas in both. (t2-4, 2nd interview)

Not much change, I said the same things. (t2-5, 2nd interview)

Practically I hold to everything I said. (t2-6, 2nd interview)

In both I am talking about the commercial aspects of American culture. (t2-7, 2nd interview)

Not much difference except that the question of the government and fate of Red Indians in U.S.A. has come in the second. (t3-3, 2nd interview)

I think I am consistent in both. (t3-10, 2nd interview)

Over-all pattern of presentation is similar. Both are based on fundamental thinking. (t3-14, 2nd interview)

It's surprising I have exactly the same. (t4-9, 2nd interview)

Seems to be a strong continuation of thought. (t4-11, 2nd interview)

The subject's specific comments concerned additions, omissions, suggesting appreciable changes in emphasis from the political to the cultural and social, and generally, from the ideological to the humanistic.

Examples of some changes in t2 subjects are:

Here in 2nd I'm interested in the whole approach. The machine age changed the East-West categories and posed problems as between individuals. (t2-3, 2nd interview)

I say I have been more specific here about how social factors can play an important part in improving relations. (t2-4, 2nd interview)

No mention of misunderstandings here. I said in the 1st, 'ideologies may differ', and here I spoke of 'common ideologies.' (t2-5, 2nd interview)

In both I'm talking about the commercial aspects of American culture but in the first they were random and haphazard thoughts, in the second they are reflections and feelings from an international outlook. (t2-7, 2nd interview)

One subject stressed more the "difficulties of understanding," but was also interested in an understanding of the difficulties, for example:

I begin now to realize the zeal with which they defend their free enterprise system, their XIth commandment. . . . I have also referred to the discrepancy between the American "position of strength" policy and their "fair play" tradition. Therefore, the cult of strength seems artificial for the Americans who have shown an aggressive attitude, in fact, to help the underdog. (t2-6, 2nd interview)

Three t3 subjects suggest in their 2nd interview an increased differentiation of various value-orientations:

In the first I spoke of national, political, and economic problems. In the second, I included also cultural and individual level problems. (t3-3, 2nd interview)

In the second, I have given a more general summary of the causes of difference of approach, and stressed the suggestion that both should do much towards understanding of each other's point of view. (t3-8, 2nd interview)

Both are based on fundamental thinking, but the problem presented the second time became less interesting. I've clarified materialism in the second. The Americans are materialistic in a positive way. If they look less spiritualistic, it is not because they are less spiritual. . . . (t3-14, 2nd interview)

Three t4 subjects made the following comments which indicate, on the whole, preoccupations with highly specific personal details of their intercultural experiences, a trend we noted in our quantitative data as characteristic of Phase 4.

In the first, it was an idealistic talk and more political, and more on the Indian party line with which I agree a lot. In the second, I focus on family relationships in the

U.S. I placed myself in the position of an American who has travelled widely and is writing for his own group. I might have been an American talking, for all you know. (t4-6, 2nd interview)

In the second, I added the idea that cultural differences are not as great as we think. They are based more on economy than on geography. There are differences not because people are different but people have turned different due to economic factors. The notion of interdependence is emphasized in the 2nd. It's about time we emphasized similarity. Differences, if any, should be examined rather than scorned. In the first, I emphasized differences, in the second I emphasized similarity, the desire to understand. (t4-7, 2nd interview)

The most important difference in the two presentations is that my personal outlook has changed: a) I am more confident today (financial independence in my own right and social acceptance by the girls I date, by Americans generally-- as a whole--by the people I know, and specifically by the people I work with); b) I begin to value their value system (attitude toward sex, education, relation to fellow beings, dignity of labor, personal vs. family life, attitudes towards women). (t4-9, 2nd interview)

The t4 subjects show two types of orientation predicted:

- (a) the overspecialized responses, e.g., (t4-6, 2nd interview),
- and (b) the de-differentiated responses, e.g., (t4-7, 2nd interview).

It is curious that although the subjects as a whole spontaneously report appreciable changes of perspective, they assert that there is no "essential change." This can best be explained, in our view, by the well-known Gestalt principle of the organization of the cognitive field in the direction of "consistency" and "good continuation."

In general, the 2nd interview revealed at once a more differentiated and an enlarged perspective of society and a reevaluation of the individual's relation to it.



The following extract describes, for instance, the process of individuation as reviewed by one student in his ninth month of sojourn:

When I was in a village I had an idea of how a society should be. When I came to the town I had one notion. Now I have changed. Now that I have been here, I see two groups of people--the highly intellectual class and the ordinary layman. Democracy is a good ideal no doubt but at present many of the people (in India) are not educated enough for a good democratic government. I am one of 360 million people in India. (t2-7, 2nd interview)

With acculturation, sharply critical discriminations of both societies tend to appear in the student's responses. However, the changes noted in Phase 3 convey some direction toward integrating or compounding "differences." The following extract from a subject in Phase 3 in his third year of sojourn shows this trend towards a "good Gestalt" in cross-cultural setting:

There is nothing left in India now that is not a mixture of several cultures (Aryan, Dravidian, Mongolian, aboriginal, Moslem, Tartar, Turk, Greek, etc.). Likewise this country also is a melting pot of various civilizations and cultures. Also in both countries there is a sharp demarcation among the various cultural groups, e.g., Syrians, Puerto Ricans, Jews, and Irish of the U.S., and the language, caste, and religious groups of India. However, given the time and opportunity and encouragement from Governments (and eradicating the evil influences of individuals with vested interests and of institutionalized and professional religion) both the countries can evolve a new type of wonderful universalism. . . . The music, the arts, and the dances of both the countries reveal the deep influence of various culture-patterns. (t3-3, 2nd interview)

### Conclusion:

Our evidence based on this minor panel study cannot, of course, be regarded as conclusive.

## 2. Differentiation of national character traits

One of the unanticipated consequences of this study was the sharp profile of national character traits that emerged from the spontaneous comments which the students during the interview situation expressed in characterizing their respective host and home audiences.<sup>3</sup>

The configuration of traits that appear to be frequently attributed to the American and the Indian peoples suggest a few dominant value-orientations that shape the Indian student's cultural images.

In general, there was a considerably larger number of heterogeneous and specific traits attributed to the host than to the home culture\*:

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<sup>3</sup>Our use of the concept of national character here is heuristic, not systematic. A good summary of studies of national character is given in A. Inkeles and D. J. Levinson, National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Socio-Cultural Systems, Chapter 26 in G. Lindzey (Ed.), The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. II, Cambridge: Addison Wesley, 1954, pp. 977-1020. The authors point out that national character refers to characteristics that are common or standardized in a given society. "The disparity that often exists between (a) the socially required--socially congenial personality structures--those that can function optimally in a given setting--and (b) the actual modal personality structures that in fact are to be found in the members of the society introduces special problems both in the definition and the empirical study of national character." (p. 980)

\*The adjectives occurring in the Indian students' image of the host culture correspond closely to those elicited in sentence completion tests administered to Lucknow University students by Professor Kali Prasad in another study sponsored by the M.I.T. international communication research program.

Favorable

curious  
 trustful  
 affectionate  
 generous  
 friendly  
 informal  
 hospitable  
 cooperative  
 helpful  
 peace-loving  
 frank  
 honest  
 quick  
 independent  
 self-confident  
 industrious

Unfavorable

materialistic  
 arrogant  
 pragmatic  
 smug  
 condescending  
 intolerant  
 self-righteous  
 insular  
 frivolous

By contrast, the traits attributed to the home people are relatively few, homogeneous, and general:

Favorable

peaceful, peace-loving  
 nonviolent  
 tolerant (in religion)  
 passive  
 dispassionate  
 patient  
 accommodative

Unfavorable

prejudiced  
 cynical  
 hypercritical  
 jealous  
 arrogant  
 fatalistic  
 apathetic

As a whole Indian students seem to perceive in their cultural self-image traits that may be said to vary on a dimension of "feeling" or "suffering" (pathos, passion)--e.g., patient, dispassionate, passive, apathetic.

If we look at the clusters of trait attributions, it would appear that Indian students perceive most favorably "outgoing" (e.g., "friendly") traits in the host national character and "in-drawn" traits (e.g., "peaceful") in their own national character. "Peace-loving" appears to be the only common favorable trait, and

"arrogant" the common unfavorable trait attributed by the Indian students in our sample to both the home and host peoples. It is also worth noting the lack of overlap in the trait-attributions. Indian students do not seem to refer to themselves as "friendly," although studies would reveal that "friendship" is an important value-orientation in Indian culture.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the "friendliness" of the American is the most frequently mentioned trait. An interesting question for further research poses itself: To what extent are "outgoing" traits perceived by foreign students (Indian or German, for instance) to be "superficial," and "indrawn" traits to be "deep"? Also it would be interesting, for a theory of culture change and stereotype-formation, to inquire under what condition the outgoingness of the host may be perceived as "aggressiveness" and negatively valued, and the indrawnness of the visitor as "passiveness" and negatively valued by the host.<sup>5</sup>

To conclude: It seems clear that there is a mechanism of

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<sup>4</sup>Cf. G. V. Coelho, "Changing Patterns of Friendship in Modern India: a study of middle-class urban youth friendships," in Cora DuBois (Ed.) "Studies of Friendship," Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, September 1955. (mimeographed)

<sup>5</sup>In a pioneering study of images of Indians, based on intensive interviews with 181 prominent Americans in various spheres of society, 99 of whom had traveled in India, H. R. Isaacs found that of the favorable traits attributed to Indians, the most frequently mentioned was "charming, friendly, hospitable." H. R. Isaacs, Scratches on our Minds: Some American Images of China and India, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, March 1956, p. 122. (hectographed)

selective perception at work in the foreign student's spontaneous characterization of the host and home peoples. It would appear on the whole that the Indian student perceives many more differentiated traits in the host than in his own national character. The total sum of traits attributed to the host and home national characters respectively suggests a "passive-aggressive" polarity. For example, the home national character traits perceived favorably tend to reflect a relatively "passive" (suffering) feeling orientation, whereas the host national character traits that are perceived favorably reflect a relatively "aggressive" (outgoing) activistic orientation.

