A STUDY OF HOW AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS
CONCEPTUALIZE INDIA

Dissertation

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By

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Approved by:

Edgar Dale
Adviser
In the Memory of

CONSTANCE COULTER ENGLISH

Who Was

A Brilliant World Citizen
The separation of East and West is over, and a new history opens rich in quality and majestic in scale.

L. L. White in

The Next Development in Man, 1950
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CHAPTER I

IDENTIFYING AND SELECTING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The writer is not an American, his home land being India. This fact has been a very important factor in the identification and selection of his research problem. Speaking about a farm boy who went to town, some one has said, "You can take the boy out of the country, but not the country out of the boy." We can take a young man out of India, but not India out of the young man.

1. The Foreign Student in an American University.

Visiting students from foreign lands studying American education, it seems, fall into two categories:

First, we have the experienced teacher, advanced in age, who has a well established role to play in his home country. He may be a Director of Public Instruction from Afghanistan or a senior professor from a Teachers College, Madras, India. His patterns of past experience and habits of thought are fairly set. He is chiefly concerned about specific, clear-cut educational problems that require immediate solution such as how to produce easy reading materials for the Afghan illiterates and semi-literates or how to reconceptualize the teaching methods of botany and biology in Madras secondary schools. He brings with him a perceptual system that is sharply focussed and extremely selective. His period of stay in America is usually short, about a year or less. He may or may not obtain a degree. As a rule, he does not care.
Second, we have the young student, less than or a little over thirty years old, whose role in his home country, though oftentimes clearly defined, is yet to evolve along with an evolving social situation of which he will be an agent. He may have "something to go to," a professorship in an experimental teachers college in India or an associateship in a research organization in Israel. His patterns of past experience and habits of thought are, however, not set. They are flexible and subject to evolution. He is interested in theory and concepts, though not forgetful of the practical problems at home. He realizes, to use the words of John Dewey, that "theory in the end, is the most practical of all things."\(^1\) His perceptual system undergoes an appreciable evolution during the period of his stay in America which is often three or more years.

The writer belongs to the second category.

Even the one from the first category cannot take back with him definitive answers for his domestic questions. He cannot transfer generalizations from the United States to his home country as he can transfer a General Motors automobile. Conclusions in America can only be hypotheses in India. American conclusions are not absolute truths, but are relative to the American socio-cultural contexts.

The writer had an interesting conference with the noted American authoress Pearl Buck whose knowledge of China is well known. Speaking of the large number of Chinese teachers who studied in American

\(^1\)John Dewey, An oft-quoted statement.
universities, she said that they proved ineffective in China. They were like hothouse plants, prosperous in their artificial setting but unrelated to the environment at large. What, then, can a foreign student gain from an American university? The authoress said, "The best he can get is theory."

If a visiting student gets a few master concepts or ideas, he can consider himself well rewarded. One such master concept that the writer acquired during his education at the Ohio State University has proved very important indeed in his thinking about the selection of a dissertation research problem.

2. The Concept of "Empirical Realism".

In the fall of 1950, the very first quarter of the writer's enrollment at the Ohio State University, he was introduced, inevitably, to the philosophy of John Dewey. The book, Reconstruction in Philosophy, was an appropriate beginning. Reading it was an exciting intellectual experience. Such passages as the following were particularly striking:

...... the distinctive office, problems and subject matter of philosophy grow out of stresses and strains in the community life in which a given form of philosophy arises, and ......, accordingly, its specific problems vary with the changes in human life that are always going on and that at times constitute a crisis and a turning point in human history.2

...... the adverse criticisms of philosophies of the past are not directed at these systems with respect to their connection with intellectual and moral issues of their own time and place, but with respect to their relevancy in a much changed human situation. The very things that made

the great systems objects of esteem and admiration in
their own socio-cultural contexts are in large measure
the very grounds that deprive them of 'actuality' in a
world whose main features are different to an extent
indicated by our speaking of the 'scientific revolution',
and the 'political revolution' of the last few hundred
years.3

..... (in physical inquiry) it long seemed as if rational
assurance and demonstration could be attained only if we
began with universal conceptions and subsumed particular
cases under them. The men who initiated the methods of
inquiry that are now everywhere adopted were denounced
in their day (and sincerely) as subverters of truth and
foes of science. If they have won in the end, it is
because ..... the method of universals confirmed irrespec­
tive of evidence for them; while placing the initial and
final weight upon the individual case, stimulated pains­
taking inquiry into facts and examination of principles.4

What struck the writer most was Dewey's emphasis on the relativity
of time and place, on "specific problems" and "particular cases".
"The initial and final weight" must be on the individual case. We should
start with empirical evidence and develop generalizations therefrom.
The validity of a generalization is proportionate to its empirical
support. William James is often quoted as saying, "We can only see as
far into a generalization as our knowledge of its details extends."
The crucial dimension of scientific method is its empirical exper­i­
mentation, its appeal to "stubborn irreducible facts".

This empirical approach was something new and important for me.
In summer 1951, almost a year after my entry into the Ohio State Uni­
versity, a senior professor of education asked me, "What have you

3 Ibid., p. 9.
4 Ibid., p. 133.
gained from your reading of Dewey?" I remember well what I said in reply: "How I know the importance of specific experiences, specific situations, specific problems, ......"

The influence of the empirical concept upon my thinking was reflected in my writings in the summer of 1951 and later. In a paper on "Religion and Moral Values," the writer said,

"I grew up in a 'theistic' culture. It is an old culture which has the benefits of crystallised wisdom that has filtered through ages. But an old culture is not wholly beneficial; because it fills your mind with generalisations at a time when you are not mature enough to understand them. It does not give you a chance to start with specifics, to explore, experiment and evolve generalisations yourself."

The writer came to believe more than ever in "the principle of learning through personal experience." He reconceived the function of reading and wrote in the introduction to a paper called, "The Concept of Preliving,"

"If learning takes place in the context of your experience ...... then the value of your reading is supplementary, not primary. It is fruitless labor to gobble up other people's stuff. Many students do this and their writings are no more than some sort of systematised parodies of other people's ideas. ...... I preferred to relive reflectively my own significant experiences."

The writer came to be wary of high order abstractions. In a brief paper on John Dewey, he wrote,

"I seem to have a kind of mind that refuses to operate with abstractions which do not find their roots in my own experience. When I listen to talks, partake in group discussions, or read books, those ideas which do not fit in with my experience somehow slip away from my mind 'like water from a duck's back'. But when the ideas relate to my experience, they are caught up by my
mind right away. Thus I have to conclude that my power of perception and understanding is limited to my fund of experience. It seems to me that when I write about Dewey, I really write about myself. By judging Dewey, I seem to judge myself.

It was around the same time, in the summer of 1951, that the writer finished a major piece of research work—his master’s thesis. The study was entitled, "Developing a Core Curriculum for the Ramakrishna High School, South India." While the thesis was a worthwhile learning experience in that it gave him an opportunity to synthesize his knowledge of the core curriculum, it left the writer with a vague feeling of uneasiness, some undertones of dissatisfaction, which he could not articulate at that time.

During 1951 and throughout 1952, the writer was faced with the problem of selecting a dissertation problem. He considered a few possibilities and rejected them. Now he had a chance to reflect on "the vague feeling of uneasiness, the undertones of dissatisfaction," left by his master's thesis. It did not take long to find the cause.

It was in his Introduction to the thesis:

The writer does not have the advantage of having actually developed a reorganization program in the Ramakrishna School. He cannot draw from his experience in order to substantiate the study. The situation is rather hypothetical and the discussion cannot help being 'theoretical' and speculative ...... However, the writer has tried to study closely the experimental program of the University School of the Ohio State University, in its various evolutionary stages, in order to create a quality of realism and immediacy in his thinking.5

5 M. Aroonalarthamathan, Developing a Core Curriculum for Ramakrishna High School, South India, A Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 1951, pp. 5–6.
From the vantage point of a year and a half after the writing of the thesis, the latter looked more like an elongated term paper. It did not solve a problem but proposed a plan. The study had no empirical underpinning. The writer had used what Dewey called, "the method of universals." He tried to transfer in the abstract the generalizations of the University School, Ohio State University, to the Ramakrishna School, South India, without any empirical support.

Good, healthy thinking "is essentially the solution of tension." So should be good, healthy research. The writer's Master's thesis was not the solution of any tension except the artificial tension caused by a Graduate School requirement.

The writer has come to believe, for his own part, that a good research study begins with felt problems and is characterized by what he calls, "empirical realism." A study with empirical realism is a study with roots. Its roots are in immediate direct experience. In such a study, "the initial and final weight" is placed upon "the individual case" or cases. The word realism is used not in a technical philosophical sense but in its direct plain meaning, "being real."

Let it be said that the writer is not opposed to generalizations and high level conceptions. On the contrary, he realizes only too well, to borrow the words of William James, that "not new sensations, as in the empirical instance, but new conceptions are the indispensable conditions of advance." But he firmly believes that conceptions without empirical evidence are idle fancies, unreal will-o'-the-wisps, unsubstantial nothingnesses.
The concept of empirical realism, it seems clear in retrospect, was a critical factor in the writer's thinking about the selection of a dissertation problem. It placed him in an intellectual dilemma.

3. The Two Horns of a Dilemma.

The writer considered, and rejected, four problems before discovering the present one. They were: "Developing a Program for Preparing Reading Materials in Madras, India.", "Developing a Research Program for Production of Written Curriculum Materials in the Rama-krishna Teachers College, Madras State, India.", "The Function of Context in the Determination of Meaning.", and "The Personality Factors in Creative Research Men."

The first two problems stemmed from the educational situation in India, whereas the third and fourth problems stemmed, primarily, from the educational situation in the United States. But all of them belong to two of my areas of interest, namely, language communication and creative thinking.

About the first problem, "Developing a Program for Preparing Reading Materials in Madras, India.", the writer wrote:

The problem about which I am concerned stems from a real, felt need in the field of education in the State of Madras, India. This is a practical problem which warrants immediate study.

..... They (the reading materials) have been unsatisfactory in the past and continues to be so. The writers of such materials—Readers, Textbooks, story books—have no scientific understanding of the various factors involved in making a 'good' school book.

In the United States there has been a longer tradition of educational research. And much research has been done in the fields of Reading, Vocabulary, Readability, Semantics, and Communication in general. There has been longer and richer experience in the use of visual, illustrative aids in reading. I want to make a survey
and study of the situation in the United States with the hope of developing a plan for the improvement of reading materials in India.

The second problem, "Developing a Research Program for Production of Written Curriculum Materials in the Ramakrishna Teachers College, Madras State, India.‖, is related to the first; only the emphasis is more on the research aspect than on the production aspect. About the second problem, the writer said: "..... the study must be such that it will lead to further simple specific researches in our school as soon as I return to India."

Both the problems are Indian problems. The proposal was to study each in the American setting. They are of the same category as my Master's problem—"Developing a Core Curriculum for the Ramakrishna High School, South India." Had the writer chosen one of these as his dissertation problem, he would have had to say in his Introduction what he said in his Introduction to the Master's thesis: "The writer does not have the advantage of having actually developed a ...... program in the Ramakrishna School. He cannot draw from his experience in order to substantiate the study. The situation is rather hypothetical and the discussion cannot help being 'theoretical' and speculative ...... However, etc., etc. ......" In other words, the first two problems were without roots, without "empirical realism."

The writer reviewed nine available doctoral dissertations all of which were in the field of education at the Ohio State University written by students from other countries. Of the nine, seven dealt with problems or topics concerning education in the home land of the writer. Of the seven, five were dissertations in the literal sense
of the word, namely, "expository discourses." They included long
chapters that present facts about the history and present status of
education in the particular land, maybe China or the Republic of
Columbia, and ended up with an impressive list of innocuous recommend-
ations.

Only the two remaining of the seven dissertations had their roots
in sound empirical evidence. This was made possible because the authors,
coming from Hawaii and Costa Rica, could secure the required data
without much difficulty. India is more than 8,000 miles away and to
make a similar attempt would be to do the right thing in the wrong
place and time. Besides, the two problems the writer considered were
not of the survey-analysis type that needs only factual data. They need
evidence of a developmental nature.

The third and fourth problems, namely, "The Function of Context
in the Determination of Meaning" and "The Personality Factors in
Creative Research men", related to the educational situation in the
United States. A study of these in the American setting could have
satisfied the criterion of empirical realism.

Two considerations stood in the way, however. First, the foreign
student is primarily interested in the problems concerning his home
land; he is not quite, one hundred per cent, interested in problems
that arise from research going on in America. He is like the proverbial
Indian "Ayah" or lady's maid who rocks the lady's child but remembers
her own. Second, he is not as well equipped to deal with American
problems as an American student who must have more sensitivity for
their situational properties.
Thus the writer was placed in an unenviable dilemma, the two horns of which were: (1) Study an Indian problem in the American setting and you lack empirical realism; (2) Study an American problem in the American setting and you lack utility for the home situation.

Thus the writer hovered between the extremes, between Scylla and Charybdis. Approaching the matter from the Indian angle or from the American angle, there was no way out. But then came a "break".

4. The Problem for Study.

The "break" came in the form of a suggestion from Professor Edgar Dale, the writer’s advisor. Reacting to my proposal that the dissertation might be about "Developing a Research Program for Production of Written Curriculum Materials in the Ramakrishna Teachers' College, Madras State, India," Professor Dale said, "I have some doubts about your idea," and went on to suggest:

Why not tackle a small segment of the conceptualizing problem. Let’s find out how a segment of our school population conceptualizes India. We start out with ...... a master list of key ideas (about India) ...... Interviews plus an objective testing give us a clue to ...... the pictures in their minds ...... that American children have about India.

The writer’s first reaction to the above suggestion was enthusiastic acceptance. His "last", considered reaction was also the same. In accepting the suggestion, the writer said:

My first spontaneous reaction to your suggestion is indicative of my extraordinary personal interest in the problem. Indeed this research will utilize some of my not-strictly-academic concerns, such as the work of the United Nations, UNESCO, international politics,
intercultural relations, the development of world society, and my desire to contribute educationally toward the building of world peace which is 'the great unfinished business of our generation'.

The problem, it can be said with truth, arises from the main stream of the writer's concerns and the reader can see how the problem satisfies the criterion of empirical realism. The study takes the researcher to students in American schools whose responses are the source of his data. It need not "float about" as a vaporous mass of unsubstantiated generalizations.

The reader can also see that the problem of how American students conceptualise India cuts through the dilemma of the extremes. The problem is not strictly American; it is not Indian either. It is American, Indian and international. As one, born in India, exposed to America and interested in the world at large, the writer cannot ask for a more agreeable problem. The social and professional importance of the problem, on the other hand, it also great.

The dramatic decrease of the significance of distance is a most outstanding feature of the modern world. We live in Wilkie's, "One World", though most of us are not aware of it. Our goodly planet, Earth, with her two and a half billion people has fast shrunk into a crowded neighborhood. We must live together, and at peace, in this small world of ours which, year after year, is becoming smaller; and as was well said, "A smaller world needs bigger people."6

International education is a critical need of our modern age. Describing the program of UNESCO, Julian Huxley, its first Director

General, said in 1947:

...... since the world today is in process of becoming one, and since a major aim of UNESCO must be to help in the speedy and satisfactory realization of this process,...... UNESCO must pay special attention to international education—to education as a function of a world society, in addition to its functions in relation to national societies, to regional or religious or intellectual groups, or to local communities.?

UNESCO has sponsored many research projects with the avowed aim of stimulating friendly international relations. These projects cover problems like teacher training, teaching of world geography and history, teaching of the United Nations and the Human Rights, the effects of mass media, public opinion research, national stereotypes. The Project on Tensions Affecting International Understanding is outstanding. One of its resolutions has called for "Inquiries into the conceptions which the people of one nation entertain of their own and other nations." The writer's study may be considered one such inquiry, concerning American students' conceptions of India. So far as he is aware, UNESCO has not initiated a study like his.

American educators have shown an increasing interest in international education. For instance, the John Dewey Society devoted its eleventh yearbook to the theme, "Education for a World Society." The yearbook, published in 1951, is an excellent symposium of articles by "fifteen top-notch authorities." The editors point out that education institutions in every country have a major role to play" and add:

7 Julian Huxley, UNESCO: Its Purpose and Its Philosophy, p. 29.
The nations of the world have vested in their educational institutions the responsibility of preparing the oncoming generation. ..... Educational institutions in free countries must rise to the challenge by building into their programs of study richer courses and educational experiences to promote international understanding.

It is the hope of the writer that his study may help in some way in developing these "richer courses and educational experiences to promote international understanding."

\[9\] Christian O. Arndt and Samuel Everett, *Education for a World Society*, p. 244.
CHAPTER II
FORMULATING THE PROBLEM AND DESIGNING THE STUDY

When Einstein and Infeld said that "the formulation of a problem is often more essential than its solution," they were referring to research in physical sciences only. The truth of their statement applies to other areas of inquiry, however. Indeed, the statement is familiar to those who read the social research literature. Perhaps the formulation of a problem is even more important in social sciences in which personal preferences, judgments of worth, ordering of priorities, in other words, values, are not only a part of the motivation for research as in physical sciences, but also a part of the texture of the sciences themselves.

Many a study is initiated without adequate formulation. A prominent research worker writes:

Again and again investigators have plunged into a subject matter, sending out questionnaires, gathering a tremendous amount of data, even performing experiments, only to come out at the end wondering what it all proves...... Others, noting the success of a given scientific method in one field have carried this method hastily and uncritically into their own, only to end later in a similar disillusionment. All such experiences are a sign that the initiation of inquiry has been glossed over too hastily, without any appreciation of its importance or its difficulty.¹

The writer was fortunate to have been able to spend much time and thought on the formulation of his problem. In that process he was to encounter some major methodological difficulties.

1. **The Predicament of Being Both Judge and Prosecutor.**

One foremost difficulty was this: The writer wants to know how American students conceptualize India. An important factor in such a study will be how the writer conceptualizes India himself, because his conception will inevitably determine and color the questions he will ask the American students. Coming from India and having an emotional attachment to it, is it not possible that he takes a rosy view of India? The question is, "Can he be dispassionate, unbiased and balanced in his conception of India?"

Professor Lambert of the University of Pennsylvania studied Indian students in connection with a research project of the Social Science Research Council concerning foreign students. He found Indian students very "nationalistic."² Perhaps no Indian today, including the writer, is free of this trait. Judging from this fact, is it not likely that the writer, without his being aware of it, should develop his questions "loaded" in favor of India?

The UNESCO studies of the conceptions that one people have of another often tend to be studies of the misconceptions that one people have of another. That the American conception of India is characterized by many stereotypes is common knowledge, some of the most popular being: "Snake Charmers", "Maharajas", "Taj Mahal", "Sacred Cow", "Rope Trick", "Bed of Nails", "Caste System", "Poverty", "Child Marriage", etc. Would it not be probable that a nationalistic Indian (who is usually disturbed and sometimes irritated by these stereotypes) without

being aware of it, would develop his questions in such a way that they elicit answers from American students which would indicate gross misconceptions of his subcontinent of India and her ancient civilization? Thus the writer found himself in a predicament of being both the judge and the prosecutor.

There was a way in which the writer could get out of the predicament: Make an explicit statement of his conception of India, put it "out in the open" for others to see and examine. Get a panel of judges to criticize and approve his conception. The judges might consist of American and Indian authorities on the subject. On the basis of the approved statement, the writer could then develop his instruments of testing. This method, sometimes called "the judges method," was a plausible way out. It satisfied the conventional criterion of objectivity, which insists on removal of personal bias. There were other methodological considerations, however.

2. Values and the "So-What" Question.

The writer had the opportunity to participate in a series of seminars sponsored by the Bureau of Educational Research at The Ohio State University. These seminars provided a meeting ground for doctoral research students, and the senior staff of the Bureau. In one of the meetings, the writer's problem was discussed.

The problem as presented to the group was to discover "The Ways in Which Selected Groups of American High School Students Conceptualize India." The major purpose of the study was "to gain an understanding of the accuracy, adequacy and range of student information about India."
High school student groups from three schools representative of rural, city and experimental schools were to be used. The methods of gathering data proposed were itemized checklists constructed on the basis of content analysis of various reading materials and of questions and suggestions gotten from student groups.

The seminar discussion made important contributions to the writer's thinking about the formulation of the problem. Two emphases were outstanding.

First, a research worker should acknowledge and honor his values rather than to escape them in the name of objectivity. His values must be important factors in his selection and formulation of the research problem. The application of this principle to the writer's problem raised questions like, "Why do you want 'to gain an understanding of the accuracy, adequacy and range of student information about India'?"

"What is your criterion for selecting the information questions?" Of course, I had pointed out that the dissertation would be relevant to the work of UNESCO whose avowed aim is to stimulate friendly understanding between nations. But I had not incorporated my values in the purposes of my research. Professor Ross Mooney gave a suggestive summing-up:

You made considerable use of the fact that your dissertation could have relevance to UNESCO. You apparently value quite highly those kinds of activities which help to establish a healthy and constructive relationship among countries. If this is so, then it would appear that a central problem for you would be that of postulating the concepts which lead to healthy and constructive international relationships. ...... One could go on asking information questions concerning India without end. You
have to be selective somehow. Your selections should reflect what you value for the action you wish to see taking place.

It did not take long for the writer to see the force of the point of view expressed in these words and accept it for the purposes of problem formulation. He himself holds that point of view and believes with several that so much of social research has been mere accumulation of knowledge rather than meaningful contribution to social living. More than a decade ago, Robert Lynd asked, "Knowledge for What?" The following is an excellent passage from the book:

The social sciences exhibit reluctance.....to accept.....full partnership with man in the adventure of living. They tend to write their role as implementers of innovation. So one observes these grave young sciences hiding behind their precious boards of 'dispassionate research' and 'scientific objectivity'. They observe, record, and analyse, but they shun prediction. And, above all else, they avoid having any commerce with 'values'. Values, they say, may not be derived by science, and therefore science should have nothing to do with them. Social science prefers to urge that all the fruits of scholarly curiosity are important, that there is more than enough work to do in filling in the infinite odd bits of the jigsaw puzzle of the unknown, and that science has no criteria by which to judge all priorities of importance. It prefers to say that for science the word, 'ought' ought never to be used, except in saying that it ought never to be used. 4

Secondly, the seminar group asked the "so-what" question which includes questions like the following: What are you going to do with the information which comes from your inquiries among students? With this information in hand, whose behavior are you going to try to affect and toward what ends? Who wants to know and so what?


The writer took the questions seriously. He believes that educational research is primarily "operational research," to use the words of W. W. Charters. The central concern of all educational research is the student. Its significance is commensurate to the degree it fosters significant change in student behavior.

Charters says, "The region of professional effort which lies between the land of ideas and the centers of pedagogical industry where children are developed is the domain of educational engineering." The writer, by virtue of his foreign status, cannot prove to be an ideal educational engineer through his research. He hopes, however, to make some suggestions for teaching about India on the basis of the findings.


The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the central question concerning the formulation of the problem is: How to develop a method or an approach for selecting the concepts on which the student testing should be based? The foregoing discussion also makes it clear that the approach to be adopted should preclude the entry of the writer's nationalistic predilections, should not appropriate an easy escape into mere information questions, but should accept a criterion in harmony with the primary aim of UNESCO—the promotion of better understanding between nations and the preservation of peace.

The approach that the writer finally adopted may be called, "the critical concepts approach." The word critical is used in the sense of "crucial", "decisive", and the like.

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Flanagan of the American Institute for Research has given currency to the phrases, "critical requirements" and "critical incidents technique." He uses the word critical in the sense of "crucial" and "decisive." "The critical requirements for an activity," says Flanagan, are those that are crucial in the sense that they have been frequently observed to make the difference between success and failure in that activity. The research technique that he uses in order to determine the critical requirements for a job activity is called the critical incidents technique. The "critical incidents" are observed and analyzed for determining the critical requirements. To be critical, an incident must lead to effective or ineffective outcome.

By thinking in analogy with the above, the writer developed the critical concepts approach. Critical concepts about India are those that are crucial in the sense that an appreciation of them may lead to fruitful decisions concerning Inde-American problems and that a lack of appreciation of them may lead to poor decisions concerning Inde-American problems. Since in a democratic nation like the United States, the citizens at large are the architects of their government's foreign policy as much as the President and the Secretary of State, it is only proper to educate the students into an appreciation of the critical concepts about other nations. Thus the determination of the critical concepts became a major consideration of the study.

The adoption of the critical concepts approach made the research problem take a new form. Now, the concern was not about how well the students conceptualise India per se, but was about how the students

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conceptualize those aspects of India that are critical to Indo-American relations. This new formulation of the problem made the entry of the writer's nationalistic prejudices less plausible, for now any such entry depended only on the way in which the critical concepts were determined. The new formulation did not represent an escape into mere information questions but rather accepted a selection criterion directly rooted in the values of international understanding and peace.

An important consequence of the adoption of the critical concepts approach was that now the development of the critical concepts about India became a major part of the study.

4. The Study Design.

Thus, the two major purposes of the study were:

1. To determine the critical concepts about India.

2. To discover how selected groups of high school students conceptualize India in terms of the critical concepts determined.

In order to pursue the above purposes, the procedures to be adopted were:

1. a. Make a content analysis of the current writings of selected Americans, prominent, responsible and thoughtful, such as Chester Bowles. This analysis might give critical concepts of a political nature and of immediate importance.

* It will be an interesting research project to make a parallel study of how Indian students conceptualize India.
b. Make a content analysis of the chapter, "India and the West" and other relevant sections in Arnold Toynbee's recent book, The World and the West. This analysis might give critical concepts concerning the historical perspective of India.

c. Make a content analysis of the relevant portions from the books of selected professional writers, such as Vincent Sheean, who have a deeper understanding of India. This analysis might give critical concepts of a cultural nature and of long-range importance.

2. a. Select representative student groups and, in order to obtain a general understanding of their conceptualizing of India, secure free responses to the general question, "What do you know about India?"

b. On the basis of an analysis of the free responses (2.a) and the critical concepts (1.a., b., c.), develop appropriate instruments for discovering how the students conceptualize India.

c. Analyze the content of student responses.

d. Make suggestions for teaching about India on the basis of the findings.
CHAPTER III

DETERMINING THE CRITICAL CONCEPTS OF A POLITICAL NATURE

This chapter describes how the critical concepts of a political nature and of current importance were derived whereas the next two chapters describe, respectively, how the concepts concerning the historical perspective of India and those of cultural nature and of long-range importance were derived.

The hypothesis of the writer was that a content analysis of the relevant writings of selected Americans would yield critical concepts of a political nature. Proceeding on the basis of this hypothesis, the writer selected six Americans, analyzed the contents of three articles and nine chapters, and came out with sixteen critical concepts.

A most interesting and important aspect of the procedure concerned the methodology of the research. As the reader is aware, the writer was anxious to formulate the research problem in such a way as to preclude the entry of the writer's predilections about India. The adoption of the critical concepts approach was partly towards this end. The proposal to analyze the writings of Americans, rather than of others, also helped towards this end. The writer found that there were two occasions, however, in the course of the research reported in this chapter, when his subjectivity was operative to an important degree. They were the selection of American authors and the selection of some critical concepts. The exercise of subjectivity in these two instances, the writer holds, was reasonable and his position is substantiated in the appropriate contexts.

The chapter deals with, sequentially,
1. The Selection of Authors and Their Writings,

2. The Method of Content Analysis Used,

3. The Content Analyses, and


1. The Selection of Authors and Their Writings.

The six Americans whose writings were used for content analysis are Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson, David E. Lilienthal, William O. Douglas, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Norman Cousins. The criteria used for selection are:

(a) Is he a prominent American citizen?

(b) Does he have a direct knowledge of India? Has he visited India?

(c) Has he written about India concisely but comprehensively, not in a specialised manner? Is his writing suitable for analysis?

(d) Is he a man of good will? Is he devoted to the common good of all humanity?

(e) Does he have a broad, progressive outlook?

The reader can see the writer's subjectivity expressed in the last two criteria. The problems faced by the millions in India are primarily human and they can be understood fruitfully only by men of good will. Again, Asia as well as India is in a context of history when stupendous changes are in the making. Only progressive-minded Americans who prefer change to status quo can appreciate them sufficiently.

The selection of authors was not a complex problem, because there were not too many to select from. Men like John Foster Dulles
and William C. Bullitt have spoken or written about India, but they did not meet all the five criteria.

Bowles, Stevenson, Douglas, Mrs. Roosevelt, and Cousins are all prominent American citizens, people of good will and have a broad, progressive outlook.

All of them have visited India between the years 1950 and 1953, with the express purpose of studying conditions in India. They traveled widely, met varied kinds of people, and talked to the Prime Minister of the country. Their impressions and judgments were made available to the public in the form of books or articles published in leading American journals.

Chester Bowles came to national prominence when he was appointed by President Roosevelt in 1943 as the Director of the Office of Price Administration. In 1946, President Truman appointed him Chairman of the Economic Stabilization Board. Bowles became Governor of Connecticut in 1949. His interest in international matters is shown by the fact that he was an American delegate to the UNESCO conference at Paris in November and December, 1946. He was a member of the United States Commission for UNESCO in 1946-47.

Bowles became the American Ambassador to India in October 1951. During the eighteen months he was in India as ambassador, he proved himself to be a most persuasive spokesman and a well-liked representative of the American people. Six months after he assumed office as ambassador, the New York Times Magazine, with a circulation of more than 1,000,000 published as its leading article, Asia Challenges Us Through India, by Bowles. The article was accompanied by ten black and
white pictures of conditions in India and the cover page carried a large photograph of a scene depicting Point Four work. The October issue of the reputable magazine, "Foreign Affairs," (1952) also carried a substantial article by Bowles entitled, "New India." Perhaps these two are the most outstanding of the articles he has written on India so far. Of the two, the writer chose the former which is more incisive and concise.

Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois is today not only a national figure but a world statesman. His interest and work concerning international matters date farther back than most people usually realize. In 1943 he headed the Foreign Economic Administration mission to Italy; in 1945 he was Assistant to the Secretary of State. In the same year he went to San Francisco as advisor to the U. S. Delegation to the Conference on International Organization and later to London as the Chief of the U. S. Delegation to the meeting of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations. In 1946 he was senior advisor to the U. S. Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations at London. He went as a U. S. Delegate to the U. N. General Assembly at New York in 1946 and 1947, and subsequently, in 1948, became the Governor of Illinois. Stevenson has been a trustee of the University of Illinois Woodrow Wilson Foundation, director of the International House, University of Chicago and head of the Chicago Committee on Foreign Relations.

After his defeat in the Presidential Election, November 1952, Stevenson went on a world tour for purposes of "self-education." Of the thirty countries he visited, (one of his travel companions tells
us in a recent article\(^1\) in Harpers Magazine), four were most exciting
where one could see "the change in the air." India is one of the four.
Stevenson's article entitled, "Will India Turn Communist?" was published
by Look Magazine with a circulation of more than 3,300,000. This only
article by Stevenson on India was chosen by the writer for purposes of
content analysis.

David E. Lilienthal served as the Director of Tennessee Valley
Authority since 1933 and as its Chairman between the years 1941 and 1946.
From 1946 til 1950, he was the Chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy
Commission. He has received distinguished awards and honorary degrees.
His book, "Democracy on the March" is a classic which tells about "the
dreamers with shovels who have built tomorrow out of yesterday." He is
a man with convictions and a realistic approach. He says in his pre-
face to his book, ".... our choice need not be between extremes of
'right' and 'left', between overcentralized Big-government and a do-
nothing policy, between 'private enterprise' and 'socialism', between
an arrogant red-tape-ridden bureaucracy and domination by a few private
monopolies."\(^2\)

Lilienthal went to India in 1951 and was Prime Minister Nehru's
guest for a week in New Delhi. He traveled around the country and
visited the many reconstruction projects and industries. He summarized
his impressions and views in an article entitled, Are We Losing India?,
which was published in June 1951 by Collier's magazine with a circulation

\(^1\) William Attwood, "Seeing the World With Stevenson," Harper's

\(^2\) David E. Lilienthal, Democracy on the March, p. iv.
of more than 3,100,000. This is the only article of Lilienthal that
directly deals with India and hence was chosen by the writer for pur-
poses of content analysis.

William O. Douglas is now Associate Justice of the United States
Supreme Court. He has been a lawyer, a professor of Law, and Chairman
of the Securities and Exchange Commission between the years 1934 and
1939. In the latter year President Roosevelt nominated him Associate
Justice to the U.S. Supreme Court. He is a man of simple honesty
and firm belief in democracy. He believes in what he calls "bedrock
idealism." John Gunther described him as "one of the most useful
citizens of the United States." Describing the need of our times,
Douglas said, "We need a faith that dedicates us to something bigger
and more important than ourselves or our possessions. Only if we
have faith will we be able to guide the destiny of nations, in this the
most critical period of world history."³

Justice Douglas is a world traveler. In the summer of 1950 he
visited India. His impressions of India are expressed in the four
brief chapters in Part VI of his book, Strange Lands and Friendly
People, a Book-of-the-Month Club selection. Of these four chapters,
three were chosen by the writer for purposes of analysis. They are:

41. A Girl and a Basket. 42. India and Asia and 43. Hebrew's Welfare
State. (pp. 291-309). The fourth chapter deals with the religion
of the country and so was not chosen. The first chapter about the "Girl"
and the "basket", though not dealing with India's political life
directly, was included because it points up an important concept to be
found also in the articles of Lilienthal and Stevenson.

³ Edward R. Murrow. Editor, This I Believe. p. 44.
Eleanor Roosevelt's devotion to international causes is well known. Her name is one of the four or five most popular names in the world.

In 1945 she was appointed U. S. representative to the United Nations General Assembly. In 1946 she was elected Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and did remarkable work. In 1949 she again represented the United States in the U. N. General Assembly. She has authored several books.

Mrs. Roosevelt visited India in 1952 at the invitation of Prime Minister Nehru. Though a guest of the Government of India, she traveled widely in India and met people of all sorts. Her impressions of India are summarized in the chapter, The Changing India, from her recent book entitled, India and the Awakening East. The chapter is long, over 100 pages, but the content is a mixture of travelog and discussion; and the analysis was not time-consuming.

Norman Cousins is well known as the editor of the "Saturday Review." He worked editorially with the New York Post and Current History and in 1940 joined the editorial staff of the then "Saturday Review of Literature." He has been its editor since 1942. He has served as consultant on international relations for the American Broadcasting Company; he has been a member of the executive committee, vice-president and now is president of the United World Federalists. He is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Earnestly devoted to the cause of democracy, Cousins was given the Thomas Jefferson Award in 1948 for Advancement of Democracy in Journalism.

Cousins has written several books, of which Modern Man is
Obsolete is one of the most provocative. It presents very forcefully the momentous consequences of the advent of atomic energy. On another occasion, writing under the title, "This I Believe," he says:

The problem confronting us today is far more serious than the destiny of any political system or even of any nation. The problem is the destiny of man: first, whether we can make this planet safe for men; second, whether we can make it fit for him. This I believe—that man today has all the resources to shatter his fears and go on to the greatest golden age in history, an age which will provide the conditions for human growth and for the development of the good that resides within man, whether in his individual or his collective being. And he has only to mobilize his rational intelligence and his conscience to put these resources to work.4

In 1951 the State Department of the U. S. Government gave Cousins an assignment in Asia. He was asked to explain America in India and Pakistan. He has published several articles in "Saturday Review" relating his experiences in India and his long tape-recorded talks with Prime Minister Nehru are outstanding. These articles have appeared in modified form as chapters in his latest book, Who Speaks for Man? The chapters chosen for analysis by the writer are: XIII. The Hungry Continent, XIV. Life at a Barazai Courtyard, XV. Literacy vs. Knowledge, XVIII. The Number One Question, and XIX. The Prime Minister. The last chapter is a condensed version of the talks between Nehru and Cousins which were published in the form of a separate book, "Talks with Nehru." The book is long and is a verbatim report of the conversations. The chapter is brief and contains more of Cousin's comments; hence it was preferred to the book.

4 Ibid., p. 34.
Table I on page 33 gives details about the writings of the above mentioned authors. The next section deals with the method of content analysis used.

2. The Method of Content Analysis.

Content analysis has become an increasingly important activity in communication research. Studies have appeared dealing with the contents of newspapers, textbooks, magazine articles, and motion pictures. Of these studies, a good number are about "national images."

Harold Laswell and his associates have done extensive work in the content analysis of newspapers.\(^5\) Pierce made a study of more than 300 American textbooks as far back as 1930.\(^6\) It should be added here that Tien-Hsiang Tu of the Department of Education, Ohio State University completed a study in 1952 that analyses the treatment of world relations in 18 selected high school textbooks.\(^7\) In 1946, Berelson and Salter conducted a most thorough analysis of nationality stereotyping, taking a random sampling of 185 short stories.\(^8\) Dale's study of the content of motion pictures, a part of the Payne Fund studies on "Motion Pictures and Youth," deals with a total of 1,500 films and consists of "analyses of three different intensities."\(^9\)


\(^6\) B. L. Pierce, Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks.


