

INTERPERSONAL DIMENSIONS OF
CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONS:
INDIAN-WESTERN MARRIAGES IN INDIA

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
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This is to certify that the
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Ann Baker Cottrell

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Major professor

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ABSTRACT

THE INTERPERSONAL DIMENSIONS OF CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONS:

INDIAN-WESTERN MARRIAGES IN INDIA

By

Ann Baker Cottrell

A significant characteristic of the modern world is the high degree of interdependence between societies. Although this interdependence is well documented, little is known regarding the complex networks of individuals and social systems which mediate between societies, or of the cultures in which they operate. The present study views the cross-culturally married, Indian-Western couples specifically, as one kind of link between societies. Some studies have been done of persons bridging societies in formal representational roles, e.g. diplomats, missionaries, scholars. To this knowledge, the study of cross-cultural couples adds the dimension of highly personalized cross-cultural role relationships.

Data for this exploratory study were collected between 1964 and 1966 in five major Indian cities as well as smaller cities and towns. In-depth interviews were conducted with 93 Indian husbands and Western wives and twenty Western husbands and Indian wives. Subjects were selected according to length of marriage in India, Indian partner's religion, Western partner's nationality, husband's field of occupation, and place of residence. The major areas explored, around which the chapters are organized, include:

- 1) social histories and present social status, 2) patterns of**

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linkage--occupational, social and voluntary, and 3) the linkage process--factors facilitating or inhibiting interaction with Indians and Westerners in India. The final chapter compares the linkage role of Indian-Western couples with those of Western-educated Indians and with Americans employed as representatives of their society in India.

The majority of all but the Western wives were involved cross-culturally prior to marriage. For some who married within their own bi-national or transnational community, primarily Western husbands and Indian wives, this international marriage is less exogamous than an intranational marriage might be. Indian partners are from high status families with regard to class and caste; Western partners are from average and above average status families. The couples themselves are urban and generally high status. The husbands, typically, are professionals, officials, or executives.

Nearly all of the couples associate with both Indians and Westerners in India and maintain contacts in Western nations. Place of residence and income are the most important variables affecting association with Westerners. Most couples know other Indian-Western couples but do not participate in groups of mixed couples.

Western husbands and Indian wives are more likely to be integrated into Western communities in India, more likely to be in third culture occupations, and thus generally more likely than the others to be sustaining established cross-cultural linkages. The majority of Indian husband couples are involved with some established linking

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system in at least one role, but are not as highly integrated. All couples activate latent linkages in association with Indians and Westerners who are modern and therefore participate in an ecumenical culture but who have not been involved personally or have not maintained cross-cultural bonds established earlier. This is the predominant linkage pattern for Indian husband couples who associate primarily with modern Indians. A smaller proportion of the couples, mainly Indian husbands and Western wives, initiate new links with traditional Indians. Western wives have a particularly great potential for initiating linkages because they are most likely to associate with traditional women. Western wives are also notable in that they are most likely to perceive difficulties interacting with both Indians and Westerners in India. The marriages are generally thought to facilitate linkage in other roles.

While most respondents do not reject national heritage, nationality and religion are not especially salient parts of the subjects' social identities. More commonly their statements reflect broader social identities.

**INTERPERSONAL DIMENSIONS OF CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONS:
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By

Ann Baker Cottrell

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1970

To Don

to the chairman of my

Dr. Bill Useem, I w

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His study has benefited

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Dr. Ralph Nichol

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CHAPTER I

THE THEORY AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

Theoretical Delineation

Orientations in the Study of Cross-Cultural Relations in Sociology and Anthropology Which Have Relevance in This Particular Study

The nations of the world have become increasingly interdependent, and more people than ever are now directly involved in more than one society. This trend has been reflected in increasing attention paid to cross-cultural relations in popular and social science literature; millions of written pages have been devoted to the topic and new words have entered our vocabulary to describe the phenomena. It is questionable, however, how much true insight and understanding this has given us into the nature of cross-cultural relations, that is, into the actual dynamics of relating one society and its culture to another. In particular, little is known about the people who mediate between cultures, and the cultural context in which they fulfill their mediating roles. No attempt will be made in this context to survey the literature, but rather, selective citations are used to help delineate the theoretical focus of this empirical study.

Much of what sociologists do know about "cross-cultural relations" we have learned from anthropologists. It is the anthropologists who have been concerned traditionally with the study of culture. They also provide most of what we know about

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the non-Western societies with which Western nations are increasingly in contact. Especially pertinent to this discussion is the way anthropologists have conceptualized contact between cultures. Some have concentrated on the diffusion of traits from one culture to another. Some others, concentrating on whole cultures rather than specific traits, have concerned themselves with acculturation, or the adjustments of one culture in response to contact with another.

Most of the theoretical frameworks earlier developed for studies of diffusion and acculturation have, at best, only limited applicability to the study of contemporary relations between complex societies formed around nations. They assume an isolation, with resultant coherence and homogeneity, of cultures which is rare, indeed, in the modern world. Kroeber was one anthropologist who considered the interdependence of cultures throughout the old world. He saw a world civilization, a "historically interconnected totality of cultures," which he called the "Oikoumene"¹ That this encompassing view of culture is not typical of anthropological thinking is indicated by the fact that Kroeber's idea was ignored for nearly twenty years. Then Gordon Hewes extended the concept to include the entire civilized world, and elaborated on the channels joining the cultures. Like Kroeber before, and many others more recently, Hewes emphasized that the "constituent civilizations tend toward a common and advancing technological base, and come to share various

¹A. L. Kroeber, "The Ancient Oikoumene as a Historic Cultural Aggregate," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 75 (1946) p. 9-20. (Reprinted in A.L. Kroeber, The Nature of Culture, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.)

and scientific, philosophical, and
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¹ Gordon W. Hewes, "The
Hewes," *Kroeber Anthropol.*
2, 1910.

² William H. McNeill
The Community, (Chicago
1955).

³ Kenneth E. Boulding,
The Economic, ed. by
La Free Press, 1969),
New York: Har-

styles, scientific, philosophical, and religious ideas..."²

This view of a world civilization in which many societies participate can be described as social pluralism within a single cultural context. Similar interest in the spread of world civilization has been expressed by historians such as McNeill,³ and economists, as for instance, Boulding.⁴

Anthropologists do recognize the existence of institutionalized contacts between societies such as the silent barter, or the Kula exchange circle. Hewes mentions that traders, soldiers, and diplomats, to mention just a few, are culture carriers. But there has been little interest in how such channels function, the kind of people who are involved, what the roles are, and the cultural milieu in which they operate. It would be difficult for anthropologists, on the basis of their research heritage, to answer questions about the nature of culturally patterned links between large scale societies in a world-wide community and the character of trans-societal networks which involve segments of nations. An in depth examination of the interaction processes linking societies is virtually impossible without considering the status-roles of the individuals involved.

²Gordon W. Hewes, "The Ecumene as a Civilizational Multiplier System," Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers 25 (Fall 1965), pp. 73-110.

³William H. McNeill, The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

⁴Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Emerging Superculture," in Values and the Future, ed. by Kurt Baier and Nicholas Rescher (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 336-350. Also, The Meaning of the Twentieth Century (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1965).

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Many of the early European and American sociologists, Durkheim and Weber, Park and W. I. Thomas, for examples, had a very broad, world-encompassing view of sociology. They sought explanations for behavioral differences in different social structures and cultures. As sociology developed in the United States, however, in the 1930's and in the immediate years thereafter, it turned increasingly inward. Sociologists assumed that the elements of human organization and behavior were so basic that they could be adequately studied in one society, thus largely ignoring the concept of culture.

More recently there has been a renewed interest in other social systems and in different cultures. Given the high level of interdependence of modern societies, sociologists cannot ignore the fact that societies are influenced by contact with others. Sociological interests in the broad area of cross-cultural relations fall primarily into four general categories: the study of social change and modernization; comparisons between societies of behavior, attitudes, or social institutions; the study of relations between societies as part of a larger international or supra-national system⁵, and studies of individuals who move between societies.

⁵ See, for example, Amitai Etzioni, The Active Society, (New York: The Free Press, 1968) and J. P. Nettl and Roland Robertson, International Systems and the Modernization of Societies, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968).

Like most anthropologists, sociologists have limited their conceptualization of culture contact to the effect of such contact on established cultures associated with particular societies. Even those who respond to the need mentioned earlier, the need to look at the individuals who are the carriers of culture, consider such people in terms of the two cultures being linked. For example, they might ask how the attitudes developed in one culture are affected by a person's experience in another, or how an engineer with training in a foreign country introduces ideas of change to his own country.⁶

The Study of Interaction between Societies

Charles P. Loomis, John Useem, Ruth Hill Useem and Robert C. Angell are four sociologists who have turned their attention more specifically to the study of people and groups which interact across societal boundaries and provide links between societies.

⁶ See, for example, Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, No Frontier to Learning: The Mexican Student in the United States, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957); John W. Bennett, Herbert Passin and Robert K. McKnight, In Search of Identity: The Japanese Overseas Scholar in America and Japan, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958); George V. Coelho, Changing Images of America: A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions, (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1968); John T. Gullahorn and Jeanne E. Gullahorn, American Students in France (Washington, D.C.: International Educational Exchange Service, U. S. Department of State, 1955) mimeographed; Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, Indian Students on an American Campus, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958); and John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem, The Western-educated Man in India, (New York: Dryden, 1955).

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¹Charles P. Loomis,
Journal, 25, p. 55 (19

²Charles P. Loomis,
1961), pp. 32-3.

³Charles P. Loomis,
*Journal of Mexico and
Foreign Agricultural Ex-*
1961.

⁴Charles P. Loomis,
and Sex," *Behavior*
1961), pp. 1-23.
and Change in Rural
1961, ed. by Carl C

Loomis is concerned with "systemic links" between societies. This concept permits the analysis of social interaction between societies in status roles which is not incorporated in the general term used by many anthropologists of "cultural links." Systemic linkage is "the process whereby the elements of at least two social systems come to be articulated so that in some ways they function as a unitary system."⁷ Or, in other words, "the organizational arrangements for group interdependence."⁸ Two kinds of behavioral linkages which Loomis has investigated are particularly pertinent to the present discussion. In his study of linkages between Mexico and the United States he is concerned directly with international relations.⁹ The study of modernization in India explores the linkages through which traditional Indian villagers are introduced to elements of a modern world culture such as chemical fertilizers and vaccinations.¹⁰ Both of these cases

⁷Charles P. Loomis, "Systemic Linkage of El Cerrito," Rural Sociology, 25, p. 55 (1959).

⁸Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems (New York: D. Van Nostrand, Co., 1960), pp. 32-3.

⁹Charles P. Loomis, Zona Loomis and Jeanne E. Gullahorn, Linkages of Mexico and the United States (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin 14, 1966).

¹⁰Charles P. Loomis, "Change in Rural India as Related to Social Power and Sex," Behavioural Sciences and Community Development, I (March 1967), pp. 1-28. Also, with Lalit K. Sen "Social and Cultural Change in Rural India," in Sociology of the Underdeveloped Peoples, ed. by Carle C. Zimmerman and Richard E. DuWors.

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illustrate the complexity of linkages between social systems. Behavioral linkages exist at many levels of complexity from friendships between individuals to organizations with the sole function of linkage such as the United Nations or community development organizations. An additional dimension, brought out in the United States-Mexico study, is "desired linkage," or attitudes which may further or hinder behavioral linkages. Loomis makes it clear that in any case of systemic linkage the participants in cross-cultural interactions do constitute a social system distinct from these systems being related. He points out that these linking groups have "dual-natured status-roles, the expectancies of which originate in the linking social systems as well as in those so linked."¹¹

The Useems, likewise, note that shared expectancies are an important part of the interaction between individuals from different societies and cultures. In their research they have found that individuals who bridge cultures share many elements of a common world view, such as future orientation and recognition of a world civilization. These are values central to Hewes' ecumene, or world civilization.

While a rather large proportion of the world's population shares the values of the ecumene, not all are directly involved in roles relating two or more societies to one another. The Useems have devoted themselves to the exploration of what they call the "third culture." This, they explain,

¹¹Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems, op. cit., p. 32.

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signifies the patterns generic to a community of men which spans two or more societies. It consists of more than the mere accommodation or fusion of two separate, juxtaposed cultures, for as groups of men belonging to different societies associate together and interact with each other, they incorporate into their common social life a mutually acknowledged set of shared expectations. A third culture cannot be understood fully without reference to its mediating functions between societies nor apart from the cultures of the several societies in which its participants learned how to behave as human beings. Nonetheless, each third culture generates a composite of values, role-related norms, and social structures which distinguish its patterns from any of the societies it spans. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of third cultures is the self-conscious effort on the part of its carriers to create the common grounds for living and working together.¹²

The usefulness of this concept of the third culture does not stop at its contribution to the understanding of cross-cultural relations. It questions assumptions held by many social scientists regarding the very basic concepts of culture and community. The third culture is shared by a community of individuals which spans the world. A community of scientists, for example, is bound by certain values and role expectations, not by geographical contiguity. In addition, the third culture is not simply an extension of a traditional culture; it is a culture created by individuals whose status roles place them in a position of mediating between two or more cultures. Because the third culture transcends many societies and is not locality bound, relatively few individuals now participating in it were socialized into the third culture as children. Most came into it as adults and had to learn the

¹²John Useem, "The Community of Man: A Study in the Third Culture," The Centennial Review, VII, no. 4, (Fall 1963), 484.

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Robert C. Angell,
New York:
1914, p. 22.

values and roles from those who occupied their positions before them or from others in similar positions.

Angell's concept of "transnational participation" also focuses directly on interaction which links two or more societies.¹³

Transnational participation exists when a "role is performed in a structure that involves people from more than one country."¹⁴

It may be bilateral, as when a citizen of one country takes a role in an institution which has been imported into the other country from abroad. Transnational participation may also be multilateral in nature, as when persons play roles in international organizations.

Angell shares with Loomis and the Useems a concern with the nature of interaction transcending national boundaries, although the concept of systemic linkage is not limited to linkage across national boundaries, as has been pointed out. To Angell, the heart of the matter is that an individual become involved in the local structure of another nation-state. In this respect, as well, the concept of transnational participation is more limited than that of systemic linkage, for systemic links can exist without the personal involvement of each individual in another culture. Boundary commissions are an example of a systemic link. A person could, however, serve as a member of such a commission without any personal experience in the neighboring country. The concept of linkage also permits consideration of attitudinal links, or

¹³Robert C. Angell, Peace on the March: Transnational Participation, (New York: Van Nostrans Reinhold Co., 1969).

¹⁴Ibid., p. 22.

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Transnational participation is, in one respect, a broader concept than that of the third culture used by the Useems, and in another respect it is narrower. Although both exclude an individual who has become so completely incorporated into his new society that he ceases to have any effective ties with his former society, the Useems restrict their concern to individuals whose roles in another society are representative of their own societies, e.g. an ambassador, or segments of their societies, e.g. a missionary. The first kind of bilateral transnational participation mentioned by Angell--filling a role in an institution in another society--is not generic to the third culture. The Useems are not concerned with the fact of cross-cultural involvement per se, but rather with the behavioral and cultural patterns which are generic to cross-cultural interaction; in this respect they carry their analysis beyond that of Angell.

All four of these sociologists stress the potential of "systemic linkage," "transnational participation," and "third cultural roles" for reduction of conflict, although none suggest that cross-cultural interaction promises an end of world tensions.

The Role of Mixed Marriages in Cross-Cultural Relations

A number of studies have been done, or are in progress, exploring various cultures and social systems bridging contemporary

nations. These include
 the United States,¹⁵
 the role of American education
 technical assistance pro-
 grams on aspects of the
 work being done by the
 country (Philippines), A
 the United States), etc. A
 the population is the
 used by Ruth Useem, the

15. Loomis, Loomis and
16. Useem, op. cit. 9
 Loomis and Ruth Hill Useem
 Culture: A Study of the
Social Issues, XXIII,
 "Indians and Amer-
 icanizing Roles," The
 p. 143-158; and with John
 Culture: The Role
 Cross-Cultural Administra-
 1960), pp. 169-179. See
 "Cultures in India," The An-
thropological Sciences, Phila-
 delphia: John Useem, "Work Pa-
 per of the American Academy
 of Arts and Sciences, 1966), pp. 1
17. David K. Winter,
Study of Cross-Cultural
 Michigan State University
18. Francis C. Byrne,
Study of Attitudes and
 Chicago, 1965).

societies. These include Loomis' study of linkages between Mexico and the United States,¹⁵ the Useems' of Americans in India,¹⁶ Winter's of American educators in Pakistan,¹⁷ Byrnes' of Americans in technical assistance programs,¹⁸ and a group of comparative studies on aspects of the international scientific community currently being done by the Useems with Bachtiar (Indonesia), McCarthy (Philippines), Aurora (India), and Restivo and Vanderpool (United States), etc. A very different segment of the third culture population is the focus of a series of studies being designed by Ruth Useem, that is, children who are socialized in

¹⁵Loomis, Loomis and Gullahorn, op. cit.

¹⁶Useem, op. cit. See also the following articles by John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem: "Interfaces of a Binational Third Culture: A Study of the American Community in India," The Journal of Social Issues, XXIII, (Jan. 1967), pp. 130-143; "American-Educated Indians and Americans in India: A Comparison of Two Modernizing Roles," The Journal of Social Issues, XXIV (1968), pp. 143-158; and with John D. Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Role of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration," Human Organization, 22 (Fall, 1963), pp. 169-179. See also: Ruth Hill Useem, "The American Family in India," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Philadelphia, 368 (Nov. 1966), pp. 132-145, and John Useem, "Work Patterns of Americans in India," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, 368, (Nov., 1966), pp. 146-156.

¹⁷David K. Winter, American Professors in West Pakistan: A Study of Cross-Cultural Relations, (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1968).

¹⁸Francis C. Byrnes, Americans in Technical Assistance: A Study of Attitudes and Responses to Their Role Abroad, (New York: Praeger, 1965).

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See, for example
Journal of Psychological
Marston, 1965).

the third culture. With the exceptions of Loomis' inclusion of friendship and familial linkages between the U.S. and Mexico, and Ruth Useem's study of children of the third culture, these studies have been predominantly of systems and cultures established by those entering international networks through political educational, and occupational roles.¹⁹

Another set which plays an important role in linking societies is composed of couples who are married cross-culturally. Their role in this process has often been overlooked because, not being part of an institutionalized cross-cultural network as are diplomats, missionaries or technical aid experts, they are not highly visible. This study is designed to extend our knowledge of the many pathways connecting India and Western societies by exploring the contributions of Indian-Western couples in India to the overall linkage process.

A link exists between two societies when information about one is introduced into the other. This does not have to be immediately or directly reciprocated. Thus, the Western partners in Indian-Western marriages, because of their non-Indian backgrounds, and the Western returned Indian partners, because of their experiences abroad, serve as a link bringing knowledge of the West to India. This link occurs even if the couples have no contact with Westerners, themselves, to facilitate the flow

¹⁹ See, for example, H. C. Kelman, International Behavior: A Social Psychological Analysis, (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1965).

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of information back to the West. If there is no contact with the West, the effectiveness of the link will diminish as Indian acquaintances of the Western partner exhaust information about his or her background and no new knowledge is added because of the Westerner's isolation from his own society and culture.

When the exchange of information is reciprocal, we speak of a bridge between societies, a bridge with two-way traffic, so to speak. Participants in the third culture form a bridge between their respective societies. A cross-cultural marriage does not automatically include the partners in a bi-national third culture. Participants in the third culture have representational roles; the French ambassador, director of a British firm, or American Methodist missionary. The partners in a cross-cultural marriage are not primarily representatives of a larger collectivity. They are, first, individuals in a personal relationship. Many couples are part of the third culture, however, because they have another role which is representational, such as teaching German at the Max Mueller Bhavan or heading an import-export firm. Others who live in cosmopolitan residential areas may become involved in the third culture through locality based networks.

The only situation in which the linking function of cross-cultural couples is eliminated is when they form an isolated community of such couples. This does happen. A classic example of the long term effect of this is the Anglo-Indian community in India. Their pro-Western attitude has led them to reject India

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and Indian culture and in turn to be largely rejected by the Indians. The Anglos are also largely rejected by their reference group, the British. This primarily because of their lower class position, but to some extent because of their mixed heritage as well.

Contemporary Indian-Western couples, the subject of this study, are often, but erroneously, equated with Anglo Indians. Before India's Independence in 1947 some couples did interact primarily with other Indian-Western couples, but I heard of no case in which this was to the exclusion of Indian relatives. Social networks of mixed couples have become far less frequent now because of the change in Indian-Western relations in general. Nowhere did I discover an exclusive grouping of Indian-Western couples. Other couples in the same situation may be an important reference group, but they are not the only reference group. Prior to Independence, interaction between Indians and Westerners in India was superordinate-subordinate. In this system there was virtually no occupational contact between the two societies on an equal level upon which to establish a basis for more informal contact. Any social interaction was generally limited to formalized occasions. Each "side" being rather confined, a couple had to "choose sides." Those who identified with the Indian community became an integral part of it, and had little, if any, interaction with Westerners. It was those who were Western oriented, but because of their Indian attachments were not accepted by the majority of British, who formed groups of mixed couples. Formal relations

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between Indians and Westerners in India are now co-ordinate, or equalitarian, which also permits freer and more open interaction between the nationalities. There is no longer, with rare exceptions, the feeling that if you have ties with "them" you are not worthy of association with "us." Freer interaction patterns also permit a couple to continue feeling a positive sense of identity with both India and the West. This would have been more difficult in the highly bifurcated system of the colonial period.

Because Indian-Western couples differ in several important respects from others in India who are involved in cross-cultural relationships, they provide insight into linkage patterns different in some ways from those of other kinds of groups in the third culture. These differences affect attitudes as well as behavioral patterns. Undoubtedly, one of the most important differences is in the feeling each has toward the other's country, his own by marriage. This sense of personal involvement frequently extends to relatives who attend more closely to information about the country into which their sons or daughters have married than they would have otherwise. Through letters and visits to relatives, the Indian-Western couples provide a link to individuals on both sides who otherwise might not have had any ties to a world outside their own. Certainly those in the third culture provide insights into foreign cultures for their relatives too, but this does not carry quite the same sense of personal involvement with it.

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The Indian partner, because he is Western-returned, except for the differences just mentioned, fills essentially the same role in relations between India and the West as other Western-returned Indians. He may meet more Westerners, or see them more frequently because of his partner's communal ties, but having an Indian partner would not mean total isolation from Westerners. It is the differences between the foreign partner, in this case the Westerner (the Indian for couples in the West), and others of the same nationality which provide the most interesting contrasts.

A couple married cross-culturally enters the role with the expectation of a life-long involvement. Most Westerners in the third culture know they will be involved for only a year or two, or perhaps until retirement. While some have made a lifetime commitment, it is a commitment to the third culture, not generally to a specific foreign culture, with the exception of some missionaries. The knowledge that this is a life-long involvement with a culture that is one's own by marriage encourages many Western partners to go further in seeking an understanding of it than most Westerners do. The knowledge that they must cope with different ways of thinking and behaving because they are unlikely to leave India gives many additional tenacity when frustrations mount. The realization that one is in India for life can, however, have just the opposite effect. Some Indian customs which may have appeared quaint or exotic initially cease to be quaint or exotic on a permanent basis, and are simply regarded in certain instances as infuriating.

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Another important difference between the Western partner and other Westerners in India is that the former has familial roots in India by marriage. The family, the Useems found, is a particularly important factor in determining whether or not Americans in India remain in their linkage roles. Difficulty of family adjustment was more often a cause for leaving these positions than was job dissatisfaction. The support provided by the family may, on the other hand, be the very factor which allows others to remain in their third culture roles. The family and home can provide a sanctuary, a familiar territory, when the Westerner is overwhelmed by the cultural differences encountered in India.

The Western partner of an Indian, at least initially, has no family to provide the support of a familiar cultural pattern; often he or she is without the support of anyone of his or her own nationality. Most Westerners abroad have their national community to help solve problems which cannot be handled individually, such as children's education. Many of the Western partners, for a variety of reasons, do not have access to the Western communities. Supportive institutions are provided by the Indian community. But it may be exactly these institutions which bother the Western so greatly that they feel the need for support from their own community.

While the third culture has been created by its participants, rather than evolving from a national culture, most of those entering it have contact with others in similar positions who socialize them. The Western partners of Indians, on the other hand, may

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In spite of the fact that many of the couples establish their own life styles without role models, there are discernible patterns. This is, in part, because there are only a finite number of solutions to any given problem because of the Western cultural background of the partners and the socio-economic status of the couples. A more important reason is that many of these couples share with each other, and with those Indians and Westerners in the third culture, the values of a world-wide civilization

Other Views of Exogamous Marriages

In this study the mixed marriage is a vehicle for the study of cross-cultural relations. The linkage role played by such couples is of primary importance, not intra-marital roles. Because of the subject, this study can be included with other studies of exogamous marriages. Its approach, however, separates it from most research about mixed marriages. Most such studies are oriented to personal problems focusing on difficulty of adjustment. The present study does not deny that there are problems in a cross-cultural marriage. There are problems in any relationship as close and encompassing as marriage, and many may be complicated by the difference in cultures. The focus here is, rather, on positive contributions cross-cultural couples make to the relations between societies and to creating an ecumenical network which is

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²⁰ Chester Hunt and
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²¹ Hugh H. Smythe,
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²² Everett V. Stonequist,
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transnational. There are a few other studies which do view the mixed couple as carriers of culture, for example, Hunt and Collier's study of Philippine-American Marriages,²⁰ and Smythe's of Inter-marriage in West Africa.²¹

Mixed couples, whether cross-cultural, interfaith, or inter-racial, are frequently cited as examples of the "marginal man." According to Stonequist, "the individual who through migration, education, marriage, or some other influence leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another finds himself on the margin of each but a member of neither. He is a marginal man."²² This suggests a society far more homogeneous than is the case for modern civilizations. Highly educated, modern Indians are marginal to traditional Indian society, but there are so many of them they cannot be considered marginal to India as a nation-state. In fact, in terms of the power structure these modern Indians are more central than the traditional. It is these modern Indians who have married Westerners. Both may be marginal to the traditional elements within their cultures of origin, but are integrated into a world civilization which transcends and

²⁰Chester Hunt and Richard W. Collier, "Intermarriage and Cultural Change: A Study of Philippine-American Marriages," Social Forces, 35 (1956-57), pp. 223-30.

²¹Hugh H. Smythe, "Intermarriage in West Africa," Sociology and Social Research, 42 (1957-58), p. 353.

²²Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict, (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1961).

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Research Design and Process

General Design of This Study

This study of Indian-Western couples living in India, then, is designed to explore another facet of the widespread and varied series of interactions which link societies in the contemporary world. The role of the cross-cultural couple could have been studied in any country in the world, provided some nationals in that country had foreign husbands or wives. I chose Indians and Westerners precisely because I wanted individuals from highly divergent cultures. This provides the opportunity to study the manner in which the two are combined in several different areas of behavior. Family patterns--nuclear vs. extended, religion,²³ customs of social interaction and culture patterns encountered in daily living such as food, clothing, language, and household facilities are only a few of the many differences in traditions of India and the West.

Another reason for my choice of India and Indians was my familiarity with the culture from a previous visit to the country,

²³ While there are Indian Christians, and they have been included in my sample, it should not be assumed that their life styles, or even religious behaviors are identical to that of Western Christians.

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This research focuses on personal histories, social identity, and behavioral linkages in occupations, social networks, and voluntary activities and associations. An important consideration in the background of these individuals is how a cross-cultural marriage fits into his life pattern. Is this a marriage of rebellion or is it an extension of an already established cross-cultural role? In the latter case the couples are really marrying within their own culture, the third culture.

Writers who view the mixed couple as social isolates or as marginal men tend to emphasize the couple's lack of identification with one or both groups of origin. This study not only considers the couple's orientation toward both India and the West, but their view of themselves as possible links between societies and the degree to which being a mixed marriage is an important part of their social identities.

In addition to looking at the couples' attitudes, the study investigates their actual behavioral linkage patterns. This includes the degree to which their social networks and friendships, occupational roles, and voluntary activities and associations involve the subjects in interaction with Indians, Westerners, members of the third culture, and other Indian-Western couples.

In order to better understand the culture orientation, social identity, and linkage behavior of Indian-Western couples in India

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these are viewed in relation to several important variables, including length of residence in India, place of residence, husband's occupation, Indian community (religion),²⁴ Western nationality, and whether the husband is Indian or Western. Length of residence in India is an important consideration because it indicates the nature of third cultural relations between India and the West, whether when relations between British (including a few other foreigners) and Indians were superordinate-subordinate, or in the post-independence period of co-ordinate, bi-national relationships. The ease with which the couples move between the two social systems in India reflects the openness of interaction between the Indians and Westerners themselves. Looking at length of residence in India also helps answer questions about the process of adjustment to life in a non-Western culture, especially for the Western partner. For example, is there a pattern similar to the "U curve of adjustment" noted in studies of foreign students?

Occupation and place of residence are significant factors, especially in determining with which segments of Indian, Western, and third culture populations the couple interacts. When the husband's job is in an all-Indian firm, or when the couple lives in an all-Indian town or residential area, their interaction with

²⁴Caste is not used in this study as an independent variable because there is relatively little variation in the sample with respect to caste status. As is pointed out in Chapter II, over half of the Hindus and Sikhs in this sample are from families in the Brahmin, writer, or doctor castes.

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Westerners and members of the third culture is severely limited. This is true regardless of the couple's cultural orientation. On the other hand, an all-Indian milieu can provide opportunity to bring knowledge of the West to Indians who may not even share in the culture of the world ecumene yet.

The Indian partner's religion and Westerner's nationality have implications for the nature of linking patterns established because most individuals pattern their lives, to some extent, after those of the community in which they were socialized. The Indian Christians and Parsis are more apt to have been socialized in a Westernized cultural setting than most Hindus or Muslims. In addition, without even leaving their Indian community, the Christian and Parsi couples are more apt to have some contact with Westerners than the others have. Among the Westerners the British are more accustomed to interacting with Indians than Norwegians are, for example. Although the orientation inherited by the British may be one of superiority, it does include some familiarity with at least superficial elements of Indian culture, of the British-introduced institutions and patterns in India, and may well have included contact with Indians in Britain.

The husband's nationality--Indian or Western--also has relevance for interaction patterns the couples establish. It is expected that the Western husbands and their Indian wives will be more cosmopolitan than the Indian husbands and Western wives.

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A Western husband in India is very likely to have a third cultural occupation. The couple then becomes involved in the associated third culture social networks. In addition, the protected position traditional of Indian women makes it more difficult for them to meet and marry foreigners than it is for Indian men. As a result Indian women with foreign partners are less traditionally Indian and more cosmopolitan than Indian men are as a group.

Locating and Selecting Indian-Western Couples to Interview

Data were collected in India from 1964 to 1966. In order to cover as broad a spectrum of couples as possible, and to avoid making generalizations based on regional variations, the research was conducted in large and small cities, in the North and the South. Specifically the bases of operation were New Delhi, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Bangalore, and Poona.

The vast majority of Indian-Western couples is urban because they are culturally part of a modern, world civilization. That is, they are not bound by traditional world views and traditional occupations such as village farming. In this respect, then, the highly urban sample of this study is quite representative of the universe of this study. However, since the purpose of the research is to explore the parameters of the cultural roles played by mixed couples in linking societies, an effort was made to include the widest range possible with regard to life style, cultural orientation, and interpersonal contacts. Since rural couples help to broaden the scope of the study a special effort was made to locate

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couples living in small cities or rural areas. Because such couples are unlikely to be actively involved in third culture circles, through which I received names of subjects, it was difficult to locate them. I did hear reports of couples whose life style seemed quite different from those who were interviewed. A number of Indian-Western couples are reported to be living an ashram (religious retreat)-like existence in the Himalayas. And I heard reports (unverified) of a couple living an economically marginal existence in a fishing village. Although I heard of none, there may also be couples who live geographically isolated from bi-national third cultures, but are intellectually very much a part of a world third culture.

The population from which the sample interviewed was drawn is defined as all Indian-Western couples who were still married and who considered India as their permanent home at the time of interviewing. An Indian is defined as one who is an Indian national by birth, excluding Anglo-Indians. A Westerner is defined as one who is by birth a national of a European country, Great Britain, North America, Australia, or New Zealand.

While it was fairly easy to define the population of study, locating the total population was quite a different matter. No separate marriage records are kept for this kind of marriage, and Indian-Western marriages are registered in at least as many countries as there are nationalities involved. Therefore, I relied entirely on the reputational and "snowball" techniques

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Given this method of defining the "population," it would be well to mention biases in the population itself before considering biases in the sampling procedure. I feel that this "population" is biased in favor of urban couples of upper or upper middle class, well educated Hindu men with American or British wives. The predominance of urban, upper class couples and Indian husbands with Western wives is a reflection, primarily, of the social position of people involved in relations between India and the West. Only to a very minor degree does my method of locating couples result in an overrepresentation of these categories.

The reason for the predominance of urban couples has already been discussed. The high status of the couples indicates the professional or highly skilled level of both Indians and Westerners who move between these societies. The Western representative in India has additional status because he is Western. Even the non-professional Western representatives are able to live an upper middle class life style, at least economically, because they are paid on a Western salary scale.