### 3. The Indian student's religious value-orientations:

The subjects' interpretation of their religious value-orientation is thus varied and more or less idiosyncratic as far as can be gathered from their spontaneous comments expressed during the interview on in-groups. Since the older members of the sample were particularly emphatic about their "religious" attitudes, our evidence in this section is limited to their interpretations. Thus our findings are representative of an "elite" section of the Indian population in general. We start with one student's views:

I belong to a Brahmin Hindu community but I don't attach any importance to the accident of birth. Religious institutions have least importance in my life. I have no prejudice for or against any community or caste.

As for nationality, sometimes I feel proud I'm an Indian, but this is emotion. I don't mind being an American, Englishman, Jew. Out-groups for me are those who are opposed to humanity--namely, narrow political groups and factions, and religious sects who in the name of religion are prepared to do all kinds of misdeeds. (t1-13)

The following characteristics, however, are more typical, and summarize the common "religious" attitudes found among this small group of Indian students:

- a) a lack of feeling for active membership in an organized religious body (traditional or reformed).
- b) a subjective orientation to religion, dissociated from an institutional loyalty or formal adherence to theological dogma.
- c) absence of a "crusading" religious assertion.
- d) a diffuse assimilative and non-exclusive attitude towards other religions.

Sometimes there is an apparent reaction against "religion" because of the "crimes" committed in its name. But it is redefined subjectively, as in the following instance, distinguishing it from the "mythology of the epics" on the one hand and from politics on the other:

I'm not keen on religion. I have never visited a temple and I don't care about the epics. I'm glad personally that India is a secular state. I hate religion entering into politics. The principle of religion is a relationship between the Creator and the individual. As for the epics, they are a flight of imaginative fantasy. They have a mythological and not a religious significance.

Sometimes I feel I am the best representative of the Hindu--namely, I don't believe in any missionary or proselytizing spirit. Open-mindedness and tolerance are the keynote when I think of myself as a Hindu. I think it is the most catholic of religions since it has absorbed Islam and Christian elements into it. (tl-14)

Thus, according to this student, Hinduism recognizes Islamic and Christian aspects in its "catholicity" without, however subscribing to a "crusading" enterprise.

Religion tends to be defined in nonspecific and noninstitutional terms, and religious attitudes are dissociated from material symbols and denominational forms of religion as, for instance, in this extract:

I'm a Hindu by birth, but it's not a form of worship; rather it's an attitude to life. It's a purely personal attitude. It means a liberal attitude towards other forms of religion. I don't believe in comparisons or conversions. One can choose to be an atheist or not. I like my nationality-- I'm proud of it but I would not adopt the attitude of my nationality-right-or-wrong. I can reconcile the interest of my family to the greater family outside. I would not say "my-family-right-or-wrong." (t1-10)

This abstract personalism in the attitude towards religion is not clearly spelled out in a formal set of beliefs. But the following "moral code" is, in one case, associated with a lack of interest in "religious worship."

I'm not at all interested in religion. I'm not at all religious as far as worship and routine are concerned but I have two tenets--Iman (sincerity) and Niti (attitude of righteousness which guides one's conscience).

As for nationality, I cannot give it weightage because I have not compared it with anything else. I cannot get a comparison just like my attitude to religion. (t1-6)

Apparently religious affiliation does not seem to enter into the Indian student's choice of formal educational institutions:

I personally have been in schools for various religions, Arya Samaj (Hindu reformed), Christian, and Islamic, in my teens. I have an interest in out-groups only as a matter of curiosity; out-groups do not evoke hostility or resentment in my mind, but rather humor, and satisfy my feelings of curiosity. (t1-1)

One student remarks with surprise that "religion to an Indian does not seem to be so antagonistic to a socialistic or even communistic economy as religion does in the United States":

In India religion is not dressed up, in spite of rituals. It is more of a way of life than anything else. That part of religion is not easily seen by an outsider nor is it easily possible for an individual to interpret it to outsiders because it is so much a part of him. He can seldom look at it from outside. What is seen by the outsider usually is not the essence but the aberrations, the frills, and the redundant rituals, and these are mistaken for the true goods.

Religion is more organized here. It is more of an institution. Surprisingly enough religion to an Indian does not seem to be so much antagonistic to a socialistic or even communistic economy as it does here. Here free enterprise seems to have become almost like the eleventh commandment. (t2-6, 2nd interview)

More usually, speculations about India's culture (in its philosophical or religious aspects) assert an undefined "Indian pattern of life."

One thing has to be clearly understood. India will never turn red. India has got its own mode of life and she is actually weaving an Indian pattern of life. It is actually this belief (India turning red) on the part of America that mars the good understanding between the two countries. (t1-5)

What do we deduce from these attitudes to religion? It might be said that these students have broken away from the religious practice of their ancestors--or that they represent a transition, "deviance," or revolt from traditional Indian culture. It could also be argued that some of these expressions of religious or non-religious attitude are rationalizations based on the repression of unconscious aggressive impulses. Without sufficient evidence of "endopsychic conflict" and the ineffectualness of the inhibition, we cannot, of course, be sure of the import of these attitudes in individual cases.

In some cases, the sentiments expressed may reflect a genuine value-orientation which the student defines as religious. On the



whole, it is clear that this sample of Indian students does not regard religion as prescribing a strict or clearly defined in-group loyalty. Religion is not mentioned frequently among their important membership groups.

To sum up: Religion is variously defined in the responses of this sample of Indian students. Sometimes there is a strong emphasis on the irrelevance of worship and ritual, and sometimes there is a reasoned eclecticism of approach. More generally, it is defined as a subjective experience that allows considerable latitude in belief or practice, and assimilation with various institutional forms of religion.

#### 4. The Indian student's audiences in international communications

Our data show that Indian students become aware during their first year of a variety of socio-cultural groups in American society. After a few years of acculturation their demographic map of the host culture shows a relatively greater degree of differentiation. The following is a list of all the categories of reference groups or persons mentioned by the students as "audiences" for their intended communications on the topic of Indo-American relations.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Specific Audiences in American Society</u>	<u>Specific audiences in Indian Society</u>
"Average" educated citizen	Middle class educated public	Middle class college-educated
Students	University High school	University High school
Educationists	College instructors School teachers	College professors School teachers

<b>Exchange program officials</b>	<b>Exchange visitors</b>	<b>USIS staff in India</b> <b>Students planning to come to the USA</b> <b>Technical assistance personnel</b>
<b>Informal social groups</b>	<b>Parents and older people up to 75</b> <b>Friends and close associates</b> <b>Housewives</b>	<b>Friends and acquaintances</b> <b>Mothers</b>
<b>Social welfare agencies</b>	<b>YMCA</b> <b>Am. Friends Service Comm.</b> <b>Comm. for Friendly Relations among Foreign Students</b>	<b>Social workers</b>
<b>Press</b>	<b>Journalists</b>	<b>Journalists</b>
<b>Social classes</b>	<b>Rich upper middle class</b> <b>White collar</b> <b>Working class</b> <b>Mid-West farmers</b>	<b>Upper middle class</b> <b>Intelligentsia</b> <b>Industrial workers</b> <b>Farmers and villagers</b>
<b>Government officials</b>	<b>Senators</b> <b>Foreign Operations officials</b> <b>Immigration authorities</b>	<b>Members of Parliament</b> <b>Ministers in provincial legislatures</b>
<b>Political groups</b>	<b>"Americans like Chester Bowles"</b> <b>"Americans like Knowland"</b>	<b>Pro-Americans like Masani</b> <b>Right Wing communalists (Hindu-Mahasabha)</b> <b>Left Wing socialists</b> <b>Communists</b>
<b>Religious groups</b>	<b>Suburban church groups --</b>	
<b>Fanatics</b>	<b>Bigots</b>	<b>Orthodox reactionaries</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>----</b>	<b>Beggars</b>

The above list includes the three broad classes of audiences (actual, possible, and improbable) that the 60 subjects mentioned