\(^9\) Edgar Dale, The Content of Motion Pictures.
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<th>NO.</th>
<th>AUTHORS</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Adlai E. Stevenson</td>
<td>&quot;Will India Turn Communist?&quot;</td>
<td><em>Look</em>, July, 1953.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>David E. Lilienthal</td>
<td>&quot;Are We Losing India?&quot;</td>
<td><em>Collier's</em>, June 23, 1951.</td>
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The studies cited above and others like them are primarily "quantitative" studies. But no study is absolutely quantitative or absolutely qualitative. Berelson says in his book entitled, Content Analysis,

"...there is no strict dichotomy between "qualitative" and "quantitative" analysis. Just as quantitative analysis assigns relative frequencies to different qualities (or categories), so qualitative analysis usually contains quantitative statements in rough form."

All studies in content analysis deal with the problems of classification and quantification. Classification relates to the development of categories and quantification relates to the frequency of the categories. In the case of "qualitative" analyses, or in the case of studies that deal with a small amount of materials and whose purpose is semi-interpretive, the classifying part of the study becomes as important as the quantifying part of the study. This is true in the case of the present content analysis of the writer, which deals with only three articles and nine chapters.

The qualitative aspect of the writer's content analysis is to be seen in the identification of critical concepts from the selected writings. In the case of many of the concepts, to be reported later, either the forcefulness of the language employed is such as to make the criticalness of the concept obvious, or the concept happens to be the central theme of a chapter. But in the case of a few, the writer's subjective judgment was partly operative. In the case of such concepts, the writer gives further substantiation from other sources.

10 Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis, p. 116.
The Technique of Analysis.

The technique used by the writer in analysing the material is as follows:

First, he read the three articles and the nine chapters in a general way to familiarise himself with the contents. Some of them were read more than once.

Second, he read them carefully, one after another in the order shown in Table I on page 33, with the express purpose of identifying critical concepts. When he identified the first concept in Bowles' article, he made a card with the name of the concept as the title. The author of the article and the sentence or sentences containing the concept were indicated on the card in abbreviated form.

Whenever a new concept was identified, a new card was made and sections were opened for the author and quotations. But when a concept occurred for the second time in the writing of another author, no new card was made. The card already made for the concept was used. Thus when the analysis of all the material was finished, there were as many cards as there were critical concepts. Each card indicated the writings which contained the concept.

The writer went over the writings again in the same order as before, but now keeping in mind all the concepts discovered so far. This was done in order to find out if a particular writing contained more concepts. There were several cases where new concepts were discovered on the second look.

It must be said that the process of content analysis was not quite as neat and smooth as described above. There was much back-and-
forth movement. The whole operation was experimental in a real sense.

3. The Content Analysis.

The analyses of the writings of the six authors are here presented individually in the order in which they were analyzed. In each case, the writer makes some introductory remarks about the nature of the article or the chapter, gives a brief summary of the same, and then presents the critical concepts substantiated with quotations from the writing. It is the hope of the writer that such a method of presentation will help the reader gain a better understanding of the content analysis.

(1) Chester Bowles

When Bowles was appointed ambassador to India by President Truman in October 1951, the relations between the Government of India and the government of the United States were far from friendly. Only a month before the appointment, the New York Times Magazine published in its September 2nd issue a major article by Robert Trumbull with the headline, "U. S.—India Relations Grow Steadily Worse." Trumbull, the Times correspondent in New Delhi, began his article thus: "The intermittently poor relations between India and the United States appear to have reached the lowest ebb of all time this week through India's rejection of the proposed draft treaty with Japan and her boycott of the San Francisco Conference."

It is generally agreed now that Bowles was responsible for the improvement of the relations. He was able to bring about the improvement, not just because he advocated increased American aid, which he did, but because he took pains to understand the major problems of India and their backgrounds and conceived of the Russo—American cold war in more than military terms.
Bowles' article, "Asia Challenges Us Through India," was written about five months after his resumption of office at New Delhi. It is addressed to the American public and attempts to "sell", so to say, a point of view—namely, "Increase aid to India." This consideration is not directly relevant to the purposes of the writer's analysis. But the article also describes concisely the nature of present-day India and her problems which are the central concerns of the writer's analysis.

Summary of the Article.

Within the next four years, history in Asia will reach a turning point. The pivot is India. India must prove to her own and Asia's millions of people whether or not democracy can solve their problems. India is a vigorous democracy and can succeed with American economic assistance. If democracy fails in India, democracy will fail in the whole of Asia. Asia will turn to Communism as the answer to the problems. Communist China will become the leader of all Asia.

As Paul Hoffman said, "India in 1952 stands where China stood in 1946." The lesson of China is that Asian democracy cannot be strengthened by tanks and planes. If I (Bowles) may paraphrase a saying of Gandhi, democracy comes to the hungry in the form of food.

The two most acute problems of India are food shortage and dearth of capital. In 1951 and 1952, the food shortage amounted to 5,000,000 tons, ten per cent of India's total production. One-third of the people lived on rations. India's own attack on the problem has been "bold and vigorous." An additional area of 16,000,000 acres are being brought under cultivation; one-hundred and thirty-five river
valley projects are under way. Land reclamation and improved agricultural methods are other measures.

There is also now a new community development program which aims at the rapid improvement of living standards in India's villages where "90 per cent of the people live and where any effort to combat poverty must obviously begin."

India has done well since independence in 1947. But there are many obstacles on the way to progress such as lag in irrigation projects. However, "democracy has every chance of scoring a glorious success in India if we have the wisdom and will to help it work."

Critical Concepts.

1. One thing that seems to stand out in the writing of Bowles is his obvious emphasis on the importance of India's political future for Asia, the United States and the world at large, and, consequently the importance of partnership between India and the United States. The very first paragraph of the article runs thus: "Within the next four years, history in Asia will reach a turning point. It will be a turning point not for Asia alone, but for the whole world. The pivot of this historic point is India. Within these coming four years democratic India must prove to her own and Asia's millions whether or not democracy can solve the staggering problem of an Asian people."

Subsequently Bowles adds: "For America, the stakes are high. If democracy succeeds in India, hundreds of millions of Asia's poor, hungry and diseased will turn with fresh and renewed faith to democracy as the means of betterment. They will see democracy not only
as freedom to vote and to worship, but as a means toward freedom from want, freedom to live and develop as dignified human individuals. They and their governments will become ever stronger members of the community of free nations."

The closing note of the article is also about the same point: "Today, as Asia's future hangs in the balance, we must think and act with the broadest wisdom and understanding. After the history of communism in China, the loss of India, with the inevitable loss of other Asian countries as well, would be an incalculable disaster."

Thus, the first critical concept about India may be described thus: **The political future of India is of decisive importance to the United States and the free world. Hence, partnership between India and the United States is also of great importance.**

2. Somewhat related to the first, we find a continued emphasis on the democratic nature of India's political set-up and constitution, her culture, and her present reconstruction procedures. It is this democratic nature of India that makes her important to the United States and the so-called, "free world." That the governments of India and the United States have not seen eye to eye with each other does not diminish the importance of this point. Bowles says in the third paragraph of the article, "Let us remember that whatever our occasional differences, with India or Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, India is not only a democracy, but a vigorous, energetic and growing democracy. Both India and America believe in freedom, equality for all nations, in orderly justice and a world at peace. India is deeply opposed, both culturally and politically, to totalitarianism. India has already
established a democratic system of government and set an enviable record of achievement against enormous obstacles...."

Quantitatively speaking, in an article as short as the one under consideration in which the printed words alone without the pictures take up less than seven columns or two pages of magazine size, the word "democracy" or "democratic" occurs 25 times. India is directly referred to as a democracy or as being democratic for almost half the number of times, e.g., "democratic India", "a democratic member of the free world", "Indian democracy", etc. At one point, Bowles describes India as not only the largest but one of the strongest and most vigorous democratic partners in the East."

Thus, the second critical concept about India may be described as follows: India has a well-established democratic system of government.

3. The juxtaposition of communist China and democratic India, the two largest nations of Asia, seems politically significant to Bowles. He considers the present world wide struggle as a test of strength between two ideologies—communism and democracy. The fear of India going communist like China did is a real fear. Bowles says, "But if democracy fails in India....the free nations of Asia, stunned and outflanked, may well turn inevitably toward Communist China and totalitarianism for the answer to their problems." He adds, "The Communist victory in China was a bitter experience. For many months we have been in a sharp debate as to who was wrong and who was right. But as Paul Hoffman has justly said, India in 1952 stands where China stood in 1946. Surely it is time to bury the political hatchet and
prevent a new catastrophe which could be even more disastrous.

Later, while writing about the new community development program in India, Bowles refers to Dr. James Yen's concept of rural and community developments and compares India with China. He says, "Dr. Yen's concept is equally applicable to India."

Quantitatively speaking, the article contains three paragraphs that deal with China entirely, and three others that do so partially. There are nine occurrences of the name "China" in this short article about India and the words, "Communism" or "Communist", occur ten times. These are indications of the importance of the relevance of China to a proper understanding of India.

Thus, the third critical concept about India may be described as follows: Democratic India and Communist China, the two largest nations of Asia, are engaged in an ideological competition in their efforts to bring about economic reconstruction.

4. Coming to the major problems of India, Bowles considers the problem of hunger and the shortage of food as "the most acute economic problem facing India." A major portion of the article concerns the nature of the problem, the measures taken by the government and the people of India to solve it and finally what America can do by way of help. Bowles begins his treatment of the problem thus: "Today India's people know the blessings of a free constitution. But they also know hunger, gnawing bitter hunger. The final test for democracy in India will be the ability of democracy to abolish that hunger. Thus the most acute economic problem facing India is a tragic, persistent shortage of food." Earlier, writing on the pressure of communism on
the millions in Asia, Bowles has said, "If I may paraphrase a saying of the great Gandhi, we who have never felt hunger should remember that to the hungry democracy comes in the form of food."

There are altogether ten paragraphs in the article that directly deal with the food problem. In 1951 and 1952, the food shortage amounted to 5,000,000 tons. This and a serious deficit in cotton cost the Indian government $700,000,000 a year in foreign currencies. In its attempts to solve the problem, the Indian government has launched a program of bringing 16,000,000 additional acres under irrigation. Also, 135 river valley projects are under way. During the next five years, 5.5 million acres will be reclaimed for production. More food is produced on the land already under cultivation through deep ploughing, adequate fertilizers, improved seeds and better use of water facilities.

Though the food problem is in the process of solution, it has been a problem for a long time and possibly will continue to be one for some years to come. So, it is appropriate to consider it as a critical concept in our analysis. The concept may be described thus: Food shortage is a very acute problem in India and drastic measures are being taken to achieve self-sufficiency in food.

5. According to Bowles, the second most acute economic problem is dearth of capital. He says: "A second, less dramatic but almost equally urgent problem is an acute dearth of capital to expand Indian industries and to develop Indian transportation and resources." He points out that India must draw its capital from all possible resources. The World Bank "has already given Indian railroads a $38 million shot
in the arm for development and modernisation." Under the British Commonwealth's Colombo Plan, India is scheduled to receive another $28 million...." Also, the Indian government has offered many inducements to American private interests.

The burden of Bowles' article is that the American government also should make its contribution. At the end, he proposes two categories of American aid each amounting to $125 million. He said earlier, "America's role—our only possible role—is first to provide.... technical advice, encouragement and inspiration to guide India's own efforts and, second, to make available to her the practical equipment....."

Thus, the fifth critical concept may be described as: **Dearth of Capital is an acute economic problem and foreign aid is needed.**

6. A major emphasis a reader of the article cannot fail to notice, is placed upon the villages of India. In January 1952, the Indian and American governments signed a $54 million agreement. "The object of.... the agreement," says Bowles, "is the rapid improvement of living standards in India's villages, where 90 per cent of the people live and where any effort to combat poverty must obviously begin."

Earlier, he said, "What is required in India is grassroots village-by-village attack on poverty...." Bowles discusses the new rural community developments in detail, showing how they work. He refers to "Dr. James Y. C. Yen's conviction that China could be held against communism only by a village-by-village attack on poverty, illiteracy, and outmoded agricultural practices."

This concept about Indian villages can be stated as follows: **Ninety per cent of the Indian people live in villages where any economic reform should begin.**
In the writer's judgment, the above-indicated six concepts seem to be outstanding and critical in the article by Bowles.

(2) Adlai E. Stevenson.

Stevenson's visit to India was a part of his trip around the world which he undertook in early 1952 for the purpose of self-education. His article, unlike Bowles', is a report of his personal impressions of India. However, it is a concise and serious analysis of India and her problems, despite a few light touches here and there such as the reference to the elephant-headed Hindu deity, Ganesa, reminding him of the G. O. P.

SUMMARY

"China, struggling for rebirth, went Communist. Which way will India go? The answer may well decide the destiny of Asia and hold the key to peace in our time.

"I came expecting contrasts and found them. Also, I came with questions about Nehru, Indian misunderstanding of America, future of Democracy in India, Indo-Pakistan relations, etc."

Nehru is the very symbol of all India. He is a man of many tasks, of great responsibilities and great powers. India and other "proud new nations of Asia," have vivid memories of Colonialism and racialism. Nehru is a fine liberal dedicated to the democratic way of life. He is going to build the new India by voluntary democratic means or perish in the effort.

There are pockets of Communism all over India. It flourishers on this discontent. If the root causes of Communism are yet to be eradicated, Nehru and his associates have been more successful in building
a secular state free of religious intolerance and strife.

Progress made by the Five Year Plan for economic development is encouraging. The problems of increasing food production, industrialization, village improvement and the like are being vigorously attacked. India's population which increases by five million a year is an important problem.

Indeed, India tries to accomplish a revolution by consent. Russia and China did it by coercion. "The great contest in Asia is between the totalitarian and the democratic approach to the development of backward areas. It is far more important, therefore, that India strengthens her fledgling democracy than to proclaim her allegiance to 'our side', in foreign affairs."

There were several disturbing elements—lack of national unity, a well-organized Communist party, lag in land reform, and lack of managerial personnel. However, on balance, the prospects for a free India are good.

Critical Concepts

Several of the concepts found in Stevenson's article have already been derived from Bowles' article. In addition to them, four more new concepts were discovered.

1. A reader of the article will be struck by Stevenson's great interest in the personality of Nehru and his feeling that the understanding of Nehru is important to the understanding of India.

Stevenson devotes about ten paragraphs to a description of Nehru and his talks with him. He says, "...Pandit Nehru, 'the spiritual successor of Gandhi' ...embraces the moral force, the political cement
and the intellectual leadership of the New India. The masses which are India believe in him; the middle classes which make up the government follow him; the West looks to him for understanding; the nations of Asia and Africa whose aspirations are unfulfilled turn to him for support, and even the Communist bloc has not given up hope of persuading him."

Stevenson concludes his article with these words, "Of one thing I'm sure: ....this country will never go the authoritarian way and abandon the human values of democracy so long as he (Nehru) is in power."

Thus, the following may be the statement of a critical concept about India: **Nehru, a fine liberal and devoted to democratic ideals, symbolizes India and is the most popular spokesman of the people.**

2. In trying to understand the so-called "neutrality" of India and lack of a thorough unqualified support of the Western side, Stevenson points to the historical fact of the recent Western domination of Asia. India and several other Asian nations became independent only within the last five years.

Stevenson says, "What perhaps we have not fully realised is that the proud new nations of Asia may perversely prefer suicide to even a suspicion of the Western domination and dictation which they have been fighting for so long."

Thus, the concept may be stated as follows: **The Indian people have vivid memories of their struggle with colonialism and are proud of their newly won independence.**

3. After discussing Communism in India and pointing out that the root causes are yet to be removed, Stevenson lists the accomplishments
of India. He begins thus: "If the root causes of Communism have yet to be eradicated in India, Nehru and the Congress party have been more successful in their efforts to create a secular state free of intolerance and religious strife."

Nehru has said often that the establishment of a secular state in India might be his greatest achievement. The concept may be stated as follows: India has accepted the principle of the separation of state and religion.

4. Stevenson points out that the increasing population is a major problem in India. Talking about the Five Year Plan he says, "The Five Year Plan will not work any quick miracles.... even if it succeeds in full, it will raise per capita average income only from about $52 to $58 a year. India's population is increasing by five million a year, and it will take nearly two decades before living standards can be materially improved. As Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, direction of the Delhi School of Economics, said, "Economic development involves, not only toil and sweat, but also tears and abstinence for many years to come."

The concept may be stated as follows: The huge and increasing population is a major problem in India.

Thus, in the writer's judgment, the above-indicated four concepts seem to be outstanding and critical in Stevenson's article, in addition to the six concepts derived from Bowles.

(3) David L. Lilienthal

The title of the article, "Are We Losing India?", suggests the central concern that took Lilienthal to India. He says in the early part of the article, "I went to India because I wanted to see this man
(Nehru) against the background of his own country. What kind of man is he? What are his hopes? His fears? His plans? I went into great cities and remote villages, saw ancient customs and primitive tools side by side with the most modern machinery and laboratories. I spent a week as a guest of Nehru in his official residence in New Delhi."

This article, like Stevenson's, is personal and contains several conversations between Lilienthal and Nehru. It also contains an excellent discussion of the major problems of India.

**Summary**

The prospect of losing out in India is profoundly shocking. If we lose out in India, as we have in China, all hope for the continent of Asia is gone. The world balance of population will be overwhelmingly against us.

In the past America has always been sympathetic with India. Now we must encourage and aid Nehru and his people in the development of a modern nation. We should offer machinery, engineers, agricultural experts, etc.

The political future of India hinges largely upon the man who is today the undisputed leader of the people of India. He is symbolic of India itself, "as this new Republic sets out on the troubled waters of independence."

The picture of India that we in America have had for a long time is that of "an exotic land and of a brooding people." But this kind of observation misses the present drive of India to make itself a modern nation.
"India is poverty-stricken but not poor." She has the potential riches of great rivers, minerals, land and a trainable people. All over India, for instance, there are important undeveloped water-power resources. Despite the persistent shortage of food, food resources are tremendous.

In Nehru's mind as well as in the minds of the people of India, there is a conflict between modern impulses and ancient impulses. This is a conflict between the old India and the new India. However, there are reasons to feel hopeful about the country: First, the republic has survived against great odds. Second, much emphasis is laid upon developing the human and natural resources of India. The people expect progress. Third, they want to do the job of building India through their own efforts.

**Critical Concepts**

Lilienthal's article was found to contain several of the concepts already reported. However, there was one new concept related to the development program of India. This was the emphasis on the natural resources. Lilienthal says, "India is poverty-stricken, but not poor. India does have the potential riches of great rivers, minerals in great variety (including iron ore, limestone and coal, the basis for steel), land that responds to irrigation and improved farming methods, and a trainable people. She has resources that modern technical skills and democratic principles can transform into productive wealth."

On seeing the site of a proposed dam on the Kosi River, Lilienthal said, "Someday a series of dams on the Kosi will control that river,
and thereby create a new civilization of farms and factories where today there is nothing."

Thus the concept relating to India's resources may be stated as follows: \textbf{India is poor but not poverty-stricken; she has enormous natural resources that can be developed.}\n
(4) \textbf{William O. Douglas}\n
In the Foreword to his book, \textit{Strange Lands and Friendly People}, Douglas makes a series of overall statements on the many countries he visited. About India he says, "...well, I fell in love with India. Partly for its Himalayas whose grandeur is not of this earth. Partly for its mysticism, its spiritual strength. Partly because India of today is an ancient civilization rising from the mire of poverty, illiteracy, and feudalism by the heroic efforts of a few men and women."

\textbf{Summary}\n
Of the four chapters he has in his book on India, three were chosen for analysis. Their titles are: "A Girl and a Basket", "India and Asia", "Nehru's Welfare State."

The first chapter is a description of Douglas' encounter with a beautiful girl of nine who wanted to sell him a basket. Douglas could not buy it since he had bought already more baskets than his arms could hold. So he gave her some change, but this girl in rags proudly handed the money back to him. Douglas concludes the chapter with these words, "The people I saw in India—those in the villages as well as those in high office—have both pride and a lively sense of decency and citizenship. They also have a passion for independence. This
beautiful child—born in squalor and poverty, uneducated in both
grammar and manners—had given me a glimpse of the warm soul of India."

The second chapter discusses what Douglas calls "Asian consciousness." The spirit of independence is a dominant note in Asian life. India and other Asian countries want to be defiantly independent of the cold war between Russia and the Western world. "There is an Asian consciousness that ties India, China and all the colored races of that continent close together." This color consciousness is a major influence in domestic and foreign affairs. Though India is friendly to Communist China, she is firmly dedicated to democratic ideals.

The third chapter deals with the present leaders and problems of India. Douglas says, "Gandhi has probably even more influence in India today than when he lived." Nehru represents "in a warmhearted way the humanity of his country" and makes "vocal its aspirations."

The chief problems of India are food, health, industrialization, land ownership and others. If Nehru's welfare program succeeds, Communism will gain no political victory in India.

The above summary of the three chapters is not elaborate, since most of the details in them are known to the reader from the summaries of the articles by Bowles, Stevenson and Lilienthal.

**Critical Concepts**

Douglas' chapters presented many concepts that have been referred to earlier. The writer was able to find, however, three new emphases.

1. Douglas says, "There is an Asian consciousness that ties India, China, and all the other colored races of that continent close together."
Russia, as well as England and the United States, is excluded." Subsequently, he adds, "The treatment of colored peoples by other nations is an important consideration in the warmth of India's relations to the outside world."

The Concept may be stated thus: The people of India are color-conscious.

2. Douglas says, "His (Gandhi) picture occupies the place of honor in every hall, school, home; his writings fill the school-books; his thinking dominates the politics. Rajghat—the place of the cremation—is a sacred place." Later he adds, "Gandhi has probably even more influence in India today than when he lived. He gave India a unity of purpose. He taught tolerance for all minorities; to him India was a mother who had a full measure of affection for each member of her diverse family. But Gandhi taught more than that. He thought of India in terms of the common man—the poor, the oppressed."

The concept may be stated as follows: Even after his death, Gandhi has great influence in India today.

3. Douglas points out how land ownership has been a scourge to India for centuries. Under this old feudal system, the rich got richer and poor got poorer. Douglas says, "Talk of social justice to people who have a bare subsistence and no avenue of escape from their squalor is no more than words lost in the mounting fury of a storm. The feudal land system is, indeed, the main leverage of Communist propaganda in the whole reach of country from the Mediterranean to the Pacific."
The importance of the program of land reform is expressed in the following words: "....this land program has had an electrifying effect in the villages. At the outset it did more than any other single thing to weld the masses to Nehru's leadership. How secure that leadership will be depends in large measure on the speed with which the land-distribution program is carried out."

The concept may be stated as follows: Land reform is a major problem in India; its solution is important for development in India.

(5) Eleanor Roosevelt

Almost half of her book, India and the Awakening East, deals with her travel in India and her impressions of the country.

The long chapter entitled, "The Changing India," is a combination of personal narrative and factual presentation of India's problems.

Summary

Mrs. Roosevelt's discussion of India's problems is comprehensive and detailed. She deals with such problems as food, population, agricultural improvement, community development, poverty, etc. She discusses the differences and similarities between India's way of life and the Western or American way of life. It is impossible for the writer to give here an adequate summary of this chapter which is 107 pages long. Nor, is it necessary for the present purposes of this study.

Critical Comment.

As one would expect, many of the concepts to be found in Mrs. Roosevelt's chapter have already been formulated. However, there was one new concept in the beginning of the chapter relating to
Indo-Pakistan relations.

Mrs. Roosevelt says that she was surprised to learn that no trains ran between India and Pakistan and that flying was the only way to cross the border between the two countries. She adds, "This is only another instance of the almost total lack of reciprocity between the two countries, a lack that prevents even the mails from getting easily from one to the other, that has shrunk the flow of trade and parted families. The deep-seated bitterness, like that existing between Israel and the Arab countries, has created a situation that is unutterably tragic."

The Concept can be stated thus: The Relations between India and Pakistan are not friendly.

(6) Norman Cousins

The five chapters chosen for analysis were taken from Cousins' book, Who Speaks for Man? Their titles are: "The Hungry Continent", "Life at a Bargain Counter", "Literacy vs. Knowledge", "The Number One Question" and "The Prime Minister."

These five chapters deal with the problems of India in a personal and anecdotal manner. Their titles indicate the themes dealt with. All the themes except "Literacy vs. Knowledge" have been used by the writer as critical concepts.

The Chapter, "Literacy vs. Knowledge", relates the story of Cousins' meeting with "one of the finest conversationalists" he had met anywhere in the world. Cousins says, "He was a farmer of fifty-two, the leading citizen of the village, renowned in the area for
his knowledge of Hindu religion and philosophy and for his good-natured humor." After about forty minutes of philosophical exchange, "leavened by the farmer's illuminating witticisms," Cousins handed him a pad and pencil to write down his name and address. Then the villager revealed that he could not read or write.

Cousins says that such incidents were repeated several times during his visit in India and comments, "It was difficult to reconcile the ease and frequency with which illiteracy and intelligence went together."

The critical concept arising out of the above chapter may be stated thus: A large portion of the Indian people are illiterate; they have knowledge and intelligence however.


The following is the summary of the critical concepts that were derived from the writings of Bowles, Stevenson, Lilienthal, Douglas, Mrs. Roosevelt and Cousins:

1. The political future of India is of decisive importance to the United States and the free world. Hence, partnership between India and the United States is also of great importance.

2. India has a well-established democratic system of government.

3. Democratic India and Communist China, the two largest nations of Asia, are engaged in an ideological competition in their efforts to bring about economic reconstruction.

4. Food shortage is a very acute problem in India and drastic measures are being taken to achieve self-sufficiency in food.

5. Dearth of capital is an acute economic problem and foreign aid is needed.
6. Ninety per cent of the Indian people live in villages where any economic reform should begin.

7. Nehru, a fine liberal and devoted to democratic ideals, symbolises India and is the most popular spokesman of the people.

8. The Indian people have vivid memories of their struggle with colonialism and are proud of their newly won independence.

9. India has accepted the principle of the separation of state and religion.

10. The huge and increasing population is a major problem in India.

11. India is poor but not poverty-stricken; she has enormous natural resources that can be developed.

12. The people of India are color-conscious.

13. Even after his death, Gandhi has great influence in India today.

14. Land reform is a major problem in India; its solution is important for development in India.

15. The relations between India and Pakistan are not friendly.

16. A large portion of the Indian people are illiterate. But they have knowledge and intelligence, however.
CHAPTER IV

CRITICAL CONCEPTS CONCERNING THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF INDIA

The last chapter reported how critical concepts of a political nature were derived. This chapter describes how critical concepts concerning the historical perspective of India were derived. The next chapter will deal with concepts of a cultural nature.

The general hypothesis of the writer has been that a content analysis of the relevant writings of selected authors would yield critical concepts. The specific hypothesis that led to the research reported in this chapter was that a depth analysis of the chapter entitled "India and the West" from Arnold Toynbee's recent book The World and the West would yield critical concepts concerning the historical perspective of India.

The analysis yielded ten concepts. And not all ten of them are strictly historical in nature even as the sixteen concepts reported in the last chapter are not all of a political nature.

This chapter consists of three sections:

1. The Selection of the Author and His Writing.

1. The Selection of the Author and His Writing.

Why were Toynbee and his writing chosen for study by the writer? There are at least four reasons: (a) He is one of the most outstanding historians of our age. (b) The historical method used by him is
unique and particularly pertinent to the purposes of the writer's research. (c) His thinking about present-day problems is characterized by a broad international outlook. (d) He is a man of goodwill, genuinely devoted to the common good of all humanity.

Toynbee is universally acknowledged as one of the greatest living historians writing at the present time. Born in London in 1889, he studied at Winchester and at Balliol College, Oxford where he received, in his own words, "an old-fashioned education in Greek and Latin classics." While a student in the British Archaeological School in Athens, his interest in current international affairs was awakened. In 1912, Toynbee returned to Balliol as a Fellow and Tutor, where he taught Ancient History until he entered government service, working on Turkish affairs in the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office at London. In 1919, he served as a member of the British Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.

From 1919 to 1924 he was Professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies at the University of London, spending a year of that time travelling in Greece as war correspondent for the Manchester Guardian. Since 1925, he has served as Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs. From 1939 to 1946, however, he was Director of the Research Department of the Foreign Office.

During the spring of 1947, Toynbee spent over two months in the United States, lecturing at Bryn Mawr, Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Johns Hopkins and before various groups in the New York City. He again visited the United States in 1948 and 1949 at the invitation of the
Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. He has honorary degrees from Oxford, Cambridge and Princeton.

Toynbee is the author of more than ten books. His outstanding work is, of course, *A Study of History*, consisting of thirteen volumes. Commenting on this monumental work, Clifton Fadiman said, "I believe that of all the books published so far in this century, the one most assured of being read a hundred years from now is *A Study of History*."\(^1\)

The book *War and Civilization* is an offspring of the former. *Civilization on Trial* is a collection of essays on contemporary problems. Of the book, Atlantic Monthly said, "Toynbee's consummate mastery of history coupled with his literary gifts makes *Civilization on Trial* a vastly important and illuminating piece of work."\(^2\) He is co-editor of the continuing series *A Study of International Affairs*. His articles have been published by periodicals like Nation, Asia, Contemporary Review, New Republic, Atlantic Monthly and Harpers Magazine.

What has made Toynbee an outstanding historian? What is the cause of his historical greatness? What is unique about his historical thought? There may be many unique things about Toynbee. But one thing, unique and fundamental, that characterizes him as a historian is his conception of historical method.

In the abridged version of *A Study of History*, the first section of the first Chapter entitled "The Unit of Historical Study" begins with these words:

\(^1\) Arnold Toynbee, *War and Civilization*, Taken from the writing on the jacket.

\(^2\) Ibid.
Historians generally illustrate rather than correct the ideas of the communities within which they live and work, and the development in the last few centuries, and more particularly in the last few generations, of the would-be self-sufficient national sovereign state has led historians to choose nations as the normal fields of historical study. But no single nation or national state of Europe can show a history which is in itself self-explanatory.  

Taking the case of Britain for study, he discusses the major events in British History and concludes:

The 'intelligible field of study' ...... appears to be a society containing a number of communities of the species represented by Great Britain—not only Great Britain herself but also France and Spain, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries and so on——......

The forces in motion are not national but proceed from wider causes, which operate each of the parts and are not intelligible in their partial operation unless a comprehensive view is taken of their operation throughout the society. Different parts are differently affected by an identical cause, because they each react, and each contribute, in a different way to the forces which that same cause sets in motion.

A society, we may say, is confronted in the course of its life by a succession of problems which each member has to solve for itself as best it may. The presentation of each problem is a challenge to undergo an ordeal, and through this series of ordeals the members of the society progressively differentiate themselves from one another.

Throughout, it is impossible to grasp the significance of any particular member's behaviour under a particular ordeal without taking some account of the similar or dissimilar behaviour of its fellows and without viewing the successive ordeals as a series of events in the life of the whole society.  

It is "this method of interpreting historical facts" that distinguishes Toynbee as a historian. He describes the method succinctly


4 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
at the end of the section: "...... the intelligible unit of historical study is neither a nation state nor (at the other end of the scale) mankind as a whole but a certain grouping of humanity which we have called a society." 5

The historical method employed by Toynbee is pertinent to the purpose of the writer's research which is concerned with American understanding of India. America and India, though brought close to each other today by the increasing unification of the world, historically belong to two different "groupings of humanity" or societies. Hence American understanding of India is necessarily determined to a considerable extent by the significant factors in the Western and Indian societies. Thus, the historical concepts about India, significant and critical from the American standpoint, cannot be derived from historical writings that treat India as a nation state. The history of modern India should be conceived of as an encounter between Indian civilisation and Western civilization. The chapter by Toynbee selected for analysis by the writer embodies such a conception of Indian history.

If Toynbee believes that the intelligible unit of historical study is neither a nation nor mankind but a society or civilisation, he also believes that mankind is on the way toward becoming one great society. For, he not only looks into the past with an analytical eye, but also peers into the future with the benefit of his historical vision.

The unification of the world through the oceanic discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and through the later developments

5 Ibid., p. 11.
in rapid transportation and communication is, according to Toynbee, an extraordinary event in human history. Writing under the title, "The Unification of the World and the Change in Historical Perspective," he says:

I will hazard the guess that, when the age in which we ourselves are living has been left sufficiently far behind to be seen by future historians in a revealingly remote perspective, the particular contemporary event with which we are now concerned will stand out like a mountain peak on the horizon of the past. By 'the age in which we are living' I mean the last five or six thousand years within which mankind... attained the modest level of social and moral achievement that we call 'civilization'. I call the recent change in the map 'contemporary' because the four or five centuries during which it has been taking place are a twinkling of an eye on the time-scale that our geologists and astronomers have now revealed to us. And, when I am trying to picture to myself the perspective in which the events of these last few thousand years will appear to future historians, I am thinking of historians living 20,000 or 100,000 years later than the present date....

Of the future world, Toynbee says that it will be neither Western nor non-Western but will inherit all the cultures which "we Westerners have now brewed together in a single crucible." He adds:

Our descendants are going to be heirs of Confucius, Lao-Tse as well as Socrates, Plato, and Plotinus; heirs of Gautama Buddha as well as Deutero-Isah and Jesus Christ; heirs of Zarathustra and Muhammad as well as Elijah and Elisha and Peter and Paul; heirs of Shankara and Ramamja as well as Clement and Origen; ..... and heirs (if still wallowing in the Serbian Bag of politics) of Lenin and Gandhi and Sun Yat-sen as well as Cromwell and George Wash­ington and Massinini.

The international outlook that characterizes his historical thinking is obvious.

6 Arnold Toynbee, Civilization on Trial, p. 64.
7 Ibid., p. 90.
Though Toynbee peers into the future world and makes predictions about our descendants, he is deeply concerned about the "Present Point in History." He realizes that our age is an example of his "Times of Troubles." "Unlike our forbears," says Toynbee, "we in our generation feel from the depths of our hearts that a Pax Oecumenica is now a crying need. We live in daily dread of catastrophe which, we fear, may overtake us if the problem of meeting this need is left unsolved much longer." The shadow of this fear is beginning to hypnotize the world into a spiritual paralysis. But, believing that the world can win peace even in the eleventh hour and that the opportunity is open to it as long as life endures, Toynbee advises that "we may and must pray that a reprieve which God has granted to our society once will not be refused if we ask it again in a contrite spirit and with a broken heart."

He is a man of great good will with religious depths. His writings are strewn with phrases and quotations from the Bible. He believes that history ultimately "passes over into theology." Whatever be his religious views, there is no gainsaying the fact that he is deeply devoted to the common good of all humanity.

Thus, we have seen that Toynbee is an outstanding historian who has adopted a significant method of historical study and whose thinking is characterized by a broad international outlook and genuine devotion to the good of mankind.

8 A Chapter title in Civilization on Trial.
9 Arnold Toynbee, War and Civilization, p. 3.
10 Ibid., p. 11.
His recent book, *The World and the West*, published in 1953, is "his first entirely new book in over a decade and composed as one consecutive story." It represents the Keith Lectures for 1952, developed by him as a series of radio talks over the British Broadcasting Corporation networks.

The third chapter from the book, "India and the West," was analyzed by the writer for deriving the critical concepts about the historical perspective of India. In order that the reader may become familiar with the nature of the book and the content of the chapter, the writer has attempted to give in the subsequent section the general thesis that holds the book together and a brief summary of the chapter.


In his Preface to the book, Toynbee says, "The encounter between the World and the West may well prove, in retrospect, to be the most important event in modern history. It is an outstanding instance of an historical phenomenon of which there are other famous instances in the past, and the comparative study of the course and consequences of these encounters between civilizations that are one another's contemporaries is one of the keys to an understanding of the history of mankind."

The title of the book is *The World and the West* and it was the author's deliberate choice. In explaining the title, the author in-

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dicates the central thesis of the book. In the first page of the
book, the author writes:

This title, as it stands, was chosen deliberately, in order to make two points that seem essential for an understanding of the subject. The first point is that the West has never been all of the world that matters. The West has not been the only actor on the stage of modern history even at the peak of the West’s power (and this peak has perhaps now already been passed). The second point is this. In the encounter between the world and the West that has been going on by now for four or five hundred years, the world, not the West, is the party that, up to now, has had the significant experience. It has not been the West that has been hit by the world; it is the world that has been hit—and hit hard—by the West; and that is why, in the title of this book, the world has been put first. 12

The first four chapters of the book are about the encounters between the West, on the one hand, and Russia, Islam, India and the Far East, on the other. The fifth chapter deals with the psychology of encounters in general, while the sixth chapter considers the history of the Graeco-Roman civilization, an excellent instance of encounters between civilizations.