The overall pattern of cross-cultural relations between India and the West does not include many Indian women, so it is not surprising that the majority of husbands in Indian-Western marriages residing in India are Indian. Furthermore, the opportunity for employment of Western husbands in India is limited.

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A traditional society protects its women from outsiders. Therefore, relatively few Indian women travel abroad, especially at a marriageable age. Even most of those who remain in India are not permitted to associate freely in situations which would bring them into contact with single Western men. In addition, apart from the "braindrain," Indians generally go abroad for education, while Westerners come to India primarily to contribute skills already developed. The Indian men abroad, therefore, are apt to be younger than Western men out of their countries, and more Indians would be single. Many of the employers of single Western men forbid marriage to a national while in India.

The relative scarcity of Western partners who were not British, American, or German, simply mirrors the strength of Indian ties with particular Western nations. The difficulty of locating Muslims in cross-cultural marriages is only partly because they are a minority in India. Historically, the Muslim population in India has not been as integral a part of on-going third cultures as the Hindus and those who were migrated at the time of Independence. They have not come near the level of Christian or Parsi involvement in international networks. My own interaction patterns in India did contribute to difficulty in locating Muslims and in locating Swedes, Italians, French, etc. I collected names of potential subjects from people I met, and I met mainly people in the Indo-American and Indo-British bi-national

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One other bias I suspect in my "population" is toward socially visible happy couples. Some unhappy marriages end in divorce or separation, and I have indications that in other cases unhappy or odd couples were "overlooked" by my sources. I heard of cases in which Western wives were imprisoned in tightly-knit joint families, being permitted no contact with Westerners, and of couples who could not adjust to one another, but could not get specific enough references to include them on my list.

Because my object is to explore the linking behavior of Indian-Western marriages, rather than trying to draw inferences about the population of Indian-Western couples in India, I used the case study method. I drew a sample of 113 couples, trying to distribute the cases as equally as possible among the categories for each of six variables: length of residence in India, place of residence, Western nationality, Indian religion, husband's occupation, and husband's nationality. The reasons for the variables used have already been discussed. A random sample would, of course, have been impossible with an unknown population. The primary reason, however, for this attempt at an even distribution on all variables is to provide enough couples in categories which are relatively rare in the population to avoid description based on the idiosyncratic behavior of a few cases. For example, if I

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The Interview

The in-depth interview was conducted with the husband and wife separately unless that was impossible to arrange. The average interview was three hours. With some couples only a very brief session was possible, usually because of scheduling conflicts. Others I had an opportunity to interview and observe over a period of months.

Because of the exploratory nature of the study, the interview was designed primarily to maximize the range of responses. Thus the interview consists mainly of open-ended questions; all the fixed choice questions also include a related open-ended question regarding the reasons for the responses given. (See Appendix 6 for copy of interview schedule.)

Many of the problems which plague Western social scientists conducting research in non-Western countries were avoided in this study because of the orientation of the study and because of the rather select subjects. In the formulation of the interview schedule, for example, I was not concerned with comparability of stimulus for several reasons. This is not a comparative study in which I need to standardize a questionnaire for two rather different populations. True, the sample does include individuals from many cultural backgrounds. These people, however, have a common lingua franca, English, which for most is now their primary

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language. Thus, the problem of linguistic translations is avoided. (I was unable to interview three couples, however, because of my inability to speak German and Russian.) The sample population is well-educated, all having at least a high school education or the equivalent. Nearly all of the Indians have been educated in Western style schools, and have lived in the West for study or work, so a Western approach, as reflected in my questions, is familiar to them. I could not detect any nationality bias in the schedule, that is, it was not any more difficult for Indians, on the whole, to understand questions than the English, French, or Americans.

In general, I felt I was able to develop very good rapport with my respondents. My greatest difficulty was with Indian men. With the exception of a few, who actually refused to be interviewed, I had no open lack of cooperation. I did feel that some of the Indian men glossed over answers, and generally tried to present a smooth, positive picture. This took the form of monosyllabic answers, "fine," "good," etc., or a phrasing of answers which I took to be a way of softening an answer. Rather than admit that "I think" this or "I do" that, I often got the answer "maybe I do," or "perhaps I think..." In a few cases I actually noted distortion of fact.

It is also possible that Indian men are not sensitive to areas of adjustment which are difficult for their wives. The Indian husband traditionally does not become involved in his

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wife's problems, especially relations between the women of the household. Thus, he might respond that relations with his own family are fine, for he doesn't think the problem of relations between his wife and mother are his concern. He may consider these tensions inherent in the arrival of a new wife in a household, while his wife probably views them as a conflict between a Western wife and a domineering Indian mother-in-law.

Other explanations for the relatively less successful establishment of rapport with Indian men may be found in the nature of the interview and the interviewer rather than the respondent. Because of the men's professional obligations they had far less time to devote to interviews, thus there was not as much opportunity for me to probe and generally to work on establishing rapport during the interview. Three characteristics of the interviewer may also have influenced the nature of responses from Indian men. In a culture which places great emphasis on respect for age, my being younger than almost all of my respondents may have been a factor. Being a female may have affected the openness with which Indian men responded, but I don't think this to be the case in India because my experience, and the experience of others, has been that a professional woman is regarded somewhat asexually, and thus that factor does not enter. Being Western is probably the attribute which had the greatest influence on responses. Many educated Indians aspire to an American or

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English life style which is often above their means on an Indian salary. Some, having lived abroad and having married foreigners, may have felt constrained to present their life styles in terms of that aspired to, or what I would expect from a "foreign-returned" Indian with a Western wife, rather than in terms of the pattern actually followed. This may have been done more by pleading inability to distinguish Indian from Western life styles, or inability to rank their own style of life in terms of Western or Indian patterns, than by actually misrepresenting the way they lived. I think that a more relevant explanation of their reaction to me as a Westerner, however, is that unlike the Westerner who can say to me as another outsider, "those Indians, they make life so difficult. This country isn't like our countries," the Indian must place the blame on "my people, my country, my family,"... in a sense on myself. He may feel guilty for having imposed a lower standard of living on his wife and a culture which she can't understand or appreciate, and thus respond defensively. I must note that not all Indian males responded in this inhibited sense; I often found Indian husbands openly critical of India, often more so than their wives, and ready to discuss their life styles.

One might ask why the Indian wives did not respond to me as a Westerner in a similar manner. My feeling is that Indian wives have made a more complete break with their Indian heritage and

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identity than have Indian husbands. I often completely forgot, when interviewing an Indian wife, that she was Indian. This almost never happened with Indian men. In the first place, for an Indian woman to be in a position to even meet a Western man, let alone marry him, she must have broken from the traditional patterns far more than is necessary for an Indian man to meet Western women. Also, the traditional expectation for a woman after marriage is to leave her own home for her husband's; her parents have little or no influence on her after marriage. The Indian male, however, is expected to bring his new bride to his parental home where she becomes part of the family, and is expected to fit into their life style. The man's family expects to influence the couple's lives to a great extent. In the case of neolocal couples, the husband's family still exerts influence. In the case of culturally mixed marriages the concept of home might be extended to the "cultural home" or cultural heritage. Thus Indian women would marry out with greater expectation of breaking with their culture than the men who expect to bring their wives into it.

With the exception of some lack of depth of response on the part of some Indian husbands, I noticed almost no specific parts of the interview to which the respondents seemed particularly sensitive. The only question to which an answer was ever refused was age at marriage, immediately following one on the year of marriage. No one refused to give caste, although in one instance three respondents identified one another as caste brothers, yet

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Final Note

The remaining four chapters focus on the individuals involved in cross-cultural linkage through marriage, and the various ways in which they contribute to the overall process of linkage between societies, in this case nation-states. Indian-Western couples do provide systemic linkages between India and the West, and they are transnational participants. While not all the couples are actually participants in third culture social systems, they do contribute the dissemination of third culture values. An understanding of the role of such highly personalized interaction across national boundaries adds a new dimension to the growing body of knowledge regarding the complex nature of interpersonal linkages between societies.

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CHAPTER II

THE SUBJECTS: PERSONAL HISTORIES AND PRESENT STATUS

Who Marries Cross-Culturally?

Before discussing how Indian-Western couples function as links between societies, it is important to know something about the people we are studying. This chapter, then, is a portrait of the couples--their personal histories and their present social status.

Section one of this chapter answers the question "who marries cross-culturally?" with respect to nationality, religion, class, and family background. It points out the ways in which Indians and Westerners who intermarry mirror the larger population linking India and the West. Section two probes reasons why an Indian marries a Westerner and vice-versa; both situational and attitudinal factors are presented. In section three the manner of entering a mixed marriage is described. This includes how and where couples met, and reactions to their decision to marry. The last section presents the couples as they are now, including characteristics such as ecological position, mobility, social status, occupational sector, religion and nationality.

Nationality of Husband and Size of Population

Indians and Westerners involved in cross-cultural marriages are a microcosm of the population which links India to the West with respect to trends in size of the population. This is also true with respect to religion for the Indians and nationality for Westerners.

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The most immediately apparent characteristic of Indian-Western couples in India is that the husbands are primarily Indian. This was the case in 451 of the 514 couples located living in India at the time of the study.²⁵ Two basic reasons for this, the protected position of women in a traditional society, and the fact that Indian men abroad are more apt to be single than Western men abroad, were discussed in Chapter I.

Japan, Korea, and Viet Nam are traditional societies in which women, theoretically, should be protected as they are in India. Yet in marriages between nationals of these countries and Americans, the husbands are predominantly Western. The distribution of single men in the relationship between the United States and the former countries has been just the opposite of that in the Indian-Western relationship. The majority of marriages between Americans and Japanese, Koreans, and Viet Namese occurred during and immediately after wars when there were far more Americans in Asia than Asians in the U.S. War, in addition, is a period of extreme crisis during which the normal fabric of society breaks down. The defenses of a society weaken, even around its women.

There were Western troops in India during World War II, but there were also many Indian troops in Southern Europe during the War. This period, 1940-45, was, indeed, a crisis period for India, but with a different emphasis than that in Japan, Korea and Viet Nam. The War did not so directly involve the total Indian population. A crisis in India at the time of World War II, which did involve the population directly, was the fight for

²⁵ Because husbands generally determine where a couple lives, the proportion of couples in which the husband is Western would undoubtedly be higher if all Indian-Western couples in the world were being considered. It is unlikely that the number of Western husbands would exceed the number of Indian husbands, however, for the reasons discussed in the text.

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As is true of the population of Indian-Western couples in India, the sample selected for the study is predominantly Indian husbands with Western wives. Ninety-three of the couples are in this category, and twenty are Western husbands with Indian wives. It is noteworthy, with respect to the preceding discussion, that the only "war brides" in the sample are Western.

A second noticeable fact about Indian-Western couples, often remarked upon by the couples themselves, is their increasing number. Several mentioned that in the "old days" they noticed other couples, and that there were informal clubs for mixed couples. Now there are so many Indians married to Westerners they no longer notice one another, and there are far too many to be incorporated into a socially cohesive group. The need to band together in clubs is not felt as strongly now.

The increased number of nationally mixed couples directly reflects the change in the larger pattern of relations between Indians and Westerners in India from a superordinate-subordinate relation to an egalitarian, co-ordinate relation. This lowering

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of social barriers between the nationalities since Independence permits increasingly informal contact between the nationalities making it easier for people to meet, socialize, and marry cross-culturally.

That Indian-Western marriages are more common now than ever is more than a reflection of relaxed interaction between nationalities. There simply are many more people, representing more nations, involved in international relations now than there were prior to the War and Indian Independence. When the foreign population is small, personal and informal, social control can be exercised over both its members and those foreigners who are peripheral to the foreign community. When a larger number of foreigners is involved, the social control over members is more formal and those outside the community can deviate from group norms, interacting with the "natives," for example, without being brought under the formal or informal social controls of the community. More directly yet, the greater the number of people moving between countries, the greater the availability of potential partners for international marriages.²⁶

²⁶It is generally accepted that the actual number of marriages has increased. But, because there are no official records of international marriages, it is not possible to say whether this is an increased proportion of the population linking India and the West or not. The increased ease of mixing between the nationalities suggests, however, that it is.

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In the post-independence period the channels between India and the West diversified in terms of function and nationalities involved. To the more established paths of linkage--foreign service, business, and missions--have been added more student exchange and voluntary aid programs such as the Peace Corps or International Voluntary Service. These attract younger people, people who are apt to be single. The voluntary organizations, in particular, draw more Westerners into linkage roles.

Cultural Heritage: Western Nationality

India's relations with the West have diversified considerably with respect to the number of nations involved. Prior to independence, Britain and the West were synonymous to most Indians; links between India and other Western nations were minimal. The training Indians received in their homeland oriented them toward Britain, and the rewards for foreign training went mainly to those returned from the U.K. The British still account for 75 percent of the foreigners in India. But Americans, the second largest group in India, are increasing in number faster than the English. The importance of America in India's relations with the West can be seen in the fact that now more Indians study in the U.S. than in England, and Germany is increasingly popular as a place for advanced education.

The historical and contemporary importance of Britain to India is evidenced in the "population" of couples from which this

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sample was taken. One third of the Western wives, and over half the Western husbands are British. There is a higher proportion of British among the Western husbands than Western wives because couples are more apt to meet in the wife's country than the husband's, and the British dominate Indian-Western relations in India to a greater extent than they do out of India. Indians not only are going in greater numbers to countries other than the U.K., but those in the U.K. are far from limited to contact with British while there. Students, in particular, often gravitate to international student organizations where others from around the world congregate. Indian ties with America and Germany are important, but newer, so they are not as well represented in these international marriages. One fifth of the couples in the "population" include an American partner, and nearly that many a German.

Information available about couples in the sample permits an examination of the changing relationship between India and Western nations.²⁷ The historical prominence of the British in these relations is particularly well demonstrated. One third of the couples with a British partner have been married more than 25 years. Only an insignificant number of the others have been

²⁷Using the sample for trends in cross-cultural marriages is only a rough estimate since it is not a random sample of a total population. Couples were selected for the sample according to both length of marriage and nationality of the Westerner. The factors were considered independently of one another, so this is a fairly random distribution of couples with regard to the relationship between length of marriage and nationality of the Western partner.

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married that long. (See Table A-1 in appendix.) The average length of marriage for Indians and British, 17 years, is almost twice the average duration of marriage for couples with American or German partners, nine years. Somewhat surprising at first glance is the average length of marriage for Indians and "other Europeans" (non-German), which is 14 years, almost as long as for the British. This is not because the other Europeans have been marrying steadily for as long as the British. Rather, it is because of the war brides. One third of this group were married during, or immediately following the war, mainly to Indian soldiers stationed in Southern Europe.

Cultural Heritage: Indian Religion

India is 85 percent Hindu. Therefore, in absolute numbers, most contacts between India and the West involve Hindus. The Muslims, comprising ten percent of the population, are the largest minority group in India. They are, however, very underrepresented in the third culture in India, largely because during British rule they did not participate as widely in the process of modernization and industrialization as did the Hindus. Nor did they take as great an advantage of Western education as the Hindus. And those that did, tended to go into the administrative services in Pakistan. With the exodus of Muslims, especially the highly educated, to Pakistan at the time of partition, the smaller community remaining in India is traditional and closed.

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The Christians and Parsis, smaller minority groups in India, have participated in the third culture to a far greater extent than the Muslims. If proportion of community interacting with Westerners or living a Westernized style of life is considered, the Christians and Parsis are probably even more highly involved internationally than Hindus. The Parsis, although a close community, are prosperous, urban, and modern. Thus, they have much in common with Westerners. A large proportion of this community, in addition, is highly Westernized and British-oriented. As a community, they mixed more freely with the British than Hindus because they do not consider foreigners untouchable as do traditional Hindus.

The Christians, as a whole, do not share the characteristics of wealth and urbanism with Westerners to the same degree the Parsis do. The Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians stem from conversions among untouchables, while the Kerala Christians are not as concentrated in the lower classes. All have the bond of a common religion to bring them closer to the Western community. Christians, because of widespread missionary work in India, have had a rather high degree of contact with Westerners, but with a very different group of Westerners than those the Parsis and Hindus met. In fact, the Western missionaries and Indian Christians together form a community based on religious involvement which sets them apart from both other Indians and other Westerners.

Although the philosophy of the Sikhs places them between Hindus and Muslims, with roots in both, they have, since Independence,

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identified more closely with the dominant Hindus. The resurgence of Sikh communalism is relatively recent. For the purposes of this study the Sikhs (and the one Jain) have been grouped with Hindus because their overall life style and world view bears more resemblance to the Hindu than to the Muslim.²⁸

Both the "population" and the sample drawn from it mirror this pattern of involvement of the various Indian communities in international relations. The Muslims were the only Indians it was difficult to locate as part of a mixed marriage. Muslims do go abroad for higher studies, but they do not become very involved in cross-cultural relations in India. Possibly a larger percent of Indian Muslims remain in the West than other Indians, in addition to the earlier ones who migrated to, or remained in Pakistan. Many fear that their skills will not be adequately utilized because of their minority status in India, and especially because of the history of enmity between them and the dominant Hindus. The lack of Muslim cross-cultural involvement in India is further substantiated by the fact that I heard of no Muslim women married to Westerners at all, and by the fact that all Muslim men met their wives outside of India. This also points up the extreme caution traditional Muslims practice in protecting their women from outsiders. There were, on the other hand, both men

²⁸It must be kept in mind that the Hindus in this study are modern, and most of those in the sample, though not their parents, eat meat and do not observe caste restrictions on interaction.

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The number of women in any community married to foreigners is a useful indicator of the community's cross-cultural involvement. None of the Indian wives are Muslim, and as was pointed out, the Indian Muslim community is far from internationally oriented. The Hindus are the most numerous in international circles because they are such a large majority of the population, but as a whole they are not overly active in the third culture. It is predominantly the Hindu men who have specific role relationships with Westerners bringing them into third culture groupings. Hindus are able to compartmentalize their lives in such a way that a husband's involvement with other nationalities may have no effect at all on his family. Not many of the Hindu women, therefore, are actually involved in cross-cultural networks. This is seen in the sample of couples used in this study, for only ten percent of the Hindus are women. By comparison, the more modern and Westernized orientation of the entire Parsi and Christian communities which includes women, is reflected in the fact that nearly 30 percent of the Parsis in the sample and 55 percent of the Christians are women.

The discussion thus far has been in general terms. The following Tables, 1 and 2, indicate the specific distribution of couples included in the study with regard to nationality of the Western partner and religion of the Indian.

III. DISTRIBUTION

Equality

High

Medium

Commonwealth (Canada,
Australia, New Zealand)

Low

Other European

Switzerland, Belgium,
Luxembourg, Netherlands

France, Italy, Spain

Scandinavia

Eastern Europe

Other-S. Africa,

etc.

IV. DISTRIBUTION

Religion

High

Medium

Christian

Other

High

Low

Other

etc.

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF WESTERN PARTNERS ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Wives</u>	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
British	27	9	36
American	17	6	23
Commonwealth (Canada, Australia, New Zealand)	6	1	7
German	14	2	16
Other European	<u>29</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>31</u>
Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands	(12)	(1)	(13)
France, Italy, Spain	(8)	(1)	(9)
Scandinavia	(3)	-	(3)
Eastern Europe	(4)	-	(4)
Other--S. Africa, Greece	<u>(2)</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>(2)</u>
TOTAL	93	20	113

TABLE II. DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN PARTNERS ACCORDING TO RELIGION

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Hindu	63	7	70
Muslim	11	-	11
Christian	8	9	17
Parsi	5	2	7
Sikh	5	1	6
Jain	1	-	1
Coorg	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTAL	93	20	113

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Another kind of communal identity important to Indians is that based on affiliation with regional cultures, e.g., Bengali, Madras, or Gujarati. North Indians predominate in the "population" of 500.²⁹ This is partly because far more time was spent in the North collecting names of couples than in the South. It is expected that a complete list of Indian-Western couples would still indicate a greater involvement of North Indians in cross-cultural relations compared to those from the South. Indians in the third culture are largely urban, and India's three largest urban centers, Delhi, Bombay, and Calcutta, are in the North. In addition, historically as now, the Western population in India concentrated in Northern centers, giving Indians there more opportunity to observe other cultures, and providing channels of actual contact with Westerners for some. The importance of Calcutta as the major center of the British Colonial population and the city presently claiming the largest British population in India, combined with the modern orientation of many Bengalis makes Bengal the state contributing the largest number of Indians to cross-cultural marriages.

²⁹North India refers to those regions in which the language is Sanskrit based, and South India includes areas with Dravidian based languages.

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TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN PARTNERS ACCORDING TO REGION OF ORIGIN

<u>Region</u>	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
NORTH - Punjab, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir	17	3	20
EAST - Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam	23	5	28
WEST - Gujarat, Maharashtra	18	3	21
CENTRAL - Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh	8	1	9
SOUTH - Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Kerala, Madras, Goa	26	7	33
No response	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	93	20	113

Social Status

One common finding regarding the social background of mixed couples brought out frequently in the literature on mixed marriages is that their economic position before marriage was precarious.³⁰ In spite of the prevalent stereotype of Indians marrying land-ladies' daughters, this generalization about the marginal economic position of individuals who marry cross-culturally prior to marriage is not supported by the couples interviewed for this study. The Indians, in particular, are from very well-placed families; all

³⁰Larry D. Barnett, "Research on International and Interracial Marriage," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960). Similar findings were brought out with regard to specific examples of mixed marriages in: Chester Hunt and Richard W. Collier, "Inter-marriage and Cultural Change: A Study of Philippine-American Marriages," Social Forces, 35 (1956-7), p. 223; John Biesanz and Luke M. Smith, "Adjustment of Interethnic Marriages on the Isthmus of Panama," American Sociological Review, 16 (1951), p. 819; and Joseph Golden, "Negro-White Marriages in Philadelphia," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1951).

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but 11 percent of their fathers were executives, professional, semi-professional, proprietors, or government officials and military officers. The women's fathers were more concentrated in high prestige occupations than those of the Indian men; 85 percent of the fathers of Indian wives were either professional or semi-professional. (See Table A-2 in appendix.)

In India one's position is determined by caste even more than by class, especially when marriage is considered. In this respect, as well, the Indians who married foreigners were extremely well placed, for over half the Hindus and Sikhs were of families in the Brahmin, writer or doctor castes. (See Table A-3 in appendix.)

Before Independence lower class and caste Indians had little if any opportunity to meet Westerners. Lower class Christians did meet missionaries, but this was primarily a functional relationship, one in which the Westerner was definitely superior. The only Indians with whom the British interacted on anything like an equalitarian basis were the non-traditional elite of Hindu society. It was the sons of that same elite who had the opportunity to study abroad. Before Independence financial status determined who went abroad for studies more than intellectual merit.

Westerners in the sample are of a slightly lower class position as a whole than the Indians because most of them did not leave their own country to meet their Indian partners. Therefore, the

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expense of travel and living abroad did not select an elite group. The growth of higher education in the U.S., and to some extent in Europe, permits more middle class and lower middle class young people to attend college, bringing them into contact with Indian students. In addition, Indian students in the West can, and do meet young people who are not in college.

The fathers of most of the Western partners were semi-professional, proprietors or officials. A larger proportion of the remaining were in lower skilled occupations than in the professions or at the executive level in business. (See Table A-2 in appendix.)

The substantial background of the couples is reflected in their high educational attainment. In line with their higher than average class position, the Indians are more highly educated than the Westerners. (See Table A-4 in appendix.) More than nine out of ten Indian husbands and nearly eight out of ten Indian wives hold at least a B.A. degree, and an unusually large number have completed M.A.'s, professional degrees, or Ph.D.'s. Western husbands are between Indian husbands and Indian wives with respect to educational achievement. Only among the Western wives do we find the majority with at least a B.A. Three fourths have completed only 12th grade or that plus some technical training.

Although the Western wives deviate from the others in the sample with respect to average level of education, they deviate less from others of their sex and nationality than do the Indian wives. In marrying men with more education than themselves, the

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Western wives are conforming to expectations in India and the West. If the social status of an Indian husband is very much higher than that of his Western wife, the fact that the wife is Western, which generally carries high status in India, serves to reduce the status gap. The Western men who have married cross-culturally are well educated, and have high status in India. Marrying an Indian woman is generally regarded as beneath their position. This particular status gap is narrowed by the high educational attainment of the Indian wives. A long-time foreign resident in India commented that to the British status is more important than nationality, and that if a girl had the proper background and behavior, the fact that she was Indian became irrelevant.

In traditional cultures those with very high status meet outsiders and often those in very low positions also meet outsiders, although in a very different kind of relationship. It is those in the middle who are most concerned about protecting their position, and their cultural heritage. The Anglo-Indian community has its roots in marriages of low-caste, low-class Indian women to the lower ranking British with the British East India Company, or British "Tommyes"--the enlisted men. The contemporary Indian-Western marriages draw Indian women from the upper echelons of their respective groups within India. The less traditional and closed a society, the deeper contact with outsiders can permeate. Western societies are far less traditional

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than is India; therefore, there is a higher probability that middle class Westerners will meet and marry foreigners.

The generational difference between the Indian and Western wives in this sample is also related to their educational differences. On the average, the Western women are older than the Indian. Only in the last generation has it become at all common for women to pursue higher education, especially graduate training. A large proportion of the Western women reached the marriageable age at a time when a woman's place was in the home and pursuing intellectual interests was definitely not feminine.

Family Types

Already pointed out several times because it is so basic, is the fact that fewer Indian women than men marry foreigners because of their protected position in a traditional society. Those women who do marry out of their community, therefore, come from less traditional families than do the men. That is, their families have already provided the beginnings of a move away from the established patterns for women.

While about three-fourths of the Indian husbands were raised in families considered traditional or transitional, only a little over one-fourth of the women had this kind of familial background. (See Table A-5 in appendix.) A transitional family is one in which traditional familial patterns are beginning to change. Usually the men in such families have taken jobs which are modern or Western in nature. Often because of these occupations such families

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are urban and exposed to ideas and behavior patterns quite different from their traditional ones. In addition, the men in the family may have even traveled outside India. The transition, then, begins outside the actual family and only eventually permeates within the home. Heads of transitional families prefer to maintain a traditional home life; thus, the women in a transitional family can be considered traditional. Consequently, they are unlikely to have much contact with, or interest in, the outside world.

The great majority of the Indian wives came from families outside this traditional pattern, and already modern or Western oriented to some degree. Over half the women's families fit this category by virtue of religious identity, Christian or Parsi, alone. Even a girl in a relatively traditional Christian family will feel some affinity with Westerners because their life styles reflect a common heritage. A fairly traditional Christian girl protected from outsiders may very well have contact with Westerners as part of her own community.

More significantly, over one-fourth of the Indian wives' families can be classified as modern, Westernized, or third culture families.³¹ The modern family appears traditional in patterns such as dress, food, and housing, but is not bound to traditional ways of thinking about goal attainment and interpersonal

³¹ Family types are not classified according to religion. The Christian and Parsi families just discussed are included in the modern, Westernized or third culture categories.

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relations. Generally highly educated, the members of such families use their training to change, or modernize their world. One important characteristic of the modern orientation is that it includes the women on a more equalitarian basis. The Westernized family has adopted Western cultural patterns almost entirely, and is oriented toward the West as much, if not more than, toward India. These generally upper class families associate widely with the British, as they did before Independence, and often spend a great deal of time in the U.K. Several children of such families in the sample had all of their education in Britain, following the pattern established by British colonial officials in India. The modern third culture type of family is the newest of these patterns. Consequently, only two Indian wives and one husband were raised in this type of family. These are more internationally oriented families, with less attention focused on the West (especially Britain) per se. Such families are in a bi-national, or international milieu because of the father's occupation--a diplomat, representative of a foreign firm, or some other third cultural job.

Families of the Indian wives were more apt to have been non-traditional in two other respects as well. Almost half the women, half again as many as the men, had some other mixed marriage in the nuclear family. For these individuals, marrying out of their community, was not a complete break with tradition; indeed, for

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some it may have been a continuing pattern of breaking communal bonds. One Indian, after naming six different religions, regions, or nationalities, from which his brothers and sisters had chosen their six partners, said, "I suppose it was an unwritten law that we marry out of our own subcaste of Brahmin Bengali Christian."

It is also particularly significant that nearly one-third of the women had non-traditional role models in their mothers who had moved out of the home, at least part time, for employment.

The sharp distinction between traditional and modern families is not found in the West as it is in India. Traditional families in India are conserving an ancient culture, usually Hindu, a culture not affected by the world ecumene. The modern Indian families, and even more so the Westernized and third culture families have either introduced elements of the ecumene and the West into their lives, or essentially adopted the Western culture in toto. There is, then, a decided qualitative difference between the traditional and the modern and Western in India.

In the West, traditional families differ from the very modern mainly in the degree to which they preserve their ethnic heritage. Although their world view may be narrow, and behavior traditional, they are preserving a culture which has its roots in the ecumene. The modern Westerners are not as tied to a specific, limited interpretation of the ecumene as is the French villager, for example. The lives of modern Europeans are simply more closely integrated with other parts of the world. With this

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in mind, Western families have been categorized according to the amount of experience with other cultures, rather than as traditional or modern. Considering the proximity of other nations for Europeans, the families of the Westerners in this sample are not noteworthy for cross-cultural activity, although approximately four-fifths did have some cross-cultural experience. (See Table A-6 in appendix.) Those who could be considered highly involved in more than one culture account for a larger proportion of Western husbands' families than Western wives'.

The extent to which Westerners might be following an established pattern of exogamous marriages is quite similar to the Indian pattern. Western wives are more apt to have some other kind of mixed marriage in the family than the Western husbands. Although most other mixed marriages in the families were to other Westerners, there were a few relatives who had married non-Westerners, including two sisters who had Indian husbands as well.

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What Encourages Cross-Cultural Marriages?³²

Some Are Marginal in One Role

It is not uncommon to hear that people who marry out of their own group, especially when the marriage involves very dissimilar cultures or races, are marginal. The preceding discussion makes it clear that this is not the case for most of the individuals in this study with regard to social status at the time of marriage. Often discussions of marginality suggest that an element of choice is involved, that the community chooses to "outcaste" an individual or the individual chooses to leave his community. It also implies that the whole person is marginal to his society or culture.

³²Resnik, in "Some Sociological Aspects of Inter-marriage of Jew and Non-Jew" (Social Forces, Vol. 12, p. 94) attempted to classify the person who will marry out of his own group according to four types based on W. I. Thomas' four wishes for new experience, security, new response (sex) and recognition. It is persons seeking fulfillment of these wishes, he proposes, who are most apt to marry exogamously. Slotkin, in "Jewish-Gentile Marriage in Chicago" (American Sociological Review, Vol. 7, p. 34) expanded upon this list and proposed the following personality types who are likely to marry out of their own group: 1) the emancipated person, 2) the rebellious person, 3) the detached person, 4) the adventurous person, 5) the unorganized or demoralized person, 6) the promiscuous person, 7) the marginal person, and 8) the acculturated person. These categories describe the factors discussed in the text of this dissertation in the section "Why do people marry cross-culturally?" The categories proposed by Resnik and Slotkin incorporate some of the situational factors into personality types; for example, the detached person is one whose primary group control has been disrupted. While these categories are useful as abstract basis for discussing mixed marriages, I did not use it because it gives the impression that individuals fall into one or the other of the classifications. Most of the subjects in this study can be included in several of the categories, therefore I decided to orient the discussion around social status, emotional state and cross-cultural experience which would encourage a mixed marriage rather than around personality types.

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The situation is far from that clear cut. Marrying out of the group of origin does not necessarily indicate that the group has rejected the person. Many people deviate in one status-role from the norm of their society. They, thus, find themselves in a situation which reduces the number of potential partners available to them who are deemed appropriate in their culture.

Age at Marriage

This sample is deviant from societal norms with respect to age at marriage. The average age at marriage for husbands, 31; for Indian wives, 30, and for Western wives, 25 and a half, puts them all in a situation in which most of their contemporaries are already married.³³ The older a single person is, the fewer people there will be for him to choose from who are considered appropriate. The Indian wives differ most drastically from the national average age of marriage for women which in 1951 was 15 years. This comparison is not fair, however, for villagers continue to marry their daughters considerably earlier than do the urban Indians. Many authors writing on marriage in India place the upper limit on marriagesability for Indian women at 25 years.³⁴ Cormack

³³ In the United States, 1965, the mean age of marriage for men was 23 and for women was 20 according to the Statistical Abstracts of the United States 1965. The United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967 lists the average age at marriage for English, German and French men and women, and for Italian and Spanish females as between 20 and 24 years.

³⁴ See, for example, Margaret Cormack, She Who Rides A Peacock, (Asia Publishing House, 1960), and A. D. Ross, The Hindu Family in Its Urban Setting, (Oxford University Press, 1961).

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describes the problems faced by girls who are marginal with respect to age at marriage and level of education, both of which describe the women in this sample.