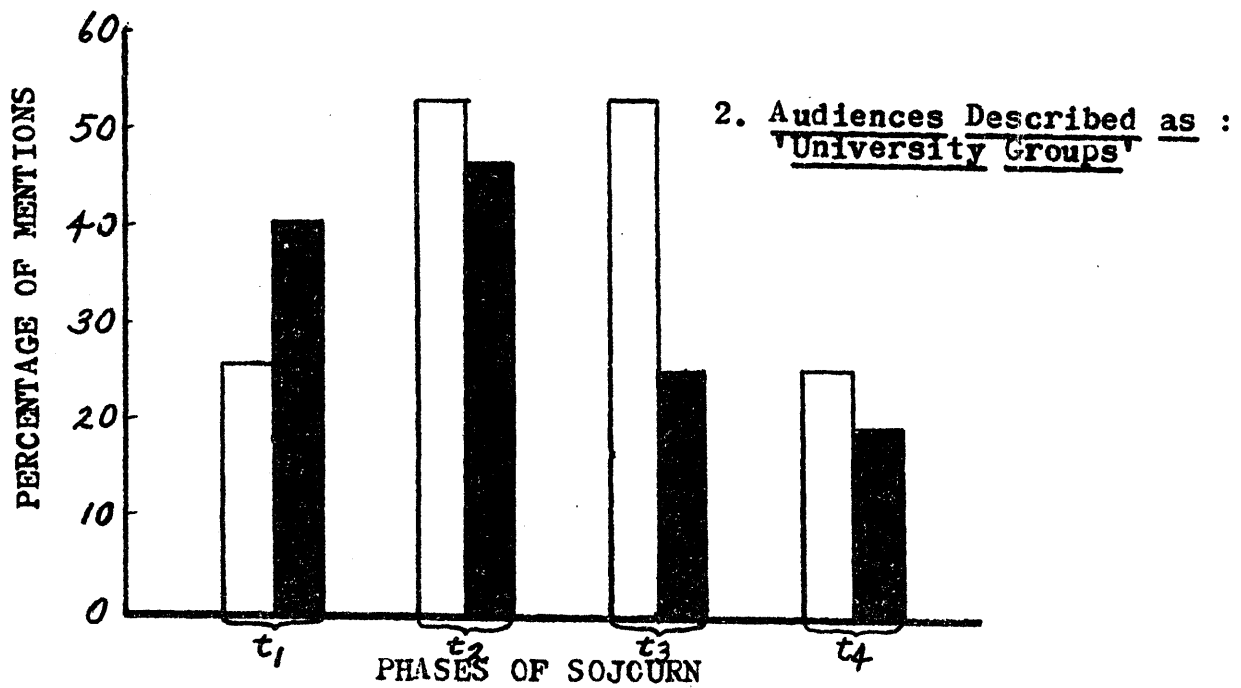
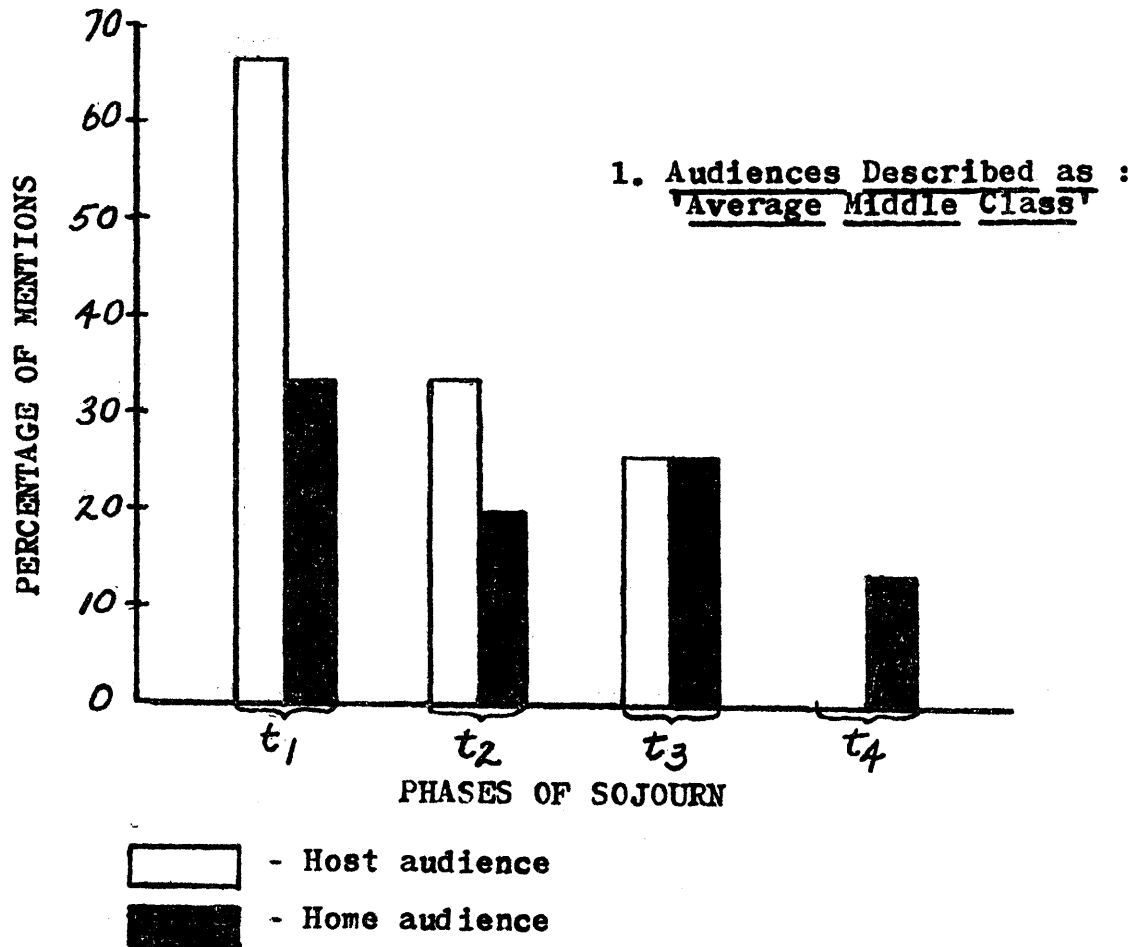
spontaneously and explicitly. Two findings are worth noting here: first the student on the whole seems to differentiate those social groups in the host culture that reflect the cultural categories which have become familiar to him through his socialization at home. Secondly, though aware of a variety of social groups, there are relatively few social groups that he selectively perceives as his actual audiences for his intended communications, and these reference groups seem to reflect his professional interests and realistic role-transactions as a student.

Most often in the interview he described himself as addressing 'an average middle class audience', or as addressing university groups. Table 7 shows how the highly vague and undifferentiated category, 'average middle class audience', became less and less frequently used by the Indian student as time passed. Moreover, it became less frequent, not only when he was describing potential American audiences, but also to some extent when he was describing potential Indian audiences. On the other hand, university groups are at first mentioned with increasing frequency as the Indian student acquires a more realistic picture of his likely audiences and then with decreasing frequency as his acculturation breaks him out of the limited university environment. Here again the trend with regard to American audiences mentioned in the interview is paralleled to some extent by the trend in potential Indian audiences mentioned.

We conclude with the following generalization: during acculturation the foreign student perceives increasingly differentiated aspects of social groups in the host culture but he seems to orient himself mainly to those reference groups that are relative to his current status-interests or affiliative needs.

FIGURE 3

## PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS MENTIONING VARIOUS HOST AND HOME AUDIENCES



## 5. Perspectives of the Indian Student through the four phases

We conclude our qualitative analysis of the data by examining the temporal shifts in the orientations of the Indian student through the four phases of acculturative learning.

### Perspective t1

Slogans and sententious statements dominate the student's style of communication with Americans in Phase 1. The following extract from the protocols is fairly typical of the "idealistic" outlook of the Indian student during his first week in the United States:

The ideals of these two countries are the same, though the methods of reaching them may be slightly different. . . . Indians would rather like to argue and bring out agreement than by use of force. For this, our approach is based on the assumption that the opposite side is amenable to reason. Maybe it would take some time. . . .

Probably but not essentially the passive nature of Hindu religion is another reason for the different methods of approach to peace by these countries. (t1-8)

Broad generalizations about historical background and cultural attitudes to life are frequent:

The foreign policy of India must be understood against the background of non-violence and the Indian attitude against proselytization and conversion. The political policy of dynamic neutrality is only a translation of the unconscious Indian attitude towards life. A free exchange of ideas shall be able to clear misunderstanding and may help us towards the ideal of peaceful co-existence. The differences are there. But the beauty of God's creation lies in diversity, not in dull uniformity. It lies more in the tolerance of these differences and peaceful living. (t1-10)

In explaining India's "dynamic neutrality," one student cites the unconscious "cultural attitude of Indians," another pleads a policy of national self-interest:

I find that the Indian viewpoint and policy of neutrality in this modern ideological struggle has not been understood by America. The Pancha-Shila advocated by Pandit Nehru clearly indicates this viewpoint. Herein may I indicate that we have a principle of dynamic positive neutrality and not just "neutrality." . . . . The masses of South East Asian countries which form a respectably major part of the world population have been realizing their status and awakening. . . . So we in India who on the one hand deal with Western powers, as well as know what our neighbor China is, have got to accept a policy expedient in such a situation, and I believe will do worse by joining a "power bloc."(t1-9)

A lofty demand to be understood regarding "common aspirations" in achieving "the same goals," the need to explain differences in approach by appealing to the history of national independence or cultural ideals of non-violence, and above all, the emphasis on similarities which are described in terms of general analogies or abstract ideals -- these are some of the major premises in the student's representations of India to Americans in Phase 1. For instance, the following facts are marshaled as a rationale for Indo-American understanding:

The present relationship between the two countries is one of peaceful and responsive collaboration.

- a) both are democratic.
- b) both are republican in character.
- c) both have a large population with varied cultural traits and in both there is a unity running through their respective diversities.
- d) both have won their freedom from the British after years of toil and tears.
- e) both are members of the U.N.