In the following paragraphs, the writer attempts to give a summary of the chapter “India and the West.” The chapter consists of seventeen paragraphs and this summary uses them as its basis. Two or more paragraphs are sometimes grouped, if a unitary thought binds them together.

Para. 1. The encounter between India and the West, as contrasted with the encounters between Russia or Islam or Far East and the West, is unique in one respect. India, which in itself is a society as big

12 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
as the Western society, was attacked, hit, overrun and conquered by Western arms and ruled by Western administrators for nearly two hundred years. The encounter was therefore more painful than others but also, for the same reason, more intimate than others. The "Western iron has probably entered deeper into India's soul."

Para. 2, 3. Before the British moved in, the Mughal Muslims had ruled India. Since their rule was on the point of disintegration, it was easy for the British to move in. Once established, the latter deliberately set out to change the habits that their Mughal predecessors had implanted in Indian minds. They substituted a Western for an Islamic and a Hindu higher education in India, and thereby introduced the Indians to the Western ideas of liberty, parliamentary constitutional government, and nationalism. The Indians who took these ideas to heart demanded and won for India the self-government that Britain enjoys. Today the government of free India is run essentially along British lines. It is "perhaps particularly noteworthy" that the Indians should have chosen to do so.

Para. 4, 5. The decline of the Muslims continued during the British rule. The Hindus, on the contrary, were on the rise. They were quicker to see and seize the opportunities available under the British rule which set a premium on intellectual ability, in place of military prowess, as the qualification for advancement. Later, when the British withdrawal from India became a possibility, the Muslims demanded and got a separate state, Pakistan.

Para. 6, 7. In both India and Pakistan, political power now rests in the hands of the element in their population that has had a
Western education and that has been inspired by this with Western ideals." If this element remains in power, India and Pakistan and Ceylon will remain members of the free world. However, these same Asian statesmen will demand equality and denounce discrimination. Unless we grievously fail to live up to our professed liberal principles, we may hope that they will continue in partnership with us. It is vital that this partnership should continue, for the Indian peoples constitute "one of the two Asian quarters of the human race." The loss of the friendship of the Indian sub-continent, after the recent loss of the friendship of the Chinese sub-continent, "might well be a decisive event in the struggle for power between 'the free world' and Communism."

Para. 8, 9. In what direction is India going to incline? To take a promising point first, it seems that today "personal relations between Indians and Westerners are more friendly than they have ever been." The estrangement between Britain and India is a long, in some ways curious, story. But since the withdrawal of the British from India, the estrangement has given place to friendliness. This happy change is "assuredly something gained for our 'free world'."

Para. 10. The Western-minded leaders in power in India today, however, are only a few thousand. They constitute a tiny minority of the Indian people. What is the future of this Indian governing class? Will the Western ideals be able to hold their own?

Para. 11-14. It is remarkable that even this small minority should have gone as far as it has in assimilating the Western ideals, considering "how alien the Western and Hindu outlooks on life are from one
another." In the case of Russia, Islam and the West, different as they were, there was a good deal in common. Even then, the encounters between them led to violent spiritual disturbances. Taking Russia as an example, the severity of the strain upon Russian souls was to be seen in the explosiveness of the revolution in 1917. In the case of the Indians, then, the spiritual tension must be "extreme, and sooner or later it must find some means of discharging itself."

Para. 15. Whatever may be the way in which the spiritual tension of the Indians may be resolved, it cannot be by opening themselves to the influence of Communism. For, Communism is a Western heresy, alien to the Hindu spirit.

Para. 16-17. However, the rising pressure of population in India on the means of subsistence is a critical factor in the Indian economic and social situation. And this might give Communism an opening. Increase in food production through various means of improved measures may not perhaps be able to meet the needs of the population. If the situation ever becomes desperate, Communism with its program of compulsory collectivization and mechanization may appeal to the depressed peasantry.

The writer believes that all the essential points made by the author are included in the above summary of Toynbee's chapter "India and the West."

In the next section, the writer presents an analysis of the chapter and indicates the critical concepts derived therefrom.


In the chapter "India and the West," Toynbee discusses India's past, present, and future. He discusses the general nature of the
impact of the West and specifically the effect of Britain on India, the
education of the Indians in Western ideals, their resultant demand for
self-government, the separation of the country between Muslims and
Hindus, the future of the present Western-minded leaders, the im-
portance of the partnership between India and the West in the context
of the present struggle for power between Communism and the 'free
world', the Western outlook versus the Hindu outlook, Communism and
the Hindu outlook, and Communism in future India.

The Chapter is a clear and cogent piece of writing. The key
ideas presented are obvious to a careful reader. Indeed, often a
whole paragraph is devoted to a key idea. Hence the method of analysis
employed by the writer was not technical in nature. In essence, it
consisted in carefully studying each paragraph and asking if it con-
tained a key or critical thought. Sometimes a single thought or con­
cept appears more than once in different parts of the chapter. Also
some concepts are elaborately discussed and some others are mentioned
and tersely explained.

How valid is this analysis? The writer did two things in order
to ensure maximum validity: (a) He read the chapter carefully at
least half a dozen times. Each time he read, he looked for key con­
ceptions or ideas. By the time he had read three or four times, all
the key conceptions given below were recognized. Further readings
did not lead to recognition of new ones. This test for validity
perhaps corresponds to the criterion of repeatability insisted on in
physical sciences. Of course, in the present case the repetition was
confined to one person. (b) Also the writer summarized the chapter.
It helped him acquire a synoptic and structural view of the writing. This view in turn helped him recognize all the key conceptions, but only key conceptions. The summary which the reader has just read has another value: Now the reader can judge the analysis himself.

A third consideration contributing to the validity of the writer's analysis is the nature of the writing contained in the chapter. It is clear and unambiguous. The content is more in the nature of "facts" than of opinions and therefore its meaning does not depend much on the interpretive mechanism of the reader. This makes validity easily obtainable.

The critical concepts obtained from the chapter "India and the West" are as follows:

1. The most important event in modern history is the encounter between the West and the World, of which India is a part. This conception does not occur in the chapter explicitly. However, it is the central idea of the book of which the chapter is a part. The book was written "as one consecutive story" and the chapter on India becomes intelligible only in the light of the central idea. Toynbee says in the Preface, (and this has been quoted earlier), "The encounter between the World and the West may well prove, in retrospect, to be the most important event in modern history." (page v.) The writer believes that an understanding of this point is essential for an understanding of the historical perspective of India.

2. India, unlike the Middle East or the Far East, was conquered and ruled for nearly two hundred years. The encounter between
the West and India was the most painful and humiliating of all. This idea is stressed by Toynbee in the first paragraph of the chapter. To quote only a part of it, "In India's encounter with the West there has been one experience that has not been shared with India by any other society in the world. India is a whole world in herself; she is a society of the same magnitude as our Western society; and she is the one great non-Western society that has been, not merely attacked and hit, but overrun and conquered outright by Western arms, and not merely conquered by Western arms but ruled, after that, by Western administrators. In Bengal this Western rule lasted for nearly two hundred years, and in the Punjab for more than a hundred. India's experience of the West has thus been more painful and more humiliating than China's or Turkey's, and much more so than Russia's or Japan's; ..." (page 34).

3. The modern history of India is characterized by a conflict between the Muslims and the Hindus which culminated in the separation of the country into two states, India and Pakistan. This conception is contained in Toynbee's discussion of the Muslim Mughals, the pre-British rulers of India, the decline of the Muslims during the British rule which "set a premium on intellectual ability, in place of military prowess, as the qualification for advancement in the continuing competition between Hindus and Indian Muslims who were now alike subjects of a Western Crown." (p. 38). The Muslims also took to the Western education and competed for power, yet "when the voluntary liquidation of the British raj in India came within sight, the Indian Muslims insisted that the retransfer of the Government of India from British
to Indian hands must be accompanied by a partition of India between a Hindu and a Muslim successor state..." (p. 38) This history of the birth of Pakistan is important, considering the present conflict between India and Pakistan.

4. **Free India has adopted the Western ideals of liberty and parliamentary constitutional government.** "It is particularly noteworthy," says Toynbee, "that the present Hindu rulers of the greater part of the Indian sub-continent should have chosen, as they have, to carry on the Government on Western lines originally laid down by alien conquerors." (p. 36) Even though Indians fought the British bitterly and for long in order to achieve independence, they changed the governmental framework little when they did achieve independence. The Western education they had received went deep in their hearts.

5. **The present rulers of India are Western-minded but they constitute a small minority of their people and their future is uncertain.** This idea is related to the previous one, but is important enough to be listed separately. Toynbee says, "In the first chapter of their histories, the power in both states has been in the hands of the element in their population that has had a Western education and that has been inspired by this with Western ideals." But he points out later, that they are only a small section of the total population of more than four hundred millions. India alone has a population of more than three hundred and sixty millions. So Toynbee raises the question of how far and how long the influence of the Western-minded ruling class go? He writes, "After all, so few thousands out of India's
450 millions ever did or do meet a Westerner—or even meet a member of that Western-minded minority of the Indian people that is now governing India in the former Western ruler's place. And what is the future of this new Indian governing class? Will it be able to maintain its present leadership? And will the Western outlook and ideals, that have been implanted in the souls of this minority by their education, be able to hold their own, even here, against the Hindu tradition? (op. 42-44) These questions, critical as they are, must remain questions for some time.

6. The partnership between the West and India is of critical importance in the context of the struggle for power between Russia and the Western World. It was shown above that India which was antagonistic to the West till 1947, became after independence, a member of 'the free world' by virtue of the fact that she subscribed to the Western ideals of liberty and constitutional government. Toynbee feels that it is important for the West that she continues to remain in the free world.

"No doubt these same Asian statesmen," says Toynbee, "will continue to demand that, in a 'free world' that is to be the common home of Western and Asian peoples, there shall be no unfair and invidious discrimination against the Asian members of the family, and we Western members are bound to give satisfaction to our Asian fellow members on this point if, in calling our world 'free', we are sincere." (p. 39)

Stressing the importance of the partnership between the West and India, Toynbee writes for more than a page. It may be appropriate to quote most of it: "It is one of the vital interests of the Western
peoples that this partnership of ours with the peoples of the Indian sub-continent should be preserved; for these Indian peoples together constitute one of the two Asian quarters of the human race; and, only two years after Great Britain has made a move for the reconciliation of Asia with the West by completing the liquidation of British rule in Ceylon, Pakistan, the Indian Union, and Burma, the Chinese, who constitute the second of the two Asian quarters of the human race, went over from the Western camp to the Russian. If after thus losing the friendship of the Chinese sub-continent, our Western world were to lose the friendship of the Indian sub-continent as well, the West would have lost to Russia most of the Old World except for a pair of bridgeheads in Western Europe and Africa; and this might well be a decisive event in the struggle for power between the free world and Communism. The Indian Union—the successor state of the British Empire which covers most of the Indian sub-continent, and the state in which the Hindus are predominant—occupies a commanding position in the divided world of today, in which the United States and her associates are competing for world power with the Soviet Union and her associates." (pp. 39-40) Nothing need be added to this eloquent statement.

7. Relations between India and Great Britain are friendly now in spite of their long estrangement. After pointing out the importance of the partnership between India and the West, Toynbee raises the question of which way India may incline. In discussing the question, he first points out the unusual friendliness that seems to exist today
between Indians and the British. He speaks of the occasions when Indians
went out of their way to show friendliness toward him, and he is not
alone in this experience. This is remarkable after the long and bitter
struggle between the Indians and the British. Toynbee concludes: "It
is handsome of the Indians to make their new friendliness towards the
British apparent; and this happy change in the relations of the Indians
and the British with one another is assuredly something gained for our
'free world' as a whole." (p. 41)

8. The Western outlook and the Hindu outlook are very different
from each other and the final resolution of the encounter between India
and the West is yet to come. In trying to analyze and predict about
the future of India, Toynbee emphasizes the fact that "even a minority
in the great Hindu world should have gone so far as this now ruling
minority has gone in assimilating Western ideas and ideals, considering
how alien the Western and Hindu outlooks on life are from one another." (p. 44) He goes on to point out that in the case of Islam and Russia
and the West, there was a good deal in common. Even so, the tension
causedit due to the encounter between them and the West was great. In
the case of Russia, the spiritual strain in Russian minds found an
outlet in the Revolution in 1917. Then, in the case of India which is
more different from the West than Russia, the strain must be even greater,
according to Toynbee. And he cannot predict how it may discharge it-
self.
9. **Communism is alien to the Hindu spirit and will not find acceptance in India under normal circumstances.** Toynbee considers Communism a "Western heresy adopted by an ex-Orthodox Christian Russia." It is, according to him "as much part and parcel of the Graeco-Judaic heritage as the Western way of life is, and the whole of this cultural tradition is alien to the Hindu spirit." Therefore, under normal circumstances, India will not accept Communism, Toynbee concludes.

10. **The rising pressure of population on the means of subsistence is a critical factor that may make India vulnerable to Communism.** Even though Communism may be "exotic" in a Hindu environment, Toynbee fears that increase in population unmatched by increase in food production will be fatal. He takes a pessimistic view of the improvement of food production. When the social and economic situation becomes desperate, as it may, then the depressed peasantry may turn to Communism which "has a program of wholesale compulsory collectivization and mechanization to offer as a specious remedy..." (p. 49) To advise the people to solve their problem in the American way would be a "mockery."

The closing words of the chapter also refer to the population problem: "This population problem, and its bearing on the competition between Russia and the West," Toynbee tells his readers, "will confront us again when we come to the Far East, ..." (p. 49)

Thus, the writer obtained ten concepts that appear to be critical about the historical perspective of India. They may be now stated together in summary:
1. The most important event in modern history is the encounter between the West and the World, of which India is a part.

2. India, unlike the Middle East and the Far East, was conquered and ruled for nearly two hundred years; the encounter between India and the West was the most painful and humiliating of all.

3. The modern history of India is characterized by a conflict between the Muslims and the Hindus which culminated in the separation of the country into two states, India and Pakistan.

4. Free India has adopted the Western ideals of liberty and parliamentary constitutional government.

5. The present rulers of India are Western-minded but they constitute a small minority of their people and their future is uncertain.

6. The partnership between the West and India is of critical importance in the context of the struggle for power between Russia and the Western world.

7. Relations between India and Great Britain are friendly now in spite of their long estrangement.

8. The western outlook and the Hindu outlook are very different from each other and the final resolution of the encounter between India and the West is yet to come.

9. Communism is alien to the Hindu spirit and will not find acceptance in India under normal circumstances.

10. The rising pressure of population on the means of subsistence is a critical factor that may make India vulnerable to Communism.
CHAPTER V

CRITICAL CONCEPTS OF A CULTURAL NATURE

The last two chapters reported, respectively, how critical
categories of a political nature and those concerning the historical
perspective of India were derived. This chapter describes how critical
categories of a cultural nature were derived.

The hypothesis of the writer was, as in the case of the derivation
of the political concepts, that a content analysis of the relevant
writings of selected Americans would yield critical concepts. Pro-
ceeding on the basis of this hypothesis, the writer selected the writings
of five authors and, on analysis, obtained eight critical concepts.

This chapter deals with,

1. The Selection of Authors and Their Writings.

1. The Selection of Authors and Their Writings.

The five Americans whose writings were used are: William O.
Douglas, Vincent Sheean, James A. Michener, Gardner Murphy, and Louis
Fischer. The criteria used for selection of authors are:

(a) Is he a prominent American citizen?

(b) Does he have a direct and intimate knowledge of India?
Has he visited India?

(c) Has he written about Indian culture and society?

(d) Does he have a broad, humane outlook?

These criteria are practically the same as the ones used for selecting
authors in connection with deriving the political concepts. (Chapter III.
The first and second criteria are self-explanatory. The third criterion is also self-explanatory, since the purpose of selecting authors and writings was to derive concepts of a cultural nature. The reader might notice, however, that this criterion is without any qualification in contrast to its counterpart used in selecting authors in connection with the derivation of the political concepts—in the latter case, the criterion was: "(c) Has he written about India concisely but comprehensively, not in a specialized manner? Is his writing suitable for analysis?" (see Page 25).

The third criterion had to be general without any qualification because of a practical reason: As the writer surveyed the field of American writings on India, he could not find any that treated Indian culture "concisely and comprehensively, not in a specialized manner" and that also satisfied the other three criteria. The writings of the five Americans selected deal with the subject of Indian culture partially, sometimes indirectly. Some of them deal with special problems of Indian culture such as the social tensions studied by Gardner Murphy or the philosophy and actions of Gandhi analyzed by Vincent Sheean. Sections of their books deal with Indian culture in general, however, and present important insights about it.

The fourth criterion requires an author to possess "a broad, humane outlook," for the writer believes that only individuals with such an outlook can fruitfully understand the problems of Indian society which is in the process of undergoing stupendous changes. Millions in India and Asia are struggling for a rebirth.
Douglas, Sheean, Michener, Murphy and Fischer are all men of good will, prominent American citizens with a broad, humane outlook. All of them have visited India within the last five years and observed and studied Indian society long enough to make considered judgments. Some of them have been to India more than once.

William O. Douglas's book *Strange Lands and Friendly People* contains a section on India which consists of four chapters. Three of them were used by the writer in connection with the derivation of political concepts. The remaining fourth chapter, "Jai Hind" was chosen for the purposes of the present analysis. Details about the author and the book were given in Chapter III. (See pages 50-51).

Vincent Sheean, born in 1899, a graduate of the University of Chicago, is well known as a writer and his works, numbering more than a dozen, include such books as "Personal History," "A Certain Rich Man," and "Not Peace But a Sword." He has traveled widely in Europe and Asia, serving as reporter and correspondent to leading American newspapers and magazines. His articles often deal with international matters.

Sheean's interest in India is extraordinary and, primarily, personal. It was Mahatma Gandhi's personality that awakened his deep interest in India, which continued after Gandhi's death. The writer had the privilege of being with Sheean for an afternoon last June and it was one of the memorable experiences the writer has had in the United States. It was unusually stimulating to talk to a person who was intimately associated with Gandhi, even though for a short period, who is a friend of Nehru and who had known personally
many famous men, including Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells.

Sheean's first visit to India in 1944 was a short one. He went then in the capacity of a soldier. But when he went again to India in January 1948, momentous experiences lay in store for him; and he took with him a mind and spirit that anticipated them. For a few months before Sheean's departure, he had had several dreams portending Gandhi's catastrophic end. Besides, he wanted "to see Gandhi and ask him some questions of a fundamental nature." He was in a mood of disillusionment, for he saw the United States becoming an arena of power politics rather than a constructive instrument for world peace.

He writes in the first page of his book, *Lead, Kindly Light*, "When we survey the ruin we have made of half the world, we cannot feel peace within, and, as we look to the path before us, we are chilled by the thought that there may be no peace ahead."

In January 1948, Sheean had two long, important conversations with Mahatma Gandhi, was on the scene when the latter was assassinated, went through some extraordinary experiences, and later wrote his book, *Lead, Kindly Light*, after a great deal of research about Indian culture and civilisation. The book is an analysis of Gandhi's philosophy and life coupled with a discussion of the Indian culture that produced him. The sections, "What Is the Blessing?" and "The Appeal to Spirit," almost wholly deal with Indian culture. These are the two sections that were chosen by the writer for purposes of analysis. It is generally agreed that Gandhi personified the significant aspects
of Indian culture and civilization as no other person did in the twenty-first century India. Hence, it is reasonable to expect to find significant conceptions of Indian culture in a book that primarily deals with the life and thought of Gandhi.

James A. Michener, a well known American author, was born in 1907. He did research work in several universities including Harvard and Ohio State. He has worked in the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, University of Siena, Italy and in the British Museum. He was the recipient of a Lippincott Travelling Fellowship during the period 1930-33. He was a professor in Colorado State College of Education from 1936 to 1941 and a visiting professor at Harvard in the latter year. Later he joined the United States Naval Reserve and it was during this period of active service that he gathered material for his Pulitzer-prize-winning "Tales of the South Pacific," 1947. Two of his later works of fiction are "The Fires of the Spring," 1949, and "Return to Paradise," 1951. While he was in the teaching profession, he edited "The Future of Social Studies" and authored "Unit in the Social Studies." They were published respectively in 1939 and 1940.

Michener's book, The Voice of Asia, published in 1951, bespeaks for his enormous interest in and concern for Asia. He says: "Asia is an absolutely crucial land. It is more than five times as large as the United States... It has almost nine times as many people... To ignore such a continent, wilfully to make it our implacable enemy, or

1 Published by the National Council for the Social Studies.
stupidly to misunderstand the forces that motivate its nations would
be extreme folly.²

The book deals with eleven Asian countries of which India is one.
Michener devotes as many as forty-five pages to India, greater space
than is given any other country. In his introduction to India, he
says:

India... is the best remaining link between the Western
world and the mainland of Asia. Every American who can
possibly do so should visit this great sub-continent...
If tomorrow I were directed to spend the rest of my life
overseas doing what I could do to help America, I would
not need a moment to choose. I would go to India, for
sound American-Indian relations could be the foundation
to our entire policy in Asia.

The entire section on India in The Voice of Asia was chosen by the
writer for the purposes of content analysis.

Gardner Murphy was born in 1895 in Ohio and was educated at Yale,
Harvard and Columbia Universities. He served as Professor of Psy-
chology in Columbia University and the City College of New York. Now
he is Director of Research, The Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas.
He has had a distinguished professional career, having served as
Chairman of the Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues in
1938, President of Eastern Psychological Association in 1941-42 and
later President of the American Psychological Association in 1943-44.
His many books include "Personality: A Biosocial Approach," "Histoir-
cal Introduction to Modern Psychology," and "Human Nature and Enduring

² James A. Michener, The Voice of Asia, p. 5.
³ Ibid., p. 172.

It is a report of "the study of human behavior and social tensions, conducted at the request of the Government of India."

In his Foreword to the book, Murphy says: "In 1949 the Ministry of Education, Government of India, asked UNESCO to make available to it a consultant who would spend six months in India organizing research teams to explore the reasons for social tensions. UNESCO sent me to India for this purpose in 1950." The book *In the Minds of Men* is "a nontechnical report of my impressions regarding the many constructive forces working for national unity."

The book consists of four main sections: I. An International "Tensions Project;" II. Sources of Solidarity and Cleavage in Indian Life and History; III. Social Tensions in Today's India; and IV. Prospects of Social Health. Of these, the first section is an introduction to the research project, while the third section is the report of the research findings. Both of them are not relevant to the purpose of the writer's content analysis which is to derive critical concepts about the culture of India. The second section, however, which deals with the historical background and present status of Indian society, has two chapters entitled, "Village Life as a Source of Security and Solidarity" and "The Rise of Tensions." These were chosen by the writer for purposes of content analysis. Also portions of the chapter "India's Ways of Solving Her Problems" in the fourth section were considered.

4 Gardner Murphy, *In the Minds of Men*, p. xiii.

5 Ibid.
Louis Fischer, born in 1896, was a public school teacher for a year. In 1922 he made his first trip to Russia. Since then he has specialized in the study of the Soviet Union and of European politics. Since 1936 he has traveled extensively in Spain and studied Spanish politics. A few of his well-known books are: "The Soviets in World Affairs," "Men and Politics," and "The War in Spain."


While the central theme of the book, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi,* is, as the title indicates, the life and development of Gandhi, still it has much to say on the culture of India. No specific chapter, however, could be selected by the writer for purposes of content analysis. References to Fischer will be made only in order to substantiate further the critical concepts derived from the other four authors.

Thus, the foregoing paragraphs have described the five authors and their writings selected by the writer for purposes of content analysis with a view to derive critical concepts of a cultural nature. The essential details about the authors and their writings are given in Table II on page 86.

2. **The Analysis and the Resultant Critical Concepts.**

The method and technique of analysis used were the same as those used in the case of the development of political concepts reported in Chapter III. In essence, they consisted in several careful readings of the selected chapters or sections and systematic identification of
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the critical concepts by use of cards. An elaborate discussion is to be found on pages 32-34 in Chapter III.

In the following paragraphs the writer presents the critical concepts derived from the writings of the five authors.

**William D. Douglas**

In the chapter called, "Jai Hind" (which means "Glory to India"), Douglas describes the celebration of a Hindu festival in Almora, a town near the Himalayas. He describes religious sacrifices and community festivities. In the latter part of the chapter, Douglas recounts his conversation with Boshí Sen, a noted Indian scientist and his wife, Gertrude Emerson Sen.

Two concepts about India seem to stand out in the chapter:

1. **Religion is an important part of Indian life, which has a spiritual vitality.**

   Douglas speaks of, "The spiritual strength of India," and quotes Boshí Sen as saying, "There is no power on earth that can destroy India. At no time in history has India been without her great spiritual giants; it is from them that she derives her enduring strength."

   Speaking of Hinduism, Fischer says, "Hinduism is more than a doctrine and more than a religion. Certainly, it is not a one-day-a-week religion. It invades homes, farms, schools, and shops. It is a way of life which meshes with the mythological prehistory, the history, the economy, the geography, and the ethnography of India. In India, religion is the sum total of the national experience."
Sheean says in his chapter, "What is the Blessing?", the following:
"What is distinctive in the broad mass of the Hindu people, as compared to all other great divisions of humanity, is the unquestioning (and largely unthinking) acceptance of transcendental reality in the common consciousness.... The universality of the spirit, the participation of each person in it, the transmigration of souls, the ultimate 'realization of God' (in the mystical sense) as a possibility for every man born—all these ideas, which are philosophical or religious in the West, are part of the most intimate mind of the most ordinary Hindu."

2. The Hindu religion is not a fanatic faith; it is tolerant and hospitable to other religions.

Douglas says, "Hinduism is not a fanatic faith; it has a charity that is comprehensive.... It teaches that God's scheme embraces the whole human race."

Writing under the title, "Hinduism and Religious Toleration," Gardner Murphy says, ".....it has never been a proselytising religion, and it has never shown any disposition to doctrinal intolerance of the faith of other men. Religious minorities are not, as such, subject to majority pressure; minority groups need not as such be suspect, or receive bad treatment."

Vincent Sheean

In the section entitled, "The Appeal to Spirit," Sheean analyses the teaching of Gandhi, which, according to him, "falls into two distinct categories, that which concerns all men and that which concerns the special condition of India in the twentieth century." The spinning
wheel, for instance, was "a leap of creative genius," serving many purposes at once, "helping to clothe the nakedness of the poor—which was its original object—and at the same time serving mightily as an instrument in the struggle for freedom against a foreign government."

What part of Gandhi's teaching "concerns all men?" Sheean says, "I believe that Gandhi's supreme invention, discovery or creation was satyagraha. Whether we translate this word as soul-force or as truth-force, as 'the firmness of truth' or 'the resolution of the soul,' we know now what it means. It consists of voluntary sacrifice for the truth. It is one of these ideas which appear on earth with the utmost rarity, and I am unable to discover any precedent or parallel to it in the whole of history."

The concept may be described as follows: *Gandhi's unique invention was his method of non-violent resistance or civil disobedience, called "satyagraha." This idea is important not only to India but also for the world.*

**James Michener**

The section on India in Michener's book, *The Voice of Asia*, consists of thirteen interviews with Indian nationals of varied sorts. "In the thirteen interviews that follow," says Michener in his introduction, "I have barely brushed the infinity that is India, but I have indicated some of the major problems."

The first three interviews were with three outstanding legislators who discussed with Michener the merits of the Hindu Cede Bill, "which if it becomes law will revolutionize Indian life." The bill forbids
polygamy, legalizes divorce, and proposes that daughters should be eligible to inherit money and land from their fathers.

Dr. Ambedkar, the first interviewee, is passionately for the bill and says, "We are building a new society here, and we are doing it with justice and law." Mr. Ayyangar, who violently opposes the bill, points to the importance of joint family.

The critical concept may be described as follows: Indian society is now undergoing important changes.

The third interviewee, Mrs. Renuka Ray, who is an outstanding woman leader in India, points out that the Hindu Code Bill would bring many rights to Indian women. The report of Michener's talk with Mrs. Ray is entitled, "The Defense of the New Woman."

The following interview described under the title, "Marriage for Love," is the story of a young girl named, Aruna Banerjee, who married for love against the wishes of her parents. This is extraordinary in Indian society. Michener says, "There are thousands of Indians like Aruna Banerjee who have fought individual battles for freedom. Some of them hold Cabinet positions in the Government. Others are in Parliament. Many are learned specialists in business, law, medicine and education. Increasing numbers of them do as Aruna did. They find a man they love and marry him."

Thus, the critical concept may be described as follows: Woman are becoming more important and independent.

The next interview is reported under the title, "Breaking the
Caste System." The caste was a strong factor in Indian society. Michener says, "Caste determined everything. You were born into the caste of your father and you could never leave it. Your caste settled all problems for you."

The caste system is now breaking down, however. For instance, Jibon Banerjee and his wife, Ana Banerjee are from different castes. Such an inter-caste marriage would have been impossible some years ago.

Writing under the sub-title, "The Caste System Secures a Place for Everyone," Gardner Murphy says this about the origin of the caste system: "The caste situation has never been completely rigid. It represents a historically moving scene based originally upon the social class distinction within the conquering Aryan group and upon the differentiation of occupation or function, among the conquerors, among the conquered, and among that later hierarchical structure in which conquerors and conquered were integrated."

The critical concept regarding castes in India may be stated as follows: The caste system, an age old Hindu institution, started originally as a practical arrangement of society and gave position and security to every person. Later it became a social evil. It is breaking down.

The rest of Michener's chapter on India deals with the food problem, the refugee problem, and the like. These problems have either been considered earlier or are of too specialized a nature to be considered here.
One problem that Murphy deals with in his chapter, "The Rise of Tensions," has not been dealt with in the writings of Douglas, Sheean, or Michener. This is in regard to the many languages of India.

Murphy says, "Over a dozen major languages besides English are spoken in India today. They have their own folklore and literature, and these have great value to those who share them. But they tend to cause isolation, and, at times, suspicion based on failure of communication." Later Murphy points out that Hindustani is sometimes called, "The common language" or "lingua franca." The Constitution of India says that Hindi is to become the national language.

The concept may be described thus: India has twelve major languages and they are a problem in the unification of India. Hindi is the most common language.

Summary of Critical Concepts

The following are the seven critical concepts derived from the writings of William O. Douglas, Vincent Sheean, James Michener, Gardner Murphy and Louis Fischer:

1. Religion is an important part of Indian life, which has a spiritual vitality.

2. The Hindu religion is not a fanatic faith; it is tolerant and hospitable to other religions.

3. Gandhi's unique invention was his method of non-violent resistance or civil disobedience, called "satyagraha." This idea
is important not only to India but also for the world.

4. Indian society is now undergoing important changes.

5. Women are becoming more important and independent.

6. The caste system, an age old Hindu institution, started originally as a practical arrangement of society and gave position and security to every person. Later it became a social evil. It is breaking down.

7. India has twelve major languages and they are a problem in the unification of India. Hindi is the most common language.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND FURTHER VALIDATION OF THE CRITICAL CONCEPTS

The last three chapters have reported the content analyses of the writings of Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson, David Lilienthal, William O. Douglas, Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Cousins, Vincent Sheean, Gardner Murphy, James Michener, Louis Fischer and Arnold Toynbee. As a result of these analyses, critical concepts of a historical, political and cultural nature were developed.

This chapter first presents and organizes the concepts thus developed. Next, it cites references from outstanding Indian authorities such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Madam Pandit and others, in order to validate the critical concepts further.

In summarizing the concepts, duplications were avoided and modifications of the concept statements were made whenever necessary in order that the essential aspects of different statements of the same concept were included. These were easy enough. The difficulty was in regard to the ordering of the concepts in meaningful sequence.

Toynbee's chapter on India deals with the historical and political aspects of India and ten critical concepts had been developed therefrom. It seemed proper to begin with the historical concepts and move further on to political, economic, and cultural concepts. Such a procedure led to a total of thirty critical concepts. They are as follows:

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1. The outstanding event in the last five-hundred years of world history is the "encounter between the West and the rest of the world." India experienced this encounter with the West.

2. India, unlike the other parts of the world such as the Middle East or the Far East, was conquered and ruled for nearly two-hundred years; the encounter between India and the West was the most painful and humiliating of all.

3. Indians have vivid memories of their bitter struggle with colonialism and are proud of their newly won independence.

4. The modern history of India and Pakistan is characterized by a conflict between Hindus and Muslims which culminated in the separation of the country into two states, India and Pakistan.

5. The conflict between India and Pakistan still continues, Kashmir being the outstanding issue.

6. The constitution of India accepts the principle of the separation of state and religion.

7. Free India has a democratic system of government. She has adopted the Western ideals of liberty and parliamentary procedures.

8. The present rulers of India are Western-educated but they are only a small minority of their people and their future is uncertain.

9. The Western outlook and the Indian outlook are different from each other and the final resolution of the encounter between India and the West is yet to come.

10. Relations between India and Britain are friendly today in spite of their long enmity; India is a member of the British Commonwealth.
11. The partnership between the West and India is very important considering the struggle between Russia and the Western world; the political future of India is of decisive importance to the United States and the free world.

12. Democratic India and Communist China, the two largest nations of Asia, are engaged in an ideological competition in their efforts to bring about economic reconstruction.

13. Nehru, educated in the West and devoted to democratic ideals, symbolizes India and is the most popular spokesman of the people.

14. Communism is alien to the Hindu spirit and will not find acceptance in India under normal circumstances. Lack of economic progress, however, may make the people accept Communism.

15. The huge and rising population is a major problem in India. The increasing population pressure on the means of subsistence may make India vulnerable to Communism.

16. Food shortage has been a major problem for a long time and drastic measures are being taken to make India self-sufficient in food.

17. Land reform is very essential for development in India. It is a problem facing India as well as other Asian countries.

18. Dearth of capital is a major obstacle to economic reconstruction; foreign aid will be useful.

19. India is "poverty-stricken but not poor;" she has enormous natural resources that can be developed.
20. An overwhelmingly large portion of the Indian people live in villages. The village is the basic unit of Indian life where any economic reform should begin.

21. Religion is an important part of Indian culture which has a basic spiritual vitality.

22. The Hindu religion, with all its complex philosophies, symbols, beliefs and superstitions, is not a fanatic faith; it is tolerant and hospitable to other religions.

23. Gandhi, before his death in 1948, was the greatest power in India and his ideas still continue to have great influence on his people.

24. Gandhi's unique invention was his method of non-violent resistance or civil disobedience, called "satyagraha." This idea is important not only to India but also for the world.

25. The caste system, an age old Hindu institution, started originally as a practical arrangement of society and gave position and security to every person. Later it became a social evil. It is breaking down.

26. Indian society is now undergoing important changes; for instance, the joint family system is disappearing.

27. Women are becoming more important and independent.

28. India has twelve major languages and they are a problem in the unification of India. Hindi is the most common language.

29. A large portion of the Indian people are illiterate; they have knowledge and intelligence, however,
Indians have colored skins. Because of their bitter experience with the men of the West, they are color-conscious.

The above thirty concepts, then, are the fruit of the content analysis of the writings of ten American authors and a Western historian.

As the reader may recall, the hypothesis that led to such an analysis was that a content analysis of the relevant writings of selected American or Western authors would yield critical concepts about India. Was the hypothesis validated? The outcome of the analysis in the form of the above thirty concepts is one validation. The writer has what Gordon Allport calls "feelings of subjective certainty" about the soundness and significance of the concepts and therefore of the validity of his hypothesis.

In his stimulating monograph called, The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science, Allport discusses the criteria for the validating of a social theory or hypothesis and gives a list of six:

1. Feelings of subjective certainty,
2. Conformity with known facts,
3. Mental experimentation,
4. Predictive power,
5. Social agreement, and
6. Internal consistency.¹

As the writer was considering the substantiation of his hypothesis through the validation of the thirty critical concepts, it was suggested to him that he might seek agreement from Indian authorities. This suggestion is related to Allport's fifth criterion.

¹ Gordon Allport, The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science, pp. 170-1.
namely, "Social agreement." Describing this criterion, Allport says: "If many people, especially if experts, accept an explanation or conceptualization, it may be said to have the presumption of validity."²

It was true that the professors with whom the writer worked as well as ten high school teachers who had occasion to see the thirty concepts felt that they were sound and significant. This was a certain measure of "social agreement." However, it was thought that an additional confirmation by Indian authorities and leaders would increase the validity of the concepts. For the purposes of the present study, an elaborate and systematic procedure such as sending questionnaires was not considered necessary. A less formal validation by references to the writings or speeches of qualified men in India was considered sufficient.

In the following, the reader will find documentation from such persons as Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India; Madame Pandit; an outstanding Indian leader currently president of the United Nations General Assembly; Mahatma Gandhi; Dr. Radhakrishnan, the outstanding Indian philosopher and educator now the Vice-President of India; and others. Also, such official documents as the Constitution of India and the National Planning Commissions Five Year Plan are used.²

Concepts I, II, III. Encounter Between the West and India. The Continent and Rule of India. Struggle with Colonialism and Nevy Van Independence.

² Ibid., p. 171.