In India these girls who have tried to break with traditions have suffered. Girls who are too old (above 25) or too highly educated (above B.A.) have denied their parents the opportunity to find them husbands. Bargaining power has gone. But it is difficult for the girls to find their own husbands, for in their jobs and homes they must be circumspect or lose their reputations. Indeed, to be friendly to bachelors...would often result in dismissal.³⁵

The older person may consider an exogamous marriage which he or she would not have years earlier either because of increased maturity or because of panic. In the first case, the older person has realized that there are far more important elements in a person's character than looks, social background, or cultural origin. The mature, older person generally has established himself as an independent person, less subject to the values of his parents and even of his peers than most younger people. Many of the women who are still single beyond 25 find meaningful roles in life, and realize that marriage is not the only path to self-fulfillment. Such persons do not marry for the sake of marrying, but because they have found an individual who will enrich their lives, often one who shares a professional interest. In addition, families may not object as strenuously to an older child's marrying out of the community.

³⁵ Cornsack, op. cit., p. 89.

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At the other extreme is the person who panics because he is not married by 25 or 30. Some of these persons will marry at the first opportunity, regardless of the other person's origin, for fear of being perpetually single. Men are less subject to this kind of fear, but it is not totally irrelevant to them. Somewhere in between are those who date enough to allay fears of being perpetually single, but have not found the right person within their own community. They finally broaden their vision to include people from other nationalities when considering marriage. For example:

Before, when I was younger, I was quite prepared to accept a semi-arranged marriage. My parents did introduce me to people. They would have been unhappy if I had married a non-Brahmin Goom. I did date some Gooms; I dated one for quite a long time because everyone thought it was a good match. I met so many boys in my own community, and I hadn't made up my mind. After a while I began to think that maybe I had better not stick to that community. Before I had refused to even go out with an English chap on the grounds that it might lead to something like this.

A few in the study were older when they married cross-culturally because this is a second marriage for them. It would be plausible to argue that marriage outside the community is more plausible on a second marriage than a first because the endogamous rules do not apply to second marriages to the same degree as to the first.

Working Women

Chances of making a good traditional marriage were jeopardized for two Indian women when they had to take on the role of household head which meant taking a job to support their families.

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One was from a traditional family, the other from a transitional one. However, traditional Indians do not consider working an appropriate role for a single girl seeking marriage, as it is not a favorable recommendation for a potential wife. Undoubtedly, the new found independence also influenced attitudes of these women regarding the desirability of a traditional marriage. Other Indian women in the sample who worked before marriage were of highly modern or Westernized communities where this was not as unusual, and thus not so apt to negatively affect their chances of marriage. Having to work before marriage is not likely to influence a Western woman's desirability as a wife in the same way that it does in most Indian communities. But, it could make her desire more than the role of the average wife in her community.

Emotional State

An emotional situation, as well as a social position, can encourage a mixed marriage. (See Table A-7 in appendix.) The age of marriage is also an age when many other aspects of a person's life are changing. There is often a feeling of insecurity associated with recently achieved independence from the family, and in the first steps toward an unknown future. At such times many look to marriage for security, and in doing so may reach beyond the group prescribed for them. Approximately one-third of the subjects mentioned some frustrations or feeling of insecurity in their lives at the time they met their partners. Uncertainty regarding

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work or study, dependence on parents, broken romance, and an undefined uneasiness regarding the future were mentioned most often. Some included loneliness abroad as one of the things bothering them, and certainly loneliness abroad may have exaggerated worry over other problems for many more.

Several pointed out that their partner was the only one who gave real support during a period of frustration. This could lead to a dependent relationship, or simply indicate the strengths of the supporting individual making him look even more desirable as marriage partner. In several cases, for example, a person married a doctor or nurse attending a member of his family. Frustration and insecurity may have contributed to some cross-cultural marriages, but the fact is that more Indian husbands and Western wives gave no indication of an emotional state which might encourage a mixed marriage than did indicate frustrations or insecurity before marriage. The fact that over half the Indian husbands were in the group which appeared satisfied may, however, be as much a reflection of the relatively shorter interview with Indian husbands, as any remarkable stability on their part.

The emotional state of the Western husbands and Indian wives when they met again points up the similarity of the backgrounds they brought together in marriage. The most commonly evidenced emotional state for both before marriage was a desire to solidify a dual identity incorporating both India and the West. This is

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not at all surprising when one remembers two facts about these couples. Nearly half the Indian wives were raised in third culture families. Secondly, three-quarters of the Western husbands, including all the British and all but one of the American husbands met their wives in India, and most had decided on linkage occupations. The nature of the dual cultural orientation seen in these couples will be discussed more fully in the next section.

Communal Marginality

Anyone, regardless of communal identity, may find himself in the kind of marginal position just discussed. Another kind of marginal position is that of a whole community, a minority group. When the minority community is large, for example, the Muslims in India or the Jews in the West, there should be, numerically at least, enough partners available. When a large portion of the community is of rather low status, however, as is the case with Indian Christians, an ambitious woman is limited in choice of mates. A woman cannot marry below herself in status or achievement as easily as a man. This position encouraged one of the Goan women to marry a Westerner, for, as she said,

There are more charming educated Goan girls than men; the girls work, and working girls are more choosy. The boys in the community don't study as much and don't go as far, so the girls go outside their community. The choice of men dwindles. Besides, I have noticed that the Goan boys often choose more conservative girls for wives.

When the minority group is large, at least the members feel they have a community with which they can identify if they wish.

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When the group is small or geographically dispersed, there may not be enough people to make any individual member feel he is part of a community. Yet, this very affiliation makes it difficult for him to feel part of the majority community in that nation or locale. A Dutch girl who was a Rosicrucian recalls a childhood filled with taunts of other children because of her family's unusual religious practices. She resented her faith for making her different, and wanted to get away from it, but she did not feel well enough accepted in the larger Dutch community to marry into it.

As a member of a minority group in a larger society one is already somewhat of a cultural pluralist, socialized in one culture, but always aware of the different ways of the other. For some, particularly those whose identity is not strongly bound to their community, the step to accepting another culture and way of life is not a difficult one. Some minority groups make the step to involvement in another society still easier, for the link to the other society is that which makes them a minority group within their own. Such is the case of the Indian Christians. For many of them a Westerner is first a fellow Christian, and secondly, of a different nationality. This is comparable to the Jews for whom a person from another society is first a Jew and secondly from another society.

Most examples of marginal status through communal affiliation are from Indian women. This is not without reason, for 60 percent

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of the women are from minority communities in India, compared to 27 percent of the husbands, and virtually none of the Westerners.³⁶

The reason the proportion is so high among Indian women has been brought out throughout the first part of this chapter. The higher overall proportion of minority group members among Indians than Westerners is due partly to the nature of the dominant group. The rigid caste system not only views outsiders as undesirable, but as untouchable. For a Hindu to marry a Hindu of another caste is as great or greater a transgression of the norms as it is for most people to marry someone of another, quite different nationality. Therefore, the religious minority groups in India are not as able to marry into the dominant group as are religious minorities in other parts of the world. In addition, the Indian minorities represented in this sample, with the exception of the Muslims and Jains, feel that they have more in common with the West than they do with Hindu society. A marriage to a European may be less of a "mix" for them than would be a marriage to a Hindu. Significantly, there were no Buddhists married to Westerners located. A religious minority in the West is not quite as outcaste as those in India, and the Western minority has no reason to feel any cultural bond with Indian groups.

³⁶ Of the 106 Westerners in the study the only members of religious minority groups are one Jewish husband, six Jewish wives, and one Mesicrucian wife.

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Another very probable reason that there are fewer minorities represented among the Westerners has to do with the basis of attributing minority status to Westerners in this study. The information available from interviews dealt with religion. A more important basis of discrimination in many of the Western countries, which is not included here, may be ethnic identity. Negroes and Indians, important racial minorities in the United States, are so discriminated against that there is little opportunity for them to meet people of other nationalities at all, except in the military. Many Negroes in the military do take wives overseas. One couple was located in India, but not interviewed, in which the husband was an American Negro.

Separated from Sanctioning Forces

Most people when in their own communities do not marry foreigners. Strong sanctions are brought to bear on one who does not follow the dictates of his society with regard to appropriate marriage partner. Some who would have married within their community, reached marriageable age while away from home. If they cannot afford to return home for marriage and if they foresee many years away from their community, they may marry exogamously. There is no one in the immediate situation to enforce the norms of their culture.

Immigrants, either from one nation to another, or within India, from one region to another, find themselves in a situation

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similar to that of the minority community if there are others of their nationality in their new home. The immigrant's experience is more parallel to that of the foreign student if they are lone representatives of their group in the new region or country. One European who immigrated to the United States with her family brought out some of the difficulties faced by one in this position.

We moved to a small town in Wisconsin where we were the only foreigners and the only Jews. People were friendly enough, but I never dated much in high school. I guess I didn't like American boys because the ones in high school never took me out. I went to college with this attitude. There I dated the boys I met through the international club.

Cross-Cultural Experiences Are Broadening

Thus far the discussion has focused on how an individual's situation can encourage mixed marriage because of a scarcity of suitable marriage partners. The same situations, especially when other cultures are involved, encourage exogamous marriage by changing attitudes. Extended periods of time spent in another culture expand a person's outlook and interests to include a larger portion of the world. Stimulated by these experiences, such persons frequently seek partners with similarly broad world views, and desire to incorporate elements of several cultures into their own lives. They could marry within their own community, but are unwilling. For some, the desire to maintain a cosmopolitan life, or at least to avoid a strictly parochial existence, is so strong that they feel they must marry out of their own community

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to assure an international future. The following are examples of the many comments expressing the desire to find a partner with a similar life style and similar interests; from an Indian husband:

I had been abroad five years. I didn't think I could find a person here (in India) with the same knowledge and liking of Western culture. It didn't matter where we lived. I had considered settling in the West, especially in the light of my bad experience on returning from England--no job for four months, then a bad job. Marrying a Westerner came naturally after six years abroad; I had adapted to the situation.

from an Indian wife:

I loved being in the United States. If my parents were not in India I'd have stayed on. I already liked Western life. Western men give more freedom...my parents thought a boy would make a good husband if he was financially well off. I'd have been miserable with the Indians they picked out for me; being in the United States made me independent.

from a Western wife:

When we met I was traveling around the world, enjoying it, not thinking of marriage. When he came to Europe I was unsettled after my trip around the world. We had had two years absence. After two weeks we decided to marry. The trip had been too exciting, then I had to come home and obey my parents...the routine. I was ready to go again; people in France just didn't understand about all the countries I'd been to.

Nearly everyone in this sample had had some experience in another country, or with people of different nationalities, prior to marriage. (See Table A-8 in appendix.) Only 13 percent of the Western wives were without some cross-cultural experience. Some of the sample, primarily Indian wives were raised in third culture families and several of them had actually spent more of their lives outside India than in it. Husbands, more typically, achieved a high degree of cross-cultural involvement on their

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own, when studying or working abroad. Some worked hard while abroad at developing a nationally diverse set of friends, feeling there was "no point in going abroad to stick to your own friends." Others attributed the variety in their friendship patterns abroad to default more than choice; the host country nationals were so hard to get to know that foreigners of all nationalities formed their own social world. Immigration from one country to another during childhood was a kind of cross-cultural experience found solely among Western wives.

Young people throughout the world are becoming more international both in numbers of people involved and in depth of involvement. The Indians and Westerners in this study document the growth of cross-cultural interest. Couples married since 1956, have been far more involved internationally at the time they met their partners than those who married before the war. For example, none of the Western wives who met their husbands after 1956 were without some previous cross-cultural experience. But, nearly one-third of the Western wives who met their husbands before 1945 had never had any contact with another nationality before that. For the Indian husbands, who have always been the most highly involved internationally, the depth of involvement has changed more than the numbers involved. Ninety percent of those who met their wives in the most recent period were so involved in cross-cultural relations that it was a basic characteristic of their life style compared to 45 percent at the same level who met before the war. Perhaps Indians in Europe before their nation's independence felt inhibited in mixing with Westerners because of their colonial status.

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TABLE 4: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS' CROSS-CULTURAL INVOLVEMENT³⁷ AT THE TIME OF MEETING PARTNERS ACCORDING TO YEAR OF MEETING

Cross-cultural involvement	Before 1945 (N=52)	1946-1955 (N=66)	After 1956 (N=78)
None	15.4	4.5	0
Superficial	34.7	24.2	20.5
Experienced	29.0	36.4	34.7
Highly International	<u>21.2</u>	<u>35.0</u>	<u>45.0</u>
	100.3	100.1	100.2

Table 4: Chi Square Test. No cross cultural experience or superficial experience compared to experienced compared to highly international: $\chi^2 = 14.40$, $df = 4$, $p = <.01$.

Indians were clearly more highly international prior to marriage than the Westerners, but Westerner men were considerably more involved than Western women, especially in the early years. In fact, four-fifths of the Western men had actually been in India for periods of six months to 27 years when they met their wives. Still, they are not considered as highly international as most Indian husbands because their interaction in India was usually confined to Indians and others of their own nationality. The Indian husbands whose life style could be considered highly international had not only spent many years in a culture very

³⁷ Individual tables for the cross-cultural involvement of Indian husbands, Indian wives, Western husbands, and Western wives when they met their partners are in the appendix, Tables A-8, A-9 and A-10.

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different from their own, but had close friends from many other parts of the world as well. Active participation in international organizations was a common characteristic of those highly involved cross-culturally. Many, in fact, had been presidents of international organizations on college campuses.

One might expect the people who were highly involved internationally to be from the communities or nationalities which attract the most foreigners to them. Somewhat surprisingly, just the opposite is true; the subjects from communities which attract foreigners, Christian in India and British in the West, were, as a group, the least involved internationally.^{38,39}

Persons raised in foreign recipient communities do not rank high on either of the two factors used to determine an individual's level of cross-cultural involvement before marriage--experience in foreign countries and diversity of friends' nationalities. First, they do not need to leave home to meet foreigners, and

³⁸ The pattern is less clear for the Westerners because a nation is larger and less homogeneous than a religious community in India. The fact that Indians come to Britain does not give all British the same probability of meeting an Indian that a Christian has in India of meeting missionaries who come to work with that community.

³⁹ The Christians in India are considered a foreign recipient community because they are the only one which draws Westerners to it specifically. Other Westerners coming to India are not drawn to a specific community. Likewise, Indians, because of their historical ties, are drawn to Britain more than to other Western nations, except recently the United States which has attracted increasing numbers of Indians.

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secondly, they generally meet people of only one other nationality because the well-established channels between nations tend to be bi-national. These bi-national communities often are, in fact, rather parochial, restricted to people from two nations with common interest or life style, for example, the American Methodist missionaries and Indian Methodists.

The preceding discussion has dealt with cross-culture experiences. There are many people in the world who are internationally oriented but who live far from cosmopolitan centers, and have no opportunity to build their international orientation into the immediate situation. A distinction must also be made between those who have a genuinely broad world view and those who still identify primarily with their culture of origin, but for a period of their lives are active in international networks and associations. To explore this other dimension, then, we turn to a discussion of cultural orientation before marriage and how this is related to a person's choice of marriage mate.

Cultural Orientation Before Marriage

Contact with different cultures, both within and out of one's own country play an important role in developing cultural orientation and sense of identity. One of the Indian husbands illustrated the effect of multiple cultural influences during the formative years on his identity very well. He gave this answer when asked what aspects of his background might have encouraged him to marry someone of a different nationality.

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Christianity, my father's universality--his international outlook on life--, and my schooling being English and American. I went to an American Missionary college. In a deeper sense it was the ambivalences of being brought up under British influences in school. Everyone in my school wanted to go to Cambridge or Oxford and were frustrated by the war. School gave me a pro-British orientation. The first year in college it was fashionable to be anti-British and my change in identity began. I suddenly had to be anti-British and pro-Indian. I was in an American college supporting the Indians. Then I went to America. That broke my ties here. In the U.S. anything I said pro-British was criticized and that completed freeing me from the English allegiance. In the U.S. I re-identified with India. Bad experiences dating prejudiced American girls and reading I've Shed My Tears, a book about the rejection of Indians by Americans convinced me I didn't want to be an American or to marry one. I decided to return to India. By then I knew I really wanted a non-chauvinistic type of wife, and when I met my wife I knew she was it.

This example makes clear how complex is the relation between various influences on a person's life. As can be seen from the quotation, the aspect of the identity predominating at a given time depends on a person's social relations at the time, his stage of development, and period in world history. To better understand the part cultural orientation plays in decisions to marry cross-culturally, subjects have been grouped according to their attitudes towards their own and other cultures. This is primarily in terms of how the person felt at the time of marriage, but does not ignore his total history.

Some of the respondents did not express a particularly strong orientation toward either India or the West. This suggests acceptance of their culture of origin. Dissatisfaction with one's heritage and development of a broader, more encompassing identity both indicate

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important changes in a person's character, and these changes do not go unnoticed. Subjects who felt such changes in themselves talked about them, partly because it is a change, and partly because those who are dissatisfied and those who are world-oriented usually have an ideological commitment to their position which an accepting person does not.

Western wives, who had the least cross-cultural experience of any group, were the most likely to simply accept their culture of origin. Interviews with two-fifths of them elicited no strong feelings about their cultural identities prior to marriage. Two of the Western husbands (12 percent), two Indian husbands (three percent), and one Indian wife (five percent) also appeared to have no particularly strong feelings toward either culture.

The rest of the interviewees, the great majority, had already begun to think of themselves in relation to more than one culture, or at least to have grown dissatisfied with their own culture and society by the time they met their husbands or wives. Some of them continued primarily oriented toward their culture of origin but were freed from the bonds of their traditional culture by cross-cultural experiences. Another group of respondents were oriented away from their own cultures, while the distinguishing feature of others was that their orientation encompassed many cultures. These various orientations are discussed in more detail following Table 5, which indicates distribution of respondents according to their cultural orientation when they met their husbands or wives.

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TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL ORIENTATION WHEN SUBJECTS MET THEIR PARTNERS ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE

Cultural Orientation	Indian Husbands	Indian Wives	Western Husbands	Western Wives
Accepting of own culture	2.7	5.2	12.5	40.0
Some cross-cultural or non-traditional experience	58.0	21.0	--	--
Uprooted	--	--	6.2	8.9
Rebelling, rejecting or disillusioned	5.4	15.8	18.7	21.1
Expanding beyond own culture	24.4	15.8	37.4	26.7
<u>Socialized in third culture</u>	<u>12.2</u>	<u>52.5</u>	<u>31.2</u>	<u>4.4</u>

(Percentages total more than 100 percent because a few individuals are included in more than one category.)

Table 5. Chi Square Test.

- a) Acceptance of own culture plus some cross-cultural or non-traditional experience compared to all others.
 $\chi^2 = 17.90$, $df = 3$, $p = <.001$
- b) Expanding orientation plus socialized in third culture compared to all others. $\chi^2 = 15.3$, $df = 3$, $p = <.005$.
- c) Rebelling, rejecting or disillusioned plus uprooted compared to all others. To meet requirements of chi square test Indians are compared with Westerners rather than the four categories in the table above.
 $\chi^2 = 17.00$, $df = 1$, $p = <.001$.

1. Home oriented but freed from traditional role definitions by cross-cultural or non-traditional experiences. These individuals are much like the accepting group just mentioned, but they have had some cross-cultural experience to acquaint them with other ways of life. They were still oriented primarily toward their cultures and societies of origin, when they met their partners. Because of broadening experiences, however, people in this group found it somewhat easier to marry out of their own community,

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e.g., Gujarati Brahmin, Kerala Christian, than those in their communities who had not experienced another culture. But, such a marriage was not as consistent with their overall life style and identity as it was for those in the following categories whose orientations extended beyond their cultures of origin.

The basically home-oriented respondents in this category still fit into their own societies with relative ease, but felt they had grown because of contacts outside the community. One respondent felt that being the son of a government servant and living all over India, exposed to different ways of life within the country, freed him from the bonds of orthodoxy. Parents who challenged the established order during the Independence movement served as models for some. Others found elements of Western culture which definitely appealed to them although they did not identify with the West nor did they adopt an overall Western style of life. "I found in English women the freedom and frankness that is not found in Indians," one Indian husband commented.

While over half the Indian husbands are in this category, there are only four Indian women, and their limited contact with Westerners took place in India. The scarcity of Indian women is related to the difficulty they have fitting the traditional social order after a sojourn in the West. Once they have sampled the freedom accorded women in the West, Indian women are generally unwilling to accept the traditional Indian definition of a woman's role. The man's role in India is neither as constraining as the

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Westerners who have had some exposure to other cultures, but are still home-oriented are included among the acceptors rather than in this category, as are Indians who have had some experience with other cultures. The difference is that Westerners with some cross-cultural experience have had contact with other Western cultures which does not provide as distinctly different a way of life as does an experience in a Western culture for an Indian.

Two Indian women in this sample had non-traditional family lives which provided them with a view of an alternative life style to the traditional one available to most Indian women. These two women from fatherless families were forced to take jobs to support their families. In these jobs they not only learned a new life style, but met some Westerners in India as well.

2. Uprooted or Rootless. A very small proportion of Westerners were uprooted from their culture of origin by a major cultural move during childhood such as family immigration or a prison of war experience. Their ties with the country of birth were broken, yet they never were able to identify completely with their new country. Although marrying and moving to India was greater change

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for them than moving from one Western country to another, it did not involve as great a break with their community as it did for those thoroughly integrated into their own societies. As one Western wife reflected about her feelings before coming to India, "I knew if you want you can be happy anywhere...I remembered I had not liked America at first and that I had adjusted to that, so I figured I could live in India."

Two of the Western women had never left their own countries yet felt rootless because since childhood they had been without families to bind them to the country of their birth. An extreme case combining both of the above factors contributing to a rootless feeling was that of a Finnish woman who had traveled most of her life around the world with her journalist father. They usually spent only a few months in one place at a time. During the war in India she was separated from her father and interned there. Not knowing if she would ever be able to leave India, not knowing if she had any family alive at all, and not having spent enough time in any country, including her own, to have a sense of belonging, she decided to marry and start growing roots there--in India.

Quite a different reaction to being uprooted led another woman to India, although she was not interested in India itself. Having been torn by the lack of continuity in her life as she moved from one country to a different one, and having experienced war in Europe, she was determined to devote her life to some movement working toward increased unity in the world. The Church of South India was her choice.

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3. Turning away from culture of origin: Rebellion, rejection, or disillusion. The rebels had rejected their own countries completely and categorically. They generally identified strongly with another cultural area, unduly glamorizing or romanticizing it. Because they had rejected an important part of the world, their own country, they cannot be considered world citizens. This attitude is exemplified by an Indian husband saying: "I would never marry any of my own. I was a rebel. I didn't speak any Indian language and refused to associate with Indians. I was too Anglicized. The whole method and movement of Indians was foreign to me." This alienation from the home culture was self-imposed, not necessarily a product of socialization in a broader situation.

Rejection is characteristic of those who had not yet clearly defined a new reference group, but who had a definite wish to dissociate themselves from their original membership group. In contrast to the rebels who categorically refused to be part of their culture, those who rejected it generally knew what they disliked about it. Sometimes the element or elements a person rejected were so widespread or general he rejected the country. At least he knew why. An Indian wife rejected the whole idea of marriage along with her past life. She felt that marriage, as she knew it, would wed her to the life as well as the person; "I thought I would not marry at all. I saw people get into a rut in the village; it was a terrible life of misery and children. I wanted to join a convent or do social service."

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In India, more than in the West, one can reject his community without rejecting the whole country. One of the Indian wives had no objection to Indians, but, she explained, "I didn't want to marry a man in business or the army, and that cut out all of my friends here." In India various communities are more clearly defined than they are in the West. In a very real sense, the Indian community is the largest identifiable unit. As another Indian wife put it, "You must realize that with my background--being warned often against non-Parsi Indians--that all other kinds of Indians were foreigners to me as well." In the more homogenous Western nations the distinction between communities is less sharp, blurring the distinction between any given community and the whole.

Slightly different in feeling was the disillusionment of Westerners. For them the orientation away from their own culture was more an increasingly critical view of something they had accepted, a realization that everything in their home country was not as good as they had been taught. The specific complaints echoed the voices of disenchantment of generations past; "I was disillusioned with the behavior in my 'Christian' country--apartheid and war," "I had passed through a stage where I didn't like America, disliked the hypocrisy in government, the superficiality and lack of candor in the people," "I felt there was no return to the U.S.A. any more. Like most college kids, I suppose, I was disillusioned."

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Widespread unrest among the young in the sixties might lead one to expect dissatisfaction with country, or with a routine life, to be most prevalent among the younger couples. However, more of those who met their partners between 1946 and 1955 were rebels or at least disillusioned, than those who met after 1956. (See Table A-11 in appendix.) This may not reflect an increased satisfaction with country as much as an increase in alternative ways to express dissatisfaction. In the U.S., for example, in the late 50's interest in overseas experiences mounted and many cross-cultural opportunities opened up such as Cross-reads Africa and the Peace Corps. Not only did channels open to seek more meaningful experiences elsewhere, but right at home the civil rights movement provided many dissatisfied young people the opportunity to do something about one frustrating national problem. Without such alternatives, many more might have expressed their dissatisfaction by marrying out of the nation.

Some, from both India and the West, were reacting not so much against the country, social class, or caste, in which they were raised as they were generalizing from unhappy family situations. Several said that their parents' unhappy marriages had disabused them of the notion that to be happy you must marry within your own

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culture. Another, a Western husband, had a slightly different reaction to his mother which caused him to question the advisability of marrying a girl from his own country..."My mother and I were not on good terms. She is very puritanical, so my picture of all women in America was threatened. All the 'good' people in my community were too strict, threateningly puritanical."

4. Expanding world orientation. For some of the respondents both India and the West were important to their identity before marriage. These people were involved in both and positively oriented toward both. Others had expanded to a more inclusive cultural orientation and thought of themselves as "citizens of the world" People in this group had broadened their identities; they had not rejected their cultures of origin as did those in the preceding category. Some who had this more inclusive orientation, nonetheless, felt that they no longer fit into the mainstream of their own societies. This was especially true of Indians. They realized that they had outgrown their own cultures, but unlike the rebels and disillusioned, they sought the explanation for this poor fit in their own broadened outlook and changed values rather than blame the country for its faults.

Many people in this category were highly idealistic and desired to improve the lot of less fortunate people in the world, or increase world understanding. A good example of this kind of orientation is the Indian husband who said: "I feel the odd man out anywhere. I have romantic ideas, I want to see a very much

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better and unified world. People think I'm a dreamer. I feel comfortable with people of all nationalities who live for ideas and a foreigner with people who live for money in any country." Such individuals often seek others like themselves in the Quakers, World Assembly of youth, MYCA and similar organizations. All of the Western missionaries in the sample fit into this category.

5. Socialized in a third culture. The "expanding world orientation" just discussed means, as it suggests, that the broader bi-national or world orientation represents a change from an earlier, more provincial outlook. Those in the previous category, then, had arrived at this expanded identity individually, usually as young adults.

Others were unique because they had been raised with an identity encompassing more than one nation from childhood. Their families were already involved cross-culturally. Also included in this category are a few, who, although not raised by third culture families, had spent half a life time in another culture themselves, and had been thoroughly socialized as adults into a third culture life style. The latter were mainly missionaries who had decided before marriage to devote their lives to India.

This group shared the characteristic of a third culture heritage. They did not, however, share a common orientation toward India and the West. The specific third culture in which a person is raised does affect the resultant attitude toward cultures. An equal number had been socialized in the Indo-British colonial third culture, the modern East-West third cultures (e.g., Indo-British,

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Indo-German) and the Christian third cultures including the Protestant and Catholic. Those raised in the Christian third cultures, the Protestant missionaries and the Goan Christians, remained deeply loyal to both West and their own Indian communities which, to begin with, are highly Westernized.

Socialization in a modern or colonial third culture does not produce such a uniform cultural orientation. There is not much continuity between the life style of a non-third culture Hindu and one in the third culture; educated Christians are to varying degrees participants in an on-going third culture, whether they are occupationally involved in church work or not. They do not face the necessity of choosing between the traditional community and third culture. Those in both the modern and colonial third cultures who are not Christian see a greater disparity between the life of the third culture and the life of their own community. Many associated a third culture life with a Western life style which most found preferable.

The cultural orientation of those socialized in the modern and colonial third cultures was related to their perception of how much choice they had regarding their life style, more than to the specific third culture (e.g., modern or colonial, Indo-American or Indo-German). Westerners in this group were all in India when they met their partners, with the exception of one who was in Indonesia. They had chosen to work abroad, or to spend considerable time out of their own country in the tradition of the "ship set's"

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life style (the forerunner to the contemporary het set). As Westerners, they knew they could terminate their involvement in another country at will and return home. The Westerners were genuinely bi-national in their orientation, although attachment to India for one son of a British civil servant had a distinctly colonial flavor.

The Indian husbands raised in a third culture overseas indicated a desire to return home to help India develop, or to be with their families. For this group cultural orientation was not firmly established; they felt conflicting loyalties. Dedicated to India, they realized that living there would mean giving up much of life they had enjoyed in the West. And they realized that in India their occupational roles could be very difficult to fulfill in the manner desired. Yet, they knew that as men in India they would be relatively free to incorporate as many of their Western habits and attitudes into their lives as they desired, or could afford. As household heads most would also have the option of deciding to at least try to return to the West if they wished.

Over half the Indian women were socialized in a third culture. Those who had spent the majority of their lives in the West were, when they met their husbands, highly Western oriented. The attitudes and life style of a Westernized woman deviate far more from Indian norms, even in a city, than do those of a Westernized Indian man. Take, for example, the normative conflict experienced

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by one Indian wife on her return from schooling in Britain.⁴⁰

I felt foreign when I came home from England. I wore stockings and gloves. I couldn't wear a sari at first. I was dubbed a foreigner and was suspect, especially among the Indian girls, because I was so different. No one understood my English. I was 'out' because I was so used to boys and thought nothing of sitting with them in a restaurant. I got a name for being a whore, and it didn't worry me. Finally they changed their attitude.

The Indian women raised in the third culture abroad knew little, if anything, about expectations of a woman's role in India, not to mention that of an Indian wife. They did, however, have conceptions of what it would be like, and what they imagined they did not like. Generally they believed that marrying an Indian would mean an end to their Western ways. Not only would they be unable to continue participation in the third culture, they thought, but probably they would never have the option of re-entering it. Fearing that becoming part of the Indian community would totally sever their ties to the third culture, they over-emphasized the Western heritage, and how very little they had in common with Indians. As another Indian wife put it,

Everything encouraged us to marry someone of a different nationality. We were brought up so that even had we lived in India we would have been very Westernized. We only spoke English, ate Western food. My best friend in India

⁴⁰ Many similar accounts of the Western-returned Indian's experiences are to be found in the autobiographies and novels written by Western-returned Indians. See, for example, Samtha Rama Rao, Gifts of Passage, (New York: Harper, 1961) and Remember the House, (New York: Harper, 1956), Nayantara Sahgal, A Time to Be Happy, (Bombay: Jaico Publishing, 1957). Ruth Jabvala's novels also frequently include Western-returned Indians; for example, see the short stories included in A Stronger Climate, (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1968).

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Those Indian wives socialized in a modern or colonial third culture, but who had remained in India, on the other hand, had modern ideas but had maintained enough contact with Indians, both traditional and modern, to avoid feeling alienated from India.

Endogenous Marriages.

Three out of five interviewees had already identified with a culture or cultures other than that in which they were raised by the time they met their partners. An additional one-third had at least had experienced some other culture before marrying. This definitely challenges the contention that these marriages are primarily mixed marriages. This challenge is supported by the frequency with which comments were heard such as "many people say that I (the Western partner) am more Indian and he/she (the Indian) is more Western," or "mine would have really been a mixed marriage if I had married someone of my nationality, we would have so little in common."

Persons who have transcended national boundaries in their interests and social relationships often form communities based on shared life styles and interests instead of nationality, which many consider superficial. A husband and wife, both of whom are doctors, is just one of many examples of marriages based on shared

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interests. A Western wife pointed out that she and her husband not only share occupational interests, but that they have similar ideological backgrounds as well.

We are far more alike than people of the same culture. We are both economists specializing in public industry, we both have overactive social consciences, we both are active in politics, both come from strict religious families but are not religious ourselves. We have very similar life styles.

Other couples actually married within their own primary communities, although these were not based on nationality. Western missionaries marrying Indian church workers are a good example of endogamous marriages with respect to the community most relevant to both the Indian and the Western partner. Another example of an intra-communal marriage involving different nationalities is an Indian woman who had all of her education at a British public school. Her husband, the son of a British civil servant in India, had the same kind of public school education. The couples who are part of the international community of the wealthy, the "jet set" is yet another example. Two couples in this sample are part of this international community based on the style of life which has produced many cross-national marriages. These are only examples; there are many more specific kinds of intra-community but international marriages.

Above all, as the majority of the respondents emphasized, people do not marry nationalities, they marry other individuals. And sometimes these other individuals happen to have a different cultural heritage, or at least a different kind of passport.

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The Process of Meeting and Marrying

How and Where the Couples Met

The contention that these couples married within their own community instead of completely exogamously is further substantiated by the channels through which they were introduced. (See Table A-12 in appendix.) Four out of five met in situations reflecting their normal interests and social patterns. The most common introduction was by mutual friends, indicating participation in a common social network. Working in the same occupational field, e.g., doctors-nurses, businessmen-secretaries, was the second most frequent way of meeting, followed by friendship established in an interest group such as a political organization, theater group, or international organization. Before Independence, Indian men most commonly met their wives through mutual friends; this has shifted so that most of those who met after the mid-fifties did so through occupational contact. The trend for Western husbands is just the reverse.