These facts make for a close understanding on the problems of India in the USA and of the USA in India.(t1-13)

Disparities are readily conceded but prospects of change, enthusiasm for learning, hope for scientific and democratic progress strike a positive note:

This is a country that is far more advanced in their scientific inventions and applications. . . . We are still backward in this direction--that is a fact we should acknowledge without any reservation. With scientific advancement, the whole way of life changes, and therefore, for Indians it is very important to take as much advantage of this

line with them as early as possible. . . . The democratic way of life here is very inspiring to us. We are also democratic in nature but we are still building up our approach to democracy. We can therefore learn very much from the actual functioning of democracy here. (tl-4)

Impressed with the value of the Exchange Program these students are optimistic about their opportunities for learning from America.

At the same time they readily conclude that Americans are clear about what they could learn from India. An agreed basis for cultural relations is hopefully assumed in Phase 1.

a) The American way of life, particularly the dignity of labor, the sense of equality, the worship of work. The sense of confidence with which the American citizen faced his new duties in a dark continent must offer lessons in India. The Hindu attitude to life. . . .

b) America, a new world; India with centuries of past history and tradition must be of absorbing interest to the Americans, Indian art, Indian music, and dancing.

c) Exchange of student delegations and cultural delegations should be able to clear mutual misunderstandings and help towards a realization of differences and tolerance.

Perceived against this background of common national aspirations and democratic foundations, the outgoing friendliness of the American host or stranger tends to dispel the visitor's suspicion, or postpone inspection, of cultural differences.

The demand to be understood is insistently heard through Phase 1. The complaint about the widespread ignorance of India's motives and viewpoint is accompanied by a facile assumption that once India's case for preserving democracy at home and its freedom from "warring blocs" is presented, the American people will appreciate the Indian position. The following extract reflects, for instance, more wishful thinking than first-hand observation:

While they (the Americans) are greatly appreciative of the democratic way our government is organized and run, and the progress we have achieved in rebuilding the country, they are apprehensive about the policy of "non-alliance" that India is following. The explanation that we desire no strings to

our freedom and that we would continue to be a free people with freedom to remain aloof from warring blocs, seems to catch their mind. The information that communists in India are being considered as an undesirable group who suffered a great defeat in the recent elections in Andhra adds greatly to the impression that an American gets about the neutral policy of the country. (t1-3)

True, only a very few students seem to believe that understanding between two parties is achieved by one handing out information or writing out explanations to the other. Most students at Phase 1 reduce the problems of understanding to facilities for more extensive interpersonal relations between Indians and Americans:

Economic relations are being colored by the growing political estrangement. Although economic relations are good and necessary, they are likely to become worse in the future.

The important factor determining relations are the political forces. Social relations are few and meager. Political and economic relations may be improved by more social relations. If part of India sends professors and officials, they will. The countries we hate are the countries we don't know. (t1-12)

The brief experience of this student in the new culture recalls some of the domestic stereotypes that he believes are dispelled by an exchange of persons. To make the point doubly emphatic he distinguishes between informed and uninformed opinion in India.

What does an ordinary Indian think of an ordinary American? Informed opinion held by those who have known U.S. people has found the U.S. good and the American qualities of friendliness and family life. . . . The average Britisher looks down on the average Indian. This is not so with the American citizen. The average American is genuinely interested.

Uninformed opinion--gathered through movies or U.S. soldiers: seamy side becomes prominent and emphasized. Some ideas of America held even by educated are: lighthearted, not sober, loose morals, family as an institution does not exist. . . . Even my professor said that U.S. teaching is mechanical. (t1-12)

Some of the educated Indian's stereotypes about America, and more often the educated American's "ignorance" about Indian culture



are pointed out, but the "average American's" friendly interest and willingness to listen are most emphasized. The new arrival readily ventures, it would seem, to stake international understanding on these friendly social attitudes. Speculations on the felt difference between the American's political and social attitudes indicate some anxiety on the part of one student:

Politically, I had not much discussion yet and I could not say much, excepting that they do have an undercurrent of condescending attitude towards us, as towards the other nationalities, on account of perhaps the various aids, etc., that they give, and they do appear to be grudging, though they take care to conceal that.

Socially, I have seen the innate friendliness in them towards us, in spite of their ignorance and embarrassing questions. (t1-6)

To sum up: On arrival in the United States, the Indian student's idealism is high. American friendliness encourages his search for "similarities" between India and America, and confirms a basic assumption about the common ideals of the two countries. He notes certain differences in political approach and disparities of scientific development, but he hopefully expects or assumes a tolerance of cultural pluralism in Indo-American relations.

#### Perspective t2

A few months of exposure to the new cultural scene seems to bring home to the student that deeper American ignorance about India prevails and wider differences- economic, cultural, political-- than were at first recognized. The cues of friendliness become increasingly ambiguous, the student's search for "deep" friendship becomes insistent, personal morale declines, and ego-defenses

multiply. He gropes through the mass media for news of home, and reads in them not only gross ignorance but "deliberate misrepresentations" of India. When he finds that some of his academic peers too betray an insensitivity to his national ideals or his cultural heritage, American ignorance begins to spell intolerance. Does familiarity breed strangeness? Can humanity constitute an in-group for individuals of diverse cultures?

Such are the ultimate questions that seem to be presented in Phase 2 for a quick answer and a clear-cut formula. Disillusioned by the failure of Americans to provide the answers he expects, the student is confronted with a situation that has suddenly become unstructured. The sensationalism of the mass media provides little orientation. Projections and rationalizations of various kinds provide an easy outlet and temporary relief:

To me it seems clear enough: this business of intolerance, e.g., Americans seem to think that they are a special mould of human beings. They don't see that any refuse of humanity dumped into this environment would have flowered. The intelligent ones realize this fact. . . . They misinterpret India's role just to make a bogey of Communism. They paint it black and white. They impose a morality of right and wrong. Despite all, the common people can understand. . . . It often appears that there are two different ways of mob rule: in the U.S.A., they use propaganda. This is more subtle and successful. In the USSR they use force. This is not very accurate, of course, but I have this impression sometimes. (t2-15)

A sensitivity to "the unequal footing" on which help is given to India expresses itself in vague resentment of the United States:

While one can understand why there need not be communism in the U.S., the hatred for communist systems elsewhere in the world is illogical (for want of a better word). If the people in the U.S. were to examine their own economic and political system as closely as they examine communism, they

will find as many drawbacks in it as they find holes in the communist doctrine. To appreciate this viewpoint, the U.S. would benefit vastly by beginning to understand "neutral" countries like India, whose opinions on these matters may be regarded as unbiased and following a middle course. . . . From India's point of view, very good relations with the U.S. and U.S.S.R. would help because of political and economic necessity. . . . All the help given with the best of intentions does not bring the U.S. the friendship of the recipients because it is on an unequal footing. (t2-11)

In general, through Phase 2 the sharp unfavorable criticism is found specifically in the areas of American "materialism" and "militarism," "mass media," and "democracy." Some of these themes are fused in the following sequence:

American public opinion is not fully expressed in their government's affairs, foreign affairs. . . . There is a materialistic craze for money. The church attendance is not too bad, but the people do not seem to apply the religious outlook to their everyday problems. There is a repetition of the cliché, "Nehru is sitting on the fence," "What fence?" I ask, "That fence is created by you. You scrupulously kept yourselves to the Monroe Doctrine. It took three-fourths of a global war to drag you into war." If you tell them the basic reasons for India's approach, they appreciate it. (t2-3)

The students hotly blame American mass media for the misinterpretation of India's desire for "peaceful co-existence."

The fact that India wants peaceful co-existence has been interpreted by many Americans to mean that India is leaning towards Communism. . . . some leading papers and magazines are in my opinion guilty of deliberately misinterpreting Indian ideas--moves to create anti-Indian feeling in America. (t2-4)

Less frequently, a tight-lipped bitterness about the lack of "free mingling" underlies the avoidance of political issues:

I don't see how one talks about this subject [Indo-American Relations] except in a political sense because unless there is free mingling between these peoples, there is no relationship possible in the real sense, and the two systems are very different. In my talk I have not stressed the

political aspects because political ideologies may change, but rather the humanistic values which are prominent, irrespective of the political basis. I believe that relationships formed on this basis are more lasting. (t2-5)

Usually, in Phase 2, the negative criticism is outspoken. In a few cases, however, the aggressive attacks against the host culture are followed by an admission of inferiority feelings:

Personally, I look upon the pragmatism and instrumentalism of the United States with contempt. This is separating the soul from the body. In my philosophy, it is hypocrisy. It is as bad as saying that clothes should not be designed to give the human body beauty and grace. . . . The East (New England) is striving to keep the culture of Western Europe alive. They annoy me with their interpretations of culture. To them it means achievement. To me it means atmosphere. Bostonians disgust me when I see them flocked at plays and symphonies. They go there because they think they ought to be there. . . . I bear this personal malice because of the culture of our country. Perhaps I feel inferior to the vast industries of the U.S.A. and so bring out the word "culture." (t2-13)

On occasion, the protest against the alleged "superiority" of the United States is registered by "leaving the field":

People in the U.S. are not concerned with what Indians do. But people in India are concerned with what this country does--e.g., a professor in India. A professor in Harvard would be less interested in what a professor in India does. The assumption here is that their system is superior to our own. . . . Indo-American relations are not so much a problem of India. U.S. is involved in the cold war--we are not. (t2-14)

Seldom is there, in Phase 2, a re-examination of cultural stereotypes. The following is exceptional:

I would explain to Indians and Americans alike when they talk about the methods of American superficiality, they might miss some of the nice points of this superficiality. For instance, take the common conception that the Americans are boisterous and have no roots. It may be that is true but there are compensating qualities. To start from a clean slate might well have some advantages. Perhaps these qualities are due to mannerisms which we judge from our traditional point of view. (t2-6)

It is hard to tell at what point this leaning backward to defend American culture against some common stereotype turns into an attack on some of his domestic reference groups:

Religion is taken seriously here even by scientists. When I came here I did not expect people to like the seriousness of religion. Religion plays a part even in science discussions. I'm always talking with students of science and we drift into philosophy. My roommate is a Catholic. I have the greatest respect for him. . . In India, students do not care too much about religion or even think about it or analyze it. (t2-10)

A re-evaluation of the social relations in both India and in the United States leads in the following case to a vehement and pointed denunciation of the "extremes" in both cultures:

Let's face it. Indian family life is rigid and formal. American family life borders on the informal. Both are bad. A happy medium is desired, where the son can have genuine respect for his parents but at the same time does not have to fear them. There is a sense of God's chosen people on the part of both countries. If we really were, we wouldn't be congregating here to break down the barriers towards closer Indo-American relations. . . There is color prejudice in India. How many Indian families will put up a lodger? . . . My grandfather was married to someone he never saw before--they hate one another, whereas divorce here is a social medicine. The Indian son touching his father's feet--and the American son shooting his parents for telling him to go to bed and not watch TV. (t2-9)

Now and again sudden flashes of insight into the subtle workings of defense mechanisms break through:

Of course they (the Americans) have a much larger percentage of educated and enlightened people. But among their masses, they have the same bias, prejudices, superstitions as there are among the masses in India. We are at the stage when we are reacting against things. . . We have not quite attained the freedom from reactions and antithesis. These reactions lead to a certain arrogance, which is an over-compensation for a felt inferiority, and it hinders a sane outlook. We try to cover it up by saying, "We are as good as you," instead of remedying the specific error or lack. This is not so pronounced among Indians at home as among Indians here. (t2-15)

To sum up: Bitter criticism of American ignorance and intolerance, vehement protestations of equality, combined less frequently with admissions of Indian arrogance and prejudice and of personal inferiority feelings--all these themes run in a vicious circle through Phase 2 with an intensity and frequency unequalled in the other phases.

What is the meaning of this aggression and hostility? Does it imply a superficial conformity to unfavorable stereotypes about the United States? Is it a functional defensiveness against the threat (real or fancied) of a dominating world power?

Our data do not provide an interpretation of this complex set of attitudes. It seems fairly clear, however, that there is a considerable emotional tension accompanied by generalized responses of withdrawal, avoidance, and rejection with regard to the host culture. The pattern of negative criticism suggests in many cases an hostility rather than a give-and-take discussion with a specific audience.

Phase 2 illustrates various forms of projection<sup>6</sup>:

a) Direct projection is often reflected in the criticism of American "materialism." A foreign student's own ambitions presumably

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<sup>6</sup>Projection has been defined as the tendency to attribute falsely to other people motives or traits that are our own or that in some way explain and justify our own. According to psychoanalytic interpretation, ethnic hostility is a projection of unacceptable inner strivings on to a minority group. Cf. B. Bettelheim and M. Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice: A Psychological and Sociological Study of Veterans. New York, Harper, 1950.

include certain "materialistic" values, e.g., a trip abroad which costs considerable money, better educational opportunities, improved professional status, social prestige on his return home, a higher standard of living and so on.

b) Mote-beam projection may be seen in the responses of the foreign visitor who, sensitized to the "sex appeal" that is sensationalized in mass media, tends to exaggerate cultural differences in sex morality.

c) Complementary projection is illustrated in the following argument: "We are passive and non-violent. Therefore, they are aggressive and war-minded."<sup>7</sup>

Phase 2 is marked, in several cases, not only by criticism of the host by self-criticism, both personal and cultural. Arrogance and intolerance are perceived to be mutually shared by Indians and Americans. In contrast to Phase 1, where the student is quoting from a traditional philosophy of tolerance, there is occasionally a sophisticated questioning of these cultural assumptions: "India has had too much religion. . . . To be very frank, non-violence is a pretty arrogant thing." (t2-9) This attitude is, however, rather rare. There appears to be a search for a reference group which the felt inequality or inferiority makes increasingly difficult to orient towards. The student who thinks India has had too much religion refers to Abraham Lincoln's words: "I care not if God is

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<sup>7</sup>The three kinds of projection illustrated here are described in Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, pp. 387-391.

on my side. My only hope and fear is that I may be found on God's side." (t2-9)

Phase 2 also illustrates some rationalizations of the "passiveness" associated with Indian culture:

Criticism is often made that ours is a defeatist and passive philosophy in contrast to their Vincent Peale type. I'd give (to my audience) some account of the economic background that adds to such a philosophy. Apathy is a device for living in a certain environment. If we had the "go ahead and fix it" attitude, we would be bashing our heads. (t2-15)

Perceiving intolerance and irrationality on both sides, Indian and American, the student whom we quote above seems to place the onus on the individual Indian:

Few people among Indians seem to manage themselves in such a way as to show that they're quite confident of their activities and can react to Americans as persons. (t2-15)

The student's disillusion and hostility in Phase 2 is then, to a considerable extent, probably a reactive defense against the frustration caused by failure to gain the acceptance of a host reference group with whom on his arrival he had believed he shared so much in common.

### Perspective t3

In Phase 1 the Indian student needs and demands to be understood. In Phase 2 he is sensitized to a widespread misrepresentation of his national ideals and cultural values; he is defensive in his efforts to cope with threats to his ego. In Phase 3 he desires and seeks to understand.



Phase 3 represents, in many ways, the phase of inquiry and self-questioning. The foreign visitor redefines his reference groups to include more differentiated categories of membership and non-membership groups. Negative reference groups continue to claim serious attention but they do not seem to carry the threat and hostility perceived in Phase 2.

The Indian student begins to look back on his three semesters of relative professional progress, and a sense of confidence based partly on his academic achievements and partly on his social adjustments. He reflects on the generalizations he made in his first year, the disillusionments he suffered, and the criticisms he had expressed.

He hears the criticisms of newly arrived students, remembers some of his own, and differentiates himself somewhat from them--as though he knows a little better now. He can see the point of the criticisms the newcomers make after their initial flush of diffuse praise. But he seems to view the negative defects as part of a larger pattern in which positive merits can be counted by way of compensation. He has found new interests, developed perhaps a friendship or two, blames his difficulties less frequently on the cultural environment, seems not so compulsive in protecting his national image as in Phase 2. To the extent that he succeeds, he is able to raise questions about his earlier culturally defined in-group memberships. He discriminates between Indians and Indians, Americans and Americans. He continues to make many of the criticisms he had made earlier, but they are made in a temper of friendly

discussion. His self-image is more securely anchored and he feels free to examine some of the assumptions about his own culture. He can debunk stereotypes and legends without rejecting his culture totally. His criticisms tend to carry more detail, more questions. They are relatively more analytic than emotional. He reviews his earlier generalizations about both cultures in more differentiated perspective.

In Phase 3 the criticism is tempered with qualified and informed opinion. It shows little of the bitterness and extravagance of emotional moods of Phase 2 (violently blaming, accusing the other of intolerant attitudes and/or oneself of inferiority feelings, or blaming both for arrogance and prejudice). There is, on the other hand, a realistic attempt to say, "Okay, where do we go from here?" Negative judgments are accompanied by positive suggestions. For example, the theme of inequality of treatment shows that the student seems to be more task-oriented toward the job of improving matters than personally sensitive:

I would not blame one side or the other and I would suggest differences of approach due to culture and history. The West has been fed on propaganda that others are somehow sub-human. This approach evades the issues at stake. Given an opportunity these sub-human peoples can rise. (t3-8)

Accompanying this relative decrease in defensiveness, more or less universal problems of want and prejudice and war appear in Phase 3 to claim attention in a discussion of the problem of Indo-American relations:

Disparities of social and economic status. The prosperous worlds cannot live by letting the underdeveloped countries to themselves. Technological advance has made the imbalance between countries more felt between nations.

Color discrimination and the caste system--these are blots on domestic problems that each will attempt to solve.

India has much to give through its peaceful serene activities towards the cause of peace. India is the only country who takes a firm stand on the world-peace method. America has much to give through positive action by aiding the victories over Communism, helping the economies of underdeveloped countries to come up. (t3-9)

Against the background of common human goals and tasks, even the terms "backward" and "superior" can be reviewed without the emotionalism provoked by these pejorative epithets in the defensive phase.