* For the sake of brevity, the writer shall use a phrase to indicate a concept rather than repeat the entire concept statement given earlier.
The following excerpt from Nehru's conversation with Lilienthal is expressive of the above historical concepts:

At the time of the Middle Ages, and even later during the Renaissance in Europe, Asia was a sophisticated land. Everywhere there were great visible evidences of power and glory in the ways of life,... But Asia was actually decadent,... The energy and enterprise had gone out of Asia. But in Europe at that time there were great marks of vitality, a sense of adventure, a dynamic spirit. The reasons were not always good ones—the lust for gold, for trade—but there were energy and enterprise nonetheless. Europe’s energy drove her to India, to China, to all parts of Asia where men traded,....

When England took control of India, she took steps to break up India’s ties with other parts of Asia, as well as to develop antagonisms within India. Europe used the industrial revolution further to insulate the parts of Asia, to make Asia dependent upon Europe. India was prevented from importing machinery, making her dependent upon England for manufactured goods;....

Now independence has finally come for India. An upsurge of independence, of nationalism, has swept China, Burma, Indochina and elsewhere,... there is a common memory. The memory, shared by India and China of domination by outside powers, of long domination and rule and exploitation by Europeans, their traders and their troops.  


These two concepts are best documented by history. In 1947, the country was divided and India and Pakistan became two dominions. The Kashmir conflict began in the same year. Concerning Indo-Pakistan relations, the Hindustan Year Book 1952, the Indian counterpart of the World Almanac, says: "The Indo-Pakistani relations continued to remain unchanged. The situation did not improve and the

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3 David Lilienthal, "Are We Losing India?", Colliers, June 23, 1951, p. 42.
main problems that faced these countries are the Kashmir problem, the evacuee property, the exchange system, the permit system, and the Indo-Pakistan trade. The Kashmir issue forms the main bone of contention and all other issues are mere subsidiary to that main stumbling block.4

Concept VI. Separation of State and Religion.

Under the section "Fundamental Rights," the Constitution of India lists seven rights, of which "Religious Freedom" is one. The description of religious freedom reads: "Subject only to public order, morality, health and some other essential provisions, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to profess, practice and propagate religion freely."

Concept VII. Adoption of the Democratic Ideals of the West.

The Preamble of the Constitution of India reads:

"WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic, political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and opportunity;

and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and unity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION."

The seven "Rights to Freedom" listed in the Constitution are:

Freedom of speech and expression; the right to assemble peaceably; the right to form associations or unions; the right to move freely

4 Hindustan Year Book, (Calcutta, 1952) p. 496.
about the country; the right to choose one's place of residence, the
right to possess property; and the right to practice any profession
or occupation.

Concept VIII. Present Western-educated Leadership.

Prime Minister Nehru went to Winston Churchill's old school,
Harrow and then to Cambridge, England. Dr. Ambedkar, who was the Law
Minister at the Central Government, and who was chiefly responsible to
the drafting of the Indian Constitution, went to school at Columbia
University, New York. The outstanding and popular Socialist leader,
Jaiprakash Narain, went to Wisconsin and Ohio State Universities. That
these men and others like them constitute a small minority is apparent,
if we consider the fact that even now only 20 per cent of the people
are literate.

Concept IX. The Difference Between Indian Outlook and Western
Outlook.

That the two outlooks are different and that Western-educated
Indians have experienced the difference and have become interesting
mixtures of the two are well illustrated by the following words of
Nehru: "I have become a queer mixture of the East and the West. Out
of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thoughts and approach
to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but
India clings to me,....I am a stranger and alien in the West. I
cannot be of it. But in my own country also, sometimes I have an
exile's feeling."5

Concept I. Friendly Relations Between India and Great Britain.

This concept is best documented by facts. After a long fight against Britain, India voluntarily decided to retain Lord Mountbatten as Governor General when she became a dominion. Also independent India has become a member of the British Commonwealth, now called the Commonwealth of Nations.

Concept XI. Partnership Between India and the West is Important.

This concept expresses the judgment of Americans or Westerners and by its nature cannot be validated by the judgment of Indians.

Concept XII. Ideological Competition Between India and China.

Jai Prakash Narain, the leader of the Socialist Party of India, who is considered to be a possible successor to Nehru, recently said in a letter to the latter: “China and India are the two countries in Asia to which all Asia and Africa are looking. If India fails to present anything but a pale picture of a welfare state....I am afraid the appeal of China would become irresistible and that would affect the lives of millions and change the course of history disastrously.”

Concept XIII. Nehru, the Popular Leader of the People.

Referring to Nehru, Gandhi often said, “Jawaharlal is my political heir.” Now he is the popularly elected Prime Minister of the nation. In the last general elections, Nehru’s party captured 364 out of a total of 420 seats in the House of the People. Bowles says, “Jawaharlal Nehru is the politics of India.” He is deeply devoted to democratic ideals and this can be illustrated abundantly from his

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speeches. For instance, in his address to the United States Congress during his visit to this country in 1950, he said: "When freedom is menaced or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral."  

**Concept XIV. Communism Opposed to Hindu Religion.**

Mahatma Gandhi, a devout Hindu wedded to the doctrine of non-violence, once read Karl Marx's *Capital* and remarked, "The remedy Marx suggests for mass poverty is worse than the disease." C. Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister of the State of Madras and the last Governor General of India, said that he was opposed to Communism "from A to Z." He is a Hindu philosopher and writer.

**Concept XIV. Population Pressure.**

R. A. Gopalaswami, the Indian Census Commissioner says: "Every married couple can have a maximum of three children without creating a national problem....we should realize that it is improvident on our part to permit ourselves to increase in numbers indefinitely without taking thought of how our children are to live."  

The National Planning Commission's Five Year Plan has a section on Family Planning. "There is insufficient awareness among the people of the need for family planning. Family planning is a vital step in economic and social planning."  

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8 *Time*, November 23, 1953, p. 36. 

Concept XVI. Food Shortage and Measures Taken to Improve.

Without giving elaborate statistics, the writer shall give an excerpt from a recent conversation between Prime Minister Nehru and Norman Cousins. Asked to review "the principal steps that have been taken...to improve conditions in India," Nehru said in his reply, "...Most heartening of all, I think, is the improvement in our food situation. I can't say we have solved the food problem, but we have gone much further than we thought we could go."10

Concept XVII. Need for Land Reform.

Gandhi realized the immense importance of land reform. He thought that after independence the burden of the peasants must be entirely removed. He said, "Their final step will be to seize the land." The Five Year Plan lays great stress on the need for "Agrarian Reform." It contains several sections dealing with the land and agricultural problems.11 During the last general elections, all the political parties said that they were in favor of land reform.

Concept XVIII. Dearth of Capital As Obstacle to Economic Development.

The National Planning Commission's Five Year Plan stresses the importance of foreign capital. "The free flow of foreign capital.... should naturally be welcomed, particularly because it would ensure

10 *Saturday Review*, December 12, 1953, p. 63.

the supply of capital goods and technical know-how to make it possible to utilize foreign patented processes.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Concept XIX. Poverty-stricken But Enormous Resources.}

That the standards of living of an average Indian is low is common knowledge. The average annual consumption of manufactured goods in India is about $3,00 per person compared with $250.00 per person in the United States. However, India has vast natural resources. There is a tremendous hydro-electric power potential of which only one and a half per cent has been harnessed. India is the largest producer of mica, contributing about 70 per cent of the world output. She also has the biggest reserves of Manganese ore in the world.

\textbf{Concept XIX. Most People Live in Villages.}

Ninety per cent of the Indian people live in small villages. The Gandhian Constructive Program and the present Community Development Plan aim to improve the Indian village. New community centers are being established. About them Nehru says,

\ldots these community centers represent for us a new approach to the old problem, and I think a very hopeful one\ldots. In the first years we started fifty-five such developments. Each center comprises\ldots some three-hundred villages, divided up into blocks of a hundred\ldots. And in the course of five years we should really cover about a third of India.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Concept XXI, XXII. Religion Important Part of Indian Culture. Hindunism a Tolerant Religion.}

Religion in its essential form is an important part of Indian

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[Ibid., pp. 10-11.]
\item[Saturday Review, Op. cit., pp. 63, 64.]
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
life. In his conversation with an American author, Radhakrishnan says, "India does not bother much about the historical formulations and denominational expressions of religion which are merely guides to adventure and experience on the spiritual plane. India holds that to pass from word to vision is each individual's personal adventure. Gandhi who symbolized the spirit of Indian religion more than anyone in recent history said, "My motive has been purely religious."

The tolerant aspect of Hindu religion is described in the following words of Radhakrishnan:

India has stood for a spiritual as distinct from a dogmatic approach to religion. When our country is said to be secular it does not mean that we lay stress on material comforts, worldly interest, knowledge, and power. We make out rather that we stand for a religion which is deeply spiritual and not narrowly dogmatic. A practical demonstration of this view of life is to be found in our country where so many types of religious expression flourish side by side.15


On the night of Gandhi's assassination Nehru said, "The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere.....the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light."16

Gandhi's unique contribution to Indian life was the development of "satyagraha" or non-violent resistance. He said, "Non-violence

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14 Nancy Ross, "Talks With India's Vice-President," The Atlantic, October, 1953, p. 111.

15 Ibid.

is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. If India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory, but then India will cease to be the pride of my heart."17


The following quotation from Nehru's *Discovery of India* is expressive of the above concepts:

The caste system does not stand by itself; it is a part, and an important part, of a much larger scheme of social organization. It may be possible to remove some of its obvious abuses and to lessen its rigidity, and yet to leave the system intact. But that is highly unlikely as the social and economic forces at play are not much concerned with this superstructure; they are attacking it at the base and undermining the other supports which held it up. Indeed much of the support is already gone or is rapidly going, and more and more the caste system is left stranded by itself. Changes are taking place in spite of our likes and dislikes. But it is certainly in our power to mould these changes and direct them, so that we can take full advantage of the character and genius of the Indian people as a whole, which have been so evident in the cohesiveness and stability of the social organization they built up.18

About the joint family system, Nehru says: "The joint family system is rapidly breaking up in India and individualistic attitudes are developing, leading not only to far-reaching changes in the economic background of life but also to new problems of behavior."19

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17 Ibid., p. 194.
18 Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 20.
19 Ibid., p. 209.
Concept XXVII. Growing Importance of Women.

Madam Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit is an outstanding leader of India, has been India’s ambassador to Russia and the United States, and is now the president of the United Nations General Assembly. Rajkumari Amritkaur is Health Minister on the Central Cabinet and many women, less well known, are participating in the national life.

Concept XXVIII. Twelve Major Languages.

The Constitution of India recognizes the use of fourteen languages, namely, Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Karnataka, Kashmir, Malayalam, Marathi, Punjabi, Oriya, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Of these, Sanskrit is not a spoken language, and Kashmir is the language spoken in the disputed territory called by the same name.

Concept XXIX. Illiteracy But Native Intelligence.

According to official figures, in 1949 18 per cent of the people were literate. The large numbers of the illiterate villagers, however, possess intelligence and knowledge. Talking about the mind of the illiterate peasant, Nehru says:

Often I was often surprised by ..... some literary turn given by a group of villagers to a simple talk about present-day affairs. If my mind was full of pictures from recorded history or more-or-less ascertained fact, I realized that even the illiterate peasant had a picture gallery in his mind, though this was largely drawn from myth and tradition and epic heroes and heroines, and only very little from history. 20

Concept XXX. Color-consciousness.

This concept is best substantiated by the writings of Americans on India, as shown by the writer earlier. (See Chapter XII, page 52)

20 Ibid., p. 45.
As was noted earlier, the above references to Indian writers and authoritative individuals are not wholly systematic. However, they have served the purpose of confirming the validity of the critical concepts.

This chapter and the last three chapters have reported how the critical concepts about India which were used in this study were obtained. The following four chapters will show how they were used in discovering how American students conceptualize India.
CHAPTER VII

THE NATURE OF CONCEPTUALIZING AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

In describing the Study Design (pages 22-23) the writer said that the second major purpose of the study was to discover how selected groups of American high school students conceptualize India, the first major purpose being to determine the "critical concepts" about India. This and the following three chapters deal with the problem of constructing the questionnaire and its administration to selected student groups and the analysis and implications of the data secured.

Ever since the writer identified the present research problem and long before he formulated it as described in pages 15-22, the word conceptualize has been a part of the statement of the problem. Needless to say, it is a key word so far as this study is concerned. Hence it became important for the writer to assume, for the purposes of this study, a certain connotation of the word. A clear understanding of the act of conceptualizing became essential for the construction of a sound questionnaire whose purpose it is to discover how students "conceptualize" India.

This chapter is, in the main, an interpretive report of the writer's survey of studies and writings relevant to the problem of concepts and conceptualizing. At the end, the writer indicates some practical implications for the construction of the questionnaire.
Even a cursory survey of the field was sufficient for the writer to realize that not much of a consensual or conclusive nature has been said on conceptualizing. He is now reminded of his conversation with a senior professor on the campus who warned him against being fooled by studies and writings whose titles contained any variation of the word concept but which really failed to reach the heart of the problem. He flatly declared that he could think of only two or three books that might be helpful, Dewey's *How We Think* being one of them.

The writer is also reminded of another episode: The Bulletin of the Reading Clinic, Department of Psychology, Temple University, carried a reference to a doctoral study called, "An Experimental Study of Conceptual Development" guided collectively by three professors of psychology. When the writer hopefully wrote for help, the author of the study, now a superintendent of schools in New Jersey replied, "My work on concept development was interrupted by other matters several years ago. In fact, interruption was welcome, because the whole field is so little explored that I could find nothing specific or detailed—much less statistically significant—to use as a point of departure." Then he added dryly, "At present, it seems that everyone is sure that there are concepts and that they develop in some expanding and sequential manner. But no one has validated this assumption. Perhaps concepts and their development are mere concepts with no more substantiation than concepts of the mind, the soul, and immortality."
The writer, however, must face the problem and on the strength of whatever light he may gain on the subject he must develop his questionnaire. The following pages of this chapter report on his survey of the writings and studies about conceptualizing under the following headings:

1. The Philosophical Tradition on Concepts.
2. Psychological Studies in Concept Formation.
3. The Transactional Approach and Conceptualizing.
4. Implications for the Construction of the Questionnaire.

1. The Philosophical Tradition.

Locke and Berkeley are known for their antithetical positions regarding concepts. To Locke, concepts are "general ideas" or "abstract ideas" as contrasted with "particular ideas." He says:

The mind makes the particular ideas received from particular objects to become general; which is done by considering them as they are in the mind, such appearances, separate from all other existences, and the circumstances of real existence, as time, place, or any other concomitant ideas. This is called abstraction, whereby ideas taken from particular beings become general representatives of all of the same kind and their names general names, applicable to whatever exists conformable to such abstract ideas.¹

According to Locke, "mind" is originally a "white paper void of all characters, without any ideas." This mind is "furnished" with "simple ideas" by perception. When it reflects upon these simple ideas or particular ideas, it arrives at generalizations and concepts.

Man cannot form general ideas, according to Berkeley. He held that "the individual has no power to abstract a so-called common element from many situations and thus build up a general idea. An idea must always be a particular idea." Allowing that there is some form of abstraction he adds:

"I own myself able to abstract in one sense, as when I consider some particular parts or qualities separated from others, with which they are united in some object, yet it is possible they may really exist without them. But I deny that I can abstract one from another, or conceive separately, those qualities which it is impossible should exist separated; or that I can frame a general notion by abstracting from particulars in the manner aforesaid."

In another passage, quoted often in philosophical literature, Berkeley gives eloquent expression to what William James calls "sense verations" against "abstract ideas":

"we are told, the mind being able to consider each quality singly, or abstracted from those other qualities with which it is united, does by that means frame to itself abstract ideas. After this manner, it is said, we come by the abstract idea of man, or, if you please, humanity, or human nature; wherein it is true there is included color, because there is no man but has some color; but then it can be neither white, nor black, nor any particular color, because there is no one particular color wherein all men partake. So likewise there is included stature, but then it is neither tall stature nor low stature, nor yet middle stature, but something abstracted from all these. And so of the rest. Whether others have this wonderful faculty of abstracting their ideas, they can best tell; for myself, I find indeed I have a faculty of imagining or representing to myself the ideas of those particular things I have perceived and of variously compounding and dividing them. I can consider the hand, the eye, the nose, each by itself."

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abstracted or separated from the rest of the body. 
But then, whatever hand or eye I can imagine, it 
must have some particular shape or color. Likewise 
the idea of man that I frame to myself must either 
be of a white, or a black, or a tawny, a straight, 
or a crooked, a tall, or a low, or a middle-sized 
man. I cannot by any effort of thought conceive 
the abstract idea above described. 3

In his Principles of Psychology, William James quotes the above 
passage and makes this comment: "The note, so bravely struck by 
Berkeley, could not, however, be well sustained in face of the fact 
patent to every human being that we can mean color without meaning 
any particular color, and stature without meaning any particular 
height." 4 According to William James, "The intellectual life of man 
consists almost wholly in his substitution of a conceptual order for 
the perceptual order in which his experiences originally come....." 5 
He stresses the importance of concepts for progress in civilization 
and says, "Not new sensations, as in the empirical instance, but new 
conceptions are the indispensable conditions of advance." 6

In his chapter on Conception, William James refers to "two kinds 
of knowledge of things, bare acquaintance with them and knowledge about 
them." Two such knowledges are made possible because of what he calls, 

3 Ibid., Paragraphs 10, 14.


5 William James, The Philosophy of William James, p. 77.

"The principle of constancy in the mind's meanings." "The mind can always intend, and know when it intends, to think of the same." "This sense of sameness," William James declares, "is the very keel and backbone of our thinking." Concepts are possible because of our capacity for the sense of sameness. James says expressively, "In this sense, creatures extremely low in the intellectual scale may have conception. All that is required is that they should recognize the same experience again. A polyp would be a conceptual thinker if a feeling of 'Hello! thingumbob again!' ever flitted through its mind."

William James' position gives support to the "common element" theory of concept formation. Describing James' approach to the science of Psychology as "physiological," H. Gordon Hullfish concludes in the course of a discussion of concepts in his study, Some Aspects of Thorndike's Psychology in Their Relation to Educational Psychology and Practice: "The physiological explanation (of William James) apparently gives a solid basis for the 'common element'." 8

It is an easy transition to make from the philosophical writings of Locke, Berkeley and James to the controlled psychological experiments of investigators like Hull, Snell and Heidbreder because these experiments are influenced by the common element theory of concepts.

2. Psychological Experiments in Concept Formation.

Woodworth gives a summary account of the outstanding studies under

7 Ibid., p. 463.

8 H. Gordon Hullfish, Some Aspects of Thorndike's Psychology in Their Relation to Educational Psychology and Practice, p. 58.
the title "Induction or Concept Formation." The title itself is suggestive of the general theoretical orientation according to which concepts are formed when "the features common to a class of object summate their impressions on the observer, who thus gradually acquires a picture in which the common features stand out strongly while the variable characteristics are washed out." This is also described as the "composite photograph" theory of concept formation.

Hull's experiment (1920) uses an "objective" technique. The author finds previous studies dealing with the problem of generalizing abstraction "largely introspective in method, analytic in purpose and qualitative in result." His study is an attempt to develop an objective technique and apply it to "a number of the characteristic quantitative problems concerned with the evolution of concepts." The title of his study is, "Quantitative Aspects of the Evolution of Concepts - An Experimental Study."

In Hull's experiment, Chinese characters were paired with nonsense names and the subject learned to respond by the assigned name on seeing each character. These characters are compounds of smaller figures known as radicals. The same radical, varying in size and position, is contained in many compound characters. The characters were written on separate cards and packs of cards were made. With the help of an exposure apparatus, the cards in each pack were shown serially, and in the middle of the five second exposure of any character, the experimenter spoke its name and the subject repeated. The series were

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repeated until the subject had learned all the names. Then the next pack of cards was used. The subject was told that the same names would be used and that he might "guess" the names the first time around. The order of radicals was different in each new pack. Gradually the subject grew in his ability to recognize new members of a class and this was due in part to his spontaneous efforts to analyze the figures and discover the characteristic mark of each class.

Hull conducted several specific experiments with the purpose of testing specific hypotheses. Some of his findings are: (1) "evolving concepts by proceeding from the simple to the complex in the evolution series yields a substantial advantage over proceeding from the complex to the simple"; (2) "during the evolution of concepts, mildly attracting attention to the common element in situ considerably increases the efficiency of the process"; and (3) "the individual concepts usually come into consciousness very gradually—erroneous first impressions are either discarded or transmuted into the correct form by a continuous development; trial and error plays, if not a dominating, at least a very great role in the process." The subjects used were students in the University of Wisconsin who, according to Hull, "ordinarily regarded their work as a kind of memory experiment and were mainly interested in making good scores."

Another interesting experiment was made by Smoke in 1932 at The Ohio State University. Smoke, too, was concerned with an "objective"

11 Ibid., pp. 84-5.
approach to the problem. His study is entitled, "An Objective Study of Concept Formation." He says, "The recognition of the problem of concept formation gets back at least as far as Plato. However, men have for the most part followed this philosopher in placing the problem outside the sphere of natural science, thereby making it possible to talk at length without the danger of being opposed by a recalcitrant fact."\(^{12}\) Smoke considers his work as "a natural science attack" upon concept formation.

The expression "concept formation" is defined by Smoke in the following manner: "By 'concept formation,' 'generalization,' or 'concept learning' we refer to the process whereby an organism develops a symbolic response (usually, but not necessarily, linguistic) which is made to the members of a class of stimulus patterns but not to other stimuli.\(^{13}\) He finds Hull's "common element" view of concept formation unsound and unacceptable and maintains that the response is not to the common elements but to the common relations which are present in each member of a group of stimulus patterns. A further clarification of the matter may be best given in Smoke's own words:

At the present time no one can tell exactly what it means to have a concept in the biophysical sense. That is to say, the neuro-muscular and neuro-gludular events that occur in the formation of any given concept are unknown. But it is possible to set up bio-social criteria which, somewhat arbitrary, are socially and statistically justifiable. In this study, for example, we count the subject as having learned a concept if he is able to go faultlessly through a test series of sixteen stimulus patterns, some of which do not. Let us suppose that the concept is 'sun'.


\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 8.
and may be defined thus: 'three straight red lines, two of which intersect the third, thereby trisecting it.' When the subject has indicated his belief that he knows what a 'sum' is, he is asked to go through a series of sixteen drawings (stimulus patterns) some of which are 'sums' and some of which are not, writing 'Yes' after the number of each drawing that is a 'sum', and 'No' after the number of each drawing that is not a 'sum'. If no mistakes are made, we regard the subject as having learned the concept in question.

The foregoing discussion seems to us to be devoid of both the mysticism that often accompanies a discussion of concepts and the oversimplification of the doctrine of the 'common element'.

It seems to the writer that, while there is some difference between the views of concept formation held by Hull and Sacks, in that one stresses the common elements and the other the common relations, this difference is not crucial from the standpoint of a general theoretical orientation to the problem of concept formation. Levit expresses an opinion similar to the writer's in his excellent article in a recent issue of Educational Theory. This article will be cited again.

The laboratory setup used by Sacks is essentially similar to Hull's and included an exposure apparatus, test cards, etc. Like Hull, Sacks conducted several specific experiments with the purpose of finding answers to specific questions. Some of his findings are:

1. "the process of concept formation appears to involve grouping; the learner envisages certain stimulus patterns as constituting a group

14 Ibid., p. 9.

to which any given stimulus pattern does or does not belong";
(2) "Insightful behavior seems to be present in at least some in-
stances of concept formation"; (3) "Concept formation..... like
most 'thinking', appears to involve the formulation, testing, and
acceptance or rejection of hypotheses"; (4) "Individuals who have
learned the concepts may be unable to give an accurate verbal formu-
lation of them"; and (5) "Negative instances may or may not help
in concept learning."16

More studies could be cited which are essentially similar to those
of Hull and Smoke, some using exposure apparatuses and nonsense
syllables and some others using collections of blocks of different
colors and shapes. A few other studies like Fisher's17 use intro-
spective reports made by subjects who were asked to express "every-
thing that went on in their minds." Heidbreder made extensive ex-
periments and her interesting finding was called "spectator behavior."
In the words of Woodworth, "In spectator behavior the subject has no
hypothesis; all his guesses have been proved erroneous, and he can
only make some random response and remain on the watch for some new
hypothesis to emerge."18

The writer remembers well the expectancy and hopefulness with
which he approached some of the above mentioned studies. After reading
them, it must be acknowledged, he was puzzled as to their meaningful

17 E. C. Fisher, The Process of Generalizing Abstraction, and
its Product, the General Concept.
relevancy to educational problems in which concept formation is a central concern. The laboratory setups used in the experiments seem to be so distant from the normal life processes which contribute greatly to the concept learnings of an average individual. But the writer is not alone in his negative reaction to the results of these studies. In 1951, the Psychological Bulletin of the American Psychological Association published a major paper summarizing the investigations of concept formation and it began thus:

Despite the fact that concept formation has been the subject of numerous investigations, it is still poorly understood. The reasons for this lie, apparently, in two directions. First, the evolution of psychology has not gone far enough to free the treatment of concept formation from its past associations with epistemology and formal logic. Thus, terms like 'abstraction' and 'generalization' are still utilized—and still influence the nature of experiments—without sufficient analysis of the behavioral and genetic processes involved. Second, the data utilized in discussions of the subject are much too narrow, since they are usually drawn from limited experimental situations, and usually emphasize simple, readily quantifiable overt responses. The methods of investigation have usually been restricted in scope, and have lent themselves better to showing the results of concept formation than to revealing its nature.19

Criticizing the "modern studies of concept formation," Levit points out in his Educational Theory article that "the scientific model for most experimentation and thinking in this area is furnished by the common-element theory." He continues,

Actually, and in logical terms, most of the present work on concept formation is concerned with deducing the theorems that derive from the accepted axioms. It should occasion no surprise, for instance, that when effort is

made to discover the necessary or facilitating conditions for the formation of concepts thus defined, the factors that stand out are repetition of instances, trial and error procedure, 'thing-like character' of the stimulus and sensory distinctness or perceptibility. Experiments will continually call forth associationist categories of explanation so long as they employ materials and conditions which involve mandatory conformance with or copying of already settled purposes and phenomena, which have little or no connection with the past and the future—that is, with ongoing, adaptive, serial activity—which, thus, limit greatly the relations, meanings, and suggestive power of situations.

The force of Levit's criticism is apparent. The significance of his remarks from the standpoint of the present study and the "transactional approach" that characterises his article will be taken up by the writer later in this chapter.

In discussing the modern investigations of concept formation, one cannot fail to refer to the work of the French scholar, Jean Piaget. He adopted a method that took him directly to the children. The method essentially consisted in questioning the child in an objective manner about natural and psychological phenomena, striving to obtain from the child his own interpretation thereof. This method is certainly not as standardised as the methods generally used in psychological experiments. Piaget has been criticised by many on this score. For instance, Vinacke notes that his method is "indeed difficult to accept fully; for example, one never knows how many subjects he is relying upon in the formulation of his conclusions and one never knows how many children were asked the same questions." 21


Piaget himself acknowledges the limitations of his method, describing it often as "our restricted method." However, it is generally agreed that he collected a great wealth of extremely interesting data and his conclusions are, to say the least, provocative. In setting forth the conclusions reached in his study of "the Child’s Conception of the World," Piaget says by way of introduction:

"Reality, such as our science imagines and postulates, is what the biologists call Environment. The child's intelligence and activity, on the other hand, are the fruit of organic life (interest, movement, imitation, assimilation). The problem of the relation between thought and things, once it has been narrowed down this way, becomes the problem of the relation of an organism to its environment. Is the organism entirely molded by its environment insofar as intelligence is concerned? If so, then we have, in terms of cognition, what may be called the empirical solution of the problem. Or does the organism assimilate the actions to its environment in accordance with a structure that is independent of these actions and that resists the pressure of all modifications coming from outside? If so, then we have in terms of cognition what may be called the a priori solution. Or is it not rather the case that there is interaction between the two—organism assimilating the environment to itself, but the environment reacting upon the structure of the organism? Such is the solution which, in the domain of cognition, would imply a capacity for transformation in the categories of thought and an increasingly delicate adaptation of thought to things or things to thought. These then, are the terms in which we set the problem."

How does the idea of reality evolve in the child’s mind? Are there any laws that govern this evolution? Piaget concludes on the basis of his data that "three complementary processes seem to be at work in directing the evolution of reality as it is conceived by the child between the ages of 3 and 11. Child thought moves simultaneously:

22 Jean Piaget, *The Child’s Conception of Physical Causality.* p. 239.
First: According to Piaget, objectivity means, "the mental attitude of persons who are able to distinguish what comes from themselves and what forms part of external reality as it can be observed by everybody." The child draws no distinction at first between its own "I" and the external world. Then it progressively splits up "this protoplasmic consciousness into complementary universes—the objective universe and the subjective." For instance, it was found that the child believes that he thinks with his mouth, that thought consists in articulating words, and that these words themselves form part of the external things. Some children thought that the voice is the same as the wind in the trees and that dreams are made of "wind." Later on, the child localizes thought inside his mouth, then in a little voice placed in the head.

Second: By reciprocity, Piaget means this: "We say there is reciprocity when the same value is attributed to the point of view of other people as to one's own, and when the correspondence can be found between these two points of view." All the younger children take their immediate perceptions as true, and then proceed to interpret them "according to their egocentric pre-relations instead of making allowance for their own perspective." Thus the child of 6-8 years believes that the sun and the heavenly bodies follow him and never

\[23\text{ Ibid., P. 241.}\]
thinks of asking himself whether these heavenly bodies do not also
follow other people. Children of 9-10 have discovered, however, that
the sun follows everybody. From this they conclude that "the truth
lies in the reciprocity of the points of view: that the sun is very
high up, that it follows no one, and that each sees it as just above
him."

Third: "There is relativity," says Piaget, "when no object and
no quality or character is posited in the subject's mind with the claim
to being an independent substance or attribute." "During the early
stage, the child tends to think of everything under the form of
absolute substance and quality; after that, bodies and their qualities
seem to him more and more dependent upon each other and relative to
us. Thus, substances become relations, on the one hand, because the
mutual connection of phenomena has been seen, and on the other,
because the relativity of our evaluations has been discovered." The
child's conception of life and movement offers a good illustration.

Says Piaget:

The most striking example of this process is undoubtedly
the evolution of the conceptions about life and movement.
During the early stages, every movement is regarded as
singular, as the manifestation, that is, of a substantial
and living activity. In other words, there is in every
moving object a motor substance; the clouds, the heavenly
bodies, water, and machines, etc., move by themselves.
Even when the child succeeds in conceiving an external
motor, which already takes away from the substantiality
of movement, the internal motor continues to be regarded
as necessary. Thus, a leaf is alive, even though it
moves with the wind, i. e., it retains its spontaneity
even though the wind is needed to set it in motion.
Similarly, a cloud or one of the heavenly bodies remains master of its movements, even though the wind is necessary to start it on its path. But later on, the movements which are regarded no longer as necessary collaborators but as sufficient conditions. Thus the movement of clouds comes to be entirely explained by that of the wind. Then these external motors are conceived as themselves dependent upon other external motors, and so on. In this way there comes into being a universe of relations which takes the place of a universe of independent and spontaneous substances.  

"Such, then," Piaget concludes, "is the evolution of the notion of reality in the child. Three processes help to make it emerge from its initial realism and orientate it towards objectivity." Despite the fact that "one never knows how many subjects he is relying upon in the formulation of his conclusions and one never knows how many children were asked the same questions," one cannot gainsay the inherent impressiveness of Piaget's conclusions.

A significant difference between the approach of Piaget and the approach of the previously mentioned laboratory psychologists is in regard to the place of the question of perception in the formulation of conclusions about concept formation. Piaget does not use the word, "perception" but instead uses "cognition." In the quotation given on page 124 he indicates three points of view regarding the "problem of the relation of an organism to its environment." Accepting the point of view according to which "there is interaction between the two—organism assimilating the environment to itself, but the environment reacting upon the structure of the organism," Piaget says in the end, "These, then, are the terms in which we set the problem."

24 Ibid., p. 249-50.
Hull, Smoke and others, on the other hand, do not find the necessity to face the question of perception. The view of perception implied in their approach is what some one called, "the receiving station" view. According to this view, the act of perceiving is no more than receiving a stimulus or a stimulus pattern from the environment. For instance, with the help of an electrically operated exposure apparatus, the subject is shown a drawing of "three straight red lines, two of which intersect the third, thereby trisecting it;" the subject perceives the stimulus pattern of this drawing and he has the concept if he can say "sum."

In the following section, the writer refers to some recent developments of significance in the field of perception and discusses an approach signified by the term "transactional," indicating its relevance to the conceptualizing problem.

3. The Transactional Approach and Conceptualizing.

One reason why the conclusions of Piaget are more fruitful than those of Hull and others, even though his approach is methodologically more complex, is that he has a greater "grasp of what is so distinctively human in life." Criticizing the narrowly scientific theories, John Dewey speaks of their "outward parade of the external mechanics" and says that they "nevertheless were lacking in grasp of what is so distinctively human in life that no amount of such parade could begin to make up for its absence." "In fact," Dewey continues, "in many cases it was used simply to add to the
efficiency of older mechanical life-chilling and hardening operations."

The perception demonstrations of Ames are of a different character
and of great human significance. Dewey himself says:

.....Under the inspiration and direction of Dr.
Adelbert Ames of the Hanover Institute, there has been
developed an experimental demonstration of the prin­
ciples which govern the development of perceiving, prin­
ciples which are found, moreover, to operate more deeply
in the basic growth of human beings in their distinctively
human capacity than any which have been previously laid
bare.

I am aware that these are strong words....The in­
herent convincingness of the work of Dr. Ames and his
associates goes, however, too deep to be welcome in
some influential quarters. It will probably take a
good many years for it to go through that succession
of stages until it will be said, "Oh, that theory;
why, everybody always knew that was true."

The writer had a chance to visit the Institute of Associated
Research at Hanover and meet and talk to Ames. Most of his demon­
strations are to be seen in the Visual Demonstration Center at The
Ohio State University. Some of the fundamental principles that these
demonstrations illustrate dramatically are: (1) "perception is a
prognosis not a discovery;" (2) we do not get our perceptions from
things around us, but the perceptions come from us (this is not to
deny the existence of the external material); (3) our perceptions
are based on our past experience, assumptions, point of view, and
expectancies; and (4) in perceptions of a complex sort, our values,
purposes and motivations are operative.

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25 John Dewey, Foreword to *Education for What is Real*, by Earl
C. Kelley, p. v.

The "Chair Demonstration" might be taken as an illustration. The viewer is presented with three separate peep-holes about the size of the pupil of the eye. He is asked to look through these holes in turn. The material inside the apparatus is well lighted. In each he sees a chair. The three chairs look substantially the same. Then comes the surprise. The demonstrator opens the flap above the peep-holes so that the viewer can look into the apparatus and check what he has seen through the peepholes. He discovers that he was not looking at chairs but three different mazes of wires and strings which do not quite resemble chairs. But if he looks through the peepholes again, he still sees chairs. Thus, he has to conclude that the things around him have no meaning except as he ascribes meaning to them. He ascribes meaning to them on the basis of his past experience. Until he looked into the apparatus with the flap open, in other words, until he looked at the material from a different point of view, he thought he saw chairs.

In life too people look mostly through a peephole, take quick looks from where they are and make judgments. Often there is little relationship between the perception and the external object from which the stimulus came. Also two persons' perceptions of the world can never be the same. Kelley summarizes the implications of such demonstrations as the chair demonstration in the following words:

All of this leads up to the following facts. Our perceptions do not come simply from the objects around us, but from our past experience as functioning, purposive organisms. We take a large number of clues, none of which is reliable, add them together, and make what we
can of them. All that this gives us is an estimate of our surroundings. It is never exactly right. It is never the same for different individuals. It is like a statistical average, a useful device for making a prognosis, but always wrong in any particular instance. 27

In discussing the chair demonstration, Mooney 28 groups the factors involved in the perception under two headings: factors “outside our skins” and factors “inside our skins.” The factors outside our skins are light, reflectors of light, the strings, wires, etc. The factors inside our skins are neural impulses of our past experiences with chairs, abstractions resulting from the past experiences, our assumptions, expectancies, and others. The significant thing, however, is not the grouping of these perceptual factors under two headings, but rather that the process of perception can be fully understood only if both the “outside the skin” factors and the “inside the skin” factors are taken into consideration together. Mooney considers perception as a transaction and his writing is entitled, “Perception As a Transaction.” He says:

In referring to perception as a ‘transaction of business’, we are implying a certain quality which is to permeate our thinking. In a business transaction, we picture two parties coming into relationship with one another, each with certain potentialities, working out something that makes sense between them. The emphasis is on the field of action including the two and the relationships which are made in that field. It does not make sense to leave out either of the parties or to leave out the actions which transpire between the two in a mutual interplay in the field.