Although for many their "communities" transcended national boundaries, the couples were not necessarily bound together in isolated clusters of foreigners in a strange land. Typically, for couples in this sample, the husband was in his wife's country when they met; most of the remaining couples met in the husbands' country. It should be remembered, though, that physical residence in a country does not necessarily mean a person identifies with the dominant society. A large proportion of the Indian wives, in particular, were in the West emotionally when they met their

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The courtship period for these couples was no more out of the ordinary than the manner of meeting. Two couples married within a month after they met; in both cases the Westerner was highly dissatisfied with her situation. The longest courtships were seven and nine years, but over half the couples had known each other for six months to two years before marrying.

Parental Reaction to the Marriage

The frequently posed question "but, would you want your child to marry one?" suggests that the most difficult aspect of marrying cross-culturally is overcoming parental objections. For some this was true, but parental fury which extends to the point of breaking relations with their child because of a mixed marriage was rare, indeed, for these Indians and Westerners. (See Table A-13 in appendix.) The parental reaction to Indian-Western marriage may have been tempered by lack of historical conflict between the Western nations and the Indian communities. The struggle for independence was a political, not long standing, cultural conflict, and it did not involve many Westerners directly. Many Hindus commented that their parents would have been far more upset had they married a Muslim and vice versa. Although none of the Westerners mentioned it, it is highly likely that the Americans would have faced a more determined negative reaction from their parents if they had married across the Negro-white line. The

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perception of parents' reactions to the marriage may also be tempered by time. For most of those who faced some opposition, relations with parents improved over time, and the interview may have reflected the later relationship more accurately. And some respondents may have "softened" their parents' reactions to avoid recalling a very sensitive topic.

More Western than Indian partners reported that their parents were happy with the marriage or agreed to it. The Western men had particularly agreeable parents; but the Western men had little to lose, for a couple's social status and social affiliations are determined largely by the husband. By the time they married, many of the Western men had already decided that much of their lives would be spent in India, so the idea of an Indian wife should not have been too great a surprise to their parents. The Western husband-Indian wife couples were more apt to marry within an international community than the Indian husband-Western wife couples, so the parents should not have found the prospective daughter-in-law too foreign. The parents of half of the Western husbands had no objection to their son's marrying an Indian, but did have reservations about age differences, living far from home, etc.

Although Indian husbands and Western wives were more likely than the other couples to face opposition, this was true for only a little over one-fourth of them. The fear of Western parents over their daughters' marrying an Asian reflects, in part, concern over loss of status from marrying an "inferior" and having to live

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in his community. Many of these parents were also genuinely concerned about the quality of life their daughters would lead in India, for news stories of polygamy, poverty, and disease, are heard more often than stories of modern facilities and life in India.

Indian husbands faced the strongest opposition to their cross-cultural marriage of any group. Nearly half faced some opposition, including those whose parents were initially negative but changed their minds, and those who did not tell their parents because they feared a negative reaction. It is not surprising that the greatest opposition comes from the Indian husbands' families because they are the most involved with the newly-wed couple. At least they expect the highest degree of involvement. A Western man or woman is expected on marriage to establish an independent household, and the amount of subsequent interaction with the family can be dictated by the friendliness of relations. The Indian woman is expected to leave her family for her husband's household, so a high degree of involvement is not expected of her either. The Indian male, by contrast, traditionally brings his bride to live in the family household so the family needs to be very concerned about the kind of person she is. In the traditional arrangement the family, especially the women, spend as much or more time with the new wife as the husband. The conjugal relationship is not supreme in a joint family. Once this pattern of expectations has been established it becomes part of the value system adhered

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Most of those who had experienced opposition from parents agreed that once the marriage was an accomplished fact most opposition faded; for some others the opposition disappeared with the birth of the first child. Generally those families or friends who oppose a marriage may do so vehemently, but only as long as they believe there is a chance of preventing it.

Present Social Position

The aim of Chapter II has been to give the reader a better feeling for the nature of the people whose life styles and attitudes will be analyzed in the next two chapters. The last three sections of this chapter have sketched important features of their social histories. This final section presents brief summaries of where the couples fit into the larger society in 1965.

Ecological Position

Indian-Western couples in India are an urban population. Most Indians with higher education are drawn to urban areas. Modern jobs are found in the city and the urban population provides more opportunity to associate with others who share the culture of the ecumene than a village does. An Indian with a Western wife would especially want to live where there is access to at least some of the amenities of Western life. Tables 6 and 7 indicate the distribution of the couples according to city of residence and the area of residence within a city.

TABLE 6, PERCENT
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City

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Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Coimbatore,

Middle sized
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Jaipur, Jodhpur,
Amritsar-Delhi
Kolapur, Ootacamund

Suburbs of metropolitan

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Table 6: Chi

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TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES ACCORDING TO CITY OF RESIDENCE:

City	Indian husbands Western wives (N=93)	Western husbands Indian wives (N=20)	All couples (N=113)
Major cosmopolitan centers: Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi	29	55	34
Large cities with a foreign population but not enough to be considered cosmopolitan: Bangalore, Hyderabad, Poona	49	25	45
Middle sized Indian cities-- foreign residents described as individuals or families, not as communities: Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Jaipur, Jabalpur, Aligarh, Asansol-Durgapur, Chandigarh, Kolapur, Ootacamund	19	15	18
Suburbs of metropolitan areas	3	0	2
Rural	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	100	100	100

Table 6: Chi Square Test

	IH-WW	WH-UW	
Major cities	27.0	11.0	$\chi^2 = 5.44$
Large cities	45.5*	5.0	df = 2
Middle and small cities	<u>20.5</u>	<u>4.0</u>	p = < .10
Total	93.0	20.0	

*At the time of interviewing one couple was separated.

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TABLE 7: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES ACCORDING TO AREA OF RESIDENCE WITHIN A CITY

Type of Area	Indian husbands Western wives (N=93)	Western husbands Indian wives (N=20)	All couples (N=113)
Cosmopolitan	13	25	15
Mixed Indian (traditional and modern) with a few foreigners	40	60	43
Mixed Indian--traditional and modern (no foreigners)	29	5	25
Traditional Indian	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>
Total	100	100	100

Table 7: Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 7.49$, $df = 3$, $p = < .10$

The specific area of the city these Indian-Western couples chose to live in indicates both their social status and rather Westernized style of life. Most live in the modern parts of cities like so many other modern and Westernized professional Indians. In these areas comfortable flats can be found with many Western conveniences, especially in plumbing and kitchen facilities. The neighbors in these areas are generally sophisticated, and social interaction occurs among couples without strict segregation of the sexes. All these aspects are desirable to most Indians with a Western partner.

The more Western orientation and life style of the Western husband-Indian wife couples as a group, compared to the Indian husbands and Western wives, can be seen from the fact that one-quarter

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of them live in "cosmopolitan" areas, sometimes known as the foreign enclaves. This choice of area also indicates the higher financial status of the Western husbands and wives, for in such areas live wealthy Indian families and many Westerners. The atmosphere of this kind of area is affected by the high concentration of foreigners, although in no case did they outnumber the Indians. The only all-Western residential areas in India are embassy or business compounds. There are Indians married to Westerners or Westerners with Indian partners working in embassies and Western businesses, but I found no examples of couples living in an all-Western compound.

Many of the Indian husbands and their wives who would like to live in the cosmopolitan or modern areas including some foreigners can't afford to. Others who would like a more international residential atmosphere live in cities where there are no foreigners to create such areas. Primarily for these reasons there is a larger concentration of couples in which the wife is Western in the all-Indian residential areas which include both traditional and modern Indians. There are, however, a few couples who could afford the more Western areas of a city but consider them "too snobbish."

There is a danger in attributing too much meaning to choice of residential area. It is tempting to equate this choice with social identity. When asked why they chose to live in an area with Westerners, a not infrequent reply was, "paved streets," "plumbing" or some other physical attribute of the area. Why worry about nationality of the neighbors, they were quick to point out, when in India you don't interact socially with your neighbors.

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A striking fact about the residential distribution of Indian-Western couples in Calcutta tells us a great deal about that city. A higher proportion of the couples in Calcutta than in any other city live in the highly Westernized, cosmopolitan areas. But Calcutta also has the highest proportion of couples living in the traditional Indian areas. Calcutta, more than any other city, has retained its colonial social atmosphere because it is the center of the British business world in India, and many of the Westerners in business are "old colonial" people. Calcutta is a city of two societies, the Western and the traditional Indian. Far fewer in Calcutta than other cities are between the two in terms of life style and social interaction.

Mobility

Indian men in military or government service are the most apt to live outside of the large cities; they are also highly mobile as they move from post to post. One-tenth of the sample, all couples in which the husband is Indian, had lived in eight or more different cities at the time of the interview. With the exception of that group, the Indian-Western couples do not move exceptionally frequently. Forty-one percent of the sample have lived in only one city, and an additional quarter had lived in only two at the time of the interview. The majority, 61 percent of the Indian husbands and 80 percent of the Indian wives, are mobile to the extent that they have left the city of their parents, and most of these now live in a different Indian state than their

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parents. This pattern of mobility is somewhat underrated because the mobility pattern of the younger couples is not yet known. As India continues to modernize it is likely that they will have a higher mobility rate than the older couples, similar to their Western cohorts.

Most of the couples activate their ties to the West with at least one trip abroad. Couples in which the husband is Western are more apt to have been abroad at least once; roughly three-quarters of them have visited the West compared to about half of the couples in which the husband is Indian. In both cases the Western spouse returns to the West somewhat more frequently than the Indian. Western husband-Indian wife couples have a greater probability of returning because a larger proportion of them are in employment which include a regular home leave, e.g., British businesses and the missionaries. However, the few who have made more than five trips to the West are all Western wives or Indian husbands. One such couple spends nearly half of each year in Europe; she attends to the family estate and he to his international business affairs. Wives, both Indian and Western, generally limit their Western visits to their own or their husband's country. The husbands usually combine work with pleasure when visiting the West, and therefore, visit more countries. The Western wife often spends several months in the West, generally with her family, and is joined the last few weeks or month by her husband. The couples in which the husband is Western and wife Indian are more

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Social Status

According to modern standards, these couples are definitely concentrated in the upper end of the status scale. It is difficult to place them in terms of overall status in India because the basis of evaluation for traditional Indians and for modern Indians differs; more emphasis is placed on caste affiliation among the more traditional Indians. Because the couples are urban, however, and have modern Indians as their reference groups, it can be assumed that occupation rather than caste plays an important part in determining their social status. Over half the Indian husbands and over two-fifths of the Western husbands were either high business executives or professionals. Only one Western husband, no longer living, was a skilled craftsman. Wives who work were even more concentrated in the professions than their husbands. Indian wives were more highly represented at the professional level while Western wives were predominantly semi-professional.

In India the relationship between the prestige an occupation confers upon an individual and the social class position it permits are nowhere nearly as closely related as they are in the West. Lawyers and professors are two good examples of high prestige positions which pay very poorly, especially in the early years for lawyers. Some lawyers and professors lived in what Westerners might consider just above slum conditions, but which in India are

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TABLE 8. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF OCCUPATION ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF PARTNER

Occupational Level	Indian Husbands (N=93)	Indian Wives (N=20)	Western Husbands (N=19)	Western Wives (N=93)
Executive	10	--	16	--
Professional	45	20	32	6
Semi-professional	19	15	15	21
Proprietary	14	--	11	3
Officials	11	--	11	3
Clerical	--	10	--	3
Craft	--	--	5	--
None (including one independently wealthy and two student husbands)	<u>1</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>64</u>
	100	100	100	100

middle class. The discrepancy between the standard of living for these professionals and men in business firms, for example, is far greater in India than it would be in the West.

These couples are economically above the average for India, but are not, as a group, among the financial elite. Western husbands and their wives, on the whole, could afford a slightly better standard of living than the Indian husbands and wives, although the difference is not too great when the medians for combined salaries of husband and wife for the two groups are compared. Median of monthly income for the Western husband-Indian wife couples

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was Rs. 2,500 per month (roughly 526 in 1965) compared to a median monthly income of Rs. 2,000 (421) for Indian husband-Western wife couples. The similarity of median of salaries is somewhat misleading, for the Indian husbands' salaries concentrate in the middle, with over half making Rs. 1,000-3,000 per month compared to over half of the Western husbands making more than Rs. 3,000.⁴¹ There were also more Western husbands at the low level of the salary range because two were students without income and another was just starting. The small sample of Western husbands means that a few without income have a great effect on the average.

Occupational Field

Because these Indian-Western couples are so concentrated in the professional, executive, and official levels of occupation, a more important distinction is the field of occupational endeavor--military, academic, business, etc. The field of occupation and level of income, as shall be seen later, are two of the most important factors related to overall life style and social networks of these couples.

Nearly half the husbands, both Indian and Western, were in the fields of business and industry; Western husbands tended to

⁴¹ Income figures are from responses subjects made when asked to check in which of several income categories theirs falls. This is somewhat misleading because some employers provide housing, and perhaps a car to avoid the very high income taxes. Some of the respondents, then, are undoubtedly underrepresented with respect to financial status.

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concentrate more in large business firms, for many of them were the British directors or representatives of British firms or Indian affiliates of British firms. Academic occupations and other professions such as law, medicine, journalism, claimed approximately an equal number of the husbands. It is significant that Western partners are not in official diplomatic positions. Westerners in the diplomatic service who marry Indians are, with rare exceptions, reassigned to other countries. The academic field employed most of the women, primarily as teachers, but also as administrators.

TABLE 9. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATIONAL FIELD ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF PARTNER

Field of Occupation	Indian Husband (N=93)	Indian Wife (N=20)	Western Husband (N=20)	Western Wife (N=93)
Business	15	10	35	3
Industry	15	--	--	1
Own business or industry	12	--	10	6
Independent professionals	15	10	10	3
Professionals in Institutes	6	5	10	9
Academic	17	25	20	19
Government officials	11	5	5	3
Military	6	--	--	--
Religious workers	1	--	10	1
Other, not employed ⁴²	<u>1</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>54</u>
Total	99	100	100	99

⁴²The two Western husbands who were students are included in the academic group.

Changes in Religion and Nationality

The subjects' social identities at the time of marriage with respect to religion for Indians and nationality for Westerners was discussed in the first part of this chapter. The Indian husband-Western wife couples seem to favor retention of earlier identities, with respect to nationality and/or religion, while the Western husband-Indian wife couples move closer together. Over half the Indian wives took their husband's nationality; none of the Western husbands changed nationality, and there was no change of religion among these couples. To begin with, nearly half the Western husbands and Indian wives were both Christian, thus not necessitating any change.

There were far fewer citizenship changes among the Indian husband-Western wife couples than among the other couples. If there is any tendency in this matter, it is for the wife to take her husband's nationality. However, when that citizenship involves many political and economic restrictions many who might change to indicate a sense of solidarity with husband and family do not. Only 18 percent of the Western wives did change, and two Indian husbands were British citizens before marriage. About the same number of Western wives changed their religion, and in addition six percent of the Indian husbands changed religion because of their marriage.

The reasons for changes in citizenship and religion were pragmatic for the most part. The number who changed religion

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to meet the marriage requirements of the partner's religion or "for the children," was twice the number who became practicing members of their partner's faith. The same was true for changes in citizenship. The most common reasons for changing or not changing citizenship were ease of banking and travel. For some, the decision to change or not to change was a long and carefully made decision. For a few others citizenship was not, or could not be of central importance; two were stateless and four did not know what their citizenship status was.

That a change of citizenship is not something taken lightly can be seen by the length of time it takes to make the decision. Four-fifths of the Western wives who have taken out Indian citizenship had lived in India 18 years or more when they changed, and the same proportion were over forty when they made the decision. No one younger than 32 had made a citizenship change when the study was done. The same general length of consideration can be seen among the Indian wives; over half of them were at least 40 years old before they changed nationality.

Summary

Those who marry cross-culturally reflect the larger population moving between nations with respect to nationality, religion and social status. If they are marginal to their societies at all with regard to social status it is that they are above the average. Following the trends in international relations, there is an increasing number of cross-cultural couples.

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Many of the subjects, when they met their partners, were in social situations or an emotional state which freed them from traditional role definitions, reduced the number of marriage partners available from their own community, or their desire for marriage was sufficiently strong that they could ignore social dictates regarding appropriate partners. A more important background factor contributing to the exogamous marriages is the high degree of cross-cultural involvement of the couples before marriage. As a result of this, most were already at least acquainted with more than their own culture, and a large proportion had already built into their identity an orientation toward more than their own culture of origin. Indian wives were most apt to have been socialized from childhood in a third culture, while the Indian husbands had become, by the time they met their wives, the most highly international group. The Western wives were the least involved cross-culturally and generally the least cosmopolitan in orientation. When this international cultural orientation is taken into consideration along with the shared interests, life styles, and frequent participation in the same international community, it is apparent that many of these marriages were endogamous to the community most relevant to the individuals. For them an intra-national marriage could have united people of far more divergent cultures.

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CHAPTER III

BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS OF LINKAGE

The behavioral patterns through which cross-cultural couples function as links between their societies is the theme of Chapter III. It answers the question, how do Indian-Western couples facilitate the flow of information about India to the West and knowledge of the West to India? Two important dimensions of this process to be explored, in addition to describing contact points in both societies, are first, the degree to which the linking behavior is consciously designed to transmit knowledge, and second, whether the couples themselves are adding new channels to the overall patterns of linkages between India and the West, or are simply sustaining already established links.

Chapter III is divided into four sections: 1) linkage in third culture occupations, 2) voluntary activities designed to facilitate linkage, 3) informal linkage through social networks, including membership in clubs and organizations, and 4) the relationships between selected indices of linkage and several independent variables--length of residence in India, city of residence, husband's area of occupation, combined salary, nationality of the Western partner, and religion of the Indian partner.

In this chapter we are concerned with the collective linking function of cross-cultural couples rather than the way specific couples relate India to the West. The patterns of individual couples will be considered in the last chapter.

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Conscious Linkage Through Occupation

Most, but not all, who have married cross-culturally make a conscious effort to assist the flow of information from one society to the other. One-third of the respondents are actively engaged in relating India to the West because, by definition, that is the nature of their occupations. These are the individuals who have third culture occupations, the purpose of which is to bridge societies.⁴³ They are the representatives of Western firms in India, employees of embassies or cultural information programs, missionaries and such. Western husbands, and to a slightly lesser extent, their Indian wives, are the most likely to have occupations which link societies. Over half the Western husbands have this kind of employment, for it is this job which brought many to India in the first place, and thus led, indirectly, to the cross-cultural marriage. Indian husbands are the least represented in this kind of linkage; only 16 percent of them have third culture occupations.

The largest proportion, 100 percent, of Indian and Western husbands in third culture occupations is found in the occupational field of religion. Missionaries in India are, by definition, third cultural. The greater involvement of Western husbands in third culture occupations is indicated by the fact that third

⁴³Included among those listed as having third culture occupations presently are two Western wives who were employed in such positions previously, but who now continue to work in the same organization on a voluntary basis. In addition, two Indian wives and two Western wives who are presently not employed have worked previously in third culture positions (after marriage).

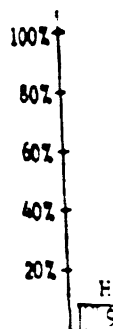


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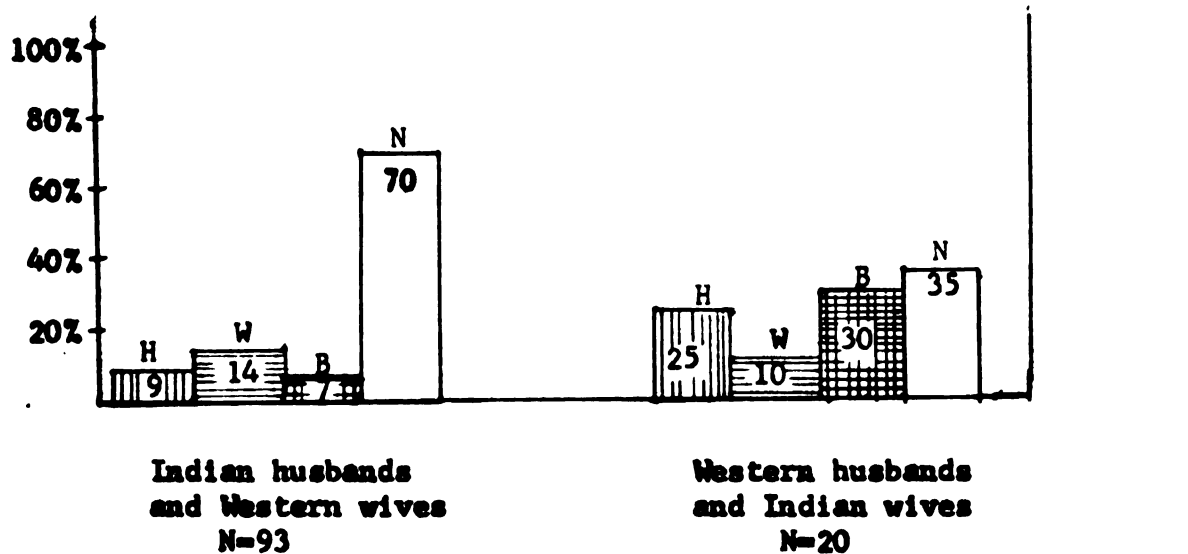


Figure 1. Percent of couples in which one, both, or neither of the partners has a third culture occupation

H Husband only B Both husband and wife
W Wife only N Neither

Figure 1: Chi Square. Husband, wife, or both have third culture occupations compared to neither having third culture occupation.
 $\chi^2 = 17.33$, $df = 1$, $p = <.001$

culture occupations account for eighty-five percent of the Western husbands in business and industry, compared to 36 percent of Indian husbands in the same fields. In both cases this is the occupational group with the second highest proportion of respondents holding third cultural positions. None of the husbands who have their own business or industries, nor any of the husbands employed in governmental or military positions are in third culture occupations. (See Table A-15 in appendix.)

Wives, Indian and Western, are generally selected for third culture occupations after marriage; many feel that this marriage directly contributed to their being hired for a specific third

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culture position. These are primarily wives in academic or professional occupations, specifically, teachers or administrators in cross-cultural institutes. The United States Educational Foundation in India, for example, seeks an American wife of an Indian for director of the American scholars in India. The scholars, it is felt, can tell a fellow American freely of their problems; they need not hold back to avoid insulting a host national. As an American, the wife can empathize with them far more easily than an Indian can, but she can also draw on her experience in India to explain reasons behind the problem and to seek a solution. Her knowledge of India stems, to a great degree, from having lived there several years at least. Another positive attribute recommending the Western wife of an Indian for such jobs, then, is her permanence. A newly-arrived American is also apt to be experiencing the same problems he is supposed to help the scholars solve. Westerners hired for such jobs also generally sign short contracts at the end of which they return to their homeland and a new person must be trained.

An Indian wife was social secretary to the ambassador of a Western nation, in part, because she knows third cultural protocol and customs for both cultures. A German wife in a similar position explained how she is able to help out:

Overseas employees here (Germans) like it that I am able to give advice on Indians, on how to treat the people. Germans can't make out which are high and which are low government officials. You must know that. I know who to invite with whom and so on.

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While such help is welcomed, the similarity of the bi-cultural person to the person seeking advice sometimes makes the suggestions offered somewhat suspect. The ambassador's Indian social secretary complained:

I'm of value because I am supposed to say what should be done for Indian festivals. Then they say, "that's what you think, but what would an Indian think?"

Two other examples of positions held by wives of cross-cultural couples in which understanding of both cultures is important to fulfilling the role are the director of the Indo-American society and the assistant consul of a small country in Europe. As is true of many such smaller countries, the consul is an Indian who does not speak the language of the country.

Several wives put knowledge of their own culture, specifically the language, to good use by teaching in their nations' culture centers or in their own homes. The cross-cultural marriage is not as important to this kind of link, for the understanding of Indian culture which it brings, is not as crucial to language teaching roles as it is to roles the express purpose of which is easing the interaction between peoples of the two societies.

One Western wife interviewed, and others of whom I heard, use their involvement in both Indian and Western cultures to create new cultural environments rather than simply building bridges between the two as they exist. These women are upset over the fact that their children, inheritors of two cultural traditions, had to attend schools emphasizing one at the expense of the other.

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To answer a felt need, they established primary schools with equal emphasis placed on Indian and Western culture and history and enrolling a truly international student body.

No one will question the importance to linkage of occupations such as those described. However, the role of the cross-culturally married individuals in these occupations is a sustaining one. These occupational linkage positions would be filled and the link would exist regardless of whether the individual in the post were married to someone of his own nationality or another. The marriage may contribute decisively to the quality of the role performance, but is not crucial to the existence of that particular link.

Many examples indicating that a cross-cultural marriage improves occupational linkage were given. One such example came from a Western woman who had been a missionary in India for nearly 20 years before she married.

Someone had told me before we married that it would greatly hinder my mission work. I felt just the opposite, and I was right. The people loved my husband and took me in more. They felt that I had honored them by marrying one of their own people. The number of conversions increased greatly after we married, for before I had lived just alone. Things were much easier when my husband joined me.

Generally, respondents feel the cross-cultural marriage helps occupational relations with people of the partner's nationality. Western men emphasize how marriage improved relations with Indians and thereby helps job performance. The increased contact provided by familial ties and more favorable response from Indians "because I have shown my real interest in them" are the most commonly mentioned.

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Indian men, on the other hand, are more likely to emphasize how a Western wife makes them appear more capable. For example,

I think my marriage does help slightly with a British firm. They think I have quite a good standard of living, that I am non-traditional. They think that I am go-ahead and progressive, smart. It gives them more confidence in me.

Conscious Linkage Through Voluntary Activity

Individuals in the third culture occupations just discussed are self-conscious regarding their active involvement in the international linking process. Perhaps even more aware of their role in relating India and the West are those who voluntarily seek opportunities to link the countries by educating members of one society about others, by bringing people of different nationalities together, and by bringing modern methods of living to the traditional Indians. Voluntary linkage is undoubtedly grossly underrepresented in this discussion because there was no direct question regarding such activity. Slightly over half the respondents, nonetheless, spontaneously mentioned some way in which they, as individuals, go out of their way to strengthen ties between India and the West.⁴⁴

⁴⁴I was unable to obtain interviews, or obtained only very brief interviews with 21 of the "subjects." Four were deceased, one ill, three out of town (including one political prisoner), and eight too busy to spare the time. Several of the last group did grant partial interviews. All of these but one are Indian husbands. In addition, the majority of several other interviews were completed, but because of conflicting time schedules, illness, etc. were not finished. As a result, among the Indian husbands in particular, there is a wide variation in number of subjects in the "no response" category. To compensate for the sometimes rather large no response group, all tables and figures presented in the text are based on those in the sample for whom information is available. This explains the divergent N's.

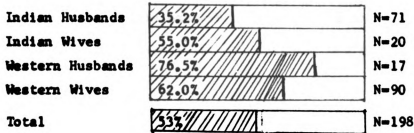


Figure 2: Proportion of Respondents who indicated consciously engaging in some voluntary activity designed to bring India and the West together.



Figure 2: Chi Square Test. Those who consciously engage in voluntary linkage activity compared to those who do not mention such activity. $\chi^2 = 15.9$, $df = 3$, $p < .005$.

(See Tables A-16-26 in appendix for distribution of respondents with respect to specific kind of voluntary linkage activity.)

Western husbands are the most likely to mention some kind of voluntary linkage activity. An important reason for this is the large proportion of them who had decided, even before marriage, to dedicate their lives to furthering Indian-Western relationships. In addition, Western husbands are most apt to be in bi-national situations which constantly remind them of their position with ties to both cultures. Indian husbands are the least likely to mention voluntary linkage activities. As a group, they are the most apt to maintain the patterns of living established before sojourns abroad; they do not feel the impact of the two cultures nearly as much as the others, so the question of improving relations between them is not as immediate or significant. Also, being on

home ground they may be unaware of how great a part they do play in the flow of information between nations, and consequently neglect to mention it.

Many of the Westerners in India are sought out for participation in linkage-related activities. As foreigners their involvement is obvious. Indian wives who move in their husbands' Western community are also, in a sense, foreigners, and are sought in the same way for voluntary linking activities. It is easier to overlook the foreign involvement of the Indian who settles in an Indian social setting, especially when he has a foreign wife. As one Indian husband noted, "Everyone thought I was so foreign, so changed when I returned from the West. Then my wife joined me and suddenly I seemed very ordinary. All the attention and questions were directed toward her."

The most frequently mentioned kind of linkage activities are educational. Over 40 percent indicate that they give speeches, write books, and/or teach Westerners about aspects of Indian life and vice-versa. (See specifically Tables A-16-19 in appendix.) Many of the couples find themselves in demand as speakers and "teachers" because they know one culture well enough to explain it and the other well enough to understand what people from that society need or want to know about the first. One Western wife living in an Indian city which does not have a well-established third culture points out that she is the "official" orientation center for Westerners in that city. She explains that "now

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whenever Westerners come to town the Indians bring them to me-- it helps them feel at home; I am permanent." And an Indian husband relates how he has become an instant "expert on everything" in the eyes of the Danish.

In the beginning the Danish here asked me about Hinduism and politics a lot. That was especially so when they first came out. In Denmark by being an Indian I was automatically an expert on everything. I was always giving speeches on religion, foreign policy,...on everything.

The writing and speech making engaged in by the husbands is generally on topics related to professional interests--but not always. Among the most active lecturers are missionaries on home leave. A number of the Indian husbands are on lists of speakers used by embassies in orientations for their nationals when they arrive in India. When women write or give speeches their topics usually concern customs, family life, and discussions of the religious philosophy and practice of India. This topical division is general but not exclusive. Only one wife in this study was contemplating writing a book about her life as the wife of an Indian. One does find many such examples of cultural presentation in the popular literature. The information transmitted about the non-Western culture, in this manner is not always favorable, but a transmission of information does take place nonetheless. Incidentally, the theme of the book proposed by the wife in this study is the similarity of India and the West.

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cultures. In fact, they seem to spend about as much time explaining their partner's culture as their own. For example one Italian wife writes articles about India for her home town paper, and two English wives have collaborated on a children's book of Indian history, one writing and one illustrating. In India they are called upon to teach both Indians and Westerners about the other, while in the West they devote themselves to explaining India.

Most of the discussions on culture and society contributed by Indian-Western couples describe one or the other culture. A writer who is, himself, cross-culturally married, has devoted much energy to denying the inherent difference between cultures. For example, in the flyer for a book called East Versus West: Denial of Contrast he argues that

Culture does not consist of a series of cultures like Eastern and Western, Indian and American, each with a distinguishable and constant pattern, organically correlated with areas, races or nations... There has been but one culture in the world. It consists of an ever increasing number of individual culture traits, each of which was invented, not by a national, racial or geographical group, but by an individual person, sometime, somewhere, and which diffused from the inventor to other individuals, far or near...⁴⁵

Although not stated as directly, this feeling that there is, in truth, little if any distinction between cultures, or that the distinctions are irrelevant, was put forth by several of the Indian husbands.

⁴⁵P. Kodanda Rao, East vs. West: Denial of Contrast, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1939). Another example by the same author is Culture Conflicts: Cause and Cure, (Bombay: Padma Publishers, 1946).

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Those who are making a conscious effort to link India and the West through third culture occupations are sustaining a link which already exists. To some degree this is true also of those who are not in third culture occupations but link by educating as just described. Many of the people to whom they address themselves are already involved internationally, and the "educator" is helping them understand their role and situation. This sustains a link already established. Almost none who work in third cultural occupations reach an audience which is completely unaware of other cultures, for it takes a certain amount of interest to read an article or book, or to attend a speech. Sharing information about another culture with this kind of audience is encouraging a nascent link more than forging a new one.

The kind of voluntary linkage mentioned second most frequently is interpersonal activities specifically designed to bring people of different nationalities together, thereby fostering the exchange of ideas. Nearly one-fourth say they make a point of always inviting mixed nationalities when entertaining, of introducing Westerners to Indians with shared interests, or of making foreigners generally feel at home in India. (See Tables A-20-23 in appendix.) One Indian wife summarizes her philosophy regarding how she is best able to improve cross-cultural relations by saying, "My whole desire is for East to meet West in healthy, happy situations as they do in our home. I always try to invite Indians and Americans together. I want to be a bridge builder." Another sees her role

extending beyond two nations. She feels able to help foreign students in a way the Indians cannot. "Israeli, Iraqi, Burmese, Japanese students come here daily for milk. I know them better than the Indian students because we have being non-Indians in common: they come to me with problems and for advice that Indians don't need." Other couples make a special project of introducing newly-arrived, Indian-Western couples to circles in which they can make friends easily and generally helping them feel at home in the community.

Facilitating interaction between people of different nationalities tends to involve those who are already at least tangentially involved cross-culturally but it has the potential of involving in a cross-cultural situation people who would not otherwise have the opportunity. However, when people who are not accustomed to interacting with other nationalities are brought together the initiator may find it an awkward experience, as related by one of the Western wives:

We had a party with one of the American couples for the purpose of getting the Indians and Americans together. Some of the American women here were complaining about not meeting Indians. But, when they came, the Americans talked together and so did the Indians. We tried to move them together, but when we weren't looking they moved into nationality groups again.