Though India is much backward, yet the Indian doesn't like to be told so. On the other hand, U.S. being superior is hurt that India doesn't buy their theories or advice all the time. (t3-15)

It would appear that students at this phase show a recovery or development of ego-strength, and a recognition of motives of ego-extension which enables them to orient themselves by new reference groups (personal, social, professional) that transcend in-groups that were locally or culturally defined. The cognitive field is restructured to include the various differentiated levels of communication--political, educational, social. Communications based on the sensationalism of the mass media are distinguished from Indo-American relations on the personal and social level: "People in America think of Indians from the American theater (movies) and vice versa. Not the same if you meet them personally and socially." (t3-6)

The sensitivities that might be provoked by the vicissitudes of the

political climate and the undiplomatic speeches of diplomats on both sides are not used as a condensing rod for stereotyping the people as a whole:

The recent change in relations at high level (due to aid to Pakistan, India's insistence on recognizing Red China, the feeling in this country that India is not helping USA well enough to earn U.S. aid, the feeling that clamors for cease fire, whenever American guns or Red ones for that matter, open fire, etc.) are really irritating but do not concern the cultural relations. There are men on both sides who admire each other for what they are and not for what their guns are, e.g., men like Chester Bowles who insists on aiding India. (t3-3)

These students seem to remind themselves or warn the earlier arrivals that to generalize from one level of communication to another is misleading. They seek to specify the level and kind of communication that is effective:

Regarding the exchange of personnel, what is important is not the numbers but the qualities. For example, the GI's did little to give us insight into American life. Exchange helps us get new perspectives of their background from a far away land as well as better understanding of our own shortcomings. (t3-2)

Friendships are seen as a form of intimate social communications that may develop across cultural boundaries:

I have found that taking into account the difference in the backgrounds of individuals from such different cultures one can still come very close in human relations. Thus some of my friends here have been as intimate friends as most of my close friends at home. We have been often so intimate as to talk about the most personal of each other's problems and ideas and aspirations. (t3-4)

Cultural differences and national positions are by no means discounted, but realistic analytic discussions tend to replace the emotional outbursts of righteous indignation or vituperation of

Phase 2. For instance, the discussion outline is much more frequent than the essay, reflecting a tentativeness of approach and a consideration of both visitor's and host's points of view on various issues; for example:

The attitude of the two countries regarding:

- i) colonialism
- ii) color problem
- iii) communism and communist countries
- iv) other major world problems including defense organizations, armament, etc.

much of the differences can be accounted for by economic, social, cultural, and other background factors in the two countries. (t3-1)

There is an increasing emphasis on the fruitfulness of debate and inquiry:

Similarities in the ways of life and dissimilarities. More research is required. How far can the dissimilarities be tolerated? In the religious and political fields? As far as the people are concerned, in little things? Since Indian religions are different there is an interest in studying them--and a friendliness. When the novelty of this interest fades, discrimination will probably set in. The task is how to prevent this. Another point is that the world is becoming cosmopolitan. (t3-2)

One student regards himself not as the victim of inequality, but as an agent of reciprocity. There is, for instance, a reaching out and warming up to meet the American student in India:

Through student exchange Indian families should be more enlightened and broadened to invite and discuss matters with American visiting students. . . .

Schools in India should provide more comprehensive programs in varied fields of study which would attract more U.S. students and thereby community participation. (t3-12)

A student from Andhra, where the Indian Communist party is reported to be strong, is so deeply impressed by the American way of life that he makes the following proposition:

It would be a good idea if some communist students who have become communists due to poverty and have not yet mature ideas, be brought to the United States and shown the American way of life. I feel that they would devote their energies to the new way as much and even more than they did in the Communist cause. (t3-7)

This student has returned home to India. He has carried many positive and deep impressions despite many things he did not like while he was in the United States, as he suggests in the following comments:

Many of my prejudices and much of my hatred are compensated by my contact with some families--professors, students, and outside. Immigration laws: If there is a provision where my wife could have earned her bread (she has a college education though not bright) I would have been more happy. Yet that would be only about \$1,000 to the States.

Conclusion: I like the American people better now. I appreciate the American way of study immensely. I don't like American immigration laws. (t3-7)

There is confidence and warmth in asserting that his positive impressions of the American way of life outweigh his negative impressions. The Indian students in Phase 3 continue to criticize certain aspects of American culture, but they appreciate many qualities about the American people more deeply. They are more critical than in Phase 1 in their general attitude towards their environment: not specifically, it would seem, because it is an American environment. For they are equally, if not more critical about their Indian environment. They seem securer in their orientation to their national reference group--having recognized with

acculturation certain problems as being more simply human than cultural.

#### Perspective t4

The common characteristics of Phase 4 suggest increased concentration on the individual's personal relations with those around him and dedifferentiation of his images of the host and more particularly of the home culture.

The following five profiles present the apparently dominant traits and value-orientations of Indian students who over five years or so have worked out a stable way of life in the United States.

#### A Research Scholar

There is the young Indian born of a father who was a great mathematician. He is also proud that his home town, Ujjain, was a great center of mathematical lore in ancient India. This student has taken his doctoral degree and does not expect to return to India. He intends to devote himself to pure research in mathematics:

India is in many respects underdeveloped. We lost out about 300 years ago and we have not yet picked up. In pure mathematics, for instance, we are behind.

He has found his Ujjain in the United States, but he still misses the kind of friendship he has known in India. His introspections are suggestive of the concern with social-emotional problems in Phase 4:

Americans are, as a rule, very friendly to foreign students. For the first few months an Indian student feels

very much at home with his Indian friends and colleagues. When, say after a year or so, this wave of unexpected friendship settles down in the mind of the Indian student, he starts realizing that something precious is missing. Namely, he comes to the following conclusion: in India each person has not too many friends but whenever there is friendship it is very sincere. On the other hand, in America almost everybody is your "hello" friend. Also one has several fairly good friends but one has almost no sincere friends to speak of. One possible reason for the difference of attitude towards friendship which occurs to me is the following: the "social faculty" of a young American's mind is very largely occupied by his or her "dates" which he starts having ever since he was in kindergarten. In this kind of "friendship" between opposite sexes the main basis seems to be "opposite sexes" and not "friendship." Thus, there is not much room for unselfishness which is the cornerstone of sincere friendship. In India the situation is entirely different. (t4-1)

It would seem that with prolonged acculturation when the needs for steady friendships with the opposite sex are more demanding and the opportunities for developing realistic "attachments" are probably better than on arrival in the country, the Indian student becomes more sensitive to discrimination.

One of the Indian students in the sample is concerned specifically with the family relationships in the United States. Being married to an American, this is an important personal concern.

Of all the different religious denominations, the Jewish American families are the better integrated ones. One of the reasons is due to the great filial rapport arising from their religious ceremonies, like the initiation of a Jewish boy at puberty--a critical period in the boy's life in all ways. On the other hand, the Catholic father and son relationship is the opposite, the father may not want his boy to know anything about the pub he goes to and the common bond would be sports and outdoor life. Nowadays even these bonds are falling apart. . . . Jewish groups, in contrast to Catholic and Protestant groups work in order to make the church integrated with the contemporary life. . . . American parents cater too much to their child especially in pre-juvenile age, so that when the child comes of juvenile age the parent cannot exercise enough control over him as he should.



This applies more to heavy industrial workers families rather than college trained. (t4-6)

In both these extracts quoted above there is a search to understand and explain some aspect of American social life in the context of Indian values. Note also the selective attention given to cross-sex friendships in the United States and to "sincere" male friendships in India (since cross-sex friendships do not institutionally function as in the United States)<sup>8</sup> or the specially sympathetic attention given to American minority groups. It is interesting that the issue of discrimination appears disguised, and yet despite these "barriers" (actual or imaginary) a few Indian students have decided to make their home in American society, on the basis of their scholarly or family interests.

#### An "Engaged" Indian Student

An Indian student engaged to an American girl, with whom he has been "going steady" for several years, directly faces the problem of assimilation through marriage. He deals with the topic of Indo-American relations as it affects mixed marriages specifically between an Indian and an American, and draws up a balance sheet as follows:

<u>Points for</u>	<u>Points against</u>
1. Very healthy conflict of ideas and past family training.	1. Sometimes past training and associations get the better of the individual.
2. Indian male admires freedom	2. These very qualities for

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<sup>8</sup>Cf. G. V. Coelho, loc. cit.

of American women. Her forward and bold outlook are qualities which seem attractive.

3. There seems a greater sense of happiness between these two people because:

a) They are from worlds apart.  
b) Yet they meet and fall in love.

c) Love here seems a voluntary action with absolutely no influences from families.

d) Somehow it seems one has made an important decision by oneself and one is ready to go to the extreme to substantiate the point.

e) Every step taken by the couple is a joint effort. Makes for greater harmony and understanding. Very similar to two nations allying themselves against a common force. Here the tying factor is not a common belief in ideals. Here is certainly the strongest of all binders, i.e., love.

which he admires the female he denounces and detests if and when they are used against his will.