27 Earl C. Kelley, Educational for What is Real, p. 34.

28 Ross L. Mooney, Perception As a Transaction.
In bringing this quality of thought to the problem of perception, the inference is that we shall be trying to evolve 'a field of thought' with 'both parties', i.e., man and his environment, constantly included, and with emphasis on a context in which sense can be made out of the emerging relationships.29

In discussing the theory underlying the Human Demonstrations, Kilpatrick, a close associate of Ames, gives expression to the same transactional point of view. He says, "By perception, then, is meant that part of the transactional process which is an implicit awareness of the probable significance for action of present impingements from the environment, based on assumptions related to the same or similar impingements from the environment."30

A systematic explanation of the transactional point of view is given by John Dewey and Arthur Bentley in their work, Knowing and the Known. They identify "three levels of the organization and presentation of inquiry." They are Self-Action, Interaction, and Transaction. "These levels are all human behaviors in and with respect to the world, and they are all presentations of the world itself as men report it." Dewey and Bentley explain the three levels thus:

- **Self-action**: where things are viewed as acting under their own powers.
- **Inter-action**: where things is balanced against thing in causal interconnection.
- **Trans-action**: where systems of description and naming are employed to deal with aspects and phases of action, without final attribution to 'elements' or 'realities', and without isolation of presumptively detachable 'relations' from such detachable 'elements'.31

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29 Ibid., p. 1.
30 F. P. Kilpatrick, in Human Behavior from the Transactional Point of View, p. 87.
31 John Dewey and Arthur F. Bentley, Knowing and the Known, p. 108.
Illustrating from physics, the authors point out that Aristotle's physics, "a great achievement in its time" was self-actional in nature. It was built around "substances." Galileo was responsible for the overthrow of self-action in physics and the beginning of the interactional approach. Newton perfected the interactional system in physics which viewed the world as a process of "simple forces between unalterable particles." In 1877, Maxwell envisioned "the next stage of progress" and said in the Preface to his posthumous book, Matter and Motion:

Physical science, which up to the end of the eighteenth century had been fully occupied in forming a conception of natural phenomena as the result of forces acting between one body and another, has now fairly entered on the next stage of progress—that in which the energy of a material system is conceived as determined by the configuration and motion of that system, and in which the ideas of configuration, motion, and force are generalized to the utmost extent warranted by their physical definitions.  

Einstein's work brought space and time "into the investigation as among the events investigated." The particle has gone the way of space and time. These steps, Dewey and Bentley point out, are "in the line of the transactional approach." One who adopts this approach is free "to see in union what it becomes important to see in union; ..... to see in separation what it is important to see in separation—each in its own time and place."  

Contrasting transaction with interaction, Dewey and Bentley point out (it should be stated parenthetically that the subject of their

32 Quoted from Knowing and the Known, p. 106.

discussion is "Inquiry") that while interaction assumes that events are adequately described prior to the formulation of inquiry into their connections, transaction accepts existing descriptions of events only as tentative and preliminary, so that new descriptions of the aspects and phases of events may freely be made at any and all stages of the inquiry. While interaction sets up its inter-acting constituents as separate "facts," each in independence of the presence of the others, transaction considers no one of its constituents as adequately specified as fact apart from the specification of other constituents of the full subject matter. While interaction assumes the organism and its environmental objects to be present as substantially separate existences or forms of existence, prior to their entry into joint investigation, transaction "assumes no pre-knowledge to either organism or environment alone as adequate, not even as respecting the basic nature of the current conventional distinctions between them, but requires their primary acceptance in common system, with full freedom reserved for their developing examination."

Finally, coming to the question of "knowings and knowns," which is directly relevant to the purposes of the present writer, Dewey and Bentley say:

If, in replacement of the elder self-action by a knower in person, interaction assumes little "reals" interacting with or upon all knowings up to and including both the most mechanistic and the most unmechanistic theories of knowledge, then—

Ibid., p. 129.
Transaction is the procedure which observes men talking and writing, with their word-behaviors and other representational activities connected with their thing-perceiving and manipulations, and which permits a full treatment, descriptive and functional, of the whole process, inclusive of all its 'contents', whether called 'inners' or 'outers', in whatever way the advancing techniques of inquiry require.\(^{35}\)

The authors consider their work, *Knowing and the Known*, an illustration of the transactional approach. "The transactional," they specify, "...excludes assertions of fixity and attempts to impose them. It installs openness and flexibility in the very process of knowing. It treats knowledge as itself inquiry—as a goal within inquiry, not as a terminus outside or beyond inquiry."\(^{36}\)

These words of Dewey and Bentley point the way to considering the relevance of the transactional approach to the conceptualising problem. It seems to the writer that there are at least three points of significance regarding conceptualising. The transactional approach (1) does not consider concepts as being "thing-like"; (2) does not take a retrospective view of concepts; and (3) does not recognize a dichotomy between perception and conception; they are in a continuum.

The laboratory studies of Hull and others described earlier take a static, fixed, thing-like view of concepts. For instance, Smoke "counted the subject as having learned a concept if he is able to go faultlessly through a test series of sixteen stimulus patterns"; the concept can be "red" and "may be defined" as "three straight red


lines, two of which intersect the third, thereby trisecting it."

Again philosophers like Locke considered concepts to be "abstract ideas." This is essentially a static notion. Even William James took concepts to be "unchangeable."

However, concepts concerning "what is so distinctively human in life" cannot be of a static nature. They are not "things," they are not immutable but mutable. Professor Hullfish told the writer that he uses the expression, "concept-reaction" in order to avoid the thing-like quality traditionally associated with the word "concepts." By the use of this expression, he succeeds in indicating the situation which includes the conceiving and the conceived, to use the words of Dewey and Bentley, "knowing and the known." The importance of this point becomes obvious when one thinks even in an elementary fashion of the way in which the American student forms his conception of the world around him, especially of countries other than his own. He certainly does not find his environment presenting him with certain fixed concepts about India. The process by which he acquires his concepts is complex, both conscious and unconscious.

Even as traditional philosophy and laboratory studies take a "thing-like" view of concepts, so also they take a retrospective and reproductive view of concepts. They are not concerned with their prospective aspects. The writer is indebted for this insight to Levit's article in Educational Theory, already cited. Indicating the implications for logic of accepting a retrospective view of concepts, Levit says,

* The reader will find a discussion of this point in Professor Hullfish's monograph, Some Aspects of Thrasivlu's Psychology in Their Relation to Educational Psychology and Practice.
The literal consequence in logic and practice of abiding by the traditional notion of concept would be a rigidly syllogistic kind of behavior in which a single major premise, accompanied by an assertion that a particular case was a case of the kind involved, would be sufficient to generate the conclusion (operation). There would be no look around and look ahead; there would be only a look backward to first principles—usually a single first principle. A teacher for whom all grades on achievement tests which had the 'common element' of scoring 69 evoked a response of 'failure' or 'non-promotion' would be an illustration of this logic in action.37

Again let us turn to the problem of the student conceptualizing of the world around him and countries other than his own. His concept of India, for instance, is always in process. New stimuli regarding India create a change in his conception of India. Just as, according to Dewey and Bentley, knowledge should be treated "as a goal within inquiry," so also should concepts be considered in process.

Related to the above notion is the third point about concepts, considering them from the transactional point of view; perception and conception are continual, there is no dichotomy between them. Both traditional philosophy and laboratory studies of concepts do not recognize this. They are not faced with the need of such a recognition because the questions they pose before themselves are narrow and artificial, missing the distinctively human in life. An elementary consideration of how the American student forms his conception of the world around him and countries other than his own is enough to convince one of the continual relationship between perception and conception. This is, of course, not to deny the differentiating features of the two terms.

4. Implications for the Construction of the Questionnaire.

What are the implications for the present study that arise out of the foregoing consideration of the problem of conceptualizing? In particular, what ones did the writer get for constructing a questionnaire designed to discover how high school seniors conceptualize India?

It was said at the outset that one of the purposes of this survey of studies and writings about conceptualizing was to get an understanding of the act of conceptualizing. The reported survey is not complete by any means. However, it has been extensive enough considering the fact that the problem of conceptualizing is not the concern, either wholly or partially of the present study. The study did not propose to deal with the process in which senior students acquired their concepts about India; nor did the study propose to consider the causal and transactional factors involved in their conceptualization of India.

Its first major purpose was to determine the "critical concepts" about India and its second major purpose was to discover the student conceptualization of India in selected schools. The latter part of the study, then, was primarily diagnostic in character. Perhaps it might even seem that this extensive survey was not necessary. However, one of its important outcomes was that it has helped the writer realize well what he did in this study and what he did not do; it threw the study in a better perspective; and it indicated further lines of fruitful investigation (about which the writer shall not speak at this point.)

To turn to the implications or ones for the construction of the questionnaire whose purpose it was to discover the conceptualization of India by selected groups of high school seniors. The writer could
identify three of them:

First: Despite diversity of approaches and differences in points of view concerning the problem of conceptualizing, almost everybody seems to agree on one point, i.e., concepts refer to the residual aspects of sequential experiences rather than to their immediate sensory impact in present situations. The experiences go through some form of abstraction before concepts come to being. Thus, it may be inferred that questions concerning concepts cannot be just specific information questions. The thirty "concepts" about India which form the basis of the questionnaire cannot and should not be translated into questions of a fragmentarily factual and informational nature. This is not to say that there should not be factual questions. As a matter of fact, not to have factual questions is impossible. The important point is that the questionnaire should be much more than a checklist on "facts about India."

Second: The transactional view of concepts makes it clear that perception and conception are in a continuum. One's perception is determined by a complex of factors including, at the least, past experiences, expectancies and points of view. In other words, the American student's conceptualization of India is partly determined by his past experiences, expectancies and points of views. The common sense notion, "from the familiar to the unfamiliar," is grounded on these considerations. Thus, it follows that, when appropriate, questions should be formulated relating the Indian situation to the
American situation. For instance, a question about the geographical size of India might reasonably be related to the size of the United States.

Third: According to the transactional view, concepts are not "thing-like"; they must be considered prospectively as well as retrospectively. In other words, concepts must be seen in process. Thus, some questions may be cast in speculative and future terms, there may be some "lead questions." For instance, not only should there be questions in past terms concerning the communism of China, but there should be also questions in future terms concerning the communism of India.

The next chapter deals with the construction and administration of the questionnaire.
CHAPTER VII
THE CONSTRUCTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This chapter describes how the questionnaire was developed and how and to whom it was administered. Some of the major activities involved in the development of the questionnaire were the use of free student responses to the question, "What do you know about India?", the securing of reactions from ten competent teachers as to the difficulty level of the thirty critical concepts, the actual making of the questions, and the experimental pretesting of the questionnaire. Further in the administration of the questionnaire was involved the selection of schools and student groups and the planning of the actual administration.

This chapter deals sequentially with:

1. The Use of Free Responses from Sixty-One Students.
3. The Making of the Questions and the Pretesting of the Questionnaire.
4. The Selection of Student Groups and the Administration of the Questionnaire.

1. The Use of Free Responses from Sixty-One Students.

Early in the beginning stages of the study when the writer was, as is said in America, "toying with the idea" of investigating American students' concepts of India, he had occasion to talk about it with several graduate students on the campus. Of these almost
everybody felt that American students might not have much knowledge of India and wondered if a substantial doctoral study could be developed. So the writer asked Martin Horn of the East High School in Columbus to help secure free responses of his students to the simple question, "What do I know about India?" Horn was asked first since his help was easily available. Later the writer secured similar free responses from the students of Milton Byerly of North High School in Columbus. The students of both Horn and Byerly belonged to the eleventh grade. An examination of the 21 student responses from East High School and 40 student responses from North High School first revealed that a few students had a rather comprehensive understanding of India. For instance, a student from East High wrote:

1. is ruled by Premier Nehru.
2. is one of the undeveloped countries of the world.
3. is among the neutrals of the world between Communism and Democracy.
4. is very crowded, over-populated and her economic standards are low.
5. has a fairly large amount of money but it's mostly in the hands of a few people.
6. is largely inhabited by Moslems.*
7. I would like to know which way India would turn if there was a showdown between the totalitarian countries and the democracies.

The following is the paper of one of the better students from North High:

a. have great poverty.
b. have 18 religions largest of which is Hindu.
c. have a very large amount of people.
d. marry very young.
e. wear loose robes because of warm climate.

* This is incorrect.
f. have seasonal rains.
g. the people are of the caucasian race.
h. have declared themselves free of England.
i. they do not want machines.
j. many languages are used.
k. need more and better education.
l. prime minister is Nehru.
m. need birth control.
n. need to know about sanitation.

Not all the papers were as good as the above two. A majority of the students wrote four or five items. And several writings featured only the stereotypes. The following are two examples of the latter:

Very poor.
Poverty stricken.
Illiteracy.

People of India haven't very good homes or food. Some wander around the streets with no homes to go to and nothing to eat.

As might be expected there were some interesting and amusing items also:

The capital of India is Pakistan.  
Ali Khan married Rita Hayworth. It is a subject of very picturesque reading material.  
During the second world war the people of India worshipped sacred cows.

The free responses as a whole, considered against the doubts of the graduate students, convinced the writer that the American high school students today know much more about India than the present graduate students knew in the days when they went to high school.

Since the end of the last world war in 1947, American schools appear to have shown a greater interest in teaching about other countries in order to develop international understanding and good will. Thus the writer decided to go ahead with his study of the student concepts about India.
At the time the writer secured the above discussed free responses, he was not aware of another major purpose that might be served by them. As he formulated the thirty critical concepts and began to think about the problem of developing a questionnaire on the basis of them, he saw the need to have some awareness of the student knowledge of India. In other words, it was realized that developing questions through a process of logical deduction from the thirty concepts might not lead to a sound questionnaire and that a consideration of some empirical data from the students was important. This is only an instance of the application of the principle of "empirical realism" discussed by the writer in the beginning of this dissertation. (pages 3-8).

Thus the writer proceeded to make a content analysis of the sixty-one free responses of East High and North High students, using the thirty critical concepts as the framework for analysis. A five-by-eight card was made out for each concept. The responses of each student were considered and an entry was made on the appropriate card for every item that expressed the concept in question. There were some responses that did not fall under any of the thirty concepts and they were entered separately. These were not too consequential in number.

In connection with determining whether a certain item of student response expressed the concept in question, the writer was faced with a large number of items which either (a) partially stated the concept or (b) did not state the concept but were obviously relevant to it. Some of the items coming under (b) were misstatements of the
concept. For instance, let us take the sixteenth concept on the food problem. The statement of the concept is: "Food shortage has been a major problem for a long time and drastic measures are being taken to make India self-sufficient in food." An example of a student response that states the concept partially is: "not enough food." An example of a student response that does not state the concept but is relevant to it is: "Millions of people die a year from starvation." The latter is also a misconception since it is contrary to fact.

In the summary which follows, the student responses are briefly given in terms of the thirty critical concepts. The number next to (a) refers to the frequency of responses which either fully or partially stated the concept. And the number next to (b) refers to the frequency of responses which are relevant to the concept but do not state the concept. Whenever appropriate, examples are given to illustrate categories (a) and (b). When there occurs a common misconception under (b), it is indicated. For the sake of brevity, each of the thirty concepts is identified by a phrase rather than the one or more sentences that constitute its original description.

Concept I. Encounter Between the West and India.
(a) None (b) None

Concept II. The Conquest and Rule of India.
(a) None (b) 3

Concept III. Struggle with Colonialism and Newly Won Independence.
(a) 4 (b) 4
(a) "have declared themselves free of England."
"India got its independence from Great Britain"

(b) "India has an Indian National Congress which rules
the people."
"Until recently, India was part of the British
Commonwealth." (Wrong)

Concept IV. Hindu-Muslim Conflict and Separation of the Country.

(a) 1 (b) 2

(a) "Because of religion India has been divided into two
groups, Pakistan and India."

(b) 2

Concept V. Indo-Pakistan Conflict and Kashmir Question.

(a) None (b) None

Concept VI. Separation of State and Religion.

(a) None (b) None

Concept VII. Adoption of the Democratic Ideals of the West.

(a) 1 (b) None

(a) "It is not a dictatorship."

Concept VIII. Present Western-educated Leadership.

(a) None (b) None

Concept IX. The Difference Between Indian and Western Outlook.

(a) None (b) None

Concept X. Friendly Relations Between India and Great Britain.

(a) None (b) None

Concept XI. Partnership Between India and the West Important.

(a) 1 (b) 8

(a) "If it is taken over by Communism it will have a
bad effect on the democratic nations."

(b) "Not a Communist satellite."
"Is among the neutrals of the world between Com-
munism and Democracy."
Concept XII. Ideological Competition Between India and China.

(a) None (b) None

Concept XIII. Nehru the Popular Leader of the People.

(a) 9 (b) 3

(a) "prime minister is Nehru."
"Nehru is head of Indian Government."

(b) "they have one leader."
"I know who runs government."

Concept XIV. Communism Opposed to Hindu Religion.

(a) None (b) 2

(b) "There are many Communists in India today."

Concept XV. Population Pressure Makes Communism Possible.

(a) 27 (b) 13

(a) "large population"
"very, very crowded"
"overpopulated"
"a lot of people there"
"The population of India is a fifth of the human race"

(b) "They have a great many people per square mile" "It ranks fourth in the world when you divide their area by the population" (Misconception) "India is a very large country of three to four million persons" "India is a very small country and has a very large population"

Concept XVI. Food Shortage and Measures Taken to Improve.

(a) 20 (b) 2

(a) "little food"
"not enough food"
"people don't have enough to eat"
"not much food"
"famine"

(b) "Millions of people die a year from starvation" (misconception)
Concept XVII. Need for Land Reform

(a) None  (b) 2

(b) "poor farmlands for some crops"

Concept XVIII. Dearth of Capital As Obstacle to Economic Development.

(a) None  (b) None

Concept XIX. Poverty-stricken But Enormous Resources.

(a) 17  (b) 10

(a) "very poor"
"low economic standards"
"India is a poverty-stricken country"
"most of the Indian people are poor"
"has much raw resources"
"chief materials — spices, raw cotton, some minerals"

(b) "a lot of people who have wealth won't help the poor one"
"India has coal and manganese, but it does not have any oil"
"There is no middle class"

Concept XX. Most People Live in Villages.

(a) None  (b) 1

(b) "Some of the natives still live in villages"

Concept XXI. Religion Important Part of Indian Culture.

(a) 1  (b) 56

(a) "They are a very religious country"

(b) "India has many different religions"
"have 18 religions"
"I know their religion consists mostly of Hinduism and Buddhism with a little Shinto mixed in"
"Mainly Mohammedans" (misconception)
"worship animals because of reincarnation"
"does not have the Christian religion"
"cows wander around the streets and no one will touch"
"worship idols..."
Concept XXII. Hinduism a Tolerant Religion.
(a) None (b) None

Concept XIII. Gandhi's Great Power and Influence
(a) 2 (b) 1
(a) "a great leader named Gandhi"
(b) "Gandhi came from India"

Concept XIV. Gandhi an Method of Non-violent Resistance.
(a) None (b) None

Concept XV. Caste System Now Breaking Down.
(a) 30 (b) 11
(a) "India is run by a caste system"
  "In India every person is born into his own caste or class"
  "If you are born into a caste you stay in that caste forever"
  "They are about the only country in the world that still have the caste system"
  "They have a very unfair and undemocratic system called the caste system"
  "People hold their places according to their work"
  "The people are divided into castes with the priests at the top and the beggars at the bottom."
  "In the high caste you aren't allowed to speak to the low caste" (misconception)

Concept XVI. Indian Society in Process of Change.
(a) None (b) None

Concept XVII. Growing Importance of Women.
(a) None (b) None

Concept XVIII. Twelve Major Languages.
(a) 3 (b) 1
(a) "has many dialects which makes it hard for education"
  "many languages are used"
(b) "They speak over two hundred languages"

**Concept XXIX. Illiteracy But Native Intelligence.**

(a) 14 (b) 16

(a) "very few are educated..."
"most of the people can't read or write"
"About fifteen out of one hundred people can read and write in India"
"they have many more to educate"

(b) "need for more and better education"
"school system isn't very good"
"only higher caste can go to school"

Concept XXX. Color-consciousness.

(a) None (b) 2

(b) "most of the population is colored"

The above analysis makes it clear that the students were most conversant with six concepts, namely, XIV, XVI, XIX, XXI, XXV, and XXIX—"Population Pressure", "Food Shortage", "Poverty", "Religion", "Caste System", and "Illiteracy". They were least conversant with ten concepts which have no entry at all. They are Concepts I, V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI, XVIII, XXII, XXIV, XXVI and XXVII—"Encounter Between West and India", "Indo-Pakistan Conflict", "Separation of State and Religion", "Present Western-educated Leadership", "Difference Between Indian and Western Outlook", "Friendly Relations Between India and Great Britain", "Ideological Competition Between India and China", "Dearth of Capital", "Hinduism a Tolerant Religion", "Gandhian Method of Non-Violent Resistance", "Indian Society in Process of Change", and "Growing Importance of Women". The students were fairly conversant with the other concepts.
Besides giving the writer some awareness of where the students "stand" in regard to the thirty critical concepts, the above analysis revealed some of their common misconceptions: "India has a large number of people per square mile", "Millions of people die every year from starvation", "Most Indians are Mohammedans", "People of high caste do not talk to those of low caste." The writer kept in mind these misconceptions as well as the student awareness of the various concepts when he constructed his questions.

Another thing that helped in the development of the questionnaire was teacher reactions to the critical concepts, which is the theme of the next section.


When the writer had formulated the thirty concepts and was considering them as the basis for the questionnaire to be constructed, a major question was raised: "Are they on the maturity level of high school seniors?" The reader will remember that the concepts were developed from the writings of such persons as Bowles, Stevenson, Sheean and Toynbee. The latter writers probably did not have in mind high school seniors when they wrote their articles or books.

In order to find out if the concepts were on the maturity level of high school seniors, the writer interviewed and asked for the judgments of ten competent secondary school teachers. Of these ten, four taught the classes proposed to be used for the administering of the questionnaire. Dr. Robert Jewett of the Ohio State University...
who is in touch with Columbus teachers because of his administration of student teaching work, helped select several of the other teachers interviewed. The ten teachers were:

Margaret Willis
Melba Woodruff
Martin Horn
R. D. Burgoon
Milton Ryerly
Mildred Palmer
Carolyn Alty
David Martin
Frank Lowery
Frank Buchanan

University School, Ohio State University
University School, Ohio State University
East High School, Columbus
North High School, Columbus
North High School, Columbus
Wayne-Woodstock School, Champaign Co., Ohio
Wayne-Woodstock School, Champaign Co., Ohio
Bexley Junior High School, Columbus
Worthington Senior High School, Columbus
Urbana High School, Urbana, Ohio

The interview procedure was simple: The writer first explained the general nature of the study and indicated how the thirty critical concepts were developed. Then a copy of the concept statements were handed to the teacher with the question: "In your judgment, are these concepts on the maturity level of average high school seniors?"

All the ten teachers unanimously answered in the affirmative. Only one teacher thought that the concepts were not "by any means easy items." The following are some of the responses: "Frankly, these are not above the maturity level of high school seniors. We often underestimate their intelligence." "These concepts are not above their capacity for understanding. High school seniors are on the threshold of adulthood. But I wouldn't say they know all these conceptions by any means." "I wouldn't call these concepts too abstract." "These notions can certainly be grasped by seniors."

Another fruitful outcome of these interviews, which was not planned for at the outset, was the various comments the teachers made
on the student knowledge of the individual concepts. The record of
the writer in this regard is not complete. However, the comments he
was able to record immediately or could remember and record later,
served as another source of help in connection with the making of
the questionnaire. In the following summary most of such comments
are given in the order of the thirty concepts:

**Concept I.** Encounter Between the West and India.

"ought to be part of their background"
"would know"
"depends on what you mean by 'expansion of Europe'"

**Concept II.** The conquest and Rule of India.

"most of them would know"
"may know of the British conquest and rule of India but
wouldn't know it was 'the most painful and humiliating'
of all the encounters between the West and the rest of
the world"

**Concept III.** Struggle with Colonialism and Newly Won Independence.

"would be able to answer quite well, I think"
"ought to have some awareness"

**Concept IV.** Hindu–Muslim Conflict and Separation of the Country.

"might not be quite clear about the two separate states"
"ought to have some awareness"

**Concept V.** Indo–Pakistan Conflict and Kashmir Question.

"ought to have some awareness"
"may not know the Kashmir issue at all"

**Concept VI.** Separation of State and Religion.

"may not be clear"
"don't know"
"must understand the notion of separation of state
and religion"

**Concept VII.** Adoption of the Democratic Ideals of the West.

"ought to know"
"sure"
Concept VIII. Present Western-educated Leadership.

"would get a hazy response, the majority should do fairly well"
"ought to have some awareness"

Concept IX. The Difference Between Indian and Western Outlook.

"some awareness, not too specific"
"would know quite well"

Concept X. Friendly Relations Between India and Great Britain.

"yes"
"would know quite well"
"would know of the British Commonwealth because of Canada"

Concept XI. Partnership Between India and the West Important.

"don't know how aware, good to explore"
"would know"

Concept XII. Ideological Competition Between India and China.

"ought to be aware of"
"should get fairly good responses"
"may not know"

Concept XIII. Nehru, the Popular Leader of the People.

"should know"
"some might have followed his visit to the U. S."

Concept XIV. Communism Opposed to Hindu Religion.

"should be interesting to find out"
"the phrase 'Hindu spirit' is perhaps too abstract"

Concept XV. Population Pressure Makes Communism Possible.

"yes"
"would be very sensitive"
"would certainly know"
"the word 'vulnerable' might be hard for some"

Concept XVI. Food Shortage and Measures Taken to Improve.

"of course"
"would know of the desperate attempts India is making"
"might know of the famines"
Concept XVII. Need for Land Reform

"naturally grows out of the previous one, would be interesting to see"

Concept XVIII. Dearth of Capital As Obstacle to Economic Development.

"'dearth of capital' is a hard phrase, might use something like 'money investment'"

Concept XIX. Poverty-stricken But Enormous Resources.

"may know about India's natural resources"
"the word 'develop' may be better term than 'exploit'"

Concept XX. Most People in Villages.

"don't know, might"
"may make a good surmise"

Concept XXI. Religion Important Part of Indian Culture.

"would have a confused idea of religion in India"
"would be able to understand"

Concept XXII. Hinduism a Tolerant Religion.

"don't know, would be interesting to find out"
"would accept, agree with"

Concept XXIII. Gandhi's Great Power and Influence.

"ought to know something about Gandhi"
"few would miss this"
"most of them would know"

Concept XXIV. Gandhian Method of Non-violent Resistance.

"many of them may know"
"the word 'satyagraha' is new to me"
"we have pretty good idea of Gandhi's philosophy"

Concept XXV. Caste System Now Breaking Down.

"would know, but not as to the origin of caste system."
"I don't know."
"may not know about the beginnings of caste system"
Concept XXVI. Indian Society in Process of Change.

"would have a pretty good concept"
"don't know about the joint family system"

Concept XXVII. Growing Importance of Women.

"would make a pretty good guess"
"yes, would know about Madam Pandit"

Concept XXVIII. Twelve Major Languages.

"don't know, worthwhile to find out"
"would know 'many', not specific"

Concept XXIX. Illiteracy But Native Intelligence.

"fairly good idea"

Concept XXX. Color-consciousness.

"extremely good you have this"
"some more sensitive than others"

As the reader can see, in many cases the teachers' remarks are in agreement with each other. In cases like Concept XV.—Population Pressure—the teachers' comments confirm the free responses of students reported in the earlier section. The teacher comments and the student responses, it must be pointed out, were not used by the writer as prescriptive guides in the making of the questionnaire. Rather he found them helpfully suggestive in determining the nature and the difficulty level of the questions.

An additional and unexpected help along this line came from one of the ten teachers, Frank Buchanan of the Urbana High School. As he looked over the thirty concepts, he wondered if it would not be interesting to take these concept statements to his students and ask them to check on a True-False basis. Since all the statements are
true statements, we decided upon a more flexible five-point scale—True-Maybe True-False-Maybe False-Don't Know. Now, in retrospect, even this scale does not seem to be in line with the general purpose of the writer, except for the "Don't Know" aspect of the scale. For, the writer's chief concern was to find out how difficult the concepts were and also how familiar they were to students.

However, as the responses of Buchanan's thirty students were tabulated, the scores emphasized several of the teacher comments and gave new insights in the case of some concepts. For instance, the concept statements XXIV and XXVI—"Gandhian Method of Non-violent Resistance (Satyagraha)" and "Indian Society in Process of Change (Joint Family Breaking Down)"—secured the highest "Don't Know" scores. An example of new findings was the high False score for Concept X — "Friendly Relations Between India and Britain." The students reasoned, in an understandable manner, that India which fought against Britain until recently could not possibly have friendly relations with her now. This suggests that they are unlikely to be aware of the non-violent aspect of Gandhi's freedom struggle.

3. The Making of the Questions and the Pretesting of the Questionnaire.

As the foregoing discussion has shown, the writer had several bases to use for the construction of questions—(1) the thirty critical concepts, (2) the free responses of sixty-one students analyzed in terms of the thirty concepts, (3) the comments of competent teachers on the student awareness of individual concepts,
and (4) the reactions of thirty students to the concept statements on a True—Maybe True—False—Maybe False—Don't Know scale.

It has been said that the purpose of the questionnaire was to discover how high school seniors conceptualize India and the last chapter, after reporting on a survey of studies on conceptualizing, developed three practical implications for the construction of the questionnaire—

(1) The questions should not be merely factual and informational in nature; (2) Whenever appropriate, questions should be formed relating the Indian situation to the American situation; (3) There may be some "lead questions." To these three guiding principles can be added a fourth that arose out of the analysis of student free responses; (4) Whenever appropriate, questions may be formed in regard to common misconceptions.

The first principle states negatively that the questions should not be merely factual and informational. However, this does not mean that factual or informational questions should not be used. The important thing is how such questions are used. For instance, the first nine questions of the questionnaire (which the reader will find at the end of this chapter on pages 170-179) are all factual in nature with varying degrees of definitiveness in factuality. But they together attempt to inquire into the awareness of student as to the expansion of the West and the conquest of India. Thus, a comparative question on the age of the culture of India and the culture of the United States or Europe becomes relevant. The writer realizes the subjectiveness of this approach.
The second principle recommending questions relating the Indian situation to the American situation can be illustrated abundantly. In Part A, for instance, question 8 is about the size of India in relation to the size of the United States. Question 40 is another instance in which the rate of increase of population in India is compared with that of the United States. The question relating to the separation of state and religion in India is followed by another relating to the same in the United States. There are, as a whole, eighteen questions that directly relate India and the United States.

The third principle recommending "lead questions" or questions of a speculative nature has several illustrations. Question 30, for instance, is about the nature of the loss to the Western world, should India become Communist. Question 32 reads: "India may become Communist, if _________________." The next question is about the possibilities of Asia turning Communist in case India becomes so. There are a few more questions of this nature. It seems, too, that some of the free-answer questions have a quality of speculativeness. Take, for instance, question 57, which reads, "Gandhi was considered a great man, because _______________." Or take the first question in Part C which tells the student, "As a citizen of the United States whose destiny seems to be world leadership, list five things about India that are important for us as Americans to understand."

The fourth principle states that questions should be formulated on common misconceptions. Question 41, "Every year more than a million people die of starvation in India" or question 59, "In India persons of different castes do not talk to one another," or question 40, "The
difference between the rate of increase of population in India and the rate of increase of population in the United States is: (ENORMOUS) (VERY GREAT) (GREAT) (NOT TOO GREAT) (LITTLE) (NEGIGIBLE) (DON'T KNOW)" are good illustrations. They are concerning misconceptions about food shortage, caste system and population density.

As regards the technical aspects of question-making, the writer found Stanley Payne's *The Art of Asking Questions* useful. There are three major types of questions—(1) the free-answer question, (2) the two-way question and (3) the multiple-choice question. The relative merits and demerits of these three types are matters of judgment and also debate. Payne says:

Many researchers feel very strongly about which type of question gives the most useful information. Some go so far as to take an almost proprietary interest in seeing that a particular type is used in every possible application. One school of thought contends that the free-answer type.....provides the most valid and uninfluenced results. Another school maintains that the two-way choice comes closest to the common decisions we have to make in everyday life. Yet another group asserts the superiority of the multiple-choice question, because it allows for gradations of feeling or for expressions of a variety of alternatives.

The writer uses all the three types of questions in the questionnaire. The latter contains twenty free-answer questions, twenty-two two-way questions and forty-three multiple-choice questions, with a total of eighty-five questions. It was the nature of the content of the question that determined the writer's preference for this or


2 Ibid., p. 32.
that type of question. Also fifty-five out of the sixty-five two-way or multiple-choice questions contain the "Don't Know" choice, since it was felt that the student should have the freedom to say so and that he should not be forced to guess one of the given choices. In the case of free answer questions, the student leaves the blank unfilled if he does not know the answer.

The basic framework of the questionnaire was of course determined by the thirty critical concepts. Thus the seventy-one questions in Part B stem from them. It was thought desirable to have two short sections—Part A and Part C—one preceding and the other succeeding the major portion of the questionnaire. Part A consists of eight simple questions as regards the student's orientation to India. They are about his acquaintance with citizens of India or American visitors to India, his sense of location and size of India. These questions can serve the function of helping the student "warm up" to the more specific questions in Part B.

After he finished answering the seventy-one questions in Part B, he comes to Part C which contains only three questions. The first question is about his over-all conceptions of India and asks him to "list five things about India that are important for us as Americans to understand." Since he has just finished answering many specific questions on India, he can appropriately make some evaluative statements in regard to whatever knowledge he may possess of India. The second question is an attempt to secure the student's self-evaluation of his understanding of India, while the last question seeks to get
his subjective estimate of the sources from which he gained his impressions of India. Both these questions are of sufficient relevance to the study.

In making the questions in Part B on the basis of the thirty critical concepts, interesting problems arose. One was in regard to the sequence. It did not take long for the writer to find out that the questionnaire could not adhere strictly to the sequence of the concept statements, and that if he were to do so, the questionnaire would become thirty discrete and disjointed groups of questions without any logical or psychological ordering. For instance, question 15—"The relationship between India and Britain is now (FRIENDLY) (UNFRIENDLY) (NEUTRAL) (DON'T KNOW)—which relates to Concept X. (Friendly Relations Between India and Great Britain) comes prior to the questions which relate to Concepts IV., V., VI., or VII. Again question 13, which is about Gandhi comes long before the questions 16, 57 and 58 which related to the two concepts on Gandhi (Concepts XXIII. and XXIV.).

Another interesting question concerned the degree of knowledge the writer could assume the students to possess. Payne exhorts, "Keep asking yourself, 'What am I taking for granted?'" Of course, the safe course would be not to assume any knowledge on the part of the student. But this was simply not possible. For instance, the writer had to assume that the student knew that the British went to India and made it a part of their Empire and that India is now in—
dependent. He was convinced of the reasonableness of this assump-
tion when he referred to the fairly good free-responses of students 
under the relevant concepts and to such teacher comments as "most of 
them would know," and to the fact that only two of the thirty students 
in Mr. Buchanan's class took the concept statement III. to be "False" 
and two others, "Maybe False" and one, "Don't Know." Thus, while the 
questionnaire was largely based on the thirty critical concepts with 
respect to schema and sequence, it must be pointed out that the former 
has some of its own order and logic.

The draft of the questionnaire went through several revisions. 
The writer also made use of the generous suggestions for improvement 
made by his advisor as well as other faculty members with whom he worked 
closely. Improvement in language was of great importance, since it led 
not only to good style but also to clear communication. The following 
is an instance of the latter: In the preliminary draft, question 27 
read: "On fundamental questions, Indian leaders are likely to agree 
with (THE WESTERN LEADERS) (THE SOVIET LEADERS) (DON'T KNOW)." In 
the final draft, the phrase "On fundamental questions" was changed to 
"On fundamental principles of political philosophy." Incidentally, 
care was taken about the use of the word "Indians." Whenever possible, 
"the people of India" was used in the place of "Indians" in order 
to prevent the students from confusing the inhabitants of India with 
the early inhabitants of America.

As the draft of the questionnaire was ready, it was thought ad-
visable to "pretest" it with some students in order to secure sugges-
tions for the further improvement of the language of the questionnaire,
to get a foretaste of the problems involved in the administration of the questionnaire and to anticipate problems involved in the tabulation of the data.

Three classes of high school seniors, eighty-five in number, from the Urbana High School, Urbana, Ohio were used for pretesting. These students had been used before in connection with True-Maybe True-False-Maybe False-Don't Know testing of the thirty concept statements. It was felt, however, that this fact would not jeopardize the accomplishment of the above mentioned purposes of pretesting. When the questionnaires came back with student answers, a random sampling of twenty-nine of them, approximately one-third of the total number, was tabulated.