Most give up trying to bring nationalities together if the individuals do not have some cross-cultural experience unless there is a functional basis for interaction, e.g., a committee. This kind of linking, then, also tends to serve those in both

populations who already have been included to some extent in cross-cultural relations, or at least those Indians who are Westernized or modern and have been involved in some culture contact. Another way of bringing together people of different nationalities, which seems to work regardless of previous cross-cultural experience, is encouraging correspondence between members of the Western partner's family and the Indian relatives.

Some of the couples encourage individuals to become extensively and personally involved in another culture. Perhaps this is because they realize that unless people are internationally experienced, bringing different nationalities together in a restricted social situation tends to emphasize differences and may lead to awkward relations. This effort usually involves helping Indians enter Western society, since generally it is so much more difficult for Indians to go to the West than for Westerners to go to India. One Indian husband produces plays and with the money raised sends young Indians to Oxford or Cambridge. Many couples help arrange education, jobs and lodging for Indians going to the West. A Western husband remarked that, quite unknowingly, he encouraged an Indian to go to the West for an extended period.

One friend, a very conservative Brahmin, knew my wife and father-in-law and was very against the marriage. Three years ago he went to the U.S.A. on a Fulbright. At the station he said this trip was due to me. He had learned to love me and had applied to go to America because knowing me he saw he could live there.

Other couples encourage Indians to enter Western social systems in India by leading the way. A Canadian wife explains that she

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and her husband go to a British church in India for this very reason.

We go to the Scottish church. My mother-in-law was on the staff of the church and we have that tie, but my husband doesn't like it. It is a primarily British church. He feels that he should go because of the family tie. His mother and the minister felt strongly that we should continue to go there because it will help break the barriers. It is a Snobbish British church; the people who go there are the old type British. Their attitude is not friendly but it is slowly changing. The church wants to encourage Indians, and if we go others may follow.

Fifteen percent of the respondents specifically mention the kind of voluntary linkage activity most apt to reach Indians who would otherwise be untouched by Western ideas--activity oriented toward modernizing India. (See Tables A-24-26 in appendix.)

Several of the wives, Indian and Western, for example, devote time to working with poor Indian women, teaching them modern ideas in housekeeping, childcare, etc. Some work through volunteer welfare organizations, while others take advantage of contact they have as individuals with the traditional and poorer Indians. A Western wife who travels through Indian villages collecting data for her Ph.D. dissertation uses this contact to help village Indians.

She reports the following:

Especially when travelling and meeting the people, the ordinary ones in villages, I seek opportunities to tell them about life in Germany, how we work, about education, agricultural techniques, birth control; I really try to influence them though I don't know if it has any effect. They do listen attentively though.

Several Indian and Western husbands mentioned that they make a specific point of trying to introduce elements of Western work

patterns or organizational techniques into their places of employment. Many Western wives have an unparalleled opportunity to introduce change because their position in the extended family gives them access to Indian women.

Changes introduced by Western wives in the family, not surprisingly, center on the role of the woman, performance of her tasks, and the nature of interpersonal relations within the family. Sometimes the change adopted by the Indian women is as small as wearing a sleeveless blouse or boiling the drinking water. In other cases the Indian women are encouraged to show equality in the house by pursuing an education, or by eating with the men and children instead of waiting until the men have finished. An American wife describes how she helped modernize her sisters-in-law.

In some ways I am a link for the family. Some Western ways have entered here through me. For instance, my sisters-in-law didn't like school so they were allowed to be educated at home by tutors. I have managed to get my younger sister-in-law to attend the Alliance Franciase so she can have the experience. I think the barriers against non-vegetarian food have come down since I've been here and I might have helped in some way.

As an outsider the Western wife is in a position to introduce changes that even the modern Indian women cannot. She is not expected to know the traditional norms as is the modern Indian woman. Thus, she cannot be expected always to uphold them, and her transgressions provide an example for the traditional Indian woman. In addition there is a status contradiction inherent in the Western woman's position. As a Westerner she is often accorded high status, comparable to that of the men in the family. Yet as

a woman, and especially as a daughter-in-law, she is in a low status position. The family is in a quandary; if the Western wife eats last with the women, for example, it is an insult to a "mehsahib" (lady of high rank). Yet it is decidedly uncomfortable for one daughter-in-law to eat with the men while the others wait patiently for a later dinner. Which course her relations with family takes depends in part on the family as a whole, but to a large degree it depends on the extent to which the husband is willing to support behavior which does not fit the traditional female role.

Several of the Western wives also told how they had transgressed the rules of interaction within the family by talking familiarly with their fathers-in-law, even arguing with them. They all agree that the reaction from that "austere" household head has been positive. In fact, the father-in-law of one Western woman staunchly maintains that she is the only one in the family who really cares for him; the others, he feels, only fear him.

When the Western wife eats with the men and expresses her own opinions to her father-in-law, it is difficult to convince the other women in the family, especially the younger ones, of the inherent value of the traditional system. Not all the traditional women are convinced of this value to begin with. Another Western wife reports that her mother-in-law encourages her to introduce change to the family. The old woman is aware of how precarious her position within the still traditional social system could become if she ignored the established norms, but she eagerly encourages an outsider to open the door to new ideas.

Some of the Western wives are able to introduce change into their homes, and into the lives of their Indian relatives. It should not be assumed, however, that this means all Western wives in Indian families are able to be change agents. Some Western wives are completely engulfed by the Indian family; they choose or are made to follow a strictly traditional role, and are not permitted any contact with the Western world. The Indian family seems to say "we will accept one outsider but she must be one of us in all respects. In this way she neither contradicts our ways nor brings other outsiders and ideas to our world." None in the sample fitted this description at the time of the study. One English woman had spent the first ten years of marriage in the strictest purdah, the Muslim system of completely secluding women. Her life opened up only as her Muslim "sisters" began to come out from behind the protective curtains of purdah. Similar cases at the time of the study were rumored, but only one was verified. Consistent with the desire to prohibit other outside influences the family encompassing a Western wife would not permit an interview with the mixed couple in their midst. And, in a tight joint family situation, the couple does not have the right to make such a decision for themselves. A few Western wives marry into Westernized families in which the life style does not differ greatly from their own.

A little over half the respondents spontaneously mentioned engaging in at least one of the voluntary activities just discussed which are designed to bring India and the West closer. Only a

slightly higher proportion, 58 percent, acknowledge that they think of themselves as links between their countries, or can at least see that they fulfill this function to some extent. (See Table A-27 in appendix.) Most feel that the way they are best able to bridge the societies is by explaining the ways of one to the other, pointing out the good in both, or by pointing out the similarities. Two examples are provided by an American wife and an Indian husband.

I don't like it when they admire the wrong things about America like smart clothes, smoking cigarettes, generalizations like that. I try to explain what it's really like in America.

I have been abroad, and so Westerners find me a better exponent of Indian things. Appreciation is easier for a Westerner when I explain because I understand his values and observation of life in general. They are interested in general history, places, books, customs.

In fact, when specifically asked if, informally, they explain one society to those who live in the other, or defend one nation to the other, 84 percent said they do. (See Tables A-28 and A-29 in appendix.) As is true of writing and giving speeches, the majority explain and defend both India and the West. And, it is not too uncommon for the couples to defend India to overly critical Indians.

Sometimes the desire to improve relations between the countries by adding to knowledge and understanding is greater than an individual's ability to do so. One American wife blames herself for not being a better link.

I get upset about how little I know of the U.S. Here I feel my own lack of knowledge of the U.S. acutely when people ask about it. When people make comments which annoy me I wish I knew more because I can't answer on the basis of anything more than my own experience. How do you answer criticisms about race when the people of the U.S. all have different opinions themselves? When there is a misconception I try to reason with them from my own experience. I get angry when a statement is incorrect.

Another American wife blames the Indians for her difficulty in improving understanding. She complained that using her own experience to defend America and Americans does not work because she suddenly becomes "the exception that proves the rule." When criticism of America from her husband's Indian friends exceeds her tolerance she interrupts saying it is not that way. She had, after all, lived in America 25 years before coming to India, she points out, and none of her friends or family are like that. To begin with, she finds, that fact comes as a surprise to many of the critics, for to them she is Ram's wife, not an American; but they simply counter her by saying she wouldn't know anyway because she is "different."

A Western wife in a small city is disappointed by the lack of interest in other cultures on the part of Indians, especially the women.

In social conversation I may get some questions. Women are interested in supermarkets, food. I get annoyed at their ethnocentricity about food. I cook food from America for them but they don't like to try it. I'm surprised that they don't ask more than they do, I had expected more questions.

The second most frequently mentioned way the couples see themselves serving a linkage function is as representatives of their

countries. Although it is true that the Indian-Western couples differ from participants in third cultures in not officially representing their countries or segments of their societies, there are many times when they are seen in terms of nationality. This happens when questions arise about the part of the world from which the foreign partner comes; then he is seen as a source of information. The nationality of the partners is also considered when diverse national backgrounds are desired in a group. Several couples feel they are invited by some Indians for the prestige of having a Western guest and some feel Westerners invite them because they think they should entertain Indians but don't know any.

Many respondents are aware that their own countries are judged to some extent by the impressions they give. Again, the words of two interviewees, an Indian husband and an Indian wife, illustrate this.

I feel a link in the sense that Canadian people, at least my wife's family, might take more interest in my country than they would have. The impression I give them are their impressions of India. Their opinion of India depends on their opinion of me as an individual. There is a tremendous potential for mutual understanding between the two countries.

I am often conscious of being a link. When abroad I am aware of being an Indian and a diplomat. The prejudice against Indians these days is great so I go out of my way to show sophistication; I lay it on. In India I bring out the Western culture to drive a point home with Indians, trying to show them how to improve things by example. I use both in some cases. I like to show the human side of both cultures. With Indians I show the Western approach to things. I think being married to a Westerner helped this because both sides take more note, you are a more legitimate representative of both.

Another Indian husband relates that his father had been criticizing the English and his mother reprimanded him, saying, "You know you can't generalize, you know Ellen wouldn't do that."

Some of the Westerners in this study feel that their own image in their social circles, and the image of their nation in general, is tarnished by the performance of their society's formal representatives. They wish their national representatives were not considered representative in informal behavior as well as in the formal role, but fear that they are. Further, they wish that they, who have married Indians, could either play a more important role as national representatives or disassociate themselves from the image given by the official representatives. Being married to Indians and living with Indians, they feel that they are more sensitive to the negative impression foreigners can make on host nationals.

While some who make this kind of complaint are undoubtedly repeating stereotypes, the majority are describing their own interpretation of Indian reactions to Westerners which they have observed. They feel that they are able to observe bi-national situations as both Indians and as Westerners. One of the American wives was particularly sensitive to foundation representatives, but similar comments were heard about the diplomatic, business, and missionary Westerners in India.

When we meet the foundation people I am humiliated. The worst Americans seem to be brought out, or at least the worst in Americans is brought out here. I want to tell the

Indians that not all Americans are like that. At times like that I suddenly realize, "My God, I am one of these too." Other times I forget I am an American and I fit in with the Punjabis. When I see the wonder, perplexity, confusion, disgust that goes into the reaction to the foundation people, I want to tell the Indians the fine things about America as well. I get annoyed because those people give false impressions and the Indians judge all Americans by them. I am annoyed when Indians feel that because Americans are around they must serve drinks. They think all Americans are narrowminded because some make no effort to get to know Indians. I try to show the other side, from my own experiences.

All the voluntary activity oriented toward bringing India and the West closer has just been discussed in terms of the kind of activity. Another way to look at this is in terms of the benefactor of the activity. Considering the vastly greater amount of contact with Indians, the difference between the proportion of respondents who said they voluntarily aid the flow of information about the West to Indians, 91 percent, and those reporting voluntarily contributing to information moving in the opposite direction, 86 percent, is minimal. The difference would be greater if the frequency or number of different activities were considered as well.

One other rather specific kind of bridge some of the couples are trying to build is between the subcultures within India. One Western wife of a Muslim said she always tries to invite Hindus and Muslims together, although, she admits, it is not terribly successful. Other wives are attempting to instill within Indians, as well as Westerners, a pride in the traditional arts by working on local cottage industries boards, etc.

Social Linkage

Most of the couples do defend both India and the West and explain each culture to those who have less experience and knowledge with one or the other. And there is no question that, at least to some of the people some of the time, Indians and Westerners who have married cross-culturally are seen as representatives of their nations, although it is realized that this is not a primary role. To fully understand the linkage role the couples play, then, it is important to know with whom they interact and in what situations.

The following discussion is concerned with involvement in Indian, Western, and bi-national or international social networks in India. To a large extent, social patterns do reflect cultural orientation and are an indication of a couple's reference group. Choice of friends is not entirely related to cultural orientation, however. Some couples live where there are no foreigners to interact with. Friends of other couples are dictated by status considerations; for example, one of the Indian husbands who manages a mill associates with other managers, all British, not with the Indian workers. Another Indian husband's social patterns revolve around the theater. A British theater group gave him more freedom as a producer and more money for production than the Indian group for which he had been producing. Changing theater groups brought about a change in his social pattern from nearly all Indian to nearly all Western.

Social Interaction with Indians

It is not surprising to find that all respondents have social contact with Indians and therefore serve as a link bringing the

West to India. The extent to which they fulfill this function depends upon the extent of their own experience in the West and the degree of interest on the part of the Indians. Most of this contact is with modern or Westernized Indians and may increase their depth of understanding; those who have social contact with traditional Indians are able to introduce completely new information. Interaction with traditional Indians, however, accounts for a much smaller proportion of the total interaction between Indian-Western couples and Indians.

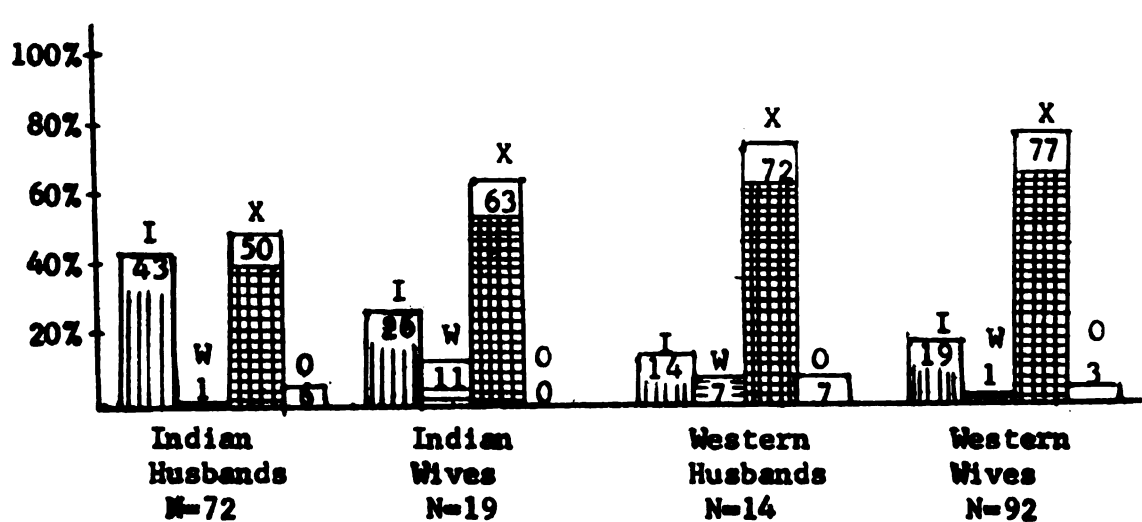
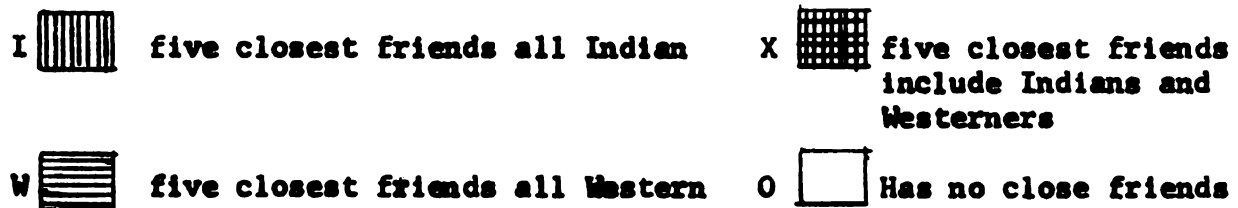


Figure 3. Percentage distribution of respondents according to nationality of their (five) closest friends.



(Figure 3 does not meet chi square assumptions.)

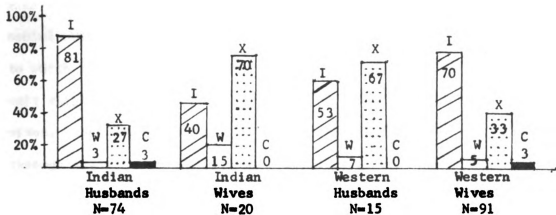


Figure 4. Percentage distribution of respondents who spend most of their time in social groups which include: Indians only, Westerners only, both Indians and Westerners, and Indian-Western couples only.

- I Participates most frequently in social groups with all Indians.
 W Participates most frequently in social groups with all Western members.
 X Participates most frequently in social groups with Indians and Westerners.
 C Participates most frequently in social groups of only Indian-Western couples.

(One respondent may be in two of the above categories when in 2 kinds of groups with equal frequency.)

(See Tables A-30-33 in appendix for complete data and Chi Square Tests.)

Indian wives, as a group, appear to be the least involved in Indian society. The only ones who did not include an Indian among their five closest friends were Indian wives. (This was only two individuals.) They are also the only group in which the majority does not spend more time in all Indian social groups than in Western or mixed groups of Indians and Westerners. It should be recalled that most of the Indian wives were Westernized

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when they married and that they married into cosmopolitan or Western social networks. This was, for a number of them, the social system to which they belonged before marriage. The Western husbands are only slightly more involved in all Indian social groups than their wives. One reason for this difference may be that they meet Indians through business and carry such acquaintances into predominantly male social gatherings. Another explanation lies in the nature of the respondents; some of the most highly Western husbands were not available for interviews, thus possibly skewing the data.

Not surprisingly, the Indian husbands, many of whom returned to social patterns established before study or work abroad, are the most highly involved in Indian social networks. Over 80 percent of them spend most of their time in social groups composed solely of Indians. A comment from one of the Indian husbands about why he is more involved with Indians than Westerners is illustrative.

We know a lot of Indians because, as I warned my wife before we married, I am of a different background than many Indians who marry Westerners. I had been a full participant in the political movement in India. I am a businessman with academic interests and close contacts in both fields, so she would have to meet both kinds. In addition, I am still in my boyhood home, Calcutta, so I have maintained contact with a lot of school friends, some of whom are very high, some not so well off, some very modern, and others very traditional. If I lived away from home, town, my friends would be more within the occupation group and more modern.

The most commonly mentioned Indian social network in which the couples are involved is the family. Almost 100 percent of the couples maintain contact with the family. (See Table A-35 in appendix.) No attempt is made here to discuss the effect of

the marriage on that relationship; some couples live in the joint family, other visit only rarely. The reason it is impossible to assess the effect of the marriage on the relationship, given the data available on frequency of contact, is that most of the couples who see their relatives less than once a year live far from them and find making the visits difficult. In some cases the distance may be coincidental, in others it may be related to the Indian parents' reactions to the mixed marriage.

The second most common basis for participation in all Indian social networks, mentioned by close to two-thirds of the subjects, is occupation, usually the husbands. This is followed by social networks based on communal affiliation. A little over half of the individuals responding indicated that they are part of a social network including only Indians of one religion, e.g., Parsi or Christian, or, in the case of Hindus, of one caste or regional group. The regional affiliation is especially important to the Indians who are "foreigners" in a part of India themselves, e.g., the Bengalis in Maharashtra. Communal groups based on regional identity are found among Indians living in their own region as well, for there are many whose sense of regional identity is strong, even at home. Interestingly, it is the Indian wives who have the highest participation in Indian communal networks, 60 percent. Although this rate of participation is not significantly higher than that of the other groups, it is consistent with the fact that most of the close Indian friends listed by Indian wives are childhood friends, while the close Indian friends listed by others tend

to be people met through some kind of functional relationship. (See Table A-42 in appendix.) The Indian wives, then, seem to remain attached to very close friends from the past, but do not make an effort to meet new Indians. Or, when they do meet new Indians they show a preference for those from their own region or religion.

Indian-Western couples are involved in several other kinds of social networks including only Indians. Nearly one-quarter of the respondents participate in a social network of the Indian partner's childhood friends. About the same proportion of respondents are involved in Indian social networks growing out of a common place of residence, and about one-fourth have a network of Indian friends which is based on a shared special interest.

Social Interaction with Westerners in India

Very few of the interviewees are without some Western acquaintance; however, many of the Western acquaintances are in India for only a short term, or live far away and are rarely seen. Over half estimated that between one and 25 percent of their acquaintances are Western, but roughly half of this group indicate that the percentage is between one and five.

Western women, as a group, have the highest proportion of Western acquaintances; they are probably the individuals who most desire at least some contact with Westerners since they find the least in common with their counterparts in Indian society. (The reasons for this difference are discussed in greater detail in

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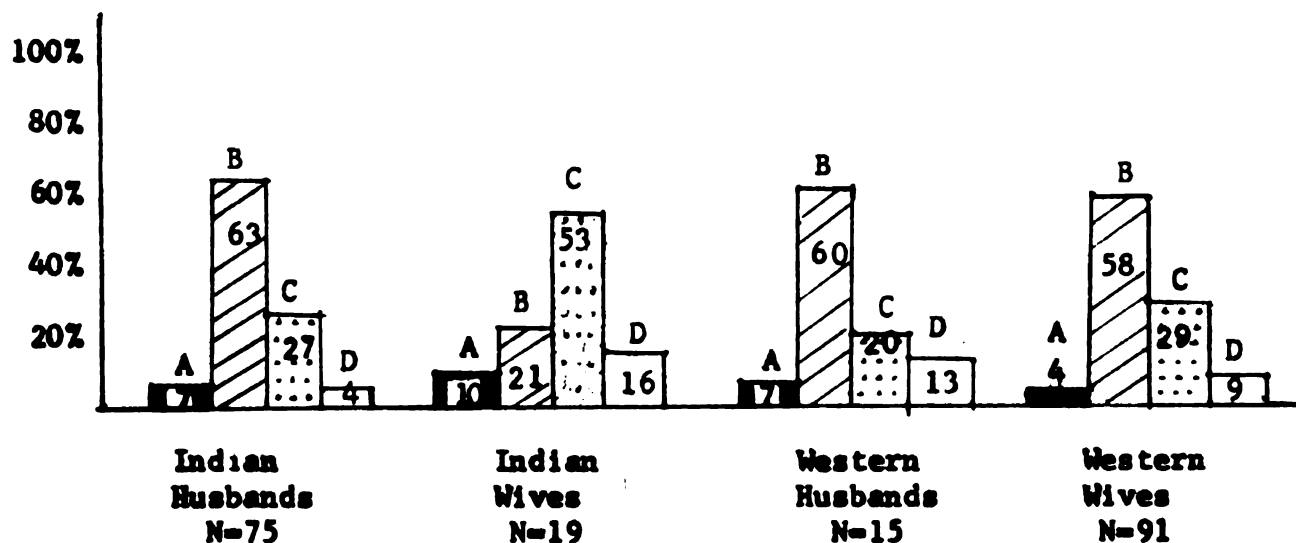


Figure 5. Percentage distribution of respondents according to percent of their acquaintances in India who are Westerners.



Figure 5: Chi Square Test: Zero to 25 percent compared to more than 30 percent of acquaintances in India are Western. $\chi^2 = 9.35$, $df = 3$, $p = < .05$

Chapter IV.) Also, Western wives are far more likely to live outside the cosmopolitan cities than the Western husbands. When there are few foreigners in an area they are often drawn together by common background, or they are brought together by the Indians who seem to feel they must have a great deal in common or must need each other's company.⁴⁶ The Westerner in smaller cities frequently meets every other Westerner who comes to the area, while a Western partner living in Bombay or Calcutta, for example,

⁴⁶ The Useems, likewise, found that foreigners living in isolated areas are drawn to others of their nationality and will often travel great distances to meet other Westerners.

is often overlooked and may not be introduced to other Westerners. It is assumed that with so many around, each must know enough other Westerners already.⁴⁷

The wives, Indian and Western, have more Western acquaintances than the husbands do. This may be due, in part, to free time during the day for women's coffee groups, or time at the club. Both of these activities attract Western women. Also, those women who work are more likely than the men who work to meet Westerners through occupational contacts, as indicated by the fact that a slightly larger percentage of the working women report having occupational contacts with non-Indians than working men. (See Table A-53 in appendix.) The fact that Western wives list a higher proportion of Western acquaintances than Indian wives may also reflect a relatively smaller group of Indian acquaintances. Thus, a Western wife having the same number of Western friends as an Indian wife would report them as a larger proportion of her acquaintances.

Although Western wives indicated the largest proportion of Western acquaintances, this is not reflected in close friendships. Western husbands and their Indian wives are most frequently in all Western groups, and approximately three-quarters of them list at least one Westerner among their five closest friends. Least apt

⁴⁷ It must be emphasized that this refers to acquaintances, not to close friends or even to people with whom the respondent has regular social contact. Thus, Western wives in small cities are likely to include Westerners they have met passing through their city from Delhi, Calcutta, etc. among their acquaintances.

to mention Westerners as close friends are the Indian husbands, yet 40 percent of them do include at least one Westerner as one of their closest friends. (See Table A-44 in appendix.)

The fact that nearly three-quarters of all respondents in this study (71 percent) have at some time been associated with an all Western social network, in spite of the fact that at the time of the interview many live quite far from centers of Western population, pays tribute to the Western community's cohesiveness. Distance from other Westerners is the major reason for lack of participation in all Western social networks. Other reasons will be discussed in Chapter IV.

In their articles on the American community in India, the Useems have documented the cohesiveness of the American community.⁴⁸ Less than ten percent of the Americans they interviewed lacked any enduring social ties with one of the many social systems which comprise the American community in India. This cohesiveness helps the Westerner who is not officially part of the third culture to locate others of his nationality. If the Western partner of an Indian meets another Westerner there is a high probability that he has access to a network of those of his nationality in India.

⁴⁸ John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem, "The Interfaces of a Binational Third Culture: A Study of the American Community in India," The Journal of Social Issues, XXIII (January 1967), p. 8; John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Roles of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration," Human Organization, 22, (Fall 1963), p. 13; John Useem, "The Community of Man: A Study in the Third Culture," The Centennial Review, VII (Fall 1963), p. 490.

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The cohesiveness of the community also means that the Western partner who has not met any other Westerners can predict where he will find focal points of the Western communities through which he can gain access to the larger network. National culture centers, churches in the cosmopolitan area of the city, and friendship organizations such as the Indo-American society are a few examples of focal points apparent to outsiders. Indian-Western couples may also be introduced to the Western community by Indians who are part of the constellations of nationals surrounding one part of the Western community.⁴⁹

Twelve percent of the couples are integral parts of third cultures. They can be considered integrated into the Western community using the Useems' definition. That is, one

who both considers himself and is so regarded by others in the group as being an active member in its social life; who conforms to its customs in his style of living and who, in general, shares the prevailing values of the particular group.⁵⁰

These couples are integrated into third cultures by virtue of the husband's occupation. All but one are missionaries or in Western businesses. The other couple is part of the third culture

⁴⁹ The function of the third culture group for most Westerners in India is to introduce them to Indians. Because the Westerner married to an Indian is part of the Indian community as well as a Westerner in India, the relationship may work in the other way for her; i.e., the Indian introduces her to the third culture group.

⁵⁰ John Useem and Ruth Useem, "The Interfaces of a Binational Third Culture," op. cit., p. 6

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surrounding a Western national culture center. Because they are more dispersed throughout India, the missionaries are less frequently in all Western groups, but they are no less integrated into their own nations' third culture networks.

Fifteen percent of the couples are isolates with respect to Western communities in India. That is, they do not even interact with Westerners in bi-national or transnational groupings. For most of these couples their social isolation is a direct reflection of their geographical isolation. An additional 14 percent have no contact with Westerners in all Western social networks, but do meet them in bi-national groups.

The largest group of couples, 41 percent of the respondents, are what the Useems call "fringe" with respect to Western communities.⁵¹ A person who is "fringe" to a grouping is

a person who identifies himself as a nominal part of a group but who does not feel strongly attached to it and enters only intermittently into its routinized social life. Reciprocally, integrated members of the ingroup identify him as an acceptable but peripheral figure to be occasionally included on ceremonial events or under special circumstances.⁵²

⁵¹ The Useems' categories describing relations of Westerners with the Western communities in India include one group not mentioned here, that is, the deviants. A deviant is one who is, by definition, part of the group, but who does not choose to participate in it's social life. None of the Indian-Western couples, except those who are integrated into third culture groups, are defined as members of the Western community; thus there are no "deviants" in this sample population.

⁵² Useem and Useem, "Interfaces of a Binational Third Culture," op. cit., p. 6.

Some in this category are integrated into specific organizations, but cannot be considered integrated into the total life of the community. Many of these couples are less marginal to the group than the definition of a fringe person indicates, but are definitely not integrated. They are included far more frequently in informal gatherings of the community than just on ceremonial or special occasions.

We are, in this section, discussing participation in social networks which are composed entirely of Westerners. The Useems distinguish two kinds of groups or networks within the American community in India.⁵³

1. A locality-linked group consists of any enduring associations of Americans who are connected together in their place of residence. The character of these local groupings may be formal or informal, tightly knit into an exclusive social set or open-ended with a hard core of members and others who become temporarily involved.
2. A functionally-linked group consists of a social network of Americans who have a "consciousness of kind" a shared ethos and an interpersonal system of communication. The nucleus may be found in a locality, but such groups fan out into a region, the whole of India or may even include Americans who are stationed in other countries or who are passing through India. The members are held together by a variety of specific interests or specialized activities. Thus, there are functional groups...in the business community, missionaries of one or several closely related denominations, those having professional interests in common; others are made up of those who share a concern for the performing arts, modernization...

⁵³ Ibid., p. 4-5.

This classification considers sub-groups within a nationality-linked community. It starts with the community and looks at the sub-groups within the community. Most Indian-Western couples are not, by definition, part of Western nationality groups in India. Therefore, while they may be participating in what is to the Western community a locality-linked or a functionally-linked group, its meaning for the couple is also communal. For many Western partners the most important reason for the association with Westerners in India is the common national-identity of the Western partner and the community. Because of their greater dispersion, the Indian-Western couples enter such groups more frequently from functional associations than locality-linked associations.

In addition to participation in all Western social networks which have a communal importance to the couples, that is, composed entirely of the Western partner's nationality, couples belong to all Western social networks which are strictly functionally-linked. This is far less frequent. Only seven percent of the respondents participate in Western social networks stemming from occupational contacts, the second most common kind of social network. This is quite different from the situation with respect to participation in all Indian social networks. Several different kinds of Indian networks, e.g., occupational, communal, etc., involve a majority of the respondents.

Nearly all couples, in addition to contact with Westerners in India, write home to friends and relatives in Western nations.

This provides a link to a group of people often less knowledgeable with respect to other cultures than the Westerners in India are. It should be noted parenthetically, however, that many of the couples, especially the Indian husbands and Western wives, report that they are amazed at the general lack of understanding about India they find among Westerners living in India. And, as was pointed out earlier, roughly three-quarters of the Western husband-Indian wife couples and over half the Indian husband-Western wife couples have been able to carry impressions and information about India to the West in personal visits. A few also mentioned that their presence in India encourages friends or relatives who otherwise never would visit India to come see them. Correspondence and visits with Westerners outside of India do more for linkage in general than is represented by the information contained in letters. Having a friend or relative married in India heightens one's sensitivity to news of that country. Many of the Western respondents commented that especially their families now read and remember news of India, in fact actively seek news of India. As is the case with most links, information does not stop with those immediately involved, but diffuses into segments of the larger society. A Canadian wife pointed out several ways in which her being in India strengthens interest in and knowledge of India in her home town.

My family knows I'm here, so people like retired friends of my parents who are traveling for pleasure come to visit us. Several have said that they wouldn't have come to India except that they know that we are here, and that has drawn them. It's easier for my Western relatives and friends to develop such an interest, they can come to India, where as

the Indians are not able to get out to visit the West in that way. Some of my friends and relatives may have made more of an attempt to meet Indians in Canada. I would say that those who meet people of other nationalities anyway probably make more of an attempt to meet Indians since our marriage, those who wouldn't meet such people anyway don't make much of an effort. At church last year they were studying India, so there was much attention focused on mother as a source of information. I think it made it more meaningful to them to identify the country with a person they know here, and to see slides of us in relation to India.

Not all information, however, is passed on about life in India.

A few of the Western wives do not want to worry parents or are too proud to let Westerners know what life is like for them in India.

An English wife said,

It is difficult to explain India to my parents. I don't tell much. If mother knew that my husband's relatives were bringing me all their laundry for a while because I had a machine and they assumed I wouldn't have to work because of it, or that I can't go into the kitchen, or the puja room... she just wouldn't understand.

The same kind of diffusion takes place in India as well, although the information may not be as new to Indians as it is to Westerners. Indian partners also commented that their families take more interest now in news of the partner's nation.