3. Important questions are to be faced and answered in the future regarding:

a) the religious faith of the progeny

b) which land the couple should live in and consider as their home.

c) sense of security is lost due to the prolonged absence of one or the other member of the family from his or her homeland of immediate family ties.

d) some interference from the inlaws mostly due to lack of understanding between parties.

e) very important: this couple has to make a determined effort to find a whole new bunch of friends. Some old friends from both sides are accepted but the substantial quantity fade away. (t4-11)

This student weighing the pros and cons of mixed marriage draws attention to the social difficulty of preserving older friendships after such a marriage. In another context the same student supplies a key to his preoccupations about re-adjustment to his new society: "I wonder if my children will be discriminated against like Anglo-Indians were in India." (t4-11)

With prolonged acculturation, many students show an increasingly obsessive concern with the problems of discrimination. However,

none of these students refers to direct experiences of discriminatory treatment, but the following quotation indicates that the situational context may be an important factor in aggravating the sensitivity of the "victim:"

Discrimination I haven't experienced personally. In New Orleans when I went there all my New York friends and my professor warned me that I should be careful where I go. I was advised not to take a white girl, but I did and went to exclusive places. My hunch is that the battle of discrimination is losing out. People are more and more aware of the existence of India and that those people, namely Indians, cannot be treated with discrimination. . . . However, despite this feeling of acceptance when we are in the United States, the picture is rather different when we meet Americans on our return to India. For example, in 1953, I took a trip to India, and during my travels in Jaipur where I was on the reception committee for foreign visitors, 19 Americans arrived and I tried to make them feel that we were not too different and that I had been to the States, and I know about their country. It was very surprising--I got a cold reception. Again, another instance, at the Taj Hotel in Bombay, I met two or three Americans of the Travel Agency. There, too, I tried to be friendly by showing that I had been to the United States and am still there and that I know the States--meaning that I liked their country. Again I found that I had a poor reception. My conclusion is that when these people (the Americans) go abroad, they think of us on a "cheaper-by-the-dozen" basis, but when we are here, we are in a privileged class. (t4-12)

Who has the onus for taking the initiative in understanding the other person? Visitor or host? This question is considered by one student in Phase 4:

The responsibility is mostly on the Indian because he is a visitor. . . . Foreigners should begin to find out. . . appreciation of why is their religion that way, the curiosity should be the stranger's and not necessarily the host's. . . . I'm sure lots of Americans see a lot of bad in us and lots of Indians see a lot of bad in the Americans. Most foreigners seem to forget that we see a lot of faults in India. . . . but since the stranger is going to live with the host and with many hosts he has to be the Roman for a while anyway, though he should not try to be the typical Roman, for he

should keep his individuality. If he adopts typical Romanism or typical Americanism he does not enrich the culture any more. (t4-15)

The above quotation represents one extreme position in the problems of intercultural understanding on the individual level. The other extreme is to put the onus on the American host:

What India can offer to the West. Western civilization can derive, spiritually, inclinations from India--the philosophy of the Gita . . . the philosophy of Yoga: its physical aspects as well as spiritual. (t4-3)

Between the two extremes there is a more differentiated position that searches out for the human dimension that is held to be independent of the national or cultural, though sometimes confused with it:

Confess your ignorance about the particular social grouping and the ideological differences among the group of Americans to whom you are speaking.

Paint a picture of your own background as briefly as possible. Make it understood that you are not speaking for the whole of India or as a representative of the Indian government but purely expressing opinions as an individual with a general background in Indian culture but differing pointedly by means of your own social background and upbringing, your contacts, your educational preparation, etc.

Make a brief statement about alterations in this view (about America as a Christian nation) after coming to the United States and discovering for yourself that the previous picture of America had been too idealized. Although there are evidences in affirming the previous view of U.S.A. as a great and Christian nation yet specific problems that you notice in the U.S.A. leave you wondering. One might, for instance, relate the numberless divisions in the practice of their religion, each having allegiance to their own respective denominations, but forgetting the total impact as a Christian body.

It is also necessary to point out the differences in attitude which you may have noticed between the various groups of Americans. Some very favorable and helpful, and others indifferent, if not specifically hostile to Asiatic groups and specifically to Indians. Point out some of the types of behavior based on misunderstanding about the political beliefs of Indians and translating the hostility towards

it in terms of hostility towards you. Sometimes the reverse is the process, when one likes Indian policies and shows great kindness.

Also point out that some American groups show friendliness towards you because of their inherent goodness and kindness towards all people. This characterization is true not only of Americans but of Indians as well. (t4-13)

Throughout Phase 4 there is a search for the growing edge of individuation cutting across stereotypical cultural reference groups. This emphasis is clearest where the two cultures fuse in one individual, as in the following case of a student whose father is Hindu and mother American. His professional, social, and religious interests seem to combine some value-orientations of both cultures.

#### An Indo-American

In contrast to the previous student whose quest for understanding proceeds on a broad-based appeal to human sympathies, the Indo-American student rests his case on an apologia for intellectual honesty, which he suggests leads to truth as well as to charity:

If you admit the possibility of holiness, you must also admit the moral responsibility of being holy. It is only in this day and age that man has prided himself in being agnostic. People are satisfied with not knowing. The trouble is that most intellectuals give a Darwinian answer to an Aristotelian question. . . .

I think Hindu doctrine is not correct, but I do not think it is all wrong. . . . The Hindu submission of the intellect to intuition I cannot accept. Intuition is not a valid intellectual exercise. Yet I find that holiness in Shri Raman Maharshi. . . . Man in the East saves or heals in charity. The act of charity is a Christian act whether by a communist or not.

Intellectual honesty is an attitude of the soul. A man who is intellectually honest must come to the truth. I object to the Communist Party, the Klu Klux Klan, and any discriminating group. (t4-8)

The standard cultural stereotypes about American materialism and Indian spirituality are examined:

. . . essential ignorance of Hinduism by Americans and of Christianity by Indians. As a result it is primarily a curiosity by Americans as to the social customs of the Hindus. Indians, however, who have seen too much hypocrisy in Hindus and Christians (as associated in any white person they have met) are just not interested in this aspect of cultural relations.

A standard fiction propagated by both "sides" holds that America is materialistic and India spiritualistic. (t4-8)

This student is very concerned with a religious value-orientation in planning his medical career. Healing and holiness, science and religion--are these two cultural values crossing in the Indo-American?

#### The Business Executive

In sharp contrast we have the case of a long acculturated Indian student who is engrossed in the pursuit of success as a business executive.

In planning a professional career which expresses one of the dominant value-orientations in contemporary American culture, how does this Indian student approach the problem of understanding?

Indo-American relations are in a primitive state. . . . I would say to the Indians--so much depends on how individuals deal with Americans as specific Americans, not as white people. I would say that Americans are more hospitable, generous, they like to listen to the viewpoints of others, they welcome constructive criticism--so we must criticize them for what they have or have not done, and not criticize them for being white.

I would tell the Indians (in India) that though they hear about Negroes they are not Negroes--that the US may be against the Soviets, but are not against the Indians. So I would emphasize that the relationship is personal and social. (t4-9)

The characteristic aspect of Phase 4 appears to be in the student's differentiation of the several levels of relationship--the political, educational, social--but emphasizing the personal and familial relations, whether making friendships or planning marriage, and suggesting a relatively "privatistic" approach to Indo-American relations.

This student seems to answer an imaginary objection of "cultural betrayal" when he criticizes certain Indian student "types" in the United States:

. . . The Indian feels he shouldn't change because he would have to change all the way back again.  
When an Indian comes on a Fulbright, it is not the courses but also the way of thinking that is important.

Take K. He went to five shops before he bought a bottle worth \$1.49. That's the Indian mentality. He wasted so much time. His Ph.D. is not worth a dime because he hasn't got the American thinking behind it. He lives alone--If he doesn't live with another, he will never learn the way an American lives. . . . If he didn't want to change, then he could stay at home. (t4-9)

The future business executive from whose protocol we quoted above is definitely set against returning to India:

I have more social freedom here, more financial freedom here, more educational freedom here, but more political freedom back home. I make my own society here.

While he seems to have integrated his style of life by rejecting a more or less traditional India, another student seeks to relate his appreciation of the freedoms enjoyed here and his feeling for the goodness of the American people with the aspirations of the new and growing Indian nation.

### An Acculturated Nationalist

This Indian student's method to make the Americans understand is to empathize with them and start from their frame of reference. It may be noted that the theme of intolerance is not usually struck in Phase 4--the problem is rather one of mutual ignorance, or individual responsibility, or of the psychological rather than cultural dimensions of prejudice. In the following protocol, the Indian student expresses pride in his nation's progress and seeks to identify with its aspirations and secure the Americans' appreciation, not for his own personal adjustment but for his country's development. He approaches the problem of understanding from the point of view of American "insularity":

Indo-American relations are poor among people in this country who are insular to the extent of fearing things which cannot be identified among their own familiar ways of life. I would suggest therefore that one should begin by talking about some movement in India like the growth, recently of the Steel or Petroleum Refining Industry, or like the growth of a village cooperative. Having given this feeling for the help of a growing nation one should then begin to show that India is a democratic country; that having established this rather homey foundation one might trundle out the big words like socialism, and the welfare state, and indicate what pressures there are in India which insure that its development probably will not parallel that of the U.S.A. In developing a talk in this way, I am applying the observation that Americans (and then it is a great generalization) are frightened of things that they cannot identify with. They are a generous and sympathetic people but in order to touch that sympathetic nature, they require to be in familiar surroundings. (t4-2)

### Conclusion

In Phase 1, the Indian student expresses a clamorous need to be understood. He idealizes the broad similarities he perceives



between American and Indian aspirations. His perception is based on selective orientations to certain Indian cultural values that he tacitly invokes. The onus of understanding, on the given issue of Indo-American relations, is explicitly placed on the host.

In Phase 2, the previously assumed resemblances are questioned, differences are accentuated, the host culture is severely criticized in many aspects in which it is now shown to be "different" from the home culture. Generalized defensive criticisms are very frequently expressed toward both host and home cultures. However, the American's "ignorance" and "intolerance" in regard to India is typically blamed for the difficulties in Indo-American understanding.

In Phase 3, the student shows a relatively differentiated perspective of the host culture. The criticisms continue, but become more specific and more detailed than in Phase 2 and they are in a lower emotional key. Certain aspects of the home culture are freely and critically reviewed in a relatively enlarged national perspective. The student's orientations to the national reference group appear to be more realistic and less defensive. There is an increasing individuation of response to various reference groups in both societies.