The scores obtained helped improve the language of several questions. For instance, in replying question 6, in Part B, "The Europeans first reached India in the: (13th) (14th) (15th) (16th) century," fifteen students out of the twenty-nine circled 13th. The second score was six for 15th. Assuming that a fairly good number of the students would know the correct answer which was 15th, the writer and a few others felt that it must be made clear that the question was in regard to naval communication. So the question was revised by adding the words "by boat" after the word "India." Again, in order to make the meaning clear, in the case of question 39 which is about comparative population densities of Britain, Japan, India and the United States, the words "population density" were replaced by "the number of people per square mile." An interesting discovery was made in regard to question
4, namely, "America was discovered in the: (13th) (14th) (15th) (16th) century." About seven students, half the number of those who marked the correct answer, marked (14th). Assuming that some of the seven knew the actual year of discovery, 1492, but took it to be of the 14th century, it was decided to add a sub-question following the main question. It was simply: "The year was _________."

The pretesting helped the writer find out that the maximum and minimum periods of time required to answer the questionnaire were forty and twenty minutes. Thus, one class period would be enough for the completion of the questionnaire by all the students of a class. It was also discovered that if the teacher was sufficiently cooperative, it was not essential for the writer to be present at the time of the testing.

4. The Selection of Student Groups and the Administration of the Questionnaire.

The reader will remember the reference made in the beginning of this chapter to the doubts of several graduate students on the campus who wondered if American high school students had such knowledge of India and if a substantial study could be developed. While it was true the former somewhat underrated the knowledge of the high school students, it is commonly held by all professional people that today the teaching of international education in American schools is far from satisfactory. (Indeed, the same situation prevails in all other countries of the world.) Several teachers pointed out to the writer that social studies
teaching in the past has neglected the teaching of the East. However, nowadays high school students learn about Asia and India in such courses as "Current Events," "World Cultures," and "Problems of Democracy."

The writer thought that it would be desirable to investigate at a grade level which potentially possessed greatest knowledge of India and thereby make the study as substantial as possible. Besides, reference must be made at this point to the normative nature of the writer's approach to the study. The "critical concepts approach" develops the scope of the questionnaire on the basis of the key concepts of leading world-minded Americans. And the purpose of the study is diagnostic, in other words, to secure a systematic understanding of the present status of the American students' knowledge of India.

The next question faced by the writer was the selection of schools. The field of international education at the secondary level is so little explored that it would be premature to make a delicately formulated statistical study characterized by great technical attention to the problems of sampling and reliability. However, it would be only proper and sound to secure as representative a sampling of students as possible. Classes in experimental, urban and rural schools were therefore selected. The following table gives the details:
TABLE III

<table>
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<th>School</th>
<th>No. of Classes Used</th>
<th>No. of Students Used</th>
<th>Cooperating Teacher(s)</th>
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<td>University School, Ohio State University, Columbus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Margaret Willis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East High School, Columbus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Martin Horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North High School</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>R. D. Burgoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champaign County Schools, Ohio</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Joseph West Campbell</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of students selected from each school or group of schools as in the case of Champaign county schools was primarily determined by the number of senior students in the University school. In order to match roughly the 42 students from the latter, three classes were used from Champaign County schools. Both East High and North High were chosen, since it is generally agreed that the former has students of slightly below average ability while the latter has students of slightly above average ability. Champaign County schools were chosen rather than any other group of rural schools in Ohio, because of easy access and cooperation and because of the fact that they are considered to be fairly "typical" of rural schools.
A major question involved in the administration of the question­naire was whether the writer should be present at the time of the testing. Since the writer's presence would certainly influence the responses of the students, (in several subtle ways) he decided against it. But this increased the importance of intelligent and dispassionate cooperation on the part of the teachers. It is not unnatural or unlikely that a teacher should wish his class to do well, especially since he knew that a comparison of his class with other classes was inevitable. However, it was fortunate that all the cooperating teachers were mature, broad-minded individuals to whom the writer fully explained the scope of the study and pointed out how no invidious comparisons were necessary. That several of the teachers were well known to the writer was also of help.

In presenting the questionnaire to the teachers, the writer made the following points either orally or in writing:

1. It was found by trial testing that an average student takes thirty to thirty-five minutes to answer the questionnaire completely. Of course, there will be individual differences.

2. This is not a time test. Let every student get enough time to finish.

3. The first page of the questionnaire contains instructions for the student. If necessary, you may help the student understand them.

4. Since a few questions relate to world geography, please see that there is no big world map or globe prominently visible in the classroom.

5. Explanation of the questions will of course prejudice the responses.
6. Please indicate the maximum and minimum and the approximate average time taken by your students.

The cooperation received from the teachers was excellent.

The next chapter presents and interprets the tabulated responses of 230 Ohio high school seniors.
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Name ______________________________
Boy or Girl __________________________
Grade _______________________________
Teacher _____________________________
School ______________________________
Date ________________________________

Instructions to the Student

1. This is not a test, but your answers are important.

2. In the case of most questions, several possible answers are given. Put a circle around the answer you consider correct.

3. In the case of some questions, you must write your answer in the blank space provided.

4. Try to answer all the questions. However, whenever you think you do not know the correct answer, put a circle around the choice (DON'T KNOW) or leave the space blank as the case may be.
QUESTIONS ON INDIA

Part A

General
1. Have you seen and talked to any native of India? YES NO
2. Have you seen and talked to any one from the United States who visited India? YES NO
3. The distance between New York and India is about _______ thousand miles.
4. To go by boat from New York to India takes about ____ days.
5. To fly from New York to India on a passenger plane takes about _______ days.
6. India is located in: SOUTH ASIA CENTRAL AFRICA CENTRAL ASIA SOUTHERN EUROPE
7. Put a single line under the name of the largest country listed below and two lines under the name of the second largest.
   PHILIPPINES KOREA FORMOSA PAKISTAN INDIA CHINA
8. India is _________________ as large as the United States.
   (Choose one: One-quarter One-half Two-Thirds Just Twice) (DON'T KNOW)
QUESTIONS ON INDIA

Part B

Historical

1. India as a culture is: (YOUNGER THAN) (OLDER THAN) (AS OLD AS) the United States. (DON'T KNOW)

2. The civilization of India is: (YOUNGER THAN) (OLDER THAN) (AS OLD AS) the Western European civilization. (DON'T KNOW)

3. The seas you cross as you sail from Europe to India are: (Baltic Sea) (Mediterranean Sea) (Yellow Sea) (Red Sea) (Arabian Sea) (Caribbean Sea).

4. America was discovered in the: (12th) (13th) (14th) (15th) (16th) century. The year was ________.

5. The original purpose of Columbus' expedition was _____________________________.

6. The Europeans first reached India by boat in the: (13th) (14th) (15th) (18th) (19th) century. (DON'T KNOW)

7. The British first went to India for: (TRADE) (VISITING) (RESEARCH) (CONQUEST) (DON'T KNOW)

8. India became a part of the British Empire in the: (14th) (16th) (18th) (20th) century. (DON'T KNOW)

9. Did the British Empire ever include some Asiatic countries in addition to India? (YES) (NO) (DON'T KNOW)

10. The British occupied India in order to: (HELP THE INDIAN PEOPLE) (EXPLOIT AND MAKE PROFIT) (MAKE INDIA THEIR HOME) (TO FIGHT COMMUNISM) (DON'T KNOW)
11. The British ruled India for a period of about ________ years.
   (Choose one: Ten, Fifty, Hundred, Hundred & Fifty, Two Hundred,
   Three Hundred.) (DON'T KNOW)

12. India became independent about ________ years ago. (Choose
   one: Two, Seven, Twelve, Seventeen.) (DON'T KNOW)

13. The name of the great leader of India who fought for its in-
   dependence is: _____________________.

14. As an American would you have supported independence for India?
   (YES) (NO) (NOT SURE) (NO ANSWER)

15. The relationship between India and Britain is now: (FRIENDLY)
   (UNFRIENDLY) (NEUTRAL) (DON'T KNOW)

16. What is meant by "colonialism?" _________________________

Political

17. When India became independent, a part of India was made into a
   separate country. Its name is: (CEYLON) (AFGHANISTAN) (IRAN)
   (PAKISTAN) (BURMA) (DON'T KNOW); the majority of the people in
   this new country are: (CHRISTIAN) (HINDU) (MOHAMMEDAN)
   (BUDDHIST) (DON'T KNOW).

18. The majority of the people in India are: (CHRISTIAN) (HINDU)
   (MOHAMMEDAN) (BUDDHIST) (DON'T KNOW).

19. Does the constitution of India support any one religion? (YES)
   (NO) (DON'T KNOW)

20. Does the constitution of the United States support any one
   religion? (YES) (NO) (DON'T KNOW)

21. Kashmir is a: (NAME OF A CITY) (PERSON'S NAME) (PART OF A
   COUNTRY) (DON'T KNOW)
2. The relationship between India and Pakistan is: (FRIENDLY) (UNFRIENDLY) (NEUTRAL) (DON'T KNOW).

3. The people of India have a: (KING) (DICTATOR) (PRIME MINISTER) (DON'T KNOW).

4. A person who cannot read or write can vote in India: (TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW).

5. The government of India resembles: (SOVIET UNION) (UNITED STATES) (SPAIN) (DON'T KNOW).

6. The outstanding Indian leaders in power today were educated in: (SOVIET UNION) (BRITAIN OR UNITED STATES) (INDIA ITSELF) (DON'T KNOW).

7. On fundamental principles of political philosophy, Indian leaders are likely to agree with: (THE WESTERN LEADERS) (THE SOVIET LEADERS) (DON'T KNOW).

8. Put a circle around the following organization or organizations of which India is a member: (NATO) (UNITED NATIONS) (COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL) (BRITISH COMMONWEALTH) (DON'T KNOW).

9. When China became Communist, it was considered a loss to the Western world. The loss was: (FATAL) (TRAGIC) (VERY GREAT) (GREAT) (NOT GREAT) (SMALL) (DON'T KNOW).

10. Should India become Communist, as did China, the loss to the Western world will be: (FATAL) (TRAGIC) (VERY GREAT) (GREAT) (NOT GREAT) (SMALL) (DON'T KNOW).

11. China became Communist, because ______________________________________
19. India may become Communist, if ________________________________

20. If India becomes Communist, the whole of Asia will ________________
become Communist. (Choose one: Certainly, Probably, Possibly,
Not necessarily. (DON'T KNOW)

21. Nehru is a: (DEMOCRATIC LEADER) (TOTALITARIAN LEADER)
(DON'T KNOW).

22. Does India as a whole support Nehru? (YES) (NO) (DON'T KNOW).

23. The Hindu religion is ________________ to Communist philosophy.
(Choose one: Opposed, Favorable, Neutral) (DON'T KNOW).

Economic

24. The population of India is about ___________ millions.

25. India ranks ______ among the countries of the world in respect
to population. (Choose one: First, Second, Third, Fourth,
Fifth, Sixth) (DON'T KNOW).

26. Put a single line under the country with the largest number of
people per square mile and two lines under the country with the
second largest number: BRITAIN — JAPAN — INDIA — UNITED STATES.
(DON'T KNOW)

27. The difference between the rate of increase of population in
India and the rate of increase of population in the United States
is: (ENORMOUS) (VERY GREAT) (GREAT) (NOT TOO GREAT) (LITTLE)
(NEGLIGIBLE) (DON'T KNOW).

28. Food shortage is an acute problem in India. (TRUE) (FALSE)
(DON'T KNOW).
Every year more than a million people die of starvation in India.

(TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW).

India has made ________________ effort to increase food production since she became independent. (Choose one: a great, some, a little, no). (DON'T KNOW)

India cannot raise enough food for all its people for about ___________ years. (Choose one: Two, Five, Ten, Twenty, Fifty or more) (DON'T KNOW)

You might have heard about "land reforms" that are being demanded and carried out in India as well as in many other Asian countries.

Land reforms mean ______________________________________________________

India is poor because she does not have natural resources. (TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW)

India is industrially underdeveloped. The greatest difficulty in the way of rapid industrialization of India is lack of __________

Is rapid industrial development possible in India without aid from outside? (YES) (NO) (DON'T KNOW)

"Point Four" means ______________________________________________________

The United States imports large quantities of manganese from India.

(TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW)

India has the largest steel plant in Asia. (TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW)

Religious, Cultural and Social

Put a single line under the name of the religion with the largest number of followers in India; and two lines under the name of the
religion with the second largest number of followers; and three lines under the name of the religion with the third largest number of followers. BUDDHISM HINDUISM CHRISTIANITY MOHAMMEDANISM ZOROASTRIANISM

52. Christians are about _______ percent of the population in India.

53. Hinduism as a religion is: (crude and in general primitive) (superstitions but with a great philosophy) (DON'T KNOW).

54. The attitude of an average Hindu towards people of other religions can be described as: (FRIENDLY) (TOLERANT) (UNFRIENDLY) (DON'T KNOW)

55. Gandhi was considered a great man, because ________________________________

56. Gandhi used the method of civil disobedience in his political work. "Civil Disobedience" means ________________________________

57. The Indian word, "satyagraha" means ________________________________

58. In India persons of different castes do not talk to one another. (TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW)

59. Persons of different castes do not marry each other. (TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW)

60. The caste system is ________________ breaking down. (Choose one: Rapidly, Slowly, Not) (DON'T KNOW)

61. The educated people in India do not believe in caste difference. (TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW)

62. Indian society is ________________ changing. (Choose one: Rapidly, Slowly, Not) (DON'T KNOW)
64. A very large percentage of the people in India live in ____________
Choose one: Big Cities, Towns, Small Villages. (DON'T KNOW)

65. There are about _______________ major languages in India.
(Choose one: Three, Twelve, Twenty-one, Thirty, Fifty or more)
(DON'T KNOW)

66. The most common language of India is called ________________.

67. No women in India hold prominent positions in public life. (TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW).

68. The current president of the United Nations General Assembly is ________________.

69. About _______________ percent of the people in India cannot read or write. (Choose one: Fifty, Sixty, Seventy, Eighty, Ninety) (DON'T KNOW) The majority of these people are ignorant and unintelligent. (TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW).

70. The skin color of the people of India is: (YELLOW) (WHITE) (BROWN) (BLACK) (DON'T KNOW).

71. The people of India are ________________ of skin color differences. (Choose one: conscious, not conscious) (DON'T KNOW)
It is commonly said today that we live in a small world and that no one country can really be isolated. Perhaps you will agree with this statement. As a citizen of the United States whose destiny seems to be world leadership, list five things about India that are important for us as Americans to understand. (Take about five minutes.)

1. ..............................................................
2. ..............................................................
3. ..............................................................
4. ..............................................................
5. ..............................................................

2. According to your judgment, your understanding of India is:

(VERY GOOD) (GOOD) (FAIRLY GOOD) (NOT GOOD)

3. You must have gotten your impressions of India from many sources, some from within the school and some outside. Check below the sources that have helped you. If you can think of others not listed, add them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Within the School</th>
<th>Outside the School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>() CLASSROOM TEACHING</td>
<td>() TELEVISION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>() TEXT-BOOKS</td>
<td>() RADIO</td>
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<tr>
<td>() CLASSROOM DISCUSSION</td>
<td>() MOVIES</td>
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<td>() PAMPHLETS AND BOOKLETS</td>
<td>() NEWSPAPERS</td>
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<td>() PHOTOGRAPHS AND PICTURES</td>
<td>() MAGAZINES</td>
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<td>() EDUCATIONAL MOVIES</td>
<td>() BOOKS</td>
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<td>() FILMSTRIPS</td>
<td>() TALKS BY MISSIONARIES</td>
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<td>() RECORDINGS</td>
<td>() TALKS BY VISITING NATIVES OF INDIA</td>
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<td>() RADIO</td>
<td>() PERSONAL CONTACTS</td>
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<td>() MAGAZINES</td>
<td>() LETTERS</td>
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<td>() NEWSPAPERS</td>
<td>() SOUVENIRS</td>
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<td>() TALKS BY NATIVES OF INDIA</td>
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<td>() TALKS BY PROFESSIOAL LECTURERS</td>
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CHAPTER IX

THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF INDIA BY 230 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

This chapter presents the responses of the 230 students to questions in Part A and Part B of the questionnaire. The questions in Part A are of a general or over-all nature and the responses to them are presented in terms of the individual questions or in terms of small groups of them. The questions in Part B were developed on the basis of the thirty critical concepts and the responses are presented in terms of the latter.

Before the actual presentation of the responses, however, the writer should comment on the method of tabulation, especially the method used for tabulating the responses to the free-answer questions. The tabulation of the responses to two-way questions or multiple-choice questions was easy enough. It was a matter of counting the number of checks for the alternative answers. Thus, in the case of question 1 from Part A, namely, "Have you seen and talked to any native of India? YES NO," there are only two possible answers and the tabulation consisted in counting the YES-es and NO-s. In the case of a multiple-choice question such as question 10 from Part B, namely, "The British occupied India in order to: (HELP THE INDIAN PEOPLE) (EXPLOIT AND MAKE PROFIT) (MAKE INDIA THEIR HOME) (TO FIGHT COMMUNISM) (DON'T KNOW," there are several alternative answers, but the method of tabulation was essentially the same: it consisted in counting the checks for each of the answers.
In the case of two-way questions and multiple-choice questions, the framework for tabulation is laid out and predetermined. In the case of free-answer questions, on the contrary, the tabulator has to develop the framework. Payne says in his book, *The Art of Asking Questions*, "...the free-answer question is an 'open' question in almost every respect. Its results are as full of variety as a country store, and just as hard to divide into departments." Variety, they say, is the spice of life; but not to the tabulator of 230 free responses when the students insist on expressing themselves in their own individualistic and idiosyncratic ways.

The writer did anticipate the problem when he let the final draft of the questionnaire contain a total of twenty free-answer questions, but it was felt that ease of tabulation must not be bought at the expense of significance of response. Research in which technique is permitted to override purpose is hard to defend.

Of the twenty free-answer questions, four have one-word answers which were quite easy to tabulate. Question 4 in Part B, which asks for the year of the discovery of America, of question 12, which asks for "the name of the great leader of India who fought for its independence," illustrate this group. The answers of another group of five free-answer questions are numerical in nature.

For instance, question 3 in Part A asks: "The distance between New York and India is about ___________ thousand miles." Even though the correct answer is eight thousand miles, the important thing to find

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out about the student responses was not just how many students said "eight thousand," but rather how many came close to eight thousand and also how close they came. Hence the following scale was worked out: "Three thousand or less - Four to six thousand - Seven to twelve thousand - Thirteen thousand or more." The classification of responses on such a scale meaningfully summarizes them.

Of the remaining eleven free-answer questions, six have correct answers but they are descriptive in nature. The answer should be either a phrase of well chosen words or one or two descriptive sentences. For instance, Question 5 from Part B asks: "The original purpose of Columbus' expedition was ____________________________." The correct answer is: "to find a new sea route to the Indies." The student responses were of different kinds, some complete, some others incomplete and still others wrong. So the writer had to set up criteria as to what constitutes a complete correct answer and what constitutes a correct but incomplete answer.

The correct answer was found to have two important components—"new sea route" and "to the Indies." If a response contained both these components, but not necessarily using the same words, then it was considered "correct." If, on the other hand, the response contained one of the two components and was not clear about the other, then it was considered "correct but incomplete." Wrong answers and "no answers" were counted separately. Similar schemes of tabulation were used in the case of the other questions in this group.

The last group of free-answer questions, five in number, were the most difficult to tabulate. For, these questions, unlike those discussed above, have no correct answers as such. So a classification
scheme could not be developed deductively as in the case of questions in the third group. Here the classification scheme had to be developed empirically through a process of gradual expansion and modification. For instance, Question 56 asks: "Gandhi was considered a great man because __________________________." As the writer made a preliminary examination of the responses, he could see the frequent occurrence of such categories as "worked for the welfare of his people," "worked for the independence of India," "was a religious man," "believed and practiced passive resistance," and so on. These were used as the initial categories and as more new responses came up for tabulation, new categories were added where necessary and appropriate. Thus, at the end, there came to be six categories. The important consideration was that the categories should be neither so numerous as to make for a diffuse summary, nor so few as to suppress the variety and subtlety of the responses. Greater details will be given later in this chapter as and when the writer discusses the questions that belong to this group.

The responses of 230 high school seniors are presented below:

Part A

**Acquaintance with Natives of India and American Visitors to India.** *(Questions 1, 2)*

Of the 230 students, more than 45 per cent said that they had seen and talked to a native of India. More than 60 per cent said that they had seen and talked to an American who had visited India.

**Awareness of Distance from the United States.** *(Questions 3, 4, 5)*

The students tend to overestimate the distance between New York and India. The largest single group of them, constituting about 22
per cent said that the distance was thirteen thousand miles or more, 
(the correct answer being "Seven to nine" thousand miles.) The writer said that the students tend to overestimate because the number of students who overestimated are only five per cent higher than the number of those who underestimated.

An interesting contrast to the above finding is their marked underestimation of the number of days it takes to go by boat from New York to India. The largest single group of students, about 41 per cent of the total number, said that it takes ten to seventeen days. The next largest group, constituting 26 per cent, said it takes nine days or less. Only ten per cent gave the correct answer, namely, "eighteen to twenty-five" days. Those who overestimated are altogether only 11 per cent of the students.

They also underestimated the number of days it takes to fly from New York to India on a passenger plane. But this was not as marked as in the last case. While the largest single group of students, constituting 33 per cent, said it would take two days, (the correct answer is two and a half days), it was found that the number of students who underestimated were only three per cent higher than the number of those who overestimated.

The students' tendency to overestimate the distance of India from the United States, on the one hand, and their tendency to underestimate the time taken to sail or fly to India, on the other, may warrant the following explanation. They conceive India as being farther away than
she actually is, because of their lack of adequate understanding of or familiarity with the country. If this explanation is plausible, then it may be hypothesized that they should underestimate the distance of familiar countries.

If they underestimate the time of travel to India, it may be because of their increased awareness of and experience with modern means of rapid communication. The writer would hypothesize that students in India are likely to overestimate the time of travel from India to the United States because of their comparatively lesser awareness of and experience with modern means of rapid communication such as flying.

Knowledge of Location and Size. (Questions 6, 7, 8).

As high as 72 per cent of the students knew that India is located in South Asia. An additional 13 per cent said that it is located in Central Asia, but at least they knew that India is in Asia. Almost 10 per cent, however, checked, "Southern Europe." Two per cent checked "Central Africa," while 3.5 per cent did not answer.

As to the size of India, 63 per cent of the students knew that India is the second largest country in Asia. Even a greater percentage of them, about 73 per cent, knew that China is the largest. Almost an equal number of students, about 18 per cent, overestimated the size of India and underestimated the size of China. An interesting finding was that about five per cent considered Korea the largest or the second largest country in Asia. This may be another instance of the interconnection between familiarity and conceptualizing.
In answer to the question comparing the size of India with the size of the United States, it was found that the largest single group, consisting of 27 per cent, considered India one-quarter as large as the United States. This is a matter of underestimation. The writer thinks that this may be related to the general student opinion that India has a large and crowded population. And the students perhaps assume that the population lives in a comparatively small country. Actually, the writer could think of a few student free responses obtained earlier which attributed smallness of size to India. Another contributing factor may be the students' conceiving of the United States as a very vast land mass.

The writer should not overemphasize the above point of underestimation, for two groups of almost equal number, each constituting 20 per cent of all the students, considered India half or two-thirds as large as the United States. Here it must be pointed out that even though usually India is described as two-thirds as large as the United States, this refers to undivided India of 1946, before Pakistan came to being. New India is about half as large as the United States. About 15 per cent of the students said that they did not know the answer.

Part B


Age of the Culture of India.

A majority of the students were aware of the antiquity of the culture and civilization of India compared to those of the United
States or Western Europe. Thus, 75 per cent said that India as a culture is older than the United States, and 54 per cent said that the civilization of India is older than the Western European civilization. About 19 per cent, in the first case, and 26 per cent, in the second case, held contrary views. And 17 per cent thought that the civilizations of India and Western Europe are of equal age.

Expansion of Europe and Oceanic Discoveries.

As regards the oceanic adventures and discoveries of the 15th Century which were one major aspect of the general expansion of Western European powers and which to future generations, in the words of Arnold Toynbee, "will stand out like a mountain peak on the horizon of the past," the students evinced only a partial awareness.

About 67 per cent gave correct, though some of them incomplete, answers to the question asking for the original purpose of Columbus' expedition. Some of the fully correct answers were: "to find a new trade route to East Indies," "to find a short way to India and China," "to find a way to East Indies by proving the earth was round," and so on. Some of the correct but incomplete answers were: "to find a route to India" or "to find East Indies" and so on. In addition, 19 per cent of the students gave variations of the answer: "to prove the world was round." Even though this scientific purpose did not inspire Columbus' expedition, he did derive his pertinacity from his belief in the roundness of the earth. Of the students who gave the above answer, many may be expected to know the correct answer.

2 Arnold Toynbee, Civilization on Trial, p. 64.
In answer to the question regarding the year in which America was discovered, more than 85 per cent gave the correct year. And, incidentally, it is interesting to note that only 60 per cent could give the correct century. About 12 per cent checked the 14th Century while 9 per cent checked the 13th. These figures indicate the difficulty that some students experience in learning that a year that begins with "14" is of the 15th century, not the 14th.

In contrast to their understandably high awareness of the Westward oceanic expeditions and discoveries was their fairly low awareness of the Eastward oceanic expeditions and discoveries. The students' knowledge of the now common seaway from Europe to India and of the time when the Europeans discovered the around-the-Cape-of-Good-Hope sea route to India was found to be rather low. The latter discovery and the discovery of America were made in the same century and were actually separated by only a span of 5 years.

In answer to the question, "The seas you cross as you sail from Europe to India are: (BALTIC SEA) (MEDITERRANEAN SEA) (YELLOW SEA) (RED SEA) (ARABIAN SEA) (CARIBBEAN SEA)," the following responses were given: About 67 per cent checked "Mediterranean sea," but only 34 per cent checked "Red sea" and those who checked "Arabian sea" were only 21 per cent. About eight per cent checked "Yellow sea" and "Caribbean sea." Then in answer to the question, "The Europeans first reached India by boat in the: (13th) (14th) (15th) (18th) (19th) century. (DON'T KNOW)," the largest single group of students, consisting of 40 per cent of the total number, checked "DON'T KNOW." About 14 per
cent gave the correct answer, namely, "15th" century and 19 per cent answered "14th" century.

**British Conquest and Rule of India.**

The students' knowledge of the historical relations between Britain and India was found to be quite satisfactory. They displayed a fairly high understanding of Britain's original trade interests and her subsequent conquest and rule of India for many years.

As high as 73 per cent of the students knew that the British first went to India for purposes of trade. Fourteen per cent checked "conquest," and 9 per cent did not know. In answer to the next question, however, which asks for the century in which India became a part of the British Empire, 48 per cent said that they did not know. About 24 per cent gave the correct answer which is the "18th."

The students were highly aware of the vastness of the British Empire which included territories all over Asia. Thus, in answer to the question, "Did the British Empire ever include some Asiatic countries in addition to India" (YES) (NO) (DON'T KNOW", about 62 per cent answered in the affirmative. About 22 per cent said that they did not know and the remaining 16 per cent replied in the negative.

They were also highly aware of the purposes of the British occupation of India. Seventy three per cent said that the British occupied India in order to "exploit and make profit." About 12 per cent did not know the answer, while exactly 10 per cent said that the British wanted to "help the Indian people."

Even though a large majority of the students knew the exploitative aspect of the British occupation of India, only 13 per cent of them
seemed to know the exploitative connotation of the word "colonialism." Of this 13 per cent a considerable number of students displayed only a partial awareness of the meaning emphasizing the political aspect and not so much the economical. "A land is governed by another country by force" is an illustration. More than 11 per cent, almost equal to the above group, thought that the word refers to the migration and settlement of a group of people in a new country. The following are illustrations: "the inhabiting of one country by another," "the people who come to a country at an early time."

As high as 56 per cent of the students either said that they did not know the meaning of "colonialism" or wrote no answers. The remaining 20 per cent made interesting but inadequate or wrong guesses such as "living in a colony," "a backward civilization—colonial time civilization," "colonialism is when they come together in one colony." A very interesting response was: "India is a colonialism of Britain."

In answer to a question about the duration of the British rule in India, the highest number of responses, 37 per cent of the total, said that they did not know. However, 16 per cent checked the correct answer, namely, "two hundred" years and 8 per cent checked "hundred and fifty" years which can also be considered correct, since both figures have been used with general approval. It depends on the year which one takes to be the beginning of the British rule.

The Advent of Indian Independence.

More than 38 per cent of the students knew that India became independent seven years ago. And 25 per cent thought that it was two
years ago. These students are not entirely wrong for even though India became independent in 1947, she continued to be a dominion in the British Commonwealth until 1950 when the constitution of free India was adopted and the country came to be called a "Sovereign Democratic Republic." Thirteen per cent checked "twelve" years. Fourteen per cent said that they did not know the answer. Ten per cent checked "seventeen" years.

As high as 60 per cent of the students would give the name of Gandhi in answer to the question that asked for: "the name of the great leader of India who fought for its independence." There were interesting variations of the spelling of Gandhi such as: "Gande," "Gandhi," "Gandi." Some students must have heard or seen the popularly used appellation, "Mahatma," which means "Great soul," and their attempts to reproduce this word are seen in the following: "Mo Gandhi," "Mobat Magandi," "Magandi." Of those who did not give the name of Gandhi, some mentioned Nehru. This answer is not entirely wrong. One student wrote "Mohammed!"

To the question, "As an American would you have supported independence for India? (YES) (NO) (NOT SURE) (NO ANSWER)," almost half of the students (49 per cent) answered in the affirmative. Only 1 per cent said "no." Thirty-eight per cent, however, checked "not sure." These students may have wondered, like many Americans did before Indian independence, if India could manage to have a stable, strong independent government, considering such internal problems as the caste system, Hindu-Muslim differences and the like. However, perhaps many of them would support the principle of Indian independence.
The political events in India for the last few decades cannot be understood without a knowledge of the differences and antagonisms between the two major religious groups, namely, Hindus and Muslims.

Of the 230 students questioned, a large majority knew that India is predominantly Hindu but only some were aware of the Hindu-Muslim differences which led to the creation of a new country, Pakistan. Most students knew the name of this new country but only some knew that Pakistan is predominantly Muslim and that the Indo-Pakistan relations are not cordial today.

In answer to the question, "The majority of the people in India are: (CHRISTIAN) (HINDU) (MOHAMMEDAN) (BUDDHIST) (DON'T KNOW)," as high as 55 per cent of the students checked the correct choice, "Hindu." Twenty-six per cent checked "Mohammedan" and 10 per cent checked "Buddhist." That the students knew for sure that India is not predominantly Christian is shown by the fact that less than 1 per cent checked that religion.

Fifty-eight per cent of the students knew that Pakistan is the name of that part of India which was made into a separate country when India became independent. However, only 34 per cent knew that the majority of the people in this new country is "Mohammedan." And almost 30 per cent checked "Hindu."

In answer to the question, "The relationship between India and Pakistan is: (FRIENDLY) (UNFRIENDLY) (NEUTRAL) (DON'T KNOW)," 30
per cent said that they did not know. Thirty-two per cent checked the correct answer, "unfriendly," but the next largest group consisting of 19 per cent gave the opposite answer. Fifteen per cent checked "neutral."

The Kashmir question is the outstanding issue that has made for a great deal of antagonism between India and Pakistan, and it has been before the United Nations for the past several years. In answer to the question, "Kashmir is a: (NAME OF A CITY) (PERSON'S NAME) (PART OF A COUNTRY) (DON'T KNOW)," only 35 per cent gave the correct answer, "part of a country" while 44 per cent checked either of the two wrong choices. Seventeen per cent said that they did not know the answer.

Concept VI. "Separation of State and Religion" (Questions 19, 20)

Prime Minister Nehru has said on several occasions that he would consider the establishment of a secular state in India as one of his major accomplishments. In his excellent book on India, Chester Bowles says,

One of his (Nehru's) greatest achievements is the creation of a secular state in which the forty-five million Muslims who chose not to go to Pakistan may live peacefully and worship as they please.... Several times Nehru told me that if he were to die today this would be his most enduring accomplishment...."3

Considered against the background of religious conflict, this establishment of the secular state becomes a significant thing about India. As anticipated by the teachers, however, 35 per cent of the students said that they did not know whether the constitution of India supported any one religion. The next largest group, consisting

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3 Chester Bowles, Ambassador's Report, p. 104.
of 77 per cent, said that the constitution did support a religion.
And about 30 per cent gave the correct answer.

Nevertheless a very high majority of the students were aware that
the constitution of the United States does not support any one religion.
They should apparently understand the principle of the separation of
state and church. Of the 230 students, 210, comprising about 91 per
cent, said that the constitution of the United States is not partial
to any particular religion.

Concepts VII, VIII, "Adoption of the Democratic Ideals of the
West," "The Present Western-educated Leadership." (Questions
23–26).

Most of the students knew that the government of India is headed
by a Prime Minister and that the outstanding Indian leaders were edu-
cated in the West. But that India has a democratic governmental frame-
work resembling that of Britain or the United States and that India
actively believes in such democratic procedures as free common elections
based on adult franchise, only some of them were aware of. The figures
are given in the following paragraphs.

In answer to the question, "The people of India have a: (KING)
(DICTATOR) (PRIME MINISTER) (DON'T KNOW)," as high as 71 per cent checked
the correct choice, "Prime Minister." About 12 per cent checked
"dictator" and 7 per cent "king," while the remaining 10 per cent said
that they did not know. However, in answer to the question, "The govern-
ment of India resembles: (SOVIET UNION) (UNITED STATES) (SPAIN)
(DON'T KNOW)," only 29 per cent checked the correct choice, "United
States." The largest single group, consisting of 39 per cent, said
that they did not know. And 33 per cent checked either "Soviet Union"
or "Spain," thus implying that India has some form of dictatorship.
One explanation of the high score for the choice "Prime Minister" in the last question may be that when they read or heard the name Nehru it was usually accompanied by the title "Prime Minister."

In answer to a question asking whether a person who cannot read or write can vote in India, more than 40 per cent said that they did not know. Thirty-five per cent answered correctly in the affirmative and about 24 per cent in the negative.

As high as 66 per cent of the students knew that the outstanding Indian leaders in power today were educated in the West, i.e., in Britain or the United States. Only two students out of the 230 students checked "Soviet Union." Eighteen per cent did not know the answer, while 14 per cent checked "India itself."


The above five concepts about India hold together and hence the responses to questions relating to them will be considered together.

Indo-British Relations.

One of the surprising things about Indo-British relations was that after many years of what Toynbee mildly calls "estrangement," the two countries became cordial to each other as soon as India attained full independence. This was dramatically shown by India's decision to be a member of the Commonwealth. Toynbee thinks that cordial relations between India and Britain, and through Britain with the West, are of great importance in the context of the struggle between the Communist powers and the Western democracies. Of the 230 students asked, a
great majority did not know that the Indo-British relations are friendly or that India is a member of the British Commonwealth.

In answer to the question, "The relationship between India and Britain is now: (FRIENDLY) (UNFRIENDLY) (NEUTRAL) (DON'T KNOW)," the largest single group, consisting of more than 37 per cent, checked "neutral." About 29 per cent checked the correct choice, "friendly," while 14 per cent checked "unfriendly." About as many as the latter said that they did not know. The fact that only 14 per cent said that the Indo-British relationship is unfriendly should be taken as an indication of the students' awareness of the lack of hostility between the two countries which they would normally expect of any two ex-ruler and ex-ruled. In answer to another question in which the students were asked to check the organizations to which India belonged, only 20 per cent checked "British Commonwealth."

India and the West.

The important thing about India and the West is that they have common political beliefs, namely, devotion to democratic ideals. It was seen earlier that only some of the students were aware of the democratic nature of the constitution and government of India. A great many of them, however, expressed the view in their answers to a later question, that Indian leaders would agree with the Western leaders on fundamental political principles.

The question was: "On fundamental principles of political philosophy, Indian leaders are likely to agree with: (THE WESTERN LEADERS) (THE SOVIET LEADERS) (DON'T KNOW)." As high as 63 per cent checked the
correct choice, "the Western Leaders." In contrast, only 17 per cent
checked "the Soviet leaders." A larger percentage than the latter,
about 19 per cent, said that they did not know the answer.

When a question was asked pointedly about the ideological aspect
of Prime Minister Nehru's political leadership, it was found that there
was only 7 per cent difference between those who considered him "a
democratic leader" and those who considered him "a totalitarian leader,"
even though this difference was in favor of "democratic leader." The
fact that Nehru does not always see eye to eye with the Western leaders
might have influenced the students into conceiving him as a totali-
tarian leader.