Most of the couples' contact with Westerners in India takes place in groups of mixed nationalities. (See Table A-40 in appendix.) This is true for all, but more so for those Indian husbands and Western wives who are not employed in Western organizations or firms, and who, for various reasons, do not feel completely comfortable in all Western groups. Only one-quarter of the respondents claim they are never in a mixed nationality group; a few of these

are following a decision of preference, but most live where such interaction patterns are not feasible.

The most common basis for mixed social groups is occupation, followed by social clubs as a place for establishing a mixed social network. Third culture organizations, the next most common source of mixed social groupings, provide the initial contact for little over one-fourth of the couples' mixed social networks.

Some respondents maintain that Indian-Western couples are drawn into mixed social groupings because the people in such social networks are least likely to have stereotyped images of the other nationality. Not only does this make the couple feel more easily accepted themselves, but interaction is easier in such circles. While the couples may feel that their role as a link is reduced in such international groups because they are not the only representatives of one or the other nationality, the reason may be more directly related to the nature of conversations characteristic of established international groups. Useem points out that

American domestic customs and foreign policies do not come up for searching questions in most of the mixed Indian-American congeniality groups of long standing--the Indians are past the stage of asking elementary questions or they do not feel the need to "tell off" an American or they are so deeply committed to a western style of life that they do not challenge its shortcomings...the newer social groups do reveal a broader flow of factual information.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ John Useem, "The Community of Man: A Study in the Third Culture," op. cit. p. 496-7.

If the mixed couple is asked fewer questions about the countries they represent in such groups it may be only partly because there are other representatives of each in the group. It is not necessarily that the greater numbers of national representatives diffuse the questions, but rather that the questions have been diffused over time.

Reflecting the bi-national social orientation of the couples, the majority of the respondents, 45 percent, listed both Indians and Westerners among their closest friends. (See Table A-44 in appendix.)⁵⁵ Westerners are somewhat more apt to list a mixture of close friends because as new-comers they start fresh and draw from both communities, while the Indians have more communal associations, as well as childhood friends to make them feel closer to Indians. The Westerners also are apt to want someone of their own nationality for a close friend.

The various kinds of social relationships just discussed provide an obvious forum for the informal exchange of ideas in conversation which can contribute to greater understanding between India and the West. Such unplanned linking is also characteristic

⁵⁵ This figure should not be confused with the figure of 50 percent for close friends of mixed nationalities presented in Figure 3. The 50 percent includes all those whose close friends are not "all Indian," "all Western," or who did not say they had no friends. Therefore, included in "mixed nationalities" in Figure 3 are couples who listed Indians and Indian-Western couples, or Westerners and other Indian-Western couples, all three, or who also mentioned Anglo-Indians as close friends. The 45 percent mentioned here refers to respondents who actually included Indians and Westerners among their five closest friends, not including Indian-Western couples.

of interaction taking place at work or with neighbors. Because in India the majority of contacts, social or functional, are with Indians, this informal linkage encourages the flow of information about the West to Indians more than in the other direction. Still, many of the couples do have functional relationships in India with Westerners and can contribute to increased understanding of India on the part of Westerners through informal conversations. As was pointed out earlier, it should not be assumed that just because a Westerner lives in India it follows that he understands the country, its people or culture.⁵⁶ Three-quarters of those in the sample who are employed do have some occupational contact with Westerners in India and over half the couples live in areas where there are at least some foreigners with whom the couple may interact. (See Table 7 in Chapter II.)

Wives are more apt to have jobs giving them contact with non-Indians than husbands. The fact that they are frequently sought for third culture type jobs has already been mentioned. In addition, most wives do not have as firmly established occupational positions as the husbands, and therefore can take advantage of situational factors, such as living in an area close to a Western community. One good example of this is the Western wife of a professor whose colleagues are all Indian. On the campus where her husband teaches,

⁵⁶ This is not meant to suggest that the mixed couples are necessarily always transmitting the correct information about India or the West to those of other nationalities.

however, is a center for foreign scholars where she works assisting the foreign scholars with their work in India.

Clubs and organizations, some social, some functional, provide another opportunity for Indian-Western couples to serve informally as a link between cultures, although the importance of their role is limited by the fact that many of the organizations couples join are third culture organizations. Over three-quarters of the respondents belong or have belonged to at least one club or organization. (See Table A-45 in appendix.) The desire to maintain a bi-cultural orientation is particularly well illustrated here, for, more than with residence, occupation, or family, the couples have a fairly high degree of choice in organizational affiliation just as they do with their friends. And, a pattern quite like the friendship pattern is seen in the membership of clubs and organizations the Indian-Western couples join. The great majority, 79 percent, of those who do belong to organizations and clubs belong to at least one with a mixed nationality membership. The rather low participation in organizations with all Western membership, especially for the Indian husband-Western wife couples, indicates a relative lack of such clubs for one thing. Also, however, the suggestion of superiority implicit in the all Western club causes many to reject the idea of joining. Indeed, until recently, many social clubs did not permit a Westerner married to an Indian to join, or if they did permit it she was not to include the Indian partner in club functions. Now the vast majority of social clubs, the

gymkhanas, etc., do have open membership and it is to this kind of club that most of the affiliated couples belong. This helps to account for the high proportion of couples in mixed nationality organizations or clubs. There are also all Indian social clubs to which mainly the Indian husbands belong. Some belong to all Indian social clubs because they are in locations where there are no Westerners. Some of the Indian clubs do offer a slightly more traditional and communal oriented social atmospheres. (See Tables A-46-48 in appendix.)

While most of the respondents do belong to some organizations or social clubs there is little concentration in terms of specific affiliation. (See Table A-49 in appendix.) As was just mentioned, the most common affiliation is the social clubs, to which roughly one-half the couples belong. The next most popular kind of affiliation, quite in line with the interests of Indian-Western couples, is third culture organizations. Roughly one-fourth belong to these, more if those employed in third culture organizations are included. Many a Western wife who has been without any means of meeting others of her nationality turns to the British Council Library, Max Mueller Bhavan, the Indo-American Society and such to locate others with whom she can share her cultural heritage. Many foreign partners find no difficulty adopting a new people and culture, especially when they are interacting with the modern element of their adopted country. It is quite another thing, however, when this adoption means being cut off from meaningful

ties with one's own cultural heritage. There are many ways of maintaining such contact--correspondence, or subscribing to newspapers from home for example, but the third cultural organizations do play an important role in providing immediate contact. A German wife reported that she had been happily living in India for several years when she heard about the Max Mueller Bhavan. During her first visit there, speaking German and finding "old friends" like Goethe on the library shelves, she almost cried for joy. Now, not only does she maintain an active interest in the Max Mueller Bhavan, but the others in her Indian joint family frequently accompany her to German cultural programs.

Many of the Indian-Western couples, the Western partners in particular, play an important sustaining role in the cultural centers and may contribute a great deal to the organization. The import of such organizations, however, with respect to mixed couples is more in what the organizations do for the couples by allowing active participation in both cultures. Couples are able to build new links through third culture organizations, however, when they introduce Indians who otherwise would not participate, to the centers. The above is true primarily of the cultural organizations. Not surprisingly, Indians are somewhat more involved in third culture organizations which do not represent nations, but are definitely transnational. While association with such organizations is meaningful to the individual, his role as a contributor generally is larger than his role as a benefactor.

Such an organization is the Nehru International Institute; at least one of its founders is an Indian with a Western wife. This is a group of intellectuals from many nations who meet regularly for seminars on international issues.

Groups organized around shared interests ranging from art to bridge were mentioned by about one-fourth of the respondents. It is likely that far more are involved in this kind of group but didn't consider them "clubs or organizations." Nearly as many, primarily the husbands, belong to professional organizations. Interest groups tend to be mixed nationality groups while the professional organizations are almost all Indian in membership. More of the husbands probably belong to professional organizations in the West than thought to mention them; a few did think to include membership in the American Sociological Association, the Royal College of Physicians, etc. Other clubs and organizations with which Indian-Western couples are affiliated are listed in Table A-49 in the appendix.

Relationship between Involvement in Indian, Western and Mixed Social Systems and Additional Independent Variables

Thus far, the discussion of the Indian-Western couples' involvement in Indian, Western, and bi-national or transnational social systems has been in terms of the entire sample. At most, a distinction has been made between Indian husbands, Indian wives, Western husbands, and Western wives. While these differences are significant, there are other important independent variables related

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to the couples' patterns of interaction in India. This section explores the relation between involvement in the various kinds of social systems just mentioned and: 1) length of time the couple has been married and living in India, 2) whether they live in a large, middle, or small size city, 3) the husband's field of occupation, 4) husband's and wife's combined salary, 5) Indian partner's religion, and 6) Western partner's nationality.⁵⁷

Indices of Participation

Certain characteristics of the couples' social patterns presented in the preceding sections of this chapter must be kept in mind throughout the following discussion. Most importantly, all the respondents have some social contact with Indians. Therefore, the very broad index of "participates in some all Indian social network" does not vary significantly within the independent variables. Three more narrowly defined indices of association with Indians are used. These are: 1) membership in clubs or organizations having only Indian members, 2) participation in

⁵⁷ Continuing the pattern already established, the sample for the following discussions includes only those subjects who responded to questions concerning friendships, participation in social networks, and affiliation with clubs and organizations. The complete tables showing the relation between the independent variables and the selected indices of friendship patterns and participation in the different social systems are presented in Tables A-54-59 in the appendix. Chi square levels of significance for each of these are also presented in the appendix tables. For ease of conceptualization, statistically significant relationships between the independent variables and interaction patterns are presented in graph form in the text.

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Indian communal social networks (a group bound by common religion, caste, or regional identity, and 3) mentioning only Indians as one's five closest friends. Because a smaller proportion of the respondents are included in these three indices, statistically significant differences are possible within the independent variables. The assumption is made that individuals whose close friends are all Indian, who associate with Indians on a communal basis, or who belong to all Indian clubs are more highly involved with Indians than are those not included in these indices.

Sixty-seven percent of the interviewees participate in at least one Western social network and 84 percent in at least one bi-national or transnational social network. This permits more variation than is true for involvement with Indians, and consequently, the broader indices of association with Westerners can differ significantly from one category of an independent variable to another. Association with Westerners is indicated by involvement in some all Western social network as well as participation in some club or organization with all Western members. Participation in communal organizations or social networks (i.e., those serving one nationality group in the case of Westerners) are not used as indicators because they are components of the broader indices which are used. However, associations with Western communal organizations and social networks are included in the larger table in the appendix. Only 2.5 percent of the subjects listed only Westerners as their closest

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friends.⁵⁸ In place of this, the respondents' estimates of what percentage of their acquaintances in India are Western is used as an index of interaction with Westerners. Those who estimate that 60 percent or more of their friends are Western are considered more closely affiliated with the Western community in India than the average couple.

The other kind of social involvement included in this discussion is participation in bi-national or international social networks. Indices of bi-national social patterns are: 1) inclusion of both Indians and Westerners among the five closest friends, and 2) participation in social networks and in clubs or organizations with both Indians and Westerners. Relationships between involvement in bi-national social systems and in all Western social systems follow similar patterns and will be discussed together.

Fourteen percent of those responding are incorporated in a social network of Indian-Western couples, and an additional ten percent have been part of such groups in the past. The meaning of participation in groups of such mixed couples is discussed in Chapter IV. This kind of social involvement is significantly related to only one of the independent variables, salary level. These associations do not facilitate international linkage; therefore the information on relations with other mixed couples is in the appendix.

⁵⁸ These include two Indian wives and one Western husband as well as one Indian husband who has completely rejected Indians, and a newly arrived Western wife.

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Size of city

An obvious, but nevertheless important, factor explaining Indian-Western couples' patterns of interaction with Indians and/or Westerners is availability of Westerners. This is especially apparent in the relationship between size of city in which a couple lives and the indices of association with both Indians and Westerners.⁵⁹ There simply are not many foreigners in small cities. The significant change in involvement with Westerners in all Western and mixed nationality groupings occurs between the middle-sized cities and the small cities for that reason. The couples in small cities do, however, generally find it easy to associate with Westerners who are, themselves, isolated in small towns.

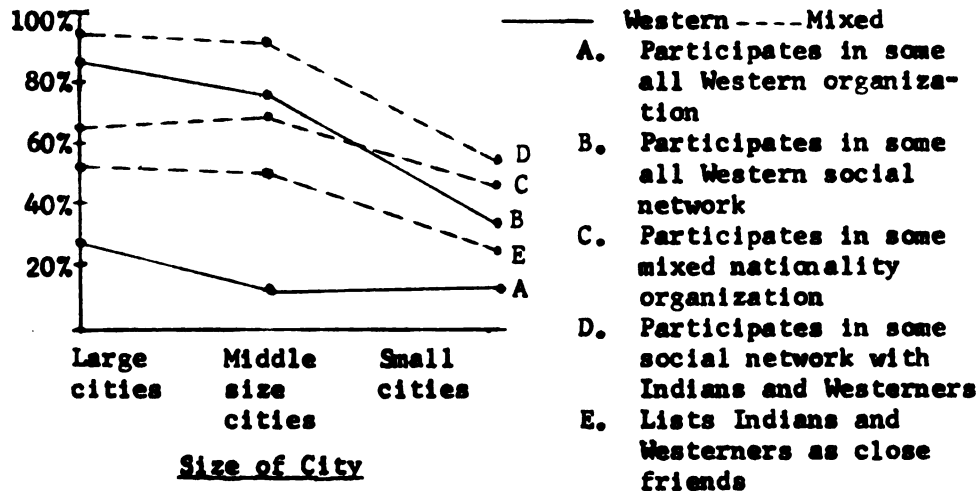


Figure 6: Percent of respondents participating in Western and mixed nationality social systems according to size of city of residence. (See Table A-54 in appendix.)

⁵⁹ Large cities are Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay; Middle-sized cities are Bangalore, Hyderabad, and Poona. Included with couples in the middle-sized cities are three couples living in all Indian "suburban" areas near the three large cities. The smaller cities include: Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Jaipur, Jabalpur, Aligarh, Asansol-Durgapur, Chandigarh, Pantnagar, Kholapur and Ootacamund. The categories are based on evaluation of the foreign population in the cities--an indication of how cosmopolitan they are--as well as actual size, as described in Chapter II.

What little increase there is in proportion of couples associating with Westerners as size of city increases is due mainly to interaction with Westerners in all Western groups. The proportion of respondents who interact with Westerners in mixed nationality groups does not change significantly with increased city size. The difference in ease of associating with an all Western group is related to the basis for group solidarity. Useem points out that "the smaller and more heterogeneous the American population, the greater the self and superimposed pressures to find a common basis for doing things together."⁶⁰ This "smaller and more heterogeneous foreign population" is found in the middle-sized cities; the small cities or town have only a few individual foreigners. One common basis drawing the otherwise heterogeneous English or Americans in a middle-sized city together is nationality, and the American wife of an Indian is not automatically considered a member of that nationality group in India. Two reasons for this are the fact that she is unlikely to be returning to the Western society to live, and the fact that she is likely to have divided loyalties because she is part of an Indian family and of Indian communities. These differences between the Western partner of an Indian and Westerners living in India as representatives of their societies apply in large cities as well. In the middle-sized city, however, the foreign

⁶⁰ John Useem, "The Community of Man: A Study in the Third Culture," op. cit., p. 494.

population is not large enough to divide into subcommunities, usually oriented around occupation, as happens in large cities. Consequently, the social interaction among foreigners in the middle-sized Indian cities is more likely to be in locality-linked groups rather than functional groups. Interaction with those who are not part of the Western community is not as easy in the locality groups because there is no natural basis of conversation, such as professional concerns, and because these more frequently include the partners. In large cities where the foreign population splits into functionally-linked groups, there is a greater probability a mixed couple can meet Westerners with whom they share common interests. It must be kept in mind, however, that this data refers to meeting and associating with Westerners in all Western groups, but that this does not suggest the respondent is integrated into such groups, for this is as difficult in a functionally-linked group in a large city as in a group with a broader basis of affiliation in a middle-sized city.

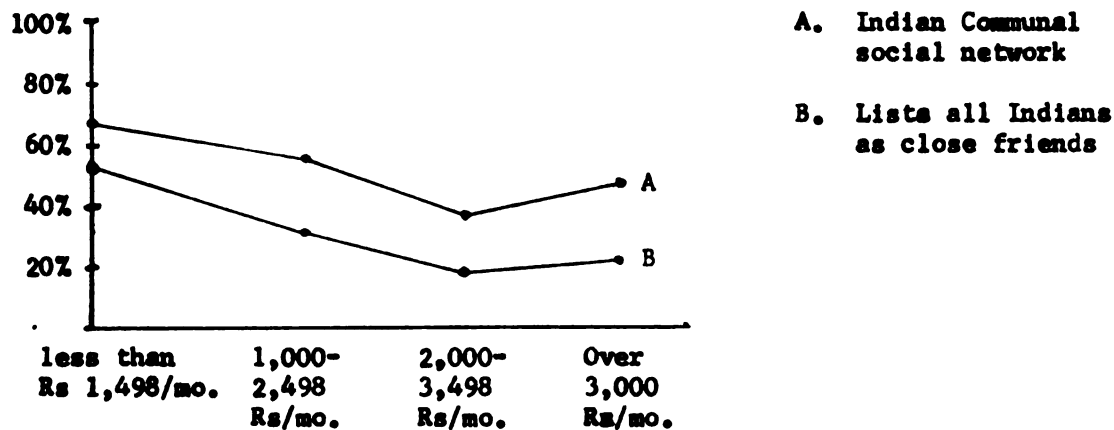
Level of Income

A strong association can also be seen between patterns of association and level of income.⁶¹ Couples in the lowest income category are least likely to have social contact with Westerners.

⁶¹ Levels of income overlap. This is because each respondent was asked to indicate in which of several categories his or her income fell. To obtain the combined income the categories had to be added, rather than actual income figures.

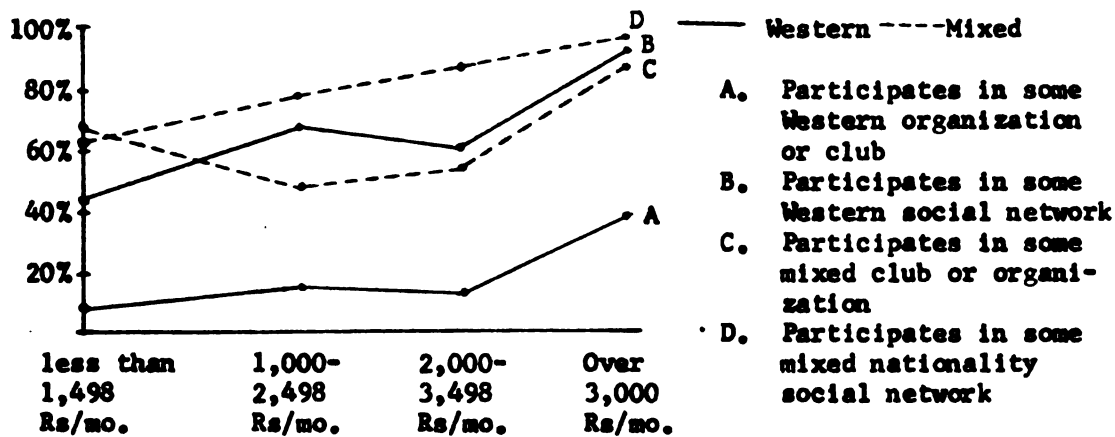
One explanation of this lies in the strong relationship between level of income and size of city in which the couple lives. (See Table A-50 in appendix.) Two-thirds of those in the two lowest income groups live in small cities, and thus do not have much opportunity to meet Westerners. The lower income couples living in middle and large cities cannot afford to live where the Westerners do, nor can they afford to join the social clubs which provide access to the foreign community. Some of the lower income couples who do have contact with Westerners through occupation or organizations fail to encourage friendship because they are unable to afford the Western style of entertainment. It also is noteworthy that, while most indices of interaction with non-Indians are lowest in the low income group, participation in bi-national organizations starts high and decreases as income increases. This suggests that couples who cannot afford to interact socially with Westerners fulfill their desire to meet them by doing so in a mixed nationality organization which does not necessarily require reciprocal entertaining in the home.

Couples in the lowest income category are also most likely to report all Indians as their closest friends, and to participate in Indian communal social networks. Not able to afford social interaction with Westerners and highly Westernized Indians, these couples spend more time with family and childhood friends. They are also more likely than couples with higher salaries to be tied to the family by need for financial aid. For 12 couples, all but



Level of husband's and wife's combined salaries

Figure 7. Percent of respondents with above average involvement in Indian social networks according to level of combined income. (See Table A-55 in appendix.)



Level of husband and wife's combined salaries

Figure 8. Percent of respondents participating in Western or mixed nationality social networks according to level of combined income. (See Table A-55 in appendix.)

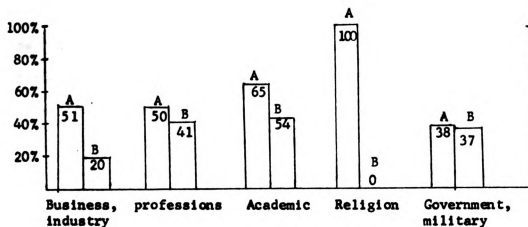
two being marriages involving Indian husbands and Western wives, this tie extends to living with the family which encourages participation in the family's communal associations.⁶²

Husband's Occupation

The husband's field of occupation is significantly related to both the couples' combined incomes and size of city in which the couple lives. (See Tables A-51 and A-52 in appendix.) It follows then, that association with Indians and Westerners also differs significantly from one occupational group to another.

Couples in which the husband is an academician, as a group, are the most poorly paid in comparison with other groups in this universe of study. In addition, nearly half live in the small cities where few, if any, foreigners live. This is a higher proportion than in any other occupational group. Many of the colleges and universities in larger cities are distant from centers of foreign population, such as Delhi University which is in Delhi, not New Delhi, where most Westerners live. Because of these factors, academic couples list all Indians as their closest friends more frequently than other couples. They also report the lowest degree of interaction with Westerners. Academic couples are not, however,

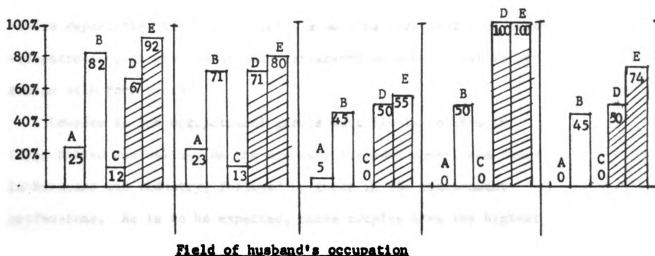
⁶²The fact that two of the couples are living with wives' families is somewhat surprising in the context of a patriarchal, patrilocal culture such as India has. In both cases the Western husbands are students who have been in India less than two years, and who have no source of income in India.



Field of Husband's Occupation

- A. Participates in some Indian communal network
 B. Includes only Indians as five closest friends

Figure 9. Percent of respondents with above average involvement in Indian social networks according to field of husband's occupation. (See Table A-56 in appendix.)



Field of husband's occupation

- A. Participates in Western organization
 B. Participates in Western social network
 C. Over 60 percent of acquaintances are Western
 D. Participates in mixed club or organization
 E. Participates in mixed social network

Figure 10. Percent of respondents participating in Western and mixed nationality social networks according to field of husband's occupation. (See Table A-56 in appendix.)

the most involved in Indian communal networks. A larger proportion of couples in church work than in academic fields participate in Indian communal networks. Those whose occupation is in the church are involved in Indian communal networks by definition, because both the region and the religion of the Indian partner are being considered here as bases for communal associations.

Couples in Indian government or military service are not quite so isolated from Westerners, nor quite so poorly paid, as those in the academic field. The fact that they have an equally low level of involvement in Western social networks may be due, in part, to the fact that the military provides a well-established, highly-Westernized community to meet the couples' social needs. Some in this category, therefore, feel no need to meet Westerners; others report that official policy discourages individuals in these occupations--both government and military--from much social interaction with foreigners.

Couples in the occupational groups most likely to live in large cities and making, on the average, the most money, are those in business and industry, followed by those in the independent professions. As is to be expected, these couples have the highest rates of involvement with Westerners. The pattern that those groups ranking high on indices of association with Westerners are low in interaction with Indians does not follow here, however. It is the couples in the field of religion who are least likely to name all Indians as their closest friends; in fact, none do.

And, those in religion as an occupation are also the most highly involved in bi-national social networks and organizations. This is because religion is the only field of occupation in which all the husbands are in third culture occupations. Their occupations and the whole life style built around the church in India include both Indians and Westerners.

Length of Marriage in India

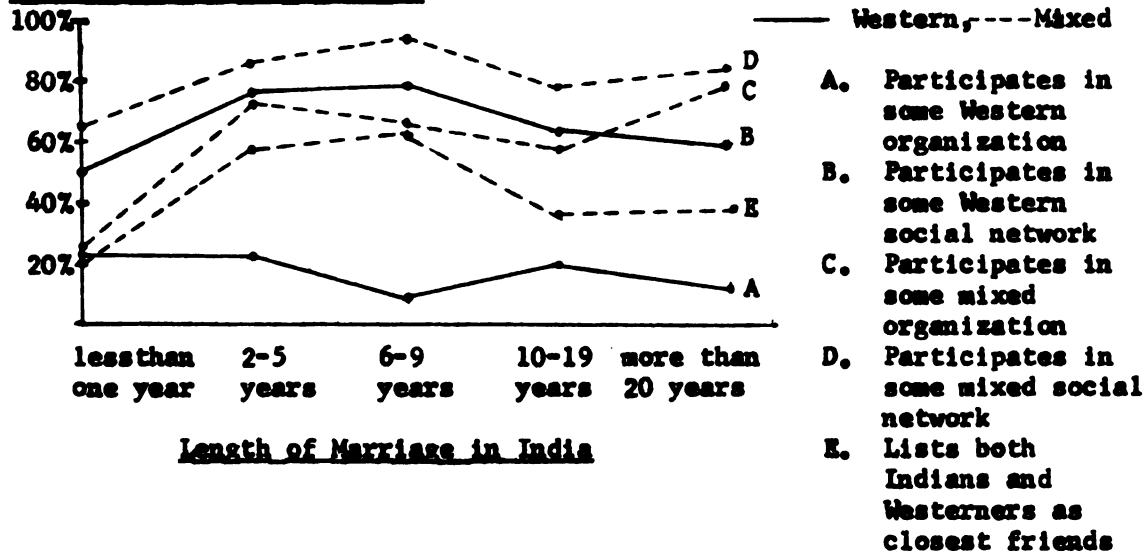


Figure 11. Percent of respondents participating in Western and mixed nationality social networks according to length of marriage in India. (See Table A-57 in appendix.)

When couples first arrive in India they are busy settling, and many feel they do not have the time to concentrate on developing friendships. Consequently they spend more time, on the average, with the Indian partner's relatives and friends from before his sojourn abroad. Many couples at first don't know how to meet Westerners, or are too busy to seek them out. With time the couples find, and utilize, channels into the third cultures. Thus,

approximately one-third of the couples in India one year or less name all Indians as close friends. Couples in India two to nine years are least apt to restrict their closest friends to Indians. It is in this time period that the highest proportion of subjects associating in some way with Westerners is found.

Couples in India 10-19 years differ greatly from those who have not been there as long. Nearly half of this group mention only Indian close friends. And, there is a decline in interaction with Westerners in this group. By the time a couple has been in India ten years or more they have witnessed a large part of the Western population turn over several times. Indian friends are constant and it is not surprising that so many of the respondents name Indians they have known for many years as their closest friends rather than Westerners who have been in India only a short time and who they know will leave in a few years. In addition, as the Western partners are socialized into Indian and third culture patterns, they find they have less in common with neophyte Westerners. Specifically, several mentioned tiring of the newcomers' "superficial observations and stupid complaints."

Couples in India since before Independence have the lowest overall involvement with all Western groups. Only those in India less than one year have a lower involvement in Western social networks because they generally have not yet had time to establish themselves in such networks. The generally low involvement of the

pre-Independence couples in all Western networks is more than a reflection of Indianization of social patterns over time. This reflects the nature of social interaction between nationalities before Independence compared to post-Independence as well. The pre-Independence period was characterized by superordinate-subordinate relationships. There was no tolerance on the part of the rulers for individuals with dual allegiance such as they might suspect of Indian-Western couples. The only opportunity a mixed couple had for social interaction with the British before Independence was in the ritualized teas to which Indian elite were invited. Foreign wives were included in such formal entertaining, but never in an informal gathering of the Western community.

Although the pattern of interaction between the Indians and Westerners now is coordinate and the norms egalitarian, social patterns established before Independence are still in evidence among couples who came to India during the colonial period. Perhaps in compensation for their perceived inability to participate in all Western social groupings, the couples in this group do have a higher rate of participation in Indian-Western groups than those who came to India immediately after Independence.

Couples who have been in India more than twenty years are also less likely to name only Indians as close friends than those who have been in India 10-19 years. Given the reasoning for friendships in the latter group (10-19 years) one might expect close friends to be more Indian for the pre-Independence group. One reason for

this difference with respect to friendships may be found in the nature of the sample for the pre-Independence group. The fact that one-third of the husbands, mainly Indian, in India since before Independence were not interviewed is likely to under-emphasize close friendships with Indians in this time period. Indian husbands are most likely to name all Indian close friends, while the Western wives more frequently include Westerners or other Indian-Western couples. The proportion of husbands in the 10-19 year group for whom this kind of social information is not available is only half the size of the non-interviewed husbands in the pre-Independence group. Thus, the influence of the husbands on the overall friendship pattern of the more recent group is greater.

Nationality of Western Partner

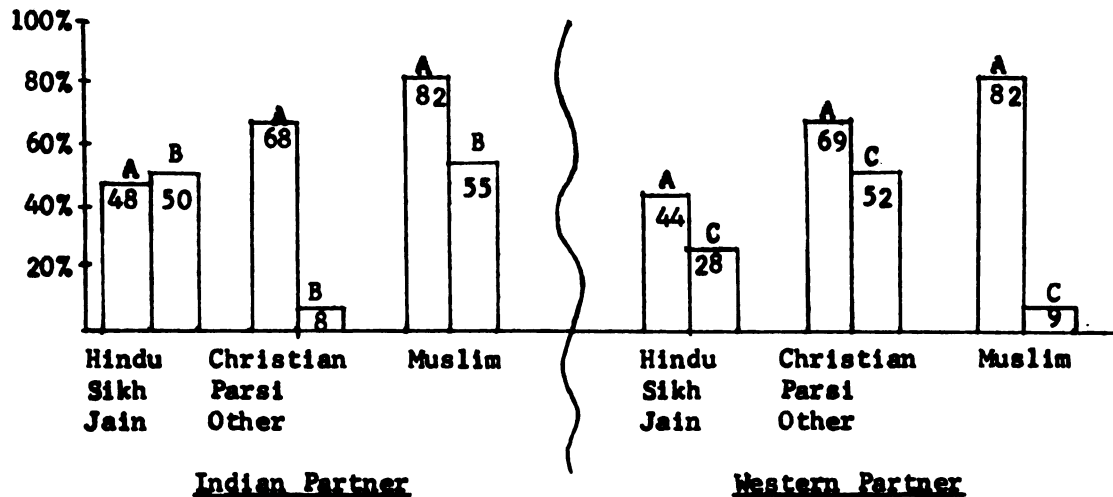
Nationality of the Western partner has virtually no effect on patterns of involvement with Indians or with Westerners. (See Table A-58a and b in appendix.) The only significant relationship is the higher percentage of British partners, 71 percent, who are members of some mixed nationality organization or club. Because of their long time in India, and because they are the largest foreign community in India, the majority of international organizations and clubs in India include at least some British. When the Western partners of mixed couples make friends among the Westerners in India, they do so mainly with those of their own nationality when possible. They may join organizations or clubs to meet Westerners, or a Western friend may introduce the Western partner

or the couple to such an organization. In either case, the predominance of British in India means that the British partner has a somewhat higher probability of joining clubs or organizations. The fact that the British partners have been in India longer, as a group, than partners from other Western countries also influences the pattern of association with Westerners. Over 40 percent of the British partners have been married and living in India since before Independence. (See Table A-1 in appendix.) While this greater length of time encouraged some to become completely involved in the Indian community, it has given others time to develop well-established associations with Westerners, including joining clubs.

The other noteworthy aspect of this relation between length of marriage in India and participation in Western or mixed networks is the small proportion of the Commonwealth partners (14 percent) who are in mixed nationality organizations and clubs. Although not always significantly so, the Commonwealth partners appear consistently as the group least involved with Westerners and participating least in international groups. Relationships with some of the other independent variables, variables for which a significant relation with the indices of Western associations have already been presented, help to explain this low rate of interaction with Westerners. Although most Commonwealth partners do live in middle-sized or large cities, half live in all Indian residential areas. Husbands of half the couples including a Commonwealth partner are in occupational fields having low rates of interaction with Westerners

in bi-national groups--they are academicians or in the military.
All but one Commonwealth partner is in one of the two lowest income categories.

Religion of Indian Partner



- A. Participates in Indian communal social network
B. Lists all Indian close friends
C. Participates in some Indian club, organization

Figure 12. Percent of respondents having above average involvement in Indian social networks according to religion of the Indian Partner. (See Table A-59a and b in appendix.)