In Phase 4, the student seems personally to assume responsibility for understanding the American. He is, however, specifically preoccupied with his adaptation to and acceptance in the host society, and he draws attention to his own specialized orientations (educational, familial, religious, economic, or political). He

emphasizes the visitor's initiative in understanding the American host and attempts to interpret some aspects of the American way of life to a reference group composed of his associates and intimate friends.

## Chapter 5

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present investigation aimed to study how increasing length of exposure to a foreign educational experience affects the visitor's perception of his host and home cultures.

Our conclusions are based on three sources of data:

(1) communications intended for an American audience that were prepared by 60 Indian students in the United States, each summarizing (in a standardized experimental situation) his thoughts on "Indo-American Relations": (2) the subjects' imagined audiences (in the host and home cultures) that were elicited on the basis of their respective written communications: (3) emotionally laden comments which the subjects expressed spontaneously with regard to the host and home cultures during the course of a focussed interview that followed the writing of the experimental "talk." A complete description of the communication instrument and interview schedule is given on page .

The hypothesis guiding our study was that increasing length of exposure to the new culture produces in the visitor increasingly differentiated perceptions about that culture -- up to a certain point. We found that the Indian student showed increasing detail, variety and scope in the information he gained about the host culture over a period of 36 months. We also found that the

visitor showed changes in emotional attitudes over this three year period, with increasingly differentiated criticism, not only of the host culture but of his home culture as well. Length of exposure to a foreign educational experience does not ipso facto result in a global favorable attitude toward the host culture, nor indeed toward the home culture as a whole. There is a strong tendency for the visitor's attitudes to be most favorable immediately after arrival in the new country and to become successively less favorable during the first nine months of his foreign educational experience. If the foreign student's stay is extended beyond this time, however, there is a considerable measure of recovery of sympathy for the host culture. This finding is in line with the U-shaped curve often found in studies of cross-cultural education.

In short, the foreign student's differentiation both in perspectives<sup>1</sup> and in emotional attitudes with respect to the host culture occurs in a succession of phases which our study has examined in quantitative and qualitative analyses. These phases have been found in our study to correspond to the following time periods:

Phase 1 . . . less than one week's exposure to the new culture (arrival).

Phase 2 . . . 3 to 9 months' exposure.

Phase 3 . . . 18 to 36 months' exposure.

Phase 4 . . . 48 to 84 months' exposure.

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1

A perspective may be defined as "an ordered view of one's world -- what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events and human nature. It is an order of things remembered and expected, as well as things actually perceived..." (Cf. T. Shibutani, References Groups as Perspectives, American Journal of Sociology, 1955, 60, 562-569)

Phase 1, the newly arrived Indian student is quick to score the average American middle-class society's ignorance about Indian culture. His problem is to gain a favorable hearing for his cultural point of view. He succeeds in some superficial manner, partly by generalizing about similarities that he assumes to exist between the cultures and national policies of the host and home countries.

In Phase 2 the Indian finds himself involved in a highly organized academic system and in a highly accelerated tempo of competitive striving. His problem now is to adapt to the new social and academic demands and yet to avoid implicit criticism for failure to do so. American friendliness, so welcome in Phase 1, no longer suffices. Friendship and home attachments are anxiously recalled. In self-defense, the Indian student turns to sharp criticism of various aspects of American culture, orienting himself by the familiar home perspectives that correspond to his nostalgic longings but are ill adapted to the realities of his new situation.

With increasing acculturation, up through Phase 3 but not beyond, the Indian student orients himself by perspectives that are broadly national in scope rather than provincial. His emotional attitudes are far less concentrated in merely local or familial concerns than in Phase 2. He feels considerably freer to re-examine the exaggerated responses of the "positive" Phase 1, and the equally exaggerated responses of the "negative" Phase 2. He is relatively freer to review his former criticisms,

less emotionally and to apply them nearer home as he begins to articulate more varied, better informed and broader national perspectives than he possessed before.

Beyond four years, however, all through Phase 4, an entirely new pattern emerges in which the Indian student becomes gradually depoliticized. Therefore, in some respects he narrows once more his perspectives regarding his home culture and even regarding the host culture to some extent. The Indian student develops in Phase 4 what has been described earlier as the "privatistic" outlook. That is, he becomes too narrowly preoccupied about problems of his personal adjustment to and acceptance in the host society. Once more, in self-defense, he begins to give generalized stereotypical descriptions of social groupings that are not of immediate concern to him in his world. His problem now is how he, as an individual, can avoid alienation in the host society.

This division of the time-span of the Indian student's visit into four phases was made on the basis not of any a priori theory, but of pilot empirical observations. These phases are not to be regarded as absolute and exclusive, and for different individuals and different cultural groups may be of shorter or longer duration. It has been suggested, on the basis of accumulated research on cross-cultural education, that "the height, the steepness, and the time span of the various phases vary in accordance with numerous factors. They vary for different nationality groups; they vary for each individual trainee. Japanese students, for example, are likely to require at least a year to work through the severe problems they usually face in

adjusting to American life. Students from northern European countries, particularly if they arrive with a good command of English, may work through their problems in a fraction of the time. In this respect as in others, there are wide differences among groups and individuals. There is no such person as the 'foreign student'.<sup>2</sup>

It must be remembered that when a unique personality is exposed to a total culture, his orientations are bound to be enormously idiosyncratic. This qualification must, of course, be emphasized in any objective attempt to define the standard or "optimal" temporal limits of each phase for foreign students in general. From the point of view of the sponsor's program, however, it can be stated as a dependable generalization that with relatively young adults, a one-year program of foreign education, under existing schedules of training, fails to carry them beyond the defensive phase of cultural learning. Transfer of training is likely to be negligible in its effects and probably negative, if the student is required to return to the home country before he has had opportunities of working through the defensive phase.

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<sup>2</sup> "Training Foreign Nationals in the United States", Report of a Seminar conducted by the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, September 16-17, and at Arden House, Harriman, New York, September 30 - October 1, 1954 (brochure), pp. 15-16.

Length of exposure to a foreign educational experience is, therefore, a crucially important variable in cultural leaning. Our evidence suggests that the changes in the foreign student's perceptions of a new culture are closely related to the differential responses he makes towards a variety of reference groups<sup>3</sup> to which he is oriented. From this point of view, it can be seen that the sharp and often bitter criticism found to be typical of Indian students' responses at Phase 2 (during their first 9 months in school) seems to be functionally related to their regressive and defensive need to orient themselves to their familial and friendship groups located in their home culture. In the same manner, the privatization which we have found to be characteristic of Phase 4 seems to reflect the Indian student's intense absorption in friendship and professional reference groups located in the host culture, rather than their national reference groups.

We conclude then with the following tentative generalization regarding the changes occurring in the foreign student's perception of his home culture: During a foreign educational experience, extending not less than one year and not more than four years, the visitor may be expected to show increasingly differentiated perspectives with regard to his home culture. Thus within specified temporal limits, which in our study turned out to be four years, exposure to a foreign educational experience

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<sup>3</sup> A reference group has been defined as any group, formal, informal, or symbolic in which the individual has a psychologically functioning membership. For a fuller examination of the social psychological significance of the reference group concept, see Chapter 2 of the author's dissertation: "Acculturative Learning: a study of reference groups", (The Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge, April 1956).



facilitates the re-centering of the foreign student's national sentiments and loyalties based on a broadened and differentiated perception of this home culture. Genuinely cosmopolitan orientations are achieved by the foreign student not through an uncritical conformity with foreign perspectives, but rather through a broadening and differentiation of domestic ones.

Psychologically speaking, the foreign visitor, in Phase 3 but not before and not beyond, accommodates a freedom to make a more realistic criticism of some aspects of the home culture -- a minimum precondition it would seem for healthy personal growth and national development in a free society. According to this argument, the apparent increase of "unfavorable" attitudes of the foreign student as a result of increasing length of exposure to the new educational experience reflects the development of a more independent and critical attitude of mind towards changing social institutions, both domestic and foreign, viewed in a broadly human and democratic perspective.

Our study has practical implications for the reduction of cross-national stereotypes.<sup>4</sup> We found, for instance, that the Indian student leaving the boat comes as a missionary convinced that the Americans are grossly ignorant of the truth about his country and needs only to be told to be convinced about the

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<sup>4</sup> For a systematic psychological analysis of stereotyping in intergroup relations, see G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge: Addison, Wesley, 1954) esp. pp. 191-2. "Whether favorable or unfavorable, a stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct with relation to that category. . . . The stereotype acts both as a justificatory device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group, and as a screening or selective device to maintain simplicity in perception and in thinking."

rightness of his views. A large part of the Indian student's disillusionment results from the discovery that he was being rejected in that role of the cultural missionary, and that his opposite American numbers were just as convinced and just as full of arguments for their stand as he was for his. This shock of discovery intensifies, for the "dis-oriented" visitor, the need to fix some structure on his habitual perspectives that have now become ambiguous and unclear. Cultural stereotypes come readiest as screening devices when we need to maintain the easiest and most economical structure in our perceptions of people and societies unfamiliar to us. Given time, however, the visitor adapts more realistically to comprehend wider and more complex perspectives than his own. This re-structuring process involves accommodating differentiated perspectives with regard to the two societies to which the foreign student is oriented. The experience of a cross-cultural education facilitates, under temporal conditions that our study has specified, the growth of such differentiated perspectives that accommodate realistically international rather than grossly nationalistic points of view, and national rather than grossly provincial or privatistic points of view.