The following question was asked regarding the organizational
connections of India: "Put a circle around the following organization
or organizations of which India is a member: (NATO) (UNITED NATIONS)
(COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL) (BRITISH COMMONWEALTH) (DON'T KNOW)." As
high as 75 per cent of the students checked "United Nations." This
can be explained by the publicity given to some of the international
activities of India such as supervision of the exchange of prisoners
of war in Korea. The next largest single group consisting of more than
30 per cent checked "Nato." This is hard to understand. One wonders if
these students knew what Nato is. As was referred to earlier, only
20 per cent checked "British Commonwealth."

The importance to the Western world of India continuing as a
democratic country and of not turning into a Communist country was
highlighted by the student responses considered in the following para-
graphs.
India versus Communist China.

A large majority of the students considered China's acceptance of Communism as a serious loss to the Western World. And even a larger majority thought that it would be a grave loss should India become Communist.

The two questions were:

"When China became Communist, it was considered a loss to the Western World. The loss was: (FATAL) (TRAGIC) (VERY GREAT) (GREAT) (NOT GREAT) (SMALL) (DON'T KNOW).

"Should India become Communist, as did China, the loss to the Western world will be: (FATAL) (TRAGIC) (VERY GREAT) (GREAT) (NOT GREAT) (SMALL) (DON'T KNOW).

The responses were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fatal</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragic</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very great</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>31.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Great</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not great</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About fifty-eight per cent of the students thought that China's change to Communism was either "fatal" or "tragic" or "very great." And more than 67 per cent said that India's possible future change to Communism would be either "fatal" or "tragic" or "very great."

Then the students responded to two questions, one about the reasons why China became Communist and the other about the conditions
which may cause India to become Communist. Both were free-answer questions. They were simply, "China became Communist, because ________________________" and "India may become Communist, if _______________________." For the question on China, about 47 per cent did not give any answer or said that they did not know. For the question on India, about 38 per cent did not give any answer or said that they did not know. But those who answered these two questions gave a wide variety of responses.

First, about the responses on China: It seemed meaningful to classify them under two broad headings: (A) Factors within China and (B) Factors outside China. By far the larger portion of the responses fell under (A). One hundred and five responses were related to (A), while only nineteen were related to (B). Four sub-classifications were made under (A) and two under (B). They are as follows:

(A) Factors within China.

1. The nationalist government was weak and the Communists overthrew it and gained control of the country. (58 responses).

Examples: "they did not have a strong central government." "internal strife and corruption weakened it so" "it was easy for the Reds to take over" "political situation was so bad" "Mao Tsetung's rebels overthrew Chiang-Kai-Shek's government" "the Communists ran the Nationalists out"


Examples: "As the more intelligent leaders of China were able to persuade the illiterate people to accept the Communist theory, China therefore turned Communist" "it was told to me that the way Communism was put to them was that everyone would have prosperity" "they were offered food and shelter by the Communists"
3. Poor economic situation, lack of education and general backwardness. (22 responses).

Examples: "food (and political) situation was so bad"  
"because of hunger and despair"  
"they grasped anything that might bring them a better life"  
"because of ....backward customs, illiterate people"  
"famine, ignorance of its people"

(B) Factors outside China.

1. Intervention of Russia. (16 responses).

Examples: "it was helped by Russia in time of need"  
"the Russians fed them and clothed them and they would stop if they would join the U. S."  
"close to the Soviet Union and was taken by force"  
"the migration of hundreds from the U. S. S. R."


Examples: "our procrastination"  
"the U. S. did not support the nationalists"  
"the U. S. did not understand the situation"

It is the opinion of the writer that the students did well to think that the major reasons for China's acceptance of communism were internal, both military and economic in nature. It is significant that only three out of the 124 students thought that it was because of lack of action from the United States. This is in contrast to the view of many in this country who would hold the Government of the United States responsible for the "loss of China to communism."

In regard to the responses on India, the writer used the same scheme of classification, namely: (A) Factors within India, and (B) Factors outside India. A total of 110 responses were classified under these two headings. Three sub-classifications were made within (A) and
There were a few scattered responses which did not fall into any of the above classifications. The following are the results of the analysis:

(A) **Factors within India.**

1. If the Communists gain control of the government by some means or other. (26 responses).

   Examples: "if the communists overthrow their government"
   "if it is overrun by Communists"
   "if the Communists force out the free"
   "if no good central government"
   "if the Communists win the elections"

2. If the economic situation and living conditions do not improve. (17 responses).

   Examples: "if they don't help the people get food, clothing, etc.,"
   "if living conditions go lower and people get hungry (anything for food)"
   "if something is not done about the terrific contrasts in wealth and the caste system"

3. If the people are not properly educated and if the Communist propaganda prevails. (16 responses).

   Examples: "if the people continue to be uneducated,..." 
   "if the lower class of Indians are not taught that Communism is wrong"
   "if the Communists continue teaching their beliefs"
   "if the Communists offer a better way and the people think so"
   "if the propaganda from the Communists becomes too great"

(B) **Factors outside India.**

1. If India is not helped by other countries, especially the United States. (35 responses).

   Examples: "if the U. S. doesn't help India solve many of its problems"
   "if India does not side with the West so they can help to build herself"
"if they refuse aid from the U. S."
"if we don't educate them for democracy and against Communism"

2. If the influence of Russia prevails. (10 responses).

Examples: "if the Russians would tell them some propaganda..."
"if Russian aggression is not stopped"
"if they become angry with Great Britain and the U. S. and Russia promises them lots of food"

3. If the influence of the neighboring Communist (or Communist-to-be) countries prevails. (6 responses).

Examples: "if China encourages them about their fundamentals"
"if all her neighbors become Communist"
"if they support the Communist countries"

It is hard to judge the responses since the question is a hypothetical one. However, it is obvious that on the whole they are pertinent and intelligent. As in the case of China, the students emphasize the internal factors of a political, economic and strategic nature.

One significant difference, however, is the large number of students who stress the importance of American aid. While a few display what a certain sociologist called "the guardian angel complex," nevertheless their views will meet with the approval of some thoughtful Americans who feel that democracy in India cannot succeed in time without foreign aid.

In answer to the question regarding the chances of the entire continent of Asia going Communist, should India turn Communist, the largest single group of students consisting of 39 per cent checked the choice "possibly." More than 25 per cent checked "probably," while 10 per cent checked "certainly." Twenty-four per cent said that Asia will "not necessarily" become Communist. The students appear to be more optimistic than several thoughtful American leaders.
Nehru's Leadership

Of the 119 students who answered, about 30 per cent described Nehru as a "democratic leader" and 22 per cent as a "totalitarian leader." To the question, "Does India as a whole support Nehru?" 40 per cent answered in the affirmative and 22 per cent in the negative. About 32 per cent said that they did not know.

The above figures indicate that an appreciable section of the students were aware of the democratic nature of Nehru's leadership and his great popularity among his countrymen. However, there was a considerable number of them who entertained contrary opinions. This is perhaps due to the occasional disagreements between Nehru and the Western leaders. It was seen earlier, however, that Indian leaders as a whole were considered by the students to be "democratic-minded."

Communism versus Hindu Religion.

It is Toynbee's conviction that under normal circumstances, Communism would be an "exotic" thing in a Hindu society and that perhaps the Hindu religion or way of life will prove the greatest deterrent to the success of Communism in India. In answer to a simple question on the subject, a clear majority of the students said that the Hindu religion and Communist philosophy are opposed to each other. It is possible that they were aware that religion in general and Communism are incompatible.

The question was: "The Hindu religion is ____________ to Communist philosophy. (Choose one: Opposed, Favorable, Neutral)" (DON'T KNOW)." The largest single group of students consisting of 47
per cent checked "opposed." The next largest consisting of 23 per cent said that they did not know. Nineteen per cent checked "neutral," while only 10 per cent checked "favorable."


The reader may recall that it was found earlier from the free responses of the students that they were, to use the words of a teacher, "very sensitive" to the population question on India. The reader may also recall that it was found that one of their common misconceptions was in regard to the density of population in India.

Four questions were devoted to this subject and the responses were interesting and, in some ways, surprising. The students were found to underestimate the actual number of people in India, to overestimate the density of population and the rate of increase and to have a fairly accurate idea of the ranking of India among the nations of the world in respect to size of population.

The question regarding the actual number of people in India was a free-answer question. It simply read, "The population of India is about ________ millions. Thirty-three per cent of the students did not answer the question, but among those who answered, only 8 per cent overestimated, i.e., their responses came under "400 millions or more." On the contrary, as high as 44 per cent underestimated—the largest single group of students thought that it must be "199 millions or less," and another 10 per cent was for "200 to 299 millions." Only 15 per cent came under the correct category, namely "300 to 399 millions." The correct figure is 350 millions.
In connection with another question, the students were given a list of four countries—Britain, Japan, India, and the United States—and asked to check the two countries which have "the largest number of people per square mile" and "the second largest number of people per square mile." The actual figures for these countries may be given here for the information of the reader: Britain 536.9, Japan 584.8, India 272.1, United States 49.9.

Of the 230 students, 79 per cent thought that India had either the first largest or the second largest population density. Of this, 49 per cent considered India having the first largest density. Japan came next; about 58 per cent thought that she has either the first or second largest density. Of this number, 27 per cent attributed to her the first largest density. The United States and Britain got comparatively low scores. Interestingly enough, Britain which is almost as dense as Japan, got only half the score of the United States.

Another misconception was revealed from the responses to a question comparing the rate of increase of population in India and the rate of increase of population in the United States. Exactly 60 per cent of the students said that the difference was either "great" or "very great" or "enormous." The distribution among these three choices was: great 23, very great 22, enormous 17. Only 6 per cent checked "little" and one student of the 230 checked "negligible." About 17 per cent checked "not too great." About 18 per cent did not give any answer. Actually, the difference between the Indian increase rate and the American increase rate is almost nil and sometimes the former is lower. For instance, in 1950 they were respectively 8.8/1,000 and 13.8/1,000.

* Taken from World Affairs Are Your Affairs, prepared by the Fund for Adult Education, an establishment of the Ford Foundation, 1952.
The fourth question regarding the population of India was about the rank of India among the countries of the world in respect to population. The largest single group of students consisting of 28 per cent checked the correct choice, namely, "second." About 25 per cent checked "third," while 12 per cent checked "first." A total of 20 per cent considered India "fourth" or still lower in rank. Nine per cent said that they did not know.

Concepts XVI, XVII. "Food Shortage and Measures Taken to Improve." "Need for Land Reform." (Questions 41-45).

As in the case of "Population Pressure," it was found earlier that the students have a high awareness of the food problem in India. It was also found that some of them entertained the misconception that millions die every year out of starvation.

Four questions were devoted to the subject of food shortage, and the responses were in the main as expected. They displayed a very high awareness of the existence of the food problem and a large percentage of them thought that more than a million people die of starvation every year. A considerable portion of them thought that it would take 20 years or more before India could be self-sufficient in food. However, a clear majority conceded that India has made a great effort to increase food production.

The first question asked for a True—False check on the statement, "Food shortage is an acute problem in India." As high as 87 per cent reacted in the affirmative. This is, incidentally, the largest score that any choice received in the questionnaire. Only 5 per cent reacted
in the negative. And it is possible that these students were reacting not so much to the general truth of this statement as to the qualifying word "acute." Four per cent said that they did not know whether the statement was true or false.

Reacting to another statement, "Every year more than a million people die of starvation in India," 69 per cent said that it was true. This is, of course, 18 less than the 87 per cent that considered food shortage as an acute problem in India, but it is quite high nevertheless. Nineteen per cent said that they did not know if the statement was true or not, while 11 per cent reacted in the negative.

The next question was: "India has made ________________ effort to increase food production since she became independent. (Choose one: a great, some, a little, no) (DON'T KNOW)." About 57 per cent chose "a great." The next largest group consisting of 31 per cent chose "some." Only 3.5 per cent chose "a little" and just one student of 270 chose "no." Nine per cent said that they did not know. Thus, most students were aware of India's efforts at greater food production.

That the students were, however, pessimistic about early realization of the national goal of self-sufficiency is shown by the following figures. In answer to a question regarding the number of years it may take for India to be able to raise enough food for all its people, 71 per cent said that they did not know. The next largest group, however, consisting of 23.5 per cent checked the choice, "twenty" years. About 17 per cent checked "ten." And there was 10 per cent of the students who thought that it would take "fifty or more" years.
Those who checked "five" or "two" were altogether only 15 per cent. Of these only 2 per cent checked "two," which is the number of years that the Five Year Plan of India allows for the attainment of the goal of self-sufficiency. That the Plan is not over-optimistic is borne out by the fact that the fiscal year 1953-54 was the first year in many years in which India did not have to import food from outside.

**Land Reform.**

"Land reform" is one of the major problems in Asia and India and this phrase means reorganization of the old feudal setup and an equitable distribution of the land among the working farmers. In answering a question on this subject, the majority of the students indicated that they were not aware of the problem. However, a small group knew the problem and its nature, while another group of equal proportions took "land reforms" to mean better use of land.

The question read as follows: "You might have heard about 'land reforms' that are being demanded and carried out in India as well as in many other Asian countries. Land reforms mean __________________________."

About 55 per cent of the students did not answer or said that they did not know. About 11 per cent gave correct and complete answers such as: "sharing the land with more and making it possible for them to own it," "split up the land into equal parts for every one," "methods of rehabilitating for the " and the like.

About 7 per cent gave correct but incomplete answers such as: "making large estates into small farms," "lots to the peasant," "change who
controls the land" and the like. Thus, about 18 per cent of the students were aware, partially or fully, of the land problem.

About 19 per cent of them gave the apparent meaning of "land reforms." The following are some instances: "dams for irrigation to better the land and other things like this," "when you put fertilizer back into the soil," "rebuild the worn-out land," "cultivate the land to make it useful and productive" or simply, "to better the land." About 6 per cent of the students gave wrong answers.

**Concept XVIII: XI. "Dearth of Capital Obstacle to Economic Development." "Poverty-stricken but Enormous Resources" (Questions 46-50).**

According to the students, the five greatest obstacles to industrial development given in the order of their frequency scores are: (1) education, (2) machinery, (3) natural resources (4) technical know how and (5) capital. This listing is quite sound except for the item "natural resources," though it must be pointed out that several students simply said "resources" which is a broad term. The figures and details are given below.

The question on the obstacles to industrial development was phrased thus: "India is industrially underdeveloped. The greatest difficulty in the way of rapid industrialization is lack of ___________ __________." About 20 per cent did not answer. Among those who answered, several gave more than one item. The following is the analysis of a total of 205 responses:
Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(a) Education, Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Ability, Intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Machinery, Tools, Equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Natural resources, Raw materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Technical knowledge, Skilled labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Capital, Money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Modernization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under the last classification "miscellaneous," we had the following items: "civilization," "democracy," "pressure on land" and "trading ability." Under the classification "raw materials," three responses specifically referred to "oil" or "power" which are truly important needs of India.

To the question whether rapid industrial development is possible without aid from outside, as high as 87 answered in the negative. This is consistent with the view of a considerably large number of people expressed earlier which held that India may become Communist if she was not helped by other countries.

In interesting contrast to the above view was their lack of information about "Point Four." About 72 per cent said that they did not know about it and 10 per cent gave wrong descriptions. Students consisting of 13 per cent gave correct but partial descriptions such as: "an aid program," "much needed help to needy countries," and the like. About 4 per cent, i.e., nine students, gave correct and complete answers like "technical help to underdeveloped countries from the U. S." An interesting and unique description of Point Four was "41."
In answer to the question on natural resources, namely, "India is poor because she does not have natural resources. (TRUE) (FALSE) (DON'T KNOW)," about 14 per cent said that they did not know. The rest were equally divided in their choice of "true" or "false." In answer to another question which asked if the United States imports large quantities of manganese from India, 52 per cent did not answer, 35 per cent answered correctly in the affirmative and 13 per cent answered in the negative.

In the light of the figures given in the preceding paragraphs, it should not be surprising to see that 48 per cent of the students did not know that India has the largest steel plant in Asia and that 38 per cent, as against eight, thought that it could not be true.

**Concept XX. "Most People Live in Villages."** (Question 64).

One of the teachers said that the students may not have a positive knowledge of this fact but "may make a good surmise." She was right. In answer to the question, "A very large percentage of the people in India live in _____________. (Choose one: Big Cities, Towns, Small Villages) (DON'T KNOW)," about 62 per cent chose "small villages." Thirteen per cent chose "big cities," 12 per cent "towns" and the rest said that they did not know.

**Concept XIII, XLI. "Religion as an Important Part of Indian Culture" "Hinduism as a Tolerant Religion."** (Questions 52-55. Also 18, 36.

Earlier it was discovered that a large majority of the students knew that Hinduism is the major religion of India and that it is opposed to Communist philosophy. In their answers to four other questions
on the religions of India, they evinced a more detailed knowledge of them.

The students as a whole were aware that Hinduism and Mohammedanism are the first largest and the second largest religions of India. As to the third largest religion of India, they seemed to be equally divided on Buddhism and Christianity. In this their doubts are justified, since even though Buddhism originated in India and once was a major religion, today there are more Christians in India than Buddhists. The students tended to exaggerate the number of Christians.

A large majority considered Hinduism a great religion with superstitions. On this point the writer cannot say anything definitive since the question permitted great lee-way in responding. As to the tolerant and accepting nature of Hinduism, the students had mixed reactions.

The actual figures on the above are as follows:

More than 51 per cent considered Hinduism the first largest and 30 per cent considered it the second largest. More than 37 per cent considered Mohammedanism the second largest, while 24 per cent considered it the first largest and 15 per cent the third largest.

Christianity was considered the third largest by 29 per cent and second largest by 7 per cent. Buddhism was considered the third largest by 24 per cent, the second largest by 16.5 per cent and the first largest by 8 per cent.

The question on the number of Christians in India was a free-answer question: "Christians are about ________ per cent of the
population in India." The largest single group of responses, consisting of about 31 per cent, came under the correct category of "five or less." Twenty per cent came under "six to fifteen." About 7 per cent came under "sixteen to twenty-five" and another 7 per cent under "twenty-six or more."

The question on the nature of Hinduism did not provide for flexible choices as was noted earlier. The question was, "Hinduism as a religion is: (crude and in general primitive) (superstitious but with a great philosophy) (DON'T KNOW)." Fifty-two per cent chose superstitious but with a great philosophy." Sixteen per cent chose "crude and in general primitive," while almost 30 per cent said that they did not know.

In regard to the attitude of an average Hindu towards people of other religions, the largest single group, consisting of 35 per cent, selected the correct choice, "tolerant," while about 10 per cent selected "friendly." Almost 30 per cent said that they did not know, while 23 per cent selected the choice "unfriendly." Those who chose "unfriendly," might have had in mind the recent religious antagonisms and conflicts between Hindus and Moslems.


In answer to an earlier question (13) asking for "the name of the great leader of India who fought for its independence," more than 60 per cent of the students had given the name of Gandhi. Many others who gave the name of Nehru perhaps knew of Gandhi.
In answer to the free-answer question, "Gandhi was considered a
great man, because ____________________," the students gave a wide
variety of answers. Though 34 per cent did not answer, of those who
answered, a few gave more than one reason. The responses were classified
as follows:

1. He worked for and achieved independence for India (41 responses—
   17.8 per cent)

   Examples: "he fought for India's independence"
   "got independence for India"
   "he strived..., to free India from Britain"

2. He was a great and powerful leader (38 responses—16.5 per
   cent)

   Examples: "he kept the country stable"
   "he was smart and knew what he was doing"
   "he was a good leader"
   "had a strong will power"
   "because of his brains in worldly matters"
   "he believed in what he did and was a great leader"
   "was brave"

3. He was a religious man, philosopher, and a noble human
   being. (38 responses—15.5 per cent)

   Examples: "because of his religious beliefs"
   "because of his religious attitude"
   "he was deeply religious"
   "they considered him as the Christians consider
   Jesus"
   "he made such sacrifices for his religion"
   "he was a philosopher"
   "he respected others, harmed no one, and was wise"
   "he worked for peace and tolerance"
   "he was a humble man"
   "was a just man"

4. He worked for the welfare of his people (35 responses—15.2
   per cent)

   Examples: "he did so much to help save India and
   its people"
   "he was intensely interested in the welfare
   of his people"
   "he fought for what the people wanted but
didn't accomplish this too well"
5. He believed in and practiced passive resistance (5 responses—2.2 per cent)

Examples: "he believed in his philosophy of passive resistance"
"he was the only man to bring about a revolution without bloodshed"
"he refused to resort to warfare and kill needless human lives"

6. He helped break the caste system (2 responses—0.9 per cent)

Examples: "he broke the caste system"
"he got rid of different classes of the caste system"

The above is certainly an impressive testimony of the students' understanding of Gandhi. And it is significant that even as many as five students listed passive resistance as a reason for his greatness.

The next two questions dealt directly with this point.

**Gandhian Method of Non-violent Resistance.**

Both the questions on this subject were open-ended questions. The first one was: "Gandhi used the method of civil disobedience in his political work. 'Civil Disobedience' means _____________."

Of the 230 students five gave the correct meaning and three others gave correct but incomplete answers. Most of these students were found to be familiar with "passive resistance" more than any other description. Twenty-seven students made wrong guesses.

The second question asked for the meaning of "satyagraha," the Indian word for passive resistance or nonviolent resistance, a word given wide currency through Gandhi's writings and increasingly used in the writings of Americans on Gandhi. The writer was told that this question would elicit a hundred per cent response of "Don't Know."

But it was not to be so. Four students knew the answer.

It was noted in the last chapter that the students were very sensitive to the caste system in India and that they had some misconceptions about it. Four questions were devoted to the subject and the findings were for the most part as expected. While they had a slightly exaggerated view of the evils of the caste system, they were also aware that it is breaking down and that the educated people do not believe in it.

About 47 per cent of the students thought that people of different castes do not talk to one another. About half as many thought that this was not true. Almost the same number said that they did not know. The percentage rose to 73 of those who said that people of different castes do not marry each other. Fifteen per cent said that they did not know, while eight per cent thought it was not true.

About 64 per cent said that the caste system is "slowly" breaking down. Fourteen per cent did not give any response, while 12 per cent said that it was breaking down "rapidly." Seven per cent said that it was not breaking down. In answer to the question asking if the educated people believed in caste differences, 53 per cent answered in the negative and 22 per cent answered in the affirmative, while the same number said that they did not know.

Sixty-two per cent thought that Indian society was changing "slowly," 17 per cent said that it was changing "rapidly," while four per cent said that it was not changing. The rest, consisting of 17 per cent, said that they did not know. It is somewhat difficult
to interpret these scores since conceptions of time vary with individuals.

**Concept XXVII. "Growing Importance of Women" (Questions 67, 68)**

Reacting to the statement, "No women in India hold prominent positions in public life," 41 per cent of the students checked "True" and 39 per cent checked "False." It is significant that as many as 29 per cent should know that some women are prominent in public life and judging from the comments of many teachers it seemed reasonable to believe that Madam Pandit, the current president of the United Nations General Assembly, must be greatly responsible for this knowledge.

The next question was about her and simple asked the students to give the name of the current president of the U. N. General Assembly. Thirty per cent answered correctly. There were such spelling variations as "Pandat," "Pandi" and the like, but there was no mistaking what they were trying to say. One student even attempted the full name, "Vijayalakshmi Pandit." In addition to the above 30 per cent, there were several who said, "a woman from India." A few named John Cabot Lodge.

**Concept XXVIII. "Twelve Major Languages" (Questions 65, 66)**

It was surprising to find that the students underestimated rather than overestimated the number of major languages in India. The correct answer is twelve, but the largest single group, consisting of 34 per cent, thought that it was three. The next largest group, about 23 per cent, said that they did not know and 17 per cent checked the
correct answer - twelve. A total of 20 per cent of the students
overestimated.

As in the case of "population," so in the case of illiteracy, the
students were found to underestimate the actual percentage figure,
even though we have sufficient evidence to believe that they generally
have the notion that "most of the people can't read or write." Thus,
44 per cent thought that 50 to 70 out of every 100 people cannot read
or write. The actual figure is 80 and 19 percent indicated likewise.
Those who overestimated by indicating 90 were 20 per cent of the total.

In answer to the question asking if the majority of these illiterate
people are "ignorant and unintelligent," 44 per cent of the students
replied in the negative and 30 per cent in the affirmative. American
visitors to India are usually surprised at the native intelligence and
practical wisdom of these Indian villagers who cannot read or write. It is significant that a larger percentage thought that literacy and intelligence do not necessarily go together.

Concept XXX. "Color-consciousness" (Questions 70, 71)

Almost all American visitors to India have noticed the color-consciousness of the Indian people, which is an outcome of their unfriendly experiences with the Western Europeans and which makes them ask persistent questions about the color problem in the United States. Thoughtful Americans have pointed out the importance of taking this consciousness into account in formulating American policies in the Far East.

Against the above background, it is interesting to find that while as high as 76 per cent of the students identified the skin color of the people of India as brown, about 55 per cent thought that the latter were not conscious of skin color differences. About 17 per cent said that they were while the rest said that they did not know.

The above concludes the presentation of the student responses to questions in Part A and Part B of the questionnaire. It would be appropriate here to summarize the presentation. The writer shall do so, however, in the next chapter.

The three over-all questions in Part C of the questionnaire asked the students for free responses in regard to things about India "that are important for us Americans to understand," for self-judgments of their understanding of India and for the many sources from which they
got their impressions of India. Responses concerning all these will be presented in the next chapter.
CHAPTER X

A SUMMARY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE FINDINGS AND SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING ABOUT INDIA

The second question in Part C of the questionnaire asked the students to give a self-estimate of their understanding of India. The question read simply: "According to your judgment, your understanding of India is: (VERY GOOD) (GOOD) (FAIRLY GOOD) (NOT GOOD)." The responses revealed that the students were modest in their self-appraisals.

As high as 55 per cent said that their understanding of India was "not good." Exactly 30 per cent said that their understanding was "fairly good." Only 3 per cent said that their understanding was "good" and just one student checked "very good." An examination of the papers of those who checked "good" or "very good" showed that their papers were not particularly better than the papers of those who checked "not good" or "fairly good." At any rate, it is clear that most students felt that they could learn much more about India.

This chapter attempts to indicate some implications for the teaching about India in American schools, implications that stem out of the analyses of student responses to the various questions contained in the questionnaire. The writer wishes to emphasize here, as he did in the beginning discussion of the study design, that these suggestions for teaching of India are not given in any spirit of nationalism.

In his attempt to develop the teaching suggestions, the writer
(1) gives a review of the findings reported in the last chapter, and
(2) summarizes the free statements of the students in regard to things
about India "that are important for us Americans to understand." In
section (3), the actual suggestions for teaching are presented. Finally,
the student responses concerning the sources of their impressions of
India are presented and further suggestions for teaching are indicated.

1. The Conceptualization of India by 230 High School Seniors.
   (A Review of Chapter Nine)

   Part A. General.

   Acquaintance with Natives of India and American
   Visitors to India.

   (a) Forty-five per cent had seen and talked to a native of India.

   (b) Sixty per cent had seen and talked to an American visitor who
       visited India.

   Awareness of Distance of India from the United States.

   (a) The students tended to overestimate the distance between
       New York and India.

   (b) In contrast to the above, they underestimated to a marked
       degree the number of days it takes to go by boat from New York to
       India.

   (c) They underestimated, but not to a marked degree, the number
       of days it takes to fly from New York to India.

   (d) The overestimation of the distance of India, on the one hand,
       and the underestimation of the time taken to sail or fly to India
       on the other, may be explained as follows: Lack of adequate under-
       standing of the country makes the students conceive India as being
farther away than she actually is, while a keen awareness of and experience with modern means of rapid communication makes them underestimate the time of travel to India.

Knowledge of Location and Size.

(a) More than 85 per cent knew that India is located in Asia and 72 per cent knew that she is in South Asia.

(b) A large majority of the students knew that China is the largest country and India the second largest in Asia. About 25 per cent, however, were not clear.

(c) They underestimated the size of India as compared with the size of the United States. This may be related to their notion of crowded population in India and their conception of the United States as a vast land mass.

Part B.

Concepts I, II, III. "The Encounter Between the West and India," "The Conquest of and Rule of India" and "The Struggle with Colonialism."

Age of the Culture of India.

(a) Seventy-five per cent knew that Indian culture is older than the American culture.

(b) More than half the students knew that the civilization of India is older than that of Western Europe.

Expansion of Europe and Oceanic Discoveries.

(a) They had a high awareness of the Westward oceanic expeditions like that of Columbus. More than 85 per cent knew the year in which America was discovered, though about 25 per cent considered the year 1492 as being in the 14th Century.
(b) Their knowledge of the Eastward oceanic expeditions was fairly low. They were not too clear about the sea route from Europe to India.

**British Conquest and Rule of India.**

(a) They were highly aware of Britain’s original trade interests and her subsequent conquest and rule of India for many years.

(b) As high as 73 per cent knew that the British first went to India for purposes of trade.

(c) About 62 per cent were aware of the vastness of the British Empire.

(d) About 73 per cent knew that the British occupied India in order to exploit and make profit.

(e) Even though a large majority of the students knew the exploitative aspect of the British occupation of India, only 13 per cent knew the exploitative connotation of the word “colonialism.” Almost an equal number thought that the word referred to the migration and settlement of a group of people in a new country. As high as 56 per cent did not answer.

(f) Thirty-seven per cent, the largest single group, were not aware of the duration of the British rule in India. However, 25 per cent checked the correct answer.

**The Advent of Indian Independence.**

(a) About 63 per cent had a correct or almost correct understanding of when India became independent.

(b) About 60 per cent knew that the leader of the independence movement was Gandhi.
(c) As Americans, almost half of the students (49 per cent) would have supported Indian independence, while 38 per cent were not sure. Only 1 per cent said "no."

Concepts IV, V. "Hindu-Muslim Conflict and Separation of the Country." "Indo-Pakistan Conflict and the Kashmir Question."

(a) Fifty-five per cent knew that the people of India are predominantly Hindu, but 26 per cent checked "Mohammedan."

(b) Fifty-eight per cent knew the name of Pakistan. However, only 34 per cent knew that the majority of the people in Pakistan are "Mohammedan." Almost 30 per cent checked "Hindu."

(c) About 35 per cent knew that Kashmir is the name of a state, and 44 per cent checked the wrong choices.

Concept VI. "Separation of State and Religion."

(a) As high as 91 per cent of the students were aware that the constitution of the United States does not support any one religion.

(b) They were not familiar with the fact that the Indian constitution does not support any religion. They were almost equally divided into three groups who checked "yes," "no" or "don't know."

Concept VII, VIII. "Adoption of the Democratic Ideals of the West." "The Present Western-education Leadership."

(a) As high as 71 per cent knew that India has a Prime Minister, not a dictator or a king.

(b) They were not too aware that India has a democratic system of government resembling that of Britain or the United States, and that India actively believes in such democratic procedures as free common elections based on adult franchise.
(c) Only 29 per cent thought that the government of India resembled that of the United States, 33 per cent checked either "Soviet Union" or "Spain," and 39 per cent said that they did not know.

(d) Asked if a person who cannot read or write can vote in India, more than 40 per cent said that they did not know, 35 said "yes" and 24 per cent said "no."

(e) As high as 66 per cent knew that the outstanding leaders in power today were educated in the West.

Concepts X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV. "Friendly Relations Between India and Great Britain," "Importance of Partnership Between India and the West," "India versus Communist China," "Nehru, the Popular Leader of the People," "Communism Opposed to Hindu Religion."

Indo-British Relations.

(a) Even though only 29 per cent knew that the relationship between India and Britain today is "friendly," it is significant that only 14 per cent checked "unfriendly," and the largest group consisting of 37 per cent checked "neutral."

(b) Only 20 per cent knew that India is a member of the British Commonwealth.

India and the West.

(a) As high as 63 per cent said that on fundamental principles of political philosophy, Indian leaders are likely to agree with the Western leaders. Only 17 per cent checked "the Soviet leaders."

(b) They were ambivalent as to whether Nehru is a democratic or totalitarian leader.

(c) As high as 75 per cent knew that India is a member of the United Nations.
India versus Communist China.

(a) About 58 per cent thought that China's change to Communism was either "fatal," or "tragic" or "very great."

(b) About 67 per cent thought that India's possible future change to Communism would be "fatal" or "tragic" or "very great."

(c) About 53 per cent answered the question regarding the reasons why China became Communist. Responses relating to "factors within China" were by far greater in number than those relating to "factors outside China."

(d) The major internal factors were: 1. The Nationalist government was weak and the Communists overthrew it and gained control of the country. 2. The Communist promises and propaganda. 3. Poor economic situation, lack of education and general backwardness.

(e) The major external factor was intervention of Russia. Lack of U. S. action was also mentioned.

(f) In regard to the conditions that may cause India to become Communist, the responses were almost equally divided between the internal and external factors.

(g) The major internal factors are: 1. If the Communists gain control of the government by some means or other. 2. If the economic situation and living conditions do not improve. 3. If the people are not properly educated and if the Communist propaganda prevails.

(h) The first and most frequently mentioned external factor was: "If India is not helped by other countries, especially the United States." The second and third factors were: "If the influence of Russia prevails," and "If the influence of the neighboring Communist
(or Communist-to-be) countries prevails.

Nehru's Leadership.
(a) About 30 per cent described Nehru as "a democratic leader" and 22 per cent as a "totalitarian leader."
(b) About 40 per cent said that India as a whole supports Nehru, 27 per cent held contrary views and 32 per cent did not know.

Communism versus Hindu Religion.
As high as 47 per cent thought that Communism and Hindu religion were opposed to each other and 23 per cent said that they did not know. (Marxian dialectical materialism and Hindu metaphysics are antithetical to each other.)

Concept IV. Population Pressure.
(a) Though in general very sensitive to the population question, the students underestimated the actual number of people in India. As high as 44 per cent said that the population was "199 millions or less," the correct figure being 350 millions. Only 8 per cent overestimated.
(b) They overestimated the density of population. India was ranked as the first or second among the four countries—Britain, Japan, India and the United States—by as many as 79 per cent of the students. Actual figures indicating the average number of people per square mile are: Britain (536.0), Japan (584.8), India (292.1) and the United States (49.9).
(c) They also overestimated the rate of increase in population as compared to that of the United States. Exactly 60 per cent des-
cribed the difference between the two as "great" "very great" or 
"enormous." Only 6 per cent checked "negligible" which is the correct 
answer.*

(d) They had, however, a fairly good idea of the ranking of India 
among other countries in respect to size of population. About 28 
per cent the largest single group, checked "second," while 25 per 
cent checked "third."

Concepts XVI, XVII. "Food Shortage and Measures Taken to Improve," 
"Need for Land Reform."

(a) They were highly aware of the existence of food shortage. 
As high as 87 per cent, the largest score received by any choice in 
the questionnaire, said that "food shortage is an acute problem in 
India."

(b) Sixty-nine per cent were found to have the misconception that 
"every year more than a million people die of starvation in India."

(c) Fifty-seven per cent said that India has made "a great effort 
to increase food production." About 31 per cent checked "some."

(d) They were pessimistic about the early realization of national 
self-sufficiency in food. While 31 per cent said that they did not 
know how many years it would take, more than 40 per cent checked "twenty 
years" or "ten years." About 10 per cent checked "fifty or more" years.**

* For instance, in 1950 the rates of increase in population in the 
United States and India were respectively 13.8/1,000 and 8.8/1,000.

** In the fiscal year 1953-54, India did not have to import food 
from outside.
Land Reform.

A large majority of the students were not aware of the problem. About 55 per cent said that they did not know the meaning of "land reforms." As many as 11 per cent knew it, however. About 19 per cent gave the apparent meaning, "to better the land."

Concepts XVIII, XIX. "Dearth of Capital Obstacle to Economic Development." "Poverty-stricken but Enormous Resources."

(a) According to the student responses, education, machinery, natural resources, technical know-how and capital are the five greatest obstacles to rapid industrial development in India.

(b) As high as 87 per cent thought that rapid industrial development would be impossible without aid from outside.

(c) Only 13 per cent knew what Point Four is. As high as 72 per cent said that they did not know.

(d) They were ambivalent as to whether India has natural resources.

(e) Forty-eight per cent said that they did not know whether India has the largest steel plant in Asia. About 38 per cent, as against eight, thought that it could not be true.

Concept XX. "Most People Live in Villages."

As high as 62 per cent said that a very large percentage of the people in India live in small villages.

Concept XXI, XXII. "Religion as an Important Part of Indian Culture." "Hinduism as a Tolerant Religion."

(a) A large percentage of the students knew that Hinduism and Mohammedanism were respectively the largest and the second largest religions in India.

(b) More than 51 per cent thought that Christians in India are less than 15 per cent of the population, as they are.
(c) Forty-Five per cent thought that the attitude of an average Hindu towards people of other religions is either "tolerant" or "friendly." Thirty per cent said that they did not know, while 23 per cent checked "unfriendly."