Religion of the Indian partner is somewhat more indicative of associational patterns than is the Western partner's nationality, but not much more. That the involvement of Muslims married to Westerners in Indian communities is greater than involvement of the other couples is indicated by the fact that over half the Muslim husbands and over one-third of their Western wives indicate that their five closest friends are all Indians. As a minority group, the Muslims maintain much tighter boundaries around themselves than

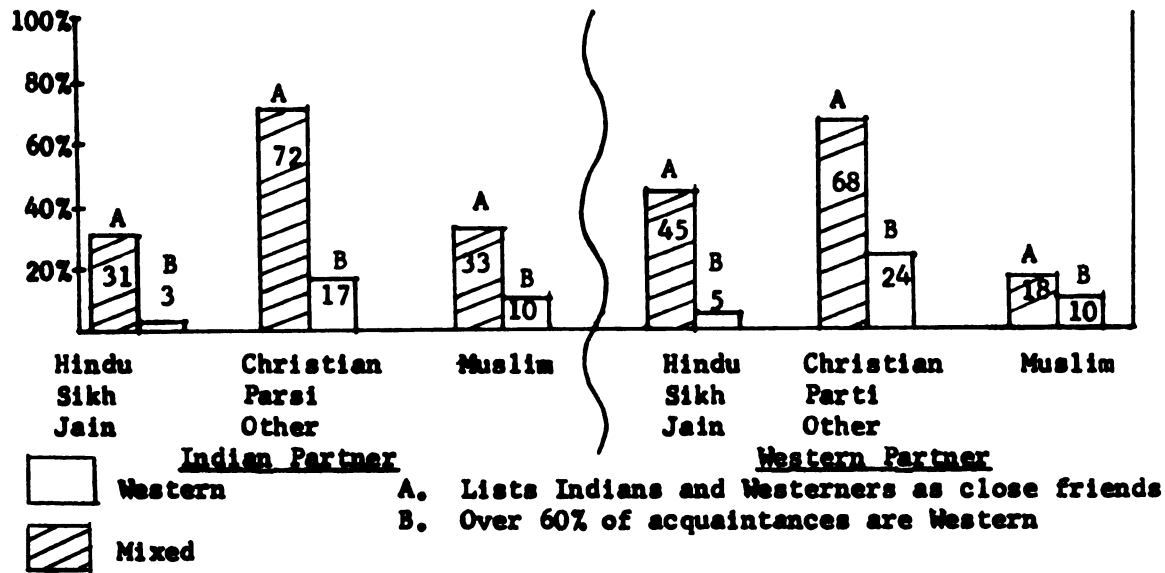


Figure 13. Percent of respondents participating in Western social networks according to religion of the Indian partner. (See Tables A-59a and b in appendix.)

do the Hindus. But, unlike the Christian and Parsi minorities, they do not have a history of association with Westerners in India. The "Muslim" couples appear to spend more time within their community as indicated by the fact that over 80 percent participate in Indian communal social networks.

The closedness of minority communities is also seen in the participation of "Christian" and "Parsi" couples in Indian communal social networks; over half of these couples are also part of such a network. The very different attitudes of these minority groups toward Westerners, especially the inclusion of Westerners in the Christian community in India, is emphasized by the difference in choices of closest friends by couples in each group. The propensity

of "Muslim" couples to mention only Indians has just been noted. By contrast, three-quarters of the Indian partners, and over two-thirds of the Western partners in the "Christian, Parsi, Other" group include both Indians and Westerners among their (five) closest friends.

Attitudes about associating with Indians and with Westerners

The relationship between the independent variables and comments made about ease and difficulty of associating with Indians and with Westerners in India support the analysis of behavior patterns. The importance of availability of Westerners is underscored by the 84 percent of those living in small cities who complain about difficulty meeting and/or maintaining social relations with Westerners.

Almost all the couples in the occupational field of government and military, followed by a large majority of the respondents in the academic field also complain about problems of social interaction with Westerners in India. Likewise, those who have the highest amount of interaction with Westerners most readily make statements about why it is easy to meet and associate with Westerners in India. The pattern of the relationship between interaction with Westerners and length of residence in India is less clear cut. This too, is reflected by comments from the couples, for neither comments about ease nor about difficulty of social interaction with Westerners differs significantly according to length of time in India.

The couples in the second lowest level of income perceive more difficulty in establishing and maintaining social relations

with Westerners than other couples. Couples in the lowest income level have little contact with Westerners, and the question of social interaction does not arise. Those in the higher income brackets are better suited financially to fit the social pattern of the Western community in India. Over half of those in the second income category feel the conflict, and they talk about it.

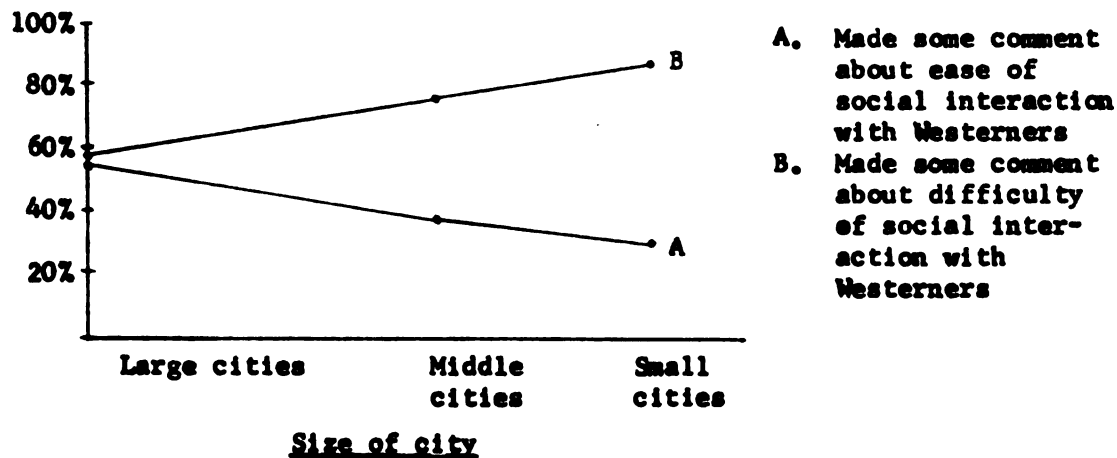
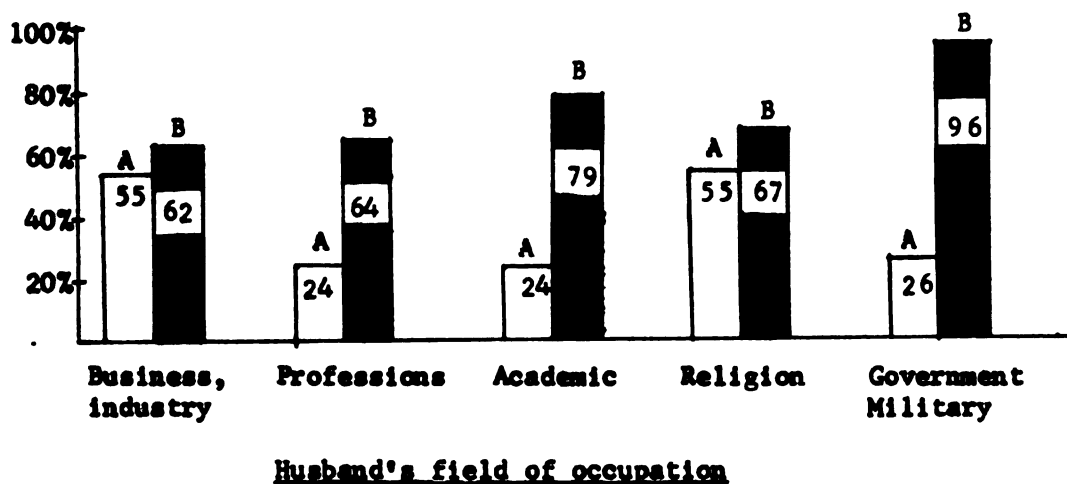


Figure 14. Percent of respondents commenting on ease or difficulty of social interaction with Westerners in India according to size of city of residence. (See Table A-54 in appendix.)



- A. Made some comment about ease of social interaction with Westerners
 B. Made some comment about difficulty of social interaction with Westerners

Figure 15. Percent of respondents commenting on ease or difficulty of social interaction with Westerners in India according to husband's field of occupation. (See Table A-56 in appendix.)

Length of residence in India is the only variable, on the other hand, which is significantly related to comments about difficulty of social interaction with Indians. The lowest complaint rate comes from those who have been in India the longest, both Indian and Western partners. In this discussion we will deal with the Indian and Western partners separately because feelings about interaction are more an individual matter than are patterns of social interaction. While some reactions may be shared, one partner is returning to a familiar culture and the other is usually adapting to a completely new culture; these experiences are likely to produce different reactions.

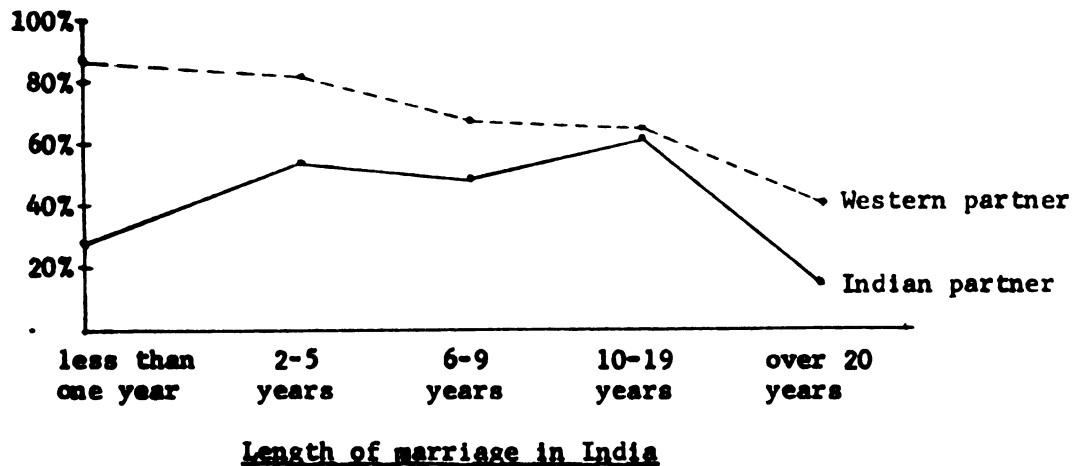


Figure 16. Percent of respondents commenting on difficulty in social interaction with Indians according to length of marriage in India. (See Table A-57 in appendix.)

Two kinds of studies would lead us to expect the Western partner to have an initially positive reaction to Indians. Many studies of foreign students have noted the "U-curve of adjustment." Jacobson et al., summarizing these studies describe the first phase as

that in which the sojourner is exhilarated by the stimuli of his new environment and by the possibilities presented by study abroad. Attitudes regarding the host culture at this time are likely to be very positive.^{63,64}

⁶³ Eugene Jacobson, Hideya Kumata and Jeanne E. Gullahorn, "Cross Cultural Contributions to Attitude Research." The Public Opinion Quarterly, 24 (Summer 1960), p. 216.

⁶⁴ The comparison of this data to discussions of the "U-curve" of adjustments is only suggestive. The "U-Curve" studied among foreign students usually is noted in a period of a few years at most, while the data for the Indian-Western couples covers a period of over twenty years. It is possible that if the reactions of the Western partner during the first few years were studied more closely a similar pattern would be apparent; however, the Useans' data suggest this would not be so. In

The Useems' study of Americans in India explores a situation more like that of the Westerners in the present study than the foreign students' situations are. Their findings too, however, predict a period of initial enthusiasm for India on the part of the newly arrived Western partner. It should be noted that their theory does not predict the same reaction on the part of a Western partner who has had extensive cross-cultural experience prior to his arrival in India. They describe the "first-timers," the Americans who arrive in India on their first foreign assignments as

(the) least selective in their initial contacts. The breathless new arrival who reaches out for everything Indian, who accepts all overtures extended by Indians...⁶⁵

and as

"Plungers" into the traditional culture of the host country.⁶⁶

Western husbands, most of whom arrived in India as unmarried third culture Westerners, are more likely to have experienced this first stage than the Western wives, but prior to marriage. This is more characteristic of the American husbands than the British

addition, the studies of foreign students' adjustment patterns include reactions to the country and their experiences in general as well as to interaction with host country nationals. The discussion here is based on one dimension, feelings about mixing with Indians. This is, however, likely to be correlated with the other indices of adjustment.

⁶⁵ Ruth Hill Useem, "Interpersonal Relationships Between Indians and Americans in India," Symposium 7, Application of Psychiatric Insights to Cross-Cultural Communication, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. Mimeographed copy, p. 11.

⁶⁶ John and Ruth Useem and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture", op. cit., p. 173.

who took established positions in the British business community. As was pointed out in Chapter II, the cross-cultural marriage can be interpreted as an extension of this initial enthusiasm for many of the partners, a desire to maintain an association with India. Elements of the exploratory stage excitement can be seen among the Western wives at first--in eagerness to wear a sari, to try bits of Indian food, to observe national customs--although not all indicate interest in exploring even these elements of Indian culture.

Several important differences between the Westerner married to an Indian who is abroad for the first time, and either the foreign students or members of the American community in India help explain why 85 percent of the Western partners in India less than a year made comments about difficulty of interaction with Indians instead of enthusiastic comments. One of the most important factors affecting attitudes is the knowledge that India is, for most of them, now their home for life. This means that there is plenty of time to get to know Indians and Indian culture; there is no need to "plunge." This knowledge also immediately removes the Western partners from the spectator role and puts them into a participating role with regard to Indian culture and society. Certain social customs, aspects of family relations in particular, which are fascinating bits of cultural data to one who is not greatly affected and who will leave it all in a year or two, is something the person married into the system must come to grips with.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ The difference between being a spectator and participant is noted by Ruth Hill Useem with respect to reactions to "the servant problem" in "The Servant Problem", Mimeographed paper.

There is even the fear among some of the Western wives when they first arrive, that every aspect of Indian culture they adopt signifies the loss of another part of their own cultural heritage.

The second important difference is that the contacts with host nationals are already provided, and by a host national. There is no need to eschew the contacts provided by other foreigners as many of the "first-timers" do. The Indian partner can encourage selective involvement in Indian society instead of the indiscriminate involvement of many other newcomers. But, this frequently means meeting Indians who are neither associates nor "chasers" of Westerners and who, therefore, may not be as at ease with Westerners.

The Indian partner may also ease involvement with Indian culture at first. One Western wife, who would be considered a "plunger," reports that it was her mother-in-law who encouraged her to slow down in her self-imposed program of Indianization.

I was anxious to adapt as completely and as fast as possible. I was prepared to go overboard to meet all that came my way. I was prejudiced for everything that was Indian. Among other things, I wanted to eat all vegetarian food from the start. My mother-in-law, who is a strict vegetarian, insisted that I eat meat because it would be unhealthy to change so completely so fast. She also insisted that I go to a European style doctor.

While this initial involvement in India guided by a host national may hold some back, it provides far more of an emersion for others than they had expected, or than they were willing or able to accept. In particular, those who move to a town without other Westerners or even without many cosmopolitan Indians are

frequently overwhelmed by India and Indians. This is especially true if they move in with the Indian partner's family at first. The differences between their Western way of life and that of the Indians around them may appear overwhelming and even frightening when there is no recourse to a familiar society and culture. Such an experience can easily lead to negative statements regarding ease of interacting with Indians. Statements made by Western partners who have been in India for a while reflecting on their initial experiences support this analysis as well as the high proportion of negative statements made by the Westerners in India only a short time.

As the accompanying graph indicates, the incidence of negative statements from Western partners about ease of interaction with Indians decreases steadily with length of time in India. This reflects a greater understanding not only of Indians and their culture, but of the Western partner's position in the social structure and the expectations for that position. It also reflects the establishment of circles of Indian friends with life styles similar to the couple's and a reduced amount of contact with traditional Indians, if being introduced to traditional relatives was part of the couple's first year routine.

This withdrawal from the traditional, if the couple had such contacts at first, and selective interaction with Indians more like themselves, is somewhat parallel to the behavior of the Americans in India who the Useems call "Experienced" in cross-cultural involvement. It does not parallel the withdrawal seen among foreign

students in the "U-curve" syndrome, for it is accompanied by a more positive, rather than a more negative attitude toward host nationals. In the final stages all three patterns are much the same as the individual establishes meaningful roles for himself in the new society.

The Indian partner's perceptions of difficulty in interaction with Indians increase significantly after the first year in India following marriage. Most of the Indians had been abroad for extended periods of time. While many were ambivalent about returning to India to live, the initial period of renewing acquaintances, and "catching up," at least temporarily offsets many doubts about relations with Indians. Frustrations during the first year center around problems of housing and occupation. As these issues are resolved the question of establishing new social relations and maintaining old ones becomes more important, and this is reflected in the increased dissatisfaction with the nature of social interaction with Indians from two years in India on. The Western-returned Indian is increasingly aware of the expectations for social interaction he has internalized while abroad. He finds that his interests, and the things he likes to talk about have changed somewhat. Most important, however, is the difficulty found in integrating a Western wife into a social system which is rooted in a culture dictating separation of the sexes.

There is a significant difference between the apparent adjustment to Indians of those Indian partners who have been in India since

before Independence and those who have returned since Independence. There are two significant differences between the pre-Independence period and the post-Independence period which explain this. First, those who returned to India before Independence knew they were coming home to an Indian way of life, and that they had little alternative to this in the colonial situation. Those returning in the modern period have the option of interaction with Westerners in India as well as considerably greater flexibility in choice of life style. Those who are not able to fulfill these expectations, when they know there are alternatives, are more likely to be dissatisfied than those who accept their position. One expression of a general dissatisfaction is complaint about the Indians one meets socially or has to work with.

The second difference pointed out by the Useems in Western Educated Man in India, is that those who returned to India before Independence were more unusual. Therefore they drew more attention and in general had a higher social capital. In contrast,

Today the man who is foreign-educated has his picture in the paper on his return, is congratulated by his relatives and friends, and thereafter is on his own to make his way in life. In short, foreign education gives a person less bargaining power than it did in the old days.⁶⁸

There is no reason to believe that the attitude toward foreign wives would have changed drastically around the time of Independence.

⁶⁸ John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem, The Western Educated Man in India, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1955), p. 118.

There is, however, the fact that as there were more Western-educated Indians after Independence, there were also more foreign wives. As the foreign wife has become more commonplace, most of the subjects feel, she has also become more accepted.

Summary Note

Indian-Western couples perform linkage functions in three different ways. They may engage in activity specifically designed to bring their societies closer together in occupational or voluntary roles, they contribute to the exchange of information through informal contacts with Indians and Westerners, and encourage increased interest about one country in their friends and relatives in the other.

Western husband-Indian wife couples have the highest degree of contact with Westerners in India, and are the most likely to be involved in established linking networks. This is largely because the Western husbands' occupations are more likely than the Indian husbands' to include them in some segment of Western society in India. Indian husbands have the least involvement with Westerners in India and the most with Indians, for they have more ties from the past to India than Westerners and find it easier to maintain these relations than the Indian wives. Western wives have more contact with Westerners than their husbands because they activate communal ties. They are also, however, in the best position to serve as a link to the outside world for the most traditional segment of Indian society, the women.

When couples are considered in terms of other variables than nationality of the husband and wife we find that the greatest involvement with Westerners is among couples living in large cities on high salaries. Husbands employed in business or industry are more likely to interact with Westerners than those in academic work, government or military. Couples who have just arrived in India and those who have been in India since Independence are less likely to associate widely with Westerners than the other couples.

Attitudes about ease of association generally follow patterns of association as has been suggested in this chapter. The next chapter explores the couples' feelings about factors which inhibit or encourage interaction with Indians and with Westerners in India.

CHAPTER IV

THE LINKAGE PROCESS

Indian-Western couples mediate between cultures through interpersonal contacts. This chapter examines the social and cultural factors which inhibit or encourage the couples' interaction with Indians and Westerners in India.

INTERACTION WITH INDIANS

There Are Indians and Then There Are Indians

Very few of the interviewees are willing to talk about relations with simply "Indians." Most respondents insist immediately upon making a distinction between traditional and modern Indians. Further distinctions between modern and Westernized Indians, or modern and liberal Indians become entangled in individual semantic differentiations. Regardless of the labels chosen, there is general agreement on three basic kinds of Indians. First is the traditional. This person's life style appears traditional; his thought patterns are organized around a world view dominated by religion (usually Hindu) and communalism.

The second, the Westernized Indian has adopted the accoutrements of Western living, and may even have been abroad. The Indian-Western couples interviewed frequently describe such Indians with derision, indicating that Westernization is a veneer.

It is possible that the features I share with Westernized Indians are only superficial, that their Western characteristics are only a shallow veneer. I might get to know them faster than other Indians, but might never really like them. I would prefer a genuine Indian who is himself.

This quotation indicates another reason many Indian-Western couples tend to disdain the Westernized Indian; they feel he has sold himself. He is so enamored with foreign things and foreign people he is ashamed of being what he is, an Indian. This rejection of Indians attributed to the Westernized Indians is not characteristic of most Indians married to Westerners, and living in India. One important difference between the Indians married to Westerners and the Westernized Indians is in the latter's need to prove themselves to the Westerners. The Indian with a Western partner may not always feel at ease with Westerners, but he always knows that he, as he is, is acceptable to at least one Westerner. The Westernized Indian, without this knowledge, feels he must always be proving himself. This latter person is often a "hanger-on" around the Western community in India. At least one Western wife pointed out that the Westernized Indian's relations with Westerners are widespread but "shallow." He is frequently seen in the cocktail circuit, but seldom in small informal gatherings which include both Indians and Westerners. The reaction of an American to some Western-returned Indians indicates why the relationship does not progress beyond superficial contact.

Those who have been to the West are usually eager to meet you; they seek you out. I don't like that. They think they are superior because they think they know your way of doing things. They are the ones who offer chairs when everyone is sitting on the floor. I am uncomfortable around them. Often they misconceive what they have seen abroad, but you can't correct them because they know, they've been there.

The third type of Indian, variously called modern, liberal, intellectual, cosmopolitan, is generally admired by the couples.

This person is truly ecumenical; first, in the sense that he has internalized the culture of the ecumene, and second, in the sense that he has an understanding of, and appreciation for, many cultures. He is able to select what he thinks is worthwhile from a number of cultures without having to reject his own identity. The modern or liberal Indian is recognized by a way of thinking rather than a way of living. Many in this category appear superficially to be rather traditional. Perhaps the best way to describe these Indians is in the words of the couples themselves.

I prefer the term contemporary or progressive to modern. By that I mean people who think of syntheses, assimilation; who project themselves into the future.

A modern person is one who has made the choice, who is aware enough of both cultures to make a conscious selection for one or the other. If he selects the traditional pattern of living, he can still be modern. Being liberal is being open minded.

We fit the modern pattern. Before, while living in the family we were intellectually modern, although we lived a traditional style of life. Now we are living away from the family and we are free to express and behave ourselves in a modern way as well.

Those whose contact with the traditional Indians is infrequent and superficial generally claim that the traditional Indian is the most difficult to interact with. This view is not shared by many who have close enough contact to penetrate beneath the superficial differences. A number of the Western partners, somewhat to their surprise, have become very close to traditional Indians. They maintain that interaction with them is easier than with the Westernized Indian. The traditional person has a sense of self

esteem which stems from knowing who he is and where he fits in the world. The Westernized person, on the other hand, tends to be defensive, having moved away from the traditional society, but not being assured of his place in the Western world. The Westernized person is particularly insecure when a Westerner, his role model, abandons that behavior and adopts elements of Indian culture. A Western woman wearing a sari frequently faces far more negative reaction from urban, Westernized, Indian girls than from traditional women in villages. The person who is in transition himself has enough insecurity in his own life. He demands conformity to well-established role behavior on the part of both the group he is leaving and his new reference group. The surprise awaiting an Italian wife on her arrival in India illustrates the difference.

My husband and I came to India together with another Indian-Italian couple. The other Indian family, I knew, was very modern. Those girls smoked, played tennis in shorts, etc. I thought my friend would have no difficulty at all with such a modern family, and I expected to have many adjustments to my traditional family. When we arrived, I was met by crowds of relatives at the station and given so many garlands. There was no one to meet my friend, so my mother-in-law gave her some of my garlands. I was given complete freedom. My mother-in-law is not educated formally, but she is very wise.

Not threatened in his way of life, the traditional Indian can afford to tolerate differences in others. This tolerance of difference also reflects the Hindu philosophy which accepts, and eventually incorporates, much of what is new. The traditional Hindu is a master of cultural pluralism. An American wife found this out once she had learned enough Hindi to talk with the older women.

Once you can speak glibly in Hindi and talk with the older generation, you find Indian women are adaptable and have a sense of humor. The modern women are torn between new and old; they must be what their husbands want--Hollywood. The older ones are more open, tolerant, understanding, interested in things outside themselves.

Another distinction made, although not as frequently, is between the different regional communities in India. Some respondents firmly maintain that the only Indians with whom Westerners or Indian-Western couples can interact comfortably are the Bengalis because they "think modern." Others are just as insistent that the Punjabis are the only ones because they "live modern." When asked about mixing with Indians some respondents made distinctions such as "You can't say I don't like to mix with Indians; I don't like to mix with Marwaris or Punjabis, but I do like the Bengalis."

There is no clearcut pattern with respect to whether the preferred group is the Indian partner's community or not. For some it is, while others prefer outsiders. The latter preference probably reflects a difference in depth of interaction with the communities. One meets a greater range of the Indian partner's own community, from the very traditional to the very modern. By contrast, the Indians one meets from other communities are the progressive ones who have moved far enough away to contact outsiders. Often they are actually living far from their regional homes. A Madrassi in Delhi is almost as foreign as a German, and the two share a "we foreigners" bond. This can lead the Western partner to feel he has more in common with Madrassis than Punjabis. Others

simply see the South as more traditional, which some prefer, while others prefer what they see as the multi-cultural influences modernizing the North.

Interaction with Indians: Inhibiting Factors

Here we are specifically concerned with difficulties Indian-Western couples perceive in interaction with Indians. (Table 10) There are many differences of culture and social structure between India and the West which can hinder cross-cultural interaction. Most of the couples have probably encountered some difficulty interacting with some Indians because of these factors. However, fewer than half the respondents spontaneously made some statement regarding difficulty of meeting or associating with Indians. The following discussion is based on the specific problems mentioned. Some individuals, because of situational or personality factors, feel these differences more strongly than others. Although such problems are insignificant to some, few are totally oblivious to these differences. It should be kept in mind that these do not cause a complete breakdown in communication.

Table 10 indicates the frequency with which specific kinds of Problems perceived in interaction with Indians were mentioned.

Women are more likely than men to mention difficulty of interaction with Indians; in fact, over two-thirds of the Western wives and nearly that many Indian wives mentioned at least one difficulty in social relations with Indians. This reflects, in part,

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS GIVEN FOR DIFFICULTY OF MEETING OR ASSOCIATING WITH INDIANS ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE.

	<u>Indian husbands</u> (N=72)	<u>Indian wives</u> (N=20)	<u>Western husbands</u> (N=15)	<u>Western wives</u> (N=92)	<u>Total</u> (N=199)
<u>Communication</u>	<u>21.0</u>	<u>35.0</u>	<u>20.0</u>	<u>45.4</u>	<u>33.6</u>
Don't speak the language	6.9	10.0	6.7	35.9	20.5
Different outlook different interests	13.9	15.0	13.3	18.5	16.0
I am different	11.1	5.0	13.3	2.2	6.5
General Communication	1.4	10.0	--	9.9	6.0
<u>Status Role Problems</u>	<u>19.5</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>20.0</u>	<u>45.4</u>	<u>32.6</u>
Women, Women's role	1.4	10.0	--	32.7	16.5
Communal Affiliation	11.1	20.0	13.3	13.0	13.0
Familial, Occupation status	2.8	5.0	13.3	8.7	6.5
<u>Indians' Characteristics and Customs</u>	<u>12.5</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>13.3</u>	<u>43.0</u>	<u>28.6</u>
They permit no privacy, stare, single me out.	4.2	5.0	--	33.8	17.5
Their (orthodox) customs	9.8	20.0	13.3	14.1	13.0
Can't get to know Indians	1.4	--	--	--	0.5
<u>No Difficulty Mixing with Indians</u>	<u>59.6</u>	<u>40.0</u>	<u>53.0</u>	<u>29.4</u>	<u>43.2</u>

Percentages for each column total more than 100 because a respondent may be included in more than one category, with the exception of "no difficulty." The same is true of the subcategories under each main heading.

Table 10. Chi Square Test

	Husbands	Wives	Total
Made a statement regarding difficulty of mixing with Indians	36	72	108
No statement regarding difficulty of mixing with Indians	51	40	91
Total	87	112	199

$$\chi^2 = 10.35, df = 1, p = < .001$$

the fact that women have more contact than men with the most traditional element of Indian society--the traditional women. Problems of interaction mentioned by the couples fall into three general categories; 1) communication, 2) status roles and 3) Indian culture.

Communication Barriers

Problems of communication in general are mentioned most frequently as factors which make interaction with Indians difficult; inability to converse in an Indian language is the most frequently mentioned single barrier to interaction. This problem is particularly relevant to Western wives, one-third of whom specify it. They have the highest probability of finding themselves sequestered in a room

full of women with whom they have no means of linguistic communication. However, not knowing an Indian language is neither restricted to female respondents nor to Westerners. English is the mother tongue of 11 percent of the Indian respondents. Altogether 58 percent of the Indian partners live outside their own linguistic region. A Goan wife from Bombay, for example, complains about the difficulties she has communicating in Calcutta.

I feel out of place in Calcutta. In Bombay I am even a bit of an outsider, being a Goan, but I can go to any shop or government office and talk in English or Hindi. Here I try both Hindi and English and they always talk back to me in Bengali. They refuse to use Hindi although they know it.

A common language is a necessary but not sufficient element in successful cross-cultural communication. Opportunity for misunderstanding is great when representatives of different cultures believe they are using the same language. One small example is the confusion engendered by the English meaning of "homely" (home-loving, comfortable, pleasant) and the American connotation of the same word (unattractive). The difference in meaning attached to the word "no," at meal times, for example, is another source of confusion. When an Indian refuses a second helping he usually means "try me again." When a Westerner refuses he probably means "no, thank you, I don't care for any more." And, incidentally, if he politely refuses with those words, chances are he is insulting his host who believes he does not care for the food. Several respondents pointed out that although they speak the same language as their Indian friends they are aware that communication is not completely free because of the differences in humor.

Difficulty in transmitting ideas cross-culturally is related to more than the simple use of words, for culture influences personality and the way individuals see things and express them.⁶⁹ Personality differences and lack of common interests were mentioned second most frequently as problematic to communication. Sixteen percent made comments such as "we have a different outlook, a different way of thinking," or, "we lack common interests as a basis for social interaction." Underlying most of the specific differences brought out is the fact that the couples' world view and life style is modern or Western.

One very basic difference between the Indian and Western cultures which has a significant effect on personality and on communication is the Indian view that life and one's place in it are ascribed, in contrast to the Western achievement orientation (seen especially in the Protestant, work-oriented ethic). This difference is manifest in several Indian behavioral characteristics which annoy Westerners and Westernized Indians. Most Indians tend to accept their environment and the decisions of others passively. They look to others to make their decisions. This is noticed with the greatest irritation during attempts to communicate with petty bureaucrats who refuse to take the responsibility for decisions, but it is noted in other kinds of interpersonal relations as well.

⁶⁹For a more extensive discussion of this general topic see Edmund S. Glenn, "Semantic Difficulties in International Communication," in S. I. Hayakawa, The Use and Misuse of Language, (Greenwich, Conn.: Premier Book, Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1962).

In her comment, a Swiss wife attributes the difference in personalities to the Indian dominance of social self compared to the Western emphasis on the individual identity.

The big difference between West and East which makes it hard for a girl to adapt here is that we are brought up and trained always to be individuals. We are not told to put something above our own desires. The Indian is brought up to be a part of a larger whole, to think of himself and to act in relationships as father, son, brother, husband, but not as an individual. It is difficult for a girl to realize that she is not to be an individual in dress or hair style, that her mother-in-law decides what the family will wear each day.

Because an individual's position is assured by birth there is little need for introspective evaluation with respect to how the person is playing his roles. How the Indian meets the expectations of a community or group is more important to him than how he lives up to his own expectations because in a society where positions are ascribed the individual is not encouraged to set standards for himself. Neither does he internalize specific norms against which he measures his own behavior as do many Westerners, punishing himself for failure to meet these standards by feeling guilty. Consequently, some Westerners feel that Indians do not have any conscience at all (and, some feel, therefore cannot be trusted). Other Westerners, who do grant Indians a conscience, are disturbed by what they interpret as a willingness to sell their consciences at the price of social acceptance. This bothered a German wife deeply when she first was married.

One of my biggest difficulties at first was a difference in principles. I have always felt that if I have a strong conviction about something and others disagree I stick to my own principles. In India you take great stock in what others'

opinions are and act according to what others think. My own self respect is more important to me than the respect of others if I feel something is right. I am less willing to lose my self respect than the respect of others. Indians are always thinking about how society reacts to what they do and say. Their thoughts are always on loss of face which to an Indian is worse than death.