Concept XXII, XXIV. "Gandhi’s Great Power and Influence." "Gandhian Method of Non-violent Resistance."

(a) According to the student responses, six outstanding reasons for Gandhi’s greatness were: 1. He worked for and achieved independence for India. 2. He was a great and powerful leader. 3. He was a religious man, philosopher, and a noble human being. 4. He worked for the welfare of his people. 5. He believed in and practiced passive resistance. 6. He helped break the caste system.

(b) Only eight students out of 230 knew the meaning of "Civil Disobedience" and only four students knew the Indian word for passive resistance, "satyagraha."


(a) The students were very sensitive to the caste system and had a slightly exaggerated view of its evils. About 47 per cent thought that people of different castes do not talk to one another, which is not true. About 73 per cent thought that people of different castes do not marry one another, which is true.

(b) About 64 per cent said that the caste system is breaking down "slowly" and about 62 per cent thought that Indian society as a whole is changing "slowly."
Concept XXVII. "Growing Importance of Women."
(a) As many as 39 per cent said that some Indian women held prominent positions in public life, even though 41 per cent thought otherwise.

(b) Thirty per cent knew the name of Madam Pandit, the current president of the United National General Assembly. A few said, "a woman from India."

Concept XXVIII. "Twelve Major Languages."
(a) The students underestimated the number of the languages. More than 34 per cent checked "three," while 20 per cent overestimated.

(b) Only nine students gave the correct name of the most common language, i.e., Hindi.

Concept XXIX. "Illiteracy But Native Intelligence."
(a) Though they generally believe that "most of the people can't read or write," they underestimated the actual percentage figure for illiteracy. More than 44 per cent checked from fifty to seventy, the actual figure being eighty.

(b) About 44 per cent, as against 30 per cent, thought that literacy and intelligence do not necessarily go together.

Concept XXX. "Color-consciousness."
(a) As high as 76 per cent said that the color of the people of India is brown.

(b) About 55 per cent said that Indians were not conscious of skin color differences, 17 per cent thought they were, and the rest said that they did not know.
This concludes the review of the questionnaire findings as reported in the last chapter. Next, the writer shall summarize the free statements that the students made about important things concerning India.

I. Important Things About India from the American Standpoint.

The first question in Part C of the questionnaire reads:

"It is commonly said today that we live in a small world and that no one country can really be isolated. Perhaps you will agree with this statement. As a citizen of the United States whose destiny seems to be world leadership, list five things about India that are important for us as Americans to understand."

About 41 per cent of the students gave five responses, 55 per cent gave either five or four responses, and 67 per cent gave three or more responses. About 11 per cent gave either one or two responses. Twenty-two per cent did not give any responses.

The nature of the responses varied from just one word indicating a subject of interest to a complete sentence expressing a judgment. They were classified in the same way as the responses to other free-answer questions in the questionnaire were classified. The categories of classification were developed empirically and experimentally.

The 27 categories thus obtained are given below in the order of frequency of responses:

1. **Education** (86 responses—37 per cent)

   "their education"
   "their lack of educational opportunities"
   "they don't have time to go to school"
   "they are illiterate"
   "educational problems"
2. **Religion** (86 responses—37 per cent)

- "their religion"
- "their religions"
- "their many religions and superstitions"
- "we should learn more about their religions"
- "with all her religions, which cause many disagreements within her people, India will never be united"
- "their feelings toward Christianity"

3. **Government** (53 responses—25 per cent)

- "their type of government"
- "to understand their method of government"
- "what they believe in government"
- "the way they select their ruler"
- "India does not have a strong government"
- "their ways and means of government or ruling"

4. **Economic Situation, Living Conditions** (36 responses—16 per cent)

- "economic situations"
- "their economic systems"
- "their living conditions"
- "what jobs the people have"
- "it is trying to get on its feet economically"

5. **Food Problem** (36 responses—16 per cent)

- "their food problem"
- "their lack of food stuff"
- "India does not have proper food"
- "they are underfed"
- "the food shortage"

6. **Population** (31 responses—14 per cent)

- "density of population"
- "there are too many people in too little space"
- "too much population"
- "population problems"

7. **Customs** (27 responses—12 per cent)

- "customs"
- "their ways"
- "must know their customs"
- "their habits"
8. **Industry, Commerce** (23 responses—10 per cent)

"their need for help in industry"
"their lack of good industrial systems"
"the two nations (India and the United States should have a good trade system continued"

9. **Communism** (21 responses—9 per cent)

"it is a country that is resisting communism"
"their fight against Communism"
"their importance in stopping communism"
"its location as to communism"
"Communists could easily overtake them"

10. **Foreign Relations** (21 responses—9 per cent)

"their international standing, opinions, ideas, etc."
"relations with the outside world"
"Russia's chance of influencing India"
"they are as yet neutral"

11. **Way of Life** (18 responses—8 per cent)

"their way of life"
"how they live"
"the way they live"
"the type of life they live"

12. **Caste System** (18 responses—8 per cent)

"their caste system"
"how the caste system affects them"
"caste system"
"the caste system should be destroyed completely"

13. **Natural Resources** (18 responses—8 per cent)

"their resources"
"a wealth of resources"
"they have lots of undeveloped resources"
"some natural resources"

14. **Languages** (17 responses—7.4 per cent)

"their speech"
"they speak a different language"
"knowing about their languages"
15. **Political Situation** (16 responses—7 per cent)

- "political background"
- "the position of India politically speaking"
- "political life"

16. **Historical Background and New Independent Status** (14 responses—6 per cent)

- "background and history"
- "they have only recently received their independence"
- "history"

17. **Farming and Agriculture** (14 responses—6 per cent)

- "their farming land"
- "land problem"
- "need of more land for the poor"
- "India's lack of agricultural knowledge and tools"

18. **Culture and Civilization** (14 responses—6 per cent)

- "culture"
- "the cultural patterns of India"
- "slower civilization"

19. **Needs and Problems** (11 responses—5 per cent)

- "we should understand their problems"
- "need of India"
- "their lack in ways and means of doing things"

20. **Aid to India** (11 responses—5 per cent)

- "India needs help which the United States can give her"
- "we should learn more about what we could do to help them"
- "how we can help them help themselves"

21. **Geographical Location and Size** (10 responses—4.3 per cent)

- "geographical conditions"
- "importance of their geographical location"
- "importance of India's size"

22. **Social Problems** (8 responses—3.5 per cent)

- "social problems"
- "social progress"
- "welfare situations"
23. Leaders (8 responses—3.5 per cent)

"we should understand their leaders"
"leaders' views on different important things"
"leadership in India"

24. Lack of Progress (6 responses—2.6 per cent)

"why India has not progressed very rapidly"
"they are far back in their ways compared with the rest of the world"
"backwardness"

25. Defense (6 responses—2.6 per cent)

"India doesn't have a strong defense to defend herself"
"military ability"
"protection during wars"

26. Recreation (5 responses—2 per cent)

"recreation of people"
"their amusements and recreation"
"their social life"

27. Health Conditions (3 responses—1.3 per cent)

"their health"
"high death rate from TB and other diseases"

The reader may notice that most of the above categories are closely related to the thirty critical concepts.

In addition to these twenty-seven categories, three new categories of a different order were developed in order to include the many responses which were of a different nature and could not be included in the former. They are as follows:

A. India and the United States Compared with Each Other. (26 responses)

"they have a different way of life than we do"
"they do not have the freedom that we do"
"they are just as smart—really smarter"
"they have not had the opportunity we have"
"India has not had as much help in winning their freedom as the U. S. If this had not taken so long, she could have been doing more prosperous things for herself."
"their ancient culture seems strange to us"
"they have a police system similar to ours"

B. **What the United States Should Do in Respect to India.** (23 responses)

"we should understand their religion and not make fun"
"understand why they need freedom and help them"
"keep them on our side"
"we can help India, but must respect their ideas"
"how we can help them without giving to them"
"we should protect them in case of attack"
"the ways of the people may not always agree with ours, but they are a free nation and we must help them to stay so."
"we are their friends and we want to help them"

C. **India's Attitude and Action in Respect to the United States.** (18 responses)

"their attitude toward us"
"would India be willing to help us in time of trouble"
"people's feeling toward U. S., and other countries"
"someday India may be in the U. S.'s place—how would we want to be treated"
"they do not understand our way of life"
"their importance in stopping communism"

Thus, the reader can see that many students were concerned about Indo-American relations and what one country can do for the other. They were also interested in the differences as well as similarities between the Indian way of life and the American way of life.

3. **Suggestions for Teaching About India.**

The writer assumes that the thirty critical concepts developed from the writings of Bowles, Sheean, Toynbee and others, are all important and worth understanding. The questionnaire findings have indicated the concepts that the students are most familiar with.
the concepts that are new to them and also the few concepts in respect to which they have some misconceptions. Thus, the findings furnish emphases for teaching.

The preceding analysis of the free statements that the students made concerning important things about India is another source of the students' awareness of India. As was noted earlier, there is a great deal of correspondence between the classifications of student free-responses and the thirty critical concepts. The following suggestions arise out of a joint consideration of these two.

(a) The students consider education a very important problem in India. They seem to be well aware of not only adult illiteracy problems but also of the school needs and problems of the young. A consideration of these matters coupled with a discussion of the educational system in India should help the students develop an awareness for the reconstruction work going on in India. For instance, since independence, the number of schools has nearly been doubled. This may also help indicate some similarities between the American education and Indian education.

(b) Their interest in religions of India is extraordinary and fortunate. This could be well utilized in developing an awareness of the Hindu-Muslim differences that caused the separation of India and that still cause some of the present conflicts like the one in Kashmir. (Concepts IV, V.)

A consideration of the religious philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi will help develop an awareness for his method of non-violent resistance or Satyagraha. Many students were sensitive to the religious aspect of Gandhi's personality. (Concepts XXI, XXII.)
(c) Their interest in government is also very great and fortunate. For this can be well used to develop Concepts VI and VII, namely, "Separation of State and Religion," "Adoption of the Democratic Ideals of the West."

(d) Their interest in historical background, the present independent status, the general political situation and the leaders of India, are an excellent beginning for a consideration of Concepts I, VIII and XIII, among others. These three concepts are "The Encounter between India and the West," "The Present Western-educated Leadership" and "Nehru, the Popular Leader of the People." A consideration of "colonialism" and the democratic faith of Nehru despite his disagreements with the Western leaders would be pertinent.

(e) The students are quite interested in the economic situation in India, namely, living conditions, industry, natural resources and trade. They are also interested in the general needs and problems of India as well as the possible aid of the United States to India. These interests bear directly on Concepts XIII and XIV, which are: "Dearth of Capital Obstacle to Economic Development," and "Poverty-stricken but Enormous Resources."

(f) Their interest in the food and population problems can be used for a further clarification of them. Some of the common misconceptions may be considered. (Concepts XV, XVI, XVII). The problem of "land reform" may be given special attention. Their interest in farming and agriculture is high.
(g) Their interest in Communism and foreign relations may help toward a consideration of the friendly relations between India and Britain and the ideological competition between China and India. Of course, these are only two of many important questions along this line.

(h) Their interest in customs, way of life, culture and civilization is calculated to lead to a thoughtful consideration of the differences and similarities between the two peoples. Since the students tend to emphasize the differences, the teacher may stress the similarities. A consideration of such subjects as recreation, amusements and social life might lead to a realization of the oneness of the "Family of Man."

(i) What the United States could and should do for India and what India can do for the United States can be subjects of genuine interest as the frequency scores indicate. A continuous comparison of India with the United States is not only inevitable, but desirable, if intelligently done.

Sources of Student Impressions of India.

In addition to the above suggestions for teaching, a few cues may be seen in the following data regarding the last question of the questionnaire. The question read: "You must have gotten your impressions of India from many sources, some from within the school and some outside. Check below the sources that have helped you."

Thirteen sources within the school and eleven sources outside the schools were listed.
The sources within the school and the percentages of students who checked them are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources Within the School</th>
<th>Percentage of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text-books</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom teaching</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom discussion</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographs, Pictures</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Movies</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talks by Natives of India</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filmstrips</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlets, Booklets</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talks by Professional Lecturers</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recordings</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures make it clear that classroom teaching and classroom discussion have been the most effective methods, and textbooks have been the most used material of instruction. Photographs, pictures, magazines, and newspapers seem to be important sources of information. A greater use of audio-visual materials may be recommended. That as many as 23 per cent checked "talks by natives of India" is significant. To high school students in India a similar resource is not available.

The sources outside the school and the percentages of students who checked them are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources Outside the School</th>
<th>Percentage of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talks by Missionaries</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talks by Visiting Natives of India</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Contacts</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenirs</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is significant to note that magazines and newspapers obtain even greater scores than textbooks, the highest among the sources within the school. Television has a score greater than classroom teaching or classroom discussion.

As Margaret Willis of the University School told the writer, the important job of the teacher is not to provide the students with more information, but rather to help them conceptualize "the barrage of impressions that impinge upon their minds from the various media in the community."

In conclusion, the writer may point out that in connection with teaching about India, the American high school teacher can use (a) the thirty critical concept statements, (b) the questionnaire and (c) the questionnaire findings as helpful resource material.
Selecting the Problem.

The noted American author Pearl Buck told the writer that "the best a foreign student can get in an American university is theory." He can consider himself well rewarded, if he gets a few master concepts or ideas. One such master concept that the writer acquired during his education at the Ohio State University proved very important in the selection of his dissertation problem. This concept may be described as "empirical realism." The word "realism" is used not in a technical philosophical sense but in its direct meaning, "being real."

The writer developed the concept of empirical realism primarily from his reading of the writings of John Dewey. He was struck by Dewey's emphasis on the relativity of time and place, on "specific problems" and "particular cases." He says, for instance, "...the method of universals confirmed prejudices and sanctioned ideas that had gained currency irrespective of evidence for them; while placing the initial and final weight upon the individual case, stimulated painstaking inquiry into facts and examination of principles."\(^1\) The crucial dimension of scientific method is its empirical experimentation, its appeal to what Whitehead called "stubborn, irreducible facts."

The writer came to believe that a good research study should be characterized by empirical realism. A study with empirical realism is a

study with roots. The adoption of this criterion placed the writer in an intellectual dilemma.

It was found that most of the doctoral dissertations written in the field of education at the Ohio State University by students from foreign lands dealt with problems concerning education in the home land of the writer. They included long chapters that present facts about the history and present status of education in the particular land and ended up with an impressive list of recommendations. The present writer considered two problems relating to education in India and rejected them since they would lead to studies without empirical realism.

Next, the writer considered two problems arising from the educational situation in the United States and rejected them also, since they would not have utility for the home situation. Thus, the dilemma in which the writer found himself was: (1) Study an Indian problem in the American setting and you lack empirical realism; (2) Study an American problem in the American setting and you lack utility for the home situation. Then there came a "break."

Professor Edgar Dale suggested that the writer might study how American students conceptualize India. The suggestion was accepted with enthusiasm. The problem had empirical realism since it took the researcher to students in American schools whose responses would be the source of his data. Besides, it cut through the dilemma of the extremes. The problem was neither strictly American nor Indian. It was American, Indian and international. As one, born in India,
exposed to America and interested in the world at large, the writer could not have asked for a more agreeable problem.

The social importance of the problem was great. We live in a small world which, year after year, is becoming smaller; and as was well said, "A smaller world needs bigger people." International education is a critical need of our age. UNESCO has called for "Inquiries into the conceptions which the people of one nation entertain of their own and other nations." The writer's study may be considered one such inquiry, concerning American students' conceptions of India.

**Formulating the Problem.**

In formulating the research problem, the writer was to encounter some methodological difficulties. One foremost difficulty was this: An important factor in studying how American students conceptualize India would be how the writer himself conceptualized India. Coming from India and having an emotional attachment to it, could he be dispassionate, unbiased and balanced in his conception of India?

The writer participated in a series of seminars which made important contributions to the formulation of the problem. It was emphasized in these seminars that a research worker should acknowledge and honor his values rather than try to escape them in the name of objectivity. The application of the principle to the present problem particularly to the criterion for selecting questions on India. Professor Ross Mooney said, "One could go on asking information questions concerning India without end. You have to be selective somehow. Your

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selections should reflect what you value for the action you wish to see taking place."

Thus, the central question concerning the formulation of the problem was: How to develop an approach for selecting the concepts on which the student testing should be based? The approach the writer finally adopted was called the critical concepts approach.

Flanagan of the American Institute for Research has given currency to such phrases as "critical requirements" and "critical incidents technique." He uses the word critical in the sense of "crucial" and "decisive." "Critical requirements for an activity," says Flanagan, "are those that are crucial in the sense that they may have been frequently observed to make the difference between success and failure in that activity." By thinking in analogy with the above, the writer developed the critical concepts approach.

Critical concepts about India are those that are crucial in the sense that an appreciation of them may lead to fruitful decisions concerning Indo-American problems and that a lack of appreciation of them may lead to poor decisions concerning Indo-American problems.

Now, the concern was not about how well the students conceptualized India per se, but became how the students conceptualized those aspects of India that are critical to Indo-American relations.

This new formulation of the problem made the entry of the writer's

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nationalistic prejudices less plausible and accepted a selection criterion that was directly rooted in the values of international understanding and peace. An important consequence of the critical concepts approach was that the development of the critical concepts about India became a major part of the study.

**The Study Design.**

The **purposes** of the study were:

1. To determine the critical concepts about India.
2. To discover how selected high school students conceptualise India in terms of the critical concepts.

The **procedures** adopted were:

1. a. Make a content analysis of the writings of selected Americans such as Chester Bowles, in order to determine critical concepts of a political nature.

   b. Make a content analysis of the chapter "India and the West" from Arnold Toynbee's book, *The World and the West*, in order to determine critical concepts concerning the historical perspective of India.

   c. Make a content analysis of the writings of selected authors such as Vincent Sheean, in order to determine critical concepts of a cultural nature.

2. a. In order to obtain a general understanding of how students conceptualise India, secure free responses to the question, "What do you know about India?"
b. On the basis of the free responses and the critical concepts, develop a questionnaire and administer it to selected student groups.

c. Analyze the content of student responses.

d. Make suggestions for teaching about India on the basis of the findings.

**Critical Concepts about India.**

The general hypothesis of the writer was that a content analysis of the relevant writings of selected authors would yield critical concepts about India.

In order to determine the critical concepts of a political nature, the writer selected six Americans, analyzed the contents of three articles and nine chapters, and came out with sixteen critical concepts. The six Americans selected were Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson, David R. Lilienthal, William O. Douglas, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Norman Cousins. The criteria used for selection were:

(a) Is he a prominent American citizen?

(b) Does he have a direct knowledge of India? Has he visited India?

(c) Has he written about India concisely but comprehensively, not in a specialized manner? Is his writing suitable for analysis?

(d) Is he a man of good will? Is he devoted to the common good of all humanity?

(e) Does he have a broad, forward-looking outlook?
The details about the writings used for content analysis are to be found in Table I on page 33.

In order to determine critical concepts concerning the historical perspective of India, the writer analyzed the chapter "India and the West" from Toynbee's book, *The World and the West*, and obtained ten concepts.

Toynbee was selected for four reasons: (a) He is one of the most outstanding historians of our age. (b) The historical method used by him is unique and particularly pertinent to the purposes of the writer's research. He believes that "the intelligible unit of historical study is neither a nation state nor mankind as a whole but a certain grouping of humanity which we have called a society." Thus, the history of modern India should be conceived of as an encounter between Indian civilization and Western civilization. (c) His thinking about present-day problems is characterized by a broad international outlook. (d) He is a man of goodwill, genuinely devoted to the common good of all humanity.

In order to determine critical concepts of a cultural nature, the writer selected the writings of five authors and, on analysis, obtained eight critical concepts. The criteria used for selecting the authors were practically the same as the ones used for selecting the authors in connection with deriving the political concepts. The details about their writings are to be found in Table II on page 86.

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When the concepts obtained in the above analyses were organized, there was a total of thirty critical concepts about India. They were as follows:

1. The outstanding event in the last five-hundred years of world history is the "encounter between the West and the rest of the world." India experienced this encounter with the West.

2. India, unlike the other parts of the world such as the Middle East or the Far East, was conquered and ruled for nearly two-hundred years; the encounter between India and the West was the most painful and humiliating of all.

3. Indians have vivid memories of their bitter struggle with colonialism and are proud of their newly won independence.

4. The modern history of India and Pakistan is characterized by a conflict between Hindus and Muslims which culminated in the separation of the country into two states, India and Pakistan.

5. The conflict between India and Pakistan still continues, Kashmir being the outstanding issue.

6. The constitution of India accepts the principle of the separation of state and religion.

7. Free India has a democratic system of government. She has adopted the Western ideals of liberty and parliamentary procedures.

8. The present rulers of India are Western-educated but they are only a small minority of their people and their future is uncertain.

9. The Western outlook and the Indian outlook are different from each other and the final resolution of the encounter between
10. Relations between India and Britain are friendly today in spite of their long enmity; India is a member of the British Commonwealth.

11. The partnership between the West and India is very important considering the struggle between Russia and the Western world; the political future of India is of decisive importance to the United States and the free world.

12. Democratic India and Communist China, the two largest nations of Asia, are engaged in an ideological competition in their efforts to bring about economic reconstruction.

13. Nehru, educated in the West and devoted to democratic ideals, symbolizes India and is the most popular spokesman of the people.

14. Communism is alien to the Hindu spirit and will not find acceptance in India under normal circumstances. Lack of economic progress, however, may make the people accept Communism.

15. The huge and rising population is a major problem in India. The increasing population pressure on the means of subsistence may make India vulnerable to Communism.

16. Food shortage has been a major problem for a long time and drastic measures are being taken to make India self-sufficient in food.

17. Land reform is very essential for development in India. It is a problem facing India as well as other Asian countries.

18. Dearth of capital is a major obstacle to economic reconstruction; foreign aid will be useful.
19. India is "poverty-stricken but not poor"; she has enormous natural resources that can be developed.

20. An overwhelmingly large portion of the Indian people live in villages. The village is the basic unit of Indian life where any economic reform should begin.

21. Religion is an important part of Indian culture which has a basic spiritual vitality.

22. The Hindu religion, with all its complex philosophies, symbols, beliefs and superstitions, is not a fanatic faith; it is tolerant and hospitable to other religions.

23. Gandhi, before his death in 1948, was the greatest power in India and his ideas still continue to have great influence on his people.

24. Gandhi's unique invention was his method of non-violent resistance or civil disobedience, called "satyagraha." This idea is important not only to India but also for the world.

25. The caste system, an age old Hindu institution, started originally as a practical arrangement of society and gave position and security to every person. Later it became a social evil. It is breaking down.

26. Indian society is now undergoing important changes; for instance, the joint family system is disappearing.

27. Women are becoming more important and independent.

28. India has twelve major languages and they are a problem in the unification of India. Hindi is the most common language.
29. A large portion of the Indian people are illiterate; they have knowledge and intelligence, however.

30. Indians have colored skins. Because of their bitter experience with the men of the West, they are color-conscious.

The above thirty concepts were further validated by citing references from outstanding Indian authorities such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Madam Pandit and others. The next problem was the development of a questionnaire for discovering how high school students conceptualized India.

Nature of Conceptualizing and Implications for Questionnaire Construction.

Since the word conceptualize was a key word in this study, it became important for the writer to assume a certain connotation of the word. An understanding of the act of conceptualizing became essential for the construction of a sound questionnaire whose purpose it was to discover how students "conceptualized" India. Hence, the writer made a survey of studies and writings on concepts and conceptualizing.

Philosophical Tradition. According to Locke, concepts are "general ideas" or "abstract ideas" as contrasted with "particular ideas." The mind is originally a "white paper void of all characters, without ideas." This mind is "furnished" with "simple ideas" by perception. When it reflects upon these simple ideas it arrives at generalizations and concepts. According to Berkeley, on the other hand, man cannot form general ideas. An idea must always be a particular idea.
William James holds that "the intellectual life of man consists almost wholly in his substitution of a conceptual order for the perceptual order in which his experiences originally come." Man's capacity for the "sense of sameness" is essential for the development of concepts. William James' position gives support to the "common element" theory of concept formation.

**Psychological Experiments.** Most of the experiments are influenced by the "common element" theory of concepts. According to this theory, concepts are formed when "the features common to a class of objects summate their impressions on the observer, who thus gradually acquires a picture in which the common features stand out strongly while the variable characteristics are washed out."

The experiments by Hull, Smoke and others, used "objective" techniques. Laboratory setups including exposure apparatuses, test cards, Chinese characters, geometric designs, etc., were employed. After reading these studies, the writer was puzzled as to their meaningful relevancy to education problems in which concept formation is a central concern. The experimental situation seemed to be quite distant from the normal life processes which contribute greatly to the concept learnings of an average individual.

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The method of investigation used by Piaget in his well known studies in concept formation was different from that of Hull or Smoke. It consisted in questioning the child in an objective manner about natural and psychological phenomena and striving to obtain from the child his own interpretation thereof. Piaget identified "three complementary processes" at work in directing the evolution of reality as it is conceived by the child between the ages of 3 and 11. Child thought moves simultaneously: (1) from realism to objectivity, (2) from realism to reciprocity, (3) from realism to relativity.* A significant difference between the approach of Piaget and the approach of Hull or Smoke was in regard to the place of the question of perception in the formulation of conclusions about concept formation.

Transactional Approach. Ames, Mooney and others like them, consider perception as a transaction. They hold that the process of perception can be fully understood only if both the "outside the skin" factors and the "inside the skin" factors are taken into consideration together.

A systematic explanation of the transactional point of view is given by John Dewey and Arthur Bentley in their work, Knowing and the Known.** "The transactional," they point out, "....excludes assertions of fixity and attempts to impose them. It installs openness and flexibility in the very process of knowing. It treats knowledge as

* For a detailed discussion, see pages 123-27.

** For a detailed discussion, see pages 132-35.
Itself inquiry—as a goal within inquiry, not as a terminus outside or beyond inquiry.  

It seemed to the writer that there were at least three points of significance about conceptualizing considered from the transactional point of view. The transactional approach (1) does not consider concepts as being "thing-like"; (2) does not take a retrospective view of concepts; and (3) does not recognize a dichotomy between perception and conception; they are in a continuum.

**Implications for Questionnaire Construction.** The writer's survey of the field of conceptualizing was rather extensive. Considering that this study could not deal with the process in which senior students acquired their concepts about India, such an extensive survey was perhaps unnecessary. However, the writer was able to identify three implications for the construction of the questionnaire. (1) The questions cannot be just specific information questions. (2) Questions should be formulated relating the Indian situation to the American situation. (3) Some questions could be cast in speculative and future terms.

**Construction of the Questionnaire.**

As the writer began to think about the problem of developing a questionnaire on the basis of the thirty critical concepts, he saw the need to have some awareness of the student knowledge of India. It was realized that developing questions through a process of logical deduction might not lead to a sound questionnaire and that a consideration of some empirical data from the students was important.

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Sixty-one students from East High and North High schools responded freely to the question, "What do you know about India?" A content analysis of these responses was made, using the thirty critical concepts as the framework for analysis.

An additional basis for the construction of the questionnaire was the reactions of ten competent secondary school teachers to the critical concepts. The primary purpose of interviewing these teachers was to find out if the thirty critical concepts were on the maturity level of high school seniors. All ten teachers unanimously answered in the affirmative. A fruitful outcome, which was not planned for at the outset, was the various comments the teachers made on the student knowledge of the individual concepts. These comments were used along with the free responses of the students in the construction of the questionnaire.

As regards the technical aspects of question-making, the writer found Stanley Payne's The Art of Asking Questions useful. He used all the major types of questions—(1) the free-answer question, (2) the two-way question and (3) the multiple-choice question. The questionnaire contains twenty free-answer questions, twenty-two two-way questions and forty-three multiple-choice questions, with a total of eighty-five questions.

The basic framework of the questionnaire was of course determined by the thirty critical concepts. Thus the seventy-one questions in Part B stemmed from them. Part A and Part B were two short sections and contained questions of a general nature.
When the draft of the questionnaire was ready, it was pretested with three classes of high school seniors from the Urbana High School, Urbana, Ohio. The pretesting helped improve the language of several questions. It also helped the writer anticipate some problems involved in the administration of the questionnaire and the tabulation of the responses.

The schools used for the study were (1) the University School, Ohio State University, (2) East High School, Columbus, (3) North High School, Columbus, and (4) Champaign County Schools, Ohio (Wayne-Woodstock, Westerville, and Salem). A total of 230 students answered the questionnaire.*

Conceptualization of India by 230 High School Seniors.**

Part A. General

Awareness of Distance of India from the United States. The students overestimated the distance but underestimated the number of days it takes to sail or fly to India.

Knowledge of Location and Size. About 72 per cent knew that India is in South Asia; a large majority knew that China is the largest country and India the second largest; the students as a whole, underestimated the size of India as compared with the size of the United States.

* The questionnaire is found on pages 170-79.

** A more complete summary is given on pages 222-232.
Part B.

Concept I, II, III. "The Encounter Between the West and India," "The Conquest of and Rule of India" and "The Struggle with Colonialism."

(a) They had a high awareness of the Westward oceanic expeditions like that of Columbus, but a fairly low awareness of the Eastward oceanic expeditions.

(b) About 73 per cent knew that the British first went to India for trade and later occupied India in order to exploit and make profit.

(c) Only 17 per cent knew the exploitative connotation of the word "colonialism."

(d) About 60 per cent knew that the leader of the Indian independence movement was Gandhi and that India became independent seven years ago.

Concept IV, V. "Hindu-Muslim Conflict and Separation of the Country." "Indo-Pakistan Conflict and the Kashmir Question."

(a) A majority of the students knew that India is predominantly Hindu and that Pakistan is predominantly Muslim. More than 25 per cent, however, gave opposite answers.

(b) Only 35 per cent knew that Kashmir is the name of a state.

Concept VI. "Separation of State and Religion."

While 91 per cent knew that the constitution of the United States does not support any one religion, the students gave confused responses regarding the secular nature of the Indian constitution.

Concept VII, VIII. "Adoption of the Democratic Ideals of the West." "The Present Western-education Leadership."

About 71 per cent knew that India has a prime minister, not a dictator or a king, but the students were not too aware of the demo-
cratic system of government in India resembling that of Britain or the United States.

Concepts: X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV. "Friendly Relations Between India and Great Britain," "Importance of Partnership Between India and the West," "India versus Communist China," "Nehru, the Popular Leader of the People," "Communism Opposed to Hindu Religion."

(a) Though only 14 per cent said that the relationship between India and Britain today is "unfriendly," about 80 per cent did not know that India is a member of the British Commonwealth.

(b) About 63 per cent said that on fundamental principles of political philosophy, Indian leaders are likely to agree with the Western leaders, but the students as a whole were ambivalent as to whether Nehru is a democratic or totalitarian leader.

(c) About 75 per cent knew that India is a member of the United Nations.

(d) About 67 per cent thought that India's possible future change to Communism would be "fatal" or "tragic" or "very great"; they said that India will become Communist if the Communists gain control of the government by some means or other, or if the economic situation does not improve, or if India is not helped by other countries, especially the United States.

(e) About 47 per cent thought that Communism and the Hindu religion are opposed to each other and 23 per cent said that they did not know. (Marxian dialectical materialism and Hindu metaphysics are antithetical to each other)
Concept XV. "Population Pressure."

(a) Though in general very sensitive to the population question, the students underestimated the actual number of people in India. As high as 44 per cent said that the population was "199 millions or less," the correct figure being 350 millions.

(b) They overestimated the density of population; India was ranked first or second among the following four countries: Japan (584.8), Britain (536.0), India (292.1) and the United States (249.9); they also overestimated the rate of increase in population in India (8.8/1,000) as compared with the United States (13.8/1,000).*

(c) They had a fairly good knowledge of the fact that India ranks second in the world in respect to size of population.

Concepts XVI, XVII. "Food Shortage and Measures Taken to Improve," "Need for Land Reform."

(a) About 87 per cent said that "food shortage is an acute problem in India," but 69 per cent had the misconception that "every year more than a million people die of starvation in India."

(b) About 57 per cent knew that "a great effort is being made to increase food production," even though the students were pessimistic about the early realization of national self-sufficiency in food.

(c) Only 11 per cent were aware of the problem of "land reform" in India.

* The figures on the rates of increase are for the year 1950.
Concepts XVIII, XIX. "Dearth of Capital Obstacle to Economic Development." "Poverty-stricken but Enormous Resources."

(a) According to the student responses, the greatest obstacles to industrial development in India are education, machinery, natural resources, and technical know-how.

(b) Even though 87 per cent thought that rapid industrial development would be impossible without aid from outside, only 17 per cent knew what Point Four was.

Concept XX. "Most People Live in Villages."

About 62 per cent said that a very large percentage of the people in India live in small villages.

Concept XXI. "Religion as an Important Part of Indian Culture." "Hinduism as a Tolerant Religion."

(a) A large percentage of the students knew that Hinduism and Mohammedanism are the largest religions in India and that Christians are less than 15 per cent of the population.

(b) About 45 per cent thought that the attitude of an average Hindu towards people of other religions is either "tolerant" or "friendly."

Concept XXII, XXIII. "Gandhi's Great Power and Influence." "Gandhian Method of Non-violent Resistance."

(a) According to the student responses, some of the reasons for Gandhi's greatness were: (1) he won independence for India; (2) he was a powerful leader; (3) he was a religious man and philosopher.

(b) Only eight students knew the meaning of "Civil Disobedience."

(a) The students were very sensitive to the caste system and had a slightly exaggerated view of its evils. About 47 per cent thought that people of different castes do not talk to one another, which is not true. About 78 per cent thought that people of different castes do not marry one another, which is true.

(b) About 64 per cent said that the caste system is breaking down "slowly" and about 62 per cent thought that Indian society as a whole is changing "slowly."

Concept XXVII. "Growing Importance of Women."

About 39 per cent said that some Indian women held prominent positions in public life, while 41 per cent thought otherwise; 30 per cent knew the name of Madam Pandit, the current president of the United Nations General Assembly.

Concept XXVIII. "Twelve Major Languages."

The students underestimated the number of languages in India. More than 34 per cent checked "three." Only nine out of 270 students gave the correct name of the most common language, namely, Hindi.

Concept XXIX. "Illiteracy But Native Intelligence."

(a) Though they generally believe that "most of the people can't read or write," the students underestimated the actual percentage figure for illiteracy. More than 44 per cent checked from fifty to seventy, the actual figure being eighty per cent.

(b) About 44 per cent, as against 30 per cent, thought that literacy and intelligence do not necessarily go together.
Concept XXX. "Color-consciousness."

About 76 per cent correctly said that the color of the people of India is brown. About 55 per cent thought that Indians were not conscious of skin color differences. This is not correct, Indians are color-conscious.

Part C

Important Things About India.

In answer to the question which asked the students "to list five things about India that are important for us as Americans to understand," 41 per cent of the 230 students listed five items and 55 per cent listed either five or four items and 67 per cent listed three or more items.

The first twelve categories which contained the largest number of items were Education, Religion, Government, Economic Situation and Living Conditions, Food Problem, Population, Customs, Industry and Commerce, Communism, Foreign Relations, Way of Life, and Caste System.

Many items were statements of comparison between the United States and India. There were also items which indicated what the United States should do in respect to India and what India should do in respect to the United States.*

Self-evaluation of Knowledge of India.

In answer to the question which asked for a self-estimate of their understanding of India, as high as 55 per cent checked the choice "not good," and 30 per cent checked "fairly good," and only three

* For an elaborate discussion, see pages 233-237.
Sources of Impressions of India.

(a) The student responses indicated that within the school, the major sources of their impressions of India were (1) Text-books, (2) Classroom Teaching, (3) Classroom Discussion, (4) Photographs and Pictures, (5) Magazines, and (6) Newspapers.

(b) Outside the school, the major sources of student impressions of India were (1) Magazines, (2) Newspapers, (3) Television, (4) Movies, (5) Radio, and (6) Books.

(c) Magazines and Newspapers obtained higher scores than text-books.

Suggestions for Teaching About India.

(a) The thirty critical concepts developed from the writings of Bowles, Sheean, Toynbee, and others are all important and worth being used for teaching.

(b) The thirty critical concept statements and the questionnaire may be useful teaching material.

(c) An analysis of the questionnaire findings has furnished for teaching such emphases as the educational program in India, the role of religion in Indian life, democratic nature of the Indian government, and the like.

(d) The high frequency scores obtained by communication media outside the school such as Magazines, Newspapers, Television, and Movies suggest that the important job of the teacher is not to provide the students with more information, but rather to help them

* For an elaborate discussion, see page 240.
conceptualize the impressions gotten from the various media in the
community.

**Conclusion.**

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that a distinctive thing
about the methodology of this study is the critical concepts approach
and that this approach can be adopted for studying how students of
**any one country conceptualize another country.** Of special interest to
the writer will be a parallel research project that studies how Indian
students conceptualize America.
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