Other respondents are reacting to the same syndrome when they complain that "you never know what an Indian is thinking, or what he feels." It is particularly hard for Westerners to learn "the ropes" in India when their requests for advice on how to act or what to do are met by a smile and "as you like mamaahib." (my lady) This is seen in yet another way when Indians say "yes, yes" to any statement a superior makes whether they agree or not, whether they know it to be wrong or not.⁷⁰ A few subjects made quite a different comment regarding communication with Indians; that is that the Indians are excessively emotional.

Shared interests are mentioned by many as facilitating and lack of shared interests as inhibiting interaction with Indians. A functional relationship based on shared interests transcends nationality, and reduces the self-consciousness in interaction.

⁷⁰ This tendency of Indians to agree with statements is seen in an unpublished study done by Robert D. Meade in 1965 in Agra. Indian students were asked to respond to statements on a five point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. He found that most respondents agreed with nearly all statements, even when statements with which they "strongly agreed" were in direct contradiction to one another. For example, many students "strongly agreed" with both of the following statements: "The United Nations and similar organizations provide the only hope for the world," and "The United Nations is worthless and should be disbanded."

When this is missing the dominant feature in the relationship frequently becomes cultural differences. A couple living in a factory compound with three other Indian couples notices the difficulty in establishing a social relationship with their neighbors because there is no common ground for activity or discussion. "If they only liked classical Indian music as we do," the English wife complains, "we could at least listen to records together."

Status Role Differences

Status role differences are particularly important to social interaction in a highly stratified culture such as India's, and one-third of the respondents blame status role definitions and differences for their problems of interaction with Indians. The role of women in India leads the wives to make this kind of complaint more frequently than the men. This difference is of particular concern to the Western wives since they are the most likely to be interacting with the traditional Indians. Modern Indian wives also raise their voices against having to interact with the traditional women. Although others include lengthy descriptions of agonizing hours on the floor in a room full of staring sari-clad women talking in an incomprehensible language about the foreigner in their midst, the following complaint of an American wife is quite typical of the many heard about associating with Indian women.

Indian women are very difficult to make friends with. They don't lend themselves. We don't have much in common. I tried, but they make no effort. It's not that they're

unfriendly, really. They were anxious to meet me when I came, but that is all. We were invited a lot, but they never came to see me or to see how I was doing. Indian men are easy to be friendly with, but they are my husband's friends. Part of the problem with the women is that we haven't had the same kinds of experiences. There is some barrier to communication. I don't know just what it is.

The difficulty wives of Indian-Western couples experience relating to the more traditional women has deeper roots than differences in language and experience; the source of the difficulty lies in the nature of the social structure which assigns women a very restricted position within the family. If Indian women were not so restricted in the first place, they would have a broader range of experiences to share with outsiders. The role of women in India also discourages interaction between the Western women and Indians because it restricts the range of people with whom they are permitted to interact. In traditional situations, women are not permitted to communicate with men. One-third of the Western wives specifically mentioned women and/or women's position as a basic hindrance to successful communication with Indians. One of the wives interviewed, a widow, feels so constrained by her particularly restricted position in India that she is considering leaving the country altogether, in spite of her love for the country and its people after many years there.

Here alone, I am not supposed to meet men without their wives. It's hard to invite men who share interests with me, because their wives feel left out of the conversation and aren't interested. If I direct all the conversation to the men and leave out the women it is looked on badly. I can't interact with single men here.

Difficulty interacting with Indian women makes some of the Western wives extremely dependent upon their husbands and their husbands' friends for social companionship, yet this violates the norms outside modern Westernized circles. One wife notes that people "talk" and may not want to be seen with her because she does spend so much time with her husband.

I wish I could be more friendly with more Indian women. Either they treat me as superior and make it difficult to have friendship, or they are just the opposite and say, "Oh, look at the stupid Westerner." I want something in between. People think it strange that my husband and I do everything together. They must think that I only like to associate with men. For that reason I would like to know some Indian women better so I could go places with them. I'm sure they think I only go places with men.

Indian men note the same conflict. Especially those whose friends are not as modern as they are find themselves torn between the desire to fulfill the needs and the expectations of their wives to do things as a couple and the desire to go along with the socially established pattern of going out with the men. This conflict is reflected in comments by two of the Indian husbands.

My friends want me to carry on as they do without taking my wife into consideration. They can't understand it if they suggest a movie and I say I have to see if my wife can come along. For them a wife is not expected to participate or talk much. I make them feel guilty about their own families when I consider my own. They try to avoid situations which make them feel guilty, so I don't see as much of them as I would otherwise.

With an Indian wife I might have gone out more with men and felt less guilty about going out by myself. I'd have social contacts with Indians, visit more Indian families, but with my present wife it isn't easy; Indian women and foreign women don't really get along well. The language problem, etc...

Communal status roles are seen by some as another factor inhibiting interactions with certain Indians. Some Westerners find that they are not only accepted by their partner's community, they feel engulfed by it. In this situation the community may cut off access not only to foreigners in India, but also to other kinds of Indians as well. One Western wife felt hemmed in by the Bengali community when she first married, another by the Christians.

Friends were thrust upon me, not of my own choosing. I dislike this trait in Bengalis. They think themselves so much better than others. They frown on the idea of making friends outside the Bengali community. If I didn't particularly like somebody (an Indian), they would say I should like her because she is educated.

Church work is narrowing unless you make a real conscious effort to break out. It is difficult to get outside the Christian community. Even if we do make the effort, outsiders have no need to know us or to respond to invitations.

There is another, even less positive, way communalism stands in the way of interaction with Indians and that is by communal conflicts or rivalry. A Muslim husband maintains that he has a very difficult time conducting business in India, let alone making friends, because of Hindu attitudes toward people of his religion. A couple living in Calcutta reports being upset when rocks were thrown at their windows and obscenities scrawled on their car, they thought, because of their mixed marriage. Not until they learned that the Punjabi and Madrassi families in their building were receiving the same treatment did they realize that this was an expression of Bengali feelings against outsiders.

Indian Characteristics and Customs

Twenty-nine percent mentioned aspects of Indian culture as factors making interaction with Indians difficult for them. The complaint heard most frequently comes almost exclusively from Western wives who feel that their conception of privacy is being violated. Western culture, which places more emphasis on the individual than does Indian culture, has many norms which permit a person to protect his individuality. The wives point out that they feel their norms protecting privacy of personal behavior, property, and even of thoughts, are violated by Indians.

Westerners consider it impolite to stare; this makes the individual aware that what he may consider private behavior is, in fact, very public. Western wives who complain that they are "the object of staring contests" feel they are no longer individuals but have become part of the public domain. An Indian norm of privacy, averting the eyes in interaction, is almost as disturbing to Westerners who are not accustomed to this way of protecting privacy. Some interpret this as just another reflection of the fact that Indians refuse to recognize the individual.

A very fine line distinguishes paying attention to a foreigner--making him feel welcome, wanted and part of the group--from violating his sense of privacy. This distinction is particularly hazy in India, for Indians do not, as a rule, like to be alone. Most Westerners, by contrast, treasure some time alone, especially when their senses are being constantly bombarded with new stimuli. The foreign

partners, especially when in the joint family, often complain of the need for just a little time alone, to pull themselves together.

One Western wife details the extreme to which her Indian sisters-in-law went to make her feel loved.

There was no privacy...to escape I'd nap in the afternoon, but the relatives kill you with kindness. My sisters-in-law didn't want me to be lonely so they would all come in when I napped, or drag me out of the room.

A Belgian wife found her sisters-in-law sitting at the end of her bed when she awoke in the morning, while yet another newly-arrived foreign wife adopted the practice of getting up in the middle of the night and going to the sitting room to luxuriate in an empty room.

The overabundance of company experienced by some Western wives stems in part from the Indian dislike of being alone, and in part from the fact that a new wife is family property. As such, when she first visits the traditional family home she is essentially put on display for everyone to come see. This may mean weeks of receiving visitors. This is bad enough, many feel, in itself. It is worse to have to sit while relatives come in a constant stream talking languages the wives don't understand about a topic they do understand, themselves.

The concept of joint property, which allows anyone in a family the freedom to open packages addressed to an individual, or to read that person's mail, infuriates a number of Westerners living in Indian families. Questions from Indians about topics which Westerners feel are tabu also tend to violate the Westerners' concept of

personal privacy. Indians ask questions quite openly about such things as one's salary and sexual habits, topics a Westerner finds insulting.

Indians frequently pay attention to a Westerner in their midst by making special allowances, creating special situations for the Westerner who, they believe, must be uncomfortable on the floor, eating with his hands, etc. An American wife vented her resentment over such treatment in her interview.

Sometimes Indians make a big fuss about our living conditions and keep saying how difficult I must find it. I don't mind not having a stove and an oven, etc. (I do mind not having water, things that can be helped.) What I really mind is their assumption that because I'm a foreigner I should find it so difficult. I don't find any difficulty in having to work for myself at all. I hate being singled out because I'm a Westerner in this way. I feel that same way when people give me a chair and everyone else is on the ground. When you go to a function you expect to do what others do. It makes me mad when they give me very small portions of food because they think that I won't like the hot food. I like food very hot, and I'm just as hungry as anyone else. There are times when you wish you could be one of them, but they keep making allowances for you and singling you out because you are a Westerner.

At first Westerners, especially the wives, find interaction with Indians difficult because of the different style of social behavior they find in India. Western wives are frustrated by social behavior they consider informal to the point of being impolite; for example, not knowing when a person drops in whether he will stay two minutes, two hours, or two weeks. They are also annoyed at the absence of Western social rituals such as saying "thank you," "excuse me," and "please." As is to be expected, the Indians, in turn, are somewhat put off by what they call the "formality"

of Westerners in entertaining. Several Indian husbands commented that they thought some of their Indian friends had been discouraged from dropping over by this difference in approach to social interaction.

As one describes it,

In one respect my friends are not as at home and it takes some time to overcome the hesitancy toward a foreign girl. She has different habits. They don't know what to do, what is to be expected. They feel ill at ease, don't know where they stand with respect to the person. It is the sense of formality...The Indian likes informality in receiving people, entertaining, and dropping in. My friends didn't feel so free to drop in at first.

Although the majority of comments indicate that Western social behavior is perceived as being more ritualized than Indian, there are some who see it the other way around. An Australian wife says,

In Hyderabad the norm is to follow tradition. It is beginning to get on my nerves--the people we meet here. The Muslim Hyderabadis have such excessive politeness, it seems superficial. I'm inclined to feel it decadent. It seems a facade all this bowing and smiling. I don't think they have much on their minds.

In some cases the couple frankly admits that difficulty interacting with Indians can be blamed on their own dislike of the traditional Indian life style and their own unwillingness to make concessions to fit in with it. They don't like having to be vegetarian or teetotalers, for example, or they don't like the hour at which Indians eat. It is highly probable that an important factor in the dislike of social involvement with Indians is uncertainty due to lack of familiarity with the traditional culture. This, like knowledge of the language, is by no means limited to the Western partners. Fear of insulting another, or embarrassing

oneself by not knowing the social norms for eating, speaking, timings etc., can be a powerful deterrent to relaxed interaction.

Only a few people mentioned difficulties they encountered on arrival in India which grew out of misconceptions they had about the country, what their Indian partners would be like when returned to their own culture, or what their own position would be in Indian society. Many who experienced culture shock upon arrival in India blame India for adjustment problems. Some of the Western partners, however, had virtually no understanding of India or Indian culture before coming. One woman arrived during the Indian summer with a trunk full of English winter clothing. Another English woman who spent ten years in purdah had been told about this institution before leaving England, but purdah had been described to her as "having curtains." She thought this rather quaint...until she was ushered behind those curtains.

More commonly, the Western partner believes he or she knows Indian culture, but learns that it is a stereotyped image, or an idea constructed from partial knowledge. A Western girl who meets an Indian in Europe falls in love with a person who is cosmopolitan in outlook and behavior. She witnesses him in a modern occupational role, such as a doctor. His behavior in this role is very modern, and generally continues to be so in India. She also sees him interacting mainly with Westerners, but is unaware of the ease with which Indians can compartmentalized their lives, being highly Westernized in certain roles or with certain groups, and very traditional with

others. She is, therefore, unprepared for the fact that her husband feels comfortable with Indian friends who do not include their wives socially, and she is often totally unprepared for the possibility of traditional role relations he may have with his family. The most difficult tradition for a Western wife to accept is the fact that the filial relationship supersedes the conjugal relation in the joint family. Many wives feel that the husband's support for her needs vis-a-vis the demands of the traditional family is absolutely essential for satisfactory adjustment in India. The conflict is felt strongly by many of the husbands as well. For example, one husband worries,

I feel a duty to both mother and my wife, and I haven't the time to do justice to either. If my wife were Indian, she could mix easier with mother, there would be no language problem. They would keep each other company. I don't enjoy the visits with mother tremendously because of this.

And from another,

Language creates many misunderstandings, even when I translate. It is more difficult for me than for my wife because I am trying to please both sides.

People always run the risk of marrying stereotypes, but the risk is greater when a difference in cultures is involved, and at least one of the partners has relatively little experience or real knowledge about the culture into which he is marrying. This stereotype may be based on differences or similarities; either may cause difficulty when the individual is initially confronted with the realities of the new culture and social structure. Some Western partners may have perceived India as an exotic land of maharajahs,

and never have considered having to contend with the joint family. The author has met a number of single Western men who have great expectations of marrying their ideal Indian girl, beautiful, feminine, and subservient. They do not realize that most of the Indian women they are likely to meet socially are liberated and willing to marry a Westerner precisely in order to avoid being subservient.

Equally disarming is marrying on the basis of a stereotype or preconception of cultural similarities. This can happen when one knows one subculture in India and assumes that others are like it. It is more likely to happen when a Westerner marries an Indian Christian and assumes that their life styles and philosophies are alike. The Indian Christians are, however, influenced by their cultural environment and by the fact that many have only recently converted to Christianity from the Hindu faith. Indian Christianity is not a duplicate copy of that found in the West. Although the difference between a Western Christian and an Indian Christian may be smaller than between a Westerner and a Hindu, the frustration experienced in encountering the differences may be greater because the Westerner expects the cultures to be the same. He is not prepared to have to make allowances for, and adjustments to cultural differences.

Less than ten percent feel that it has become more difficult over time to meet Indians or maintain social relations with them. (See Table 12, p.209.) Most of those who do explain their difficulty

by a change in occupation or place of residence. Two blame what, to them, is the deteriorating social condition in India. One, married to a Muslim, notes that that community's position is growing worse. The other, an Indian whose mother tongue is English, bemoans the fact that Hindi is used more widely and Indians are more political. A few others point out that they simply aren't trying as hard to meet Indians or to interact socially with them as they once did.

Factors Facilitating Interaction with Indians

Virtually everyone responding made at least one statement regarding the ease of meeting or interacting with Indians. The great majority of all but the Western husbands attribute this ease to characteristics of the Indians--friendly, open, easy going, etc., as can be seen in Table 11.

Westerners were most apt to elaborate on their statements regarding ease of interaction with Indians. Indians, especially the men, take this for granted. Westerners, on the other hand, pleased by the ease with which they establish relationships with Indians are more apt to discuss it. Half the Western husbands and nearly that many Western wives attribute this ease to their own characteristics. Most who so credit themselves point out that they had known Indians a long time before marrying, either in India or the West.

Communal similarities are cited by a small group, 13 percent of the Western partners, as contributing to ease of interaction

TABLE 11. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS GIVEN FOR EASE OF MEETING OR INTERACTING WITH INDIANS ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE.

Reasons	Indian husbands (N=72)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=91)	Total (N=198)
Their Characteristics, (friendly, modern, informal, accepting)*	84.5	95.0	40.0	66.0	73.6
My Characteristics (at home, knew before, adaptable)*	8.4	--	53.4	40.2	25.6
Idiosyncratic reasons*	1.4	--	13.3	19.6	10.6
Communal Involvement, or similarity between Indian and Western communities*	5.6	5.0	13.3	13.0	9.1
No Comment about Ease of interaction with Indians	4.2	--	6.7	--	2.5

(*Percentage totals are more than 100 percent because one person can be included in more than one category with the exception of "no comment.")

Table 11. Chi Square Test.

- a) Made statement that interaction with Indians is easy because of "their characteristics" compared to no statement giving Indians credit for ease of interaction. $\chi^2 = 19.50$, $df = 3$, $p = < .001$
- b) Made statement that ease of interaction with Indians is easy because of "my characteristics" compared to no statement giving subject credit for ease of interaction. $\chi^2 = 34.9$, $df = 3$, $p = < .001$

between Indians and Westerners. Several pointed out the great similarity in the importance of the family in Hindu and Jewish culture. A French wife feels that with her upper class background she has more in common with her husband's Ayar Brahmin community than she would with the French middle class.

Change in Ease of Association with Indians

Western wives are the most likely to find interaction with Indians problematical, especially during the early years in India. It is not surprising, then, to find that the Western wives are also, the most likely to note that association with Indians has become easier for them. Most of the Indian and Western husbands (69 percent and 60 percent respectively) and even more of the Indian wives (90 percent) state that they have experienced no change in ease of mixing with Indians.

Because change in relationships with Indians is perceived mainly by Western wives the discussion will focus on their comments. While they tend to blame Indians for difficulty of interaction, they feel they themselves are responsible for the improvement in relations with Indians. Seventy-three percent of those Western wives who feel it has become easier to relate to Indians (55 percent of all Western wives) give themselves the credit. By far the most common change mentioned is having learned the language. This, again, reflects the findings presented earlier, that the greatest disparity between the need for an Indian language and ability to speak it is among the Western wives.

All of the other specific changes in themselves and described by Western wives as facilitating interaction with Indians reflect increased insight into the Indian way of life and thinking. For many this is a direct result of learning the language. This insight includes learning what Indians like to talk about, and developing

increased sensitivity to how Indians react to things a Westerner might do or say. An English wife reports several such changes in herself:

It is easier to mix with Indians now because now I know how an Indian ticks, what interests they have, and what they expect of a woman. Now I have more background on India and I can discuss Indian politics and things. I know who the political figures are. The Indians are more interested in personalities than ideas. A great part of the discussions here are "do you know..." kinds of conversations.

Much of what appears to newly-arrived Westerners as coldness or rejection is reaction to transgression of a norm the Westerners do not know exists. For example, a Western wife may receive negative feedback when she tries to talk too much or too freely with men in the family, even if she does not know the norms and believes she is "just being friendly." Although the wife may never fully agree with the norms, once she understands them she is far more comfortable in social situations, and is usually more warmly accepted by the Indians.

Eventually, many Westerners pass the stage of merely learning norms. They begin to understand why the Indians behave as they do and how specific behaviors reflect the total cultural syndrome. An American wife explains,

Now I can see the different approach. That helps. I can see why things are done as they are, and my frame of reference is changing. Now I don't feel so isolated. Americans have a built-in complex about mothers-in-law. A girl here is brought up to realize she will be close to mother-in-law and will have to share a great deal with her. Brought up with this idea the relation is not so emotionally charged. The Indian women have well-defined roles which is not so to

that extent in the U.S. Once I learned what these roles were and where I fit in I was no longer frustrated by aspirations and conflicts. At first I was upset with my mother-in-law's behavior and attitudes but now that I understand these were her ways of expressing her concern with her family I appreciate her.

With time, many, especially those who have developed an understanding of Indian culture, begin to feel part of the country, and cease to feel self-conscious. Fifteen percent of the Western wives who note an improvement in ease of interaction with Indians stated that they feel a part of, and feel accepted by, Indian society.

Table 12 indicates the responses of each group regarding the change in their feelings about associating with Indians.

Although the actual number of Western husbands who find mixing with Indians increasingly easy is smaller, 40 percent of those who do see a change are similar to the Western women in attributing the changes to themselves. However, they emphasize slightly different reasons. The Western women explain how and why they adjust to Indian society, whereas the Western men emphasize their ability to adapt by selecting the segment of Indian society permitting the easiest interaction. For example, one Western husband commented, "Now I know cues; I can tell what kind of an Indian I am meeting and how to act. I can also predict whether this is the kind of person I would like to get to know right away." Western women would not be expected to make such a comment very often, because they do not have as great a choice of Indian friends as a Western husband.

TABLE 12. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STATEMENTS REFLECTING CHANGE IN EASE OF MEETING OR ASSOCIATING WITH INDIANS ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE

	Indian husbands (N=71)	Indian Wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=92)	Total (N=198)
No Change	69.0	90.0	60.0	30.5	52.5
Easier (total)	19.7	5.0	40.0	69.5	43.0
They have changed	--	--	6.7	20.7	10.1
I have changed	15.5	5.0	33.3	55.5	34.4
The situation has changed	5.6	--	6.7	14.2	9.1
More difficult (total)	9.8	5.0	6.7	7.6	8.1
Harder in general	7.1	5.0	--	2.2	4.0
Situation has changed	2.8	--	6.7	5.4	4.0

Percentages total more than 100 because, with the exception of "No change," the respondents may be included in more than one category.

Table 12. Chi Square Test. Interaction with Indians has become easier compared to no change in ease of interaction with Indians. $\chi^2 = 37.34$, $df = 3$, $p = < .001$

It is rare for an Indian to point out that it has become increasingly easy to interact with Indians, but some do. The main reason given by Indians for this change is that they have relearned Indian norms of interaction forgotten during years abroad. Some feel it has taken them almost as long to relearn social codes or to learn the norms of the adult world as for the Western partner to learn them. A few Indians who had been rather indifferent to

Indian culture have been encouraged to participate in Indian society by Western spouses who take great interest in that culture. A Westernized Indian girl, for example, married a European who is pursuing a degree in Indian studies and intends to write books on Indian villagers. She reports enjoying visits to villagers, something she would never have considered before her marriage.

Changes in the Indians are likely to account for much of the increased ease Westerners find in relating to them, but these changes are not as obvious as changes in oneself and consequently are not mentioned as frequently. Again, it is the Western wives who most notice the change. Thirty percent of those who find it easier to interact with Indians (21 percent of all Western wives) notice changes in the Indians, primarily the Indian women. The greatest encouragement to social interaction they feel, stems from the fact that Indian women are beginning to accompany their husbands socially and are participating more frequently in such social activities as dancing and swimming.

Some Factors Can Encourage or Discourage Interaction

Situational factors such as occupation, residence, and status encourage interaction with Indians for some couples and discourage it for others. Nine percent feel a situational change has made associating with Indians easier; four percent find Indian friendships harder to establish and maintain after a situational change. A couple moving from a conservative town to a cosmopolitan city may

find it easier to gain rapport with the urban modern Indians; a move in the opposite direction is likely to make the couple, or at least the Western partner, feel that participation in Indian social life has become more difficult.

Change in the occupational situation can have an equally great effect on ease of making friends with Indians by opening or shutting doors to contact with whole groups of Indians. A simple change of a firm's director, from a Westerner to an Indian, can change relations within the whole organization. An Indian wife points out that when there was an office function during the directorship of a British man the families came and this provided good opportunity to establish social contact. Now that there is an Indian director, families are no longer included, and it is now very difficult to make social acquaintances in the firm.

A change in director affected the status position of two husbands within their organizations, and consequently their relationships with other Indians. One couple found that when a Bengali became director of a professional institute the non-Bengalis, including this Madrassi husband, were persona non grata. A Western husband relates a similar experience when church leadership changed. The change affected the individual concerned in far more than just his relations with Indians; it shook his self confidence with regard to his acceptance in his adopted country as a whole.

I've a new appreciation of my foreignness now. I felt more secure, and adjusted and accepted than I really was. My bishop changed and with that my job security changed.

My vulnerability was exposed in a way that I had not known. Because my position in the church has changed I find a new attitude toward me. People who I thought accepted me as another worker in India, I suddenly find, see me as foreign. If you are in solid with the bishop you are treated one way, when you are just another missionary you are treated differently. As long as I was in administration and had authority with strong support in my church I was dealt with like anyone else. Now that I no longer have authority or support I feel my marginality with respect to the Indians.

Status can also be an important determinant in either inhibiting or encouraging interaction with the Indian family. The son of a fairly traditional Indian family mentions two ways in which his status made his family accept his marriage when they might otherwise have ostracized him. "I have the halo of being a barrister, so my family wouldn't ostracize me. And, to my younger brother and sister I am a half god anyway, being the eldest brother. They couldn't object to my Western wife." Another Indian husband used occupational position to his advantage in a slightly different way; he worked his way into an indispensable position in a family business, then announced his engagement to an American. They literally could not afford to lose him. These are examples of how a high status occupational position encourages continued contact with Indians, in this case the family. However, it is conceivable that a low status position could have just the opposite effect.

Westerners are quick to pick up status distinctions in the family. When one is on the upper side of the status differential, it enhances relations with Indians, but when one is on the lower end of the status ladder it may inhibit relations as a French wife discovered:

My eldest sister-in-law is conservative. I don't enjoy seeing her. As the elder, she has the right to tell me what to do, and she does. That isn't very pleasant. I feel freest with my youngest sister-in-law because she wouldn't dare tell me what to do, or even comment on what I do because I am the wife of her older brother. That means a lot here.

An important status distinction is also made between the daughter-in-law who is dominated, and in a traditional family has little control over her own behavior, and the son-in-law who is outside the family control. A Belgian husband thoroughly enjoys his position as the son-in-law.

It is easier for an Indian wife with a Western husband because the son-in-law is god. I have a say in the family, but the daughter-in-law doesn't. My wife can smoke in front of her family when I am there if I permit it. They can't say anything if I o.k. it. Our life is my decision.

This comment leads directly to the next variable which can work for or against the ease with which Western wives fit into their Indian families. It is the opinion of many people, including those within the study, that the strength of the Indian husband's relationship with his wife vis-a-vis his relationship with his parents is very important. From the point of view of the Western wife, at least, interaction with Indians is made far easier when the husband supports her needs, at least some of the time. This support, against a traditional family, takes a strong husband, for the traditional social system dictates that the filial relationship take precedence over the conjugal relationship. The right to privacy, the right to go out alone, to follow her own religion, to dress as she pleases, or to raise her children according to

Western practices, are only a few of the many matters on which the Western wives are apt to need the support of their husbands. The Western wives commenting on this matter are about equally split between those praising husbands for support and those blaming him for lack of support. One wife differs; she blames her husband for too much protection, saying,

I was happy with my husband's family for five months. Then my husband came and he was defensive for my sake. I put up with things, he would say they would make me uncomfortable and tell them. It made the relationship more difficult.

Equally important is the support, or lack of it, offered by the family head. Complete lack of cooperation from the head of the family is rare, judging from the experiences of the couples in this study. Several of the Western partners praised fathers-in-law for dictating acceptance of the foreign partner to the family. A Western wife describes how her father-in-law assured her integration into the family,

My father-in-law said if the family didn't treat me right I should tell him. No one ever bothered me. He told the cook he would fire him if he didn't let me in the kitchen. My father-in-law told me I could bring meat to the table to change the others. No one could object because his word was law.

A more common pattern is acceptance on the part of parents, but no dictums issued. This leaves individual relatives free to accept the foreign partner or not accept as they choose, although they generally are accepting if the parents are. One or two wives mention the difficulty of living with indifference. Open

hostility, they feel, would be preferable to being ignored; "Hostility you can deal with but how can you deal with someone who refuses to recognize your very presence?" they ask.

A high status occupation or high prestige by virtue of being Western or being Western-returned with a foreign wife can be an advantage in meeting some Indians. Two Western wives commented that Indians tend to seek out such people and consequently, without trying, their own contacts with Indians are broadened. Others are actually distressed by the Indian tendency to perceive Westerners as some kind of superior beings. They feel they are not being seen as individuals but are sought out because they are Westerners, perhaps to give the Indian himself prestige by association or to request favors from the West. Whatever the reason, couples suspicious of Indians who want to meet them tend to shy away, thus reducing their interaction with Indians. Indians tend to polarize people into "we, they" categories, and the "they" group is then assigned a position as decidedly superior or decidedly inferior, neither of which is necessarily true in the eyes of the Westerner. This tendency reflects the degree to which the caste organization of the Hindu social structure permeates the thinking, even of many modern Indians. Several comments reflect this; "I still feel a foreigner when we mix with Bengalis. Some of them feel inferior around me and this is wrong. Others feel very superior around me and condemn everything Western." "I used to feel uneasy taking my husband into an all Indian group, even the highly educated. They

either adore or hate the British. In either case natural relations are very difficult." "In a small town there is a polarization of people, wonderful or awful. We did not fit into a predetermined class so people had to make up their minds about us as the situation arose."

Many Westerners, especially the Americans, fail to appreciate how very fundamental is the establishment of relative status positions to Indians. The American desire to be friendly and egalitarian frequently alienates not only those Indians who feel they have higher status but also those of lower status the American is trying to befriend, because it isn't fitting the status of a foreign "sahib." (master)

In other cases, real status differences can affect relations with certain Indians. An Indian husband concerned about improving cross-caste relationships points out that he has not visited his family since long before his marriage because his having untouchable friends would present an extremely awkward situation for his orthodox Brahmin family.

Differences of class status are mentioned more frequently than caste differentials as a factor inhibiting close friendships with Indians. This does not mean that a wealthy couple does not have Indian friends, only that certain individuals may be hesitant to form a close association with someone much wealthier than they are. Two of the Indian wives pointed this out in discussing their relationships with Indian school friends whose husbands do not make

as much money as their own Western husbands. These women hesitate to invite their friends home for fear of embarrassing them, or for fear that they would refuse because of inability to reciprocate. Their solution is to invite Indian friends to have coffee in town. In the past Indian men with traditional wives frequently entertained Westernized friends in clubs or restaurants to avoid the prohibitions of a traditional household. It is relatively new for women to do the same.

The factors mentioned above, place of residence, occupational status, caste and class may inhibit or encourage associations with Indians, depending on one's position. There are two other factors which were mentioned both as helping and as hindering the establishment of comfortable relationships with Indians. Here, however, the difference is not one of actual position, but rather a difference in interpretation of a situation. One such factor is living in a fairly traditional social environment upon arrival in India. Some feel the gulf is so great they never begin trying to interact with Indians. Others feel that such an encounter was the best thing that could possibly have happened to them, even though it was not easy at the time. A German wife maintains that not only was her experience in Kerala during the first years of marriage crucial to her understanding of the Indian Christians with whom she works and lives, but was also crucial to understanding her husband.

It was only after marriage that I learned the thinking of the Indian Christians in Kerala on marriage, life, and sex, and could really understand it. If I had been married and living in Bombay I wouldn't have understood either, nor living

in Bombay would I have been able to understand my husband. You must really live in his society, understand their way of thinking to understand your husband.

The second difference in interpretation concerns the importance of gaining an understanding of the traditional culture for interaction with Indians. While most feel that the more they know of Indian culture, the easier it is to establish social relations with Indians, there are a few Western partners who feel that not knowing the culture is a distinct advantage in getting along with Indians. If one doesn't know the language, they argue, it is far more difficult to get into arguments with the in-laws. The foreigner is pampered and excused. Begging ignorance, the foreigner can ignore those rules which make him uncomfortable in a social situation.

The Process of Interaction with Indians: An Overview

The position of the Western wives vis-a-vis Indians stands out in the discussion of the couples' attitudes about interaction with Indians. Western wives have the most complaints about their associations with Indians, and the main complaints registered reflect their position: 1) the lack of a language for communicating with non-English speaking Indians, 2) restrictions of the woman's role, and 3) self-consciousness and uncertainty of their position as indicated in concern with privacy and staring. Indian women feel more restricted by their communal relations than by the women's position per se; but these are related, for they are subject to

the restricted female role in their own communities more than in their Western husband's community.

The position of men is less restrictive in India, thus fewer husbands found interaction with Indians problematical. Language is less of a problem for Western husbands than Western wives because Indian men are more likely to speak English than Indian women.

Interaction with Westerners

Communal Differences Affect Western Attitudes in India

When discussing relations with Westerners in India the couples distinguish between various kinds of Westerners, as they do with Indians, and point out that it is easier to interact with some than others. Some of the Westerners in India are more cosmopolitan in outlook than others, but there is no traditional-modern difference. Therefore, to the extent that the respondents do categorize Westerners it is primarily according to nationality and occupation. The size of a given foreign community in India and the city in which it is located were rarely used as a basis for making distinctions between Westerners in India. They will be discussed in this section, however, because these factors do contribute to the formation of a Westerner's attitudes in India.

The way respondents evaluate specific Western nationality groups in India differs according to each individual's experiences. Some may generalize to a nationality group on the basis of experience with a few very friendly or a few very unfriendly people of that nationality. Others may have favorable experiences with Germans,

for instance, because of a common interest in music and feel that Germans are the easiest Westerners to know in India. The couples' experiences with the foreign partner's own nationality group also vary and there is, consequently, no consensus regarding the effect of a common nationality bond on ease of establishing friendships with Westerners in India. Directly contradictory statements were heard from these couples. For example, "It is always easy to make friends with your own kind," and, "Americans are the least tolerant and English the most tolerant, but that is because my wife is English," contrast with statements such as "The Germans (my nationality) are so snobbish. Whenever we go to a German party we talk to other mixed couples because the Germans won't talk to us. The other Europeans aren't that bad."

There are many other variables besides whether or not the Westerners are the same nationality as the Western partner which affect the couple's ease of establishing social relations with Westerners.⁷¹ In spite of the lack of consensus regarding the "friendliness" of the various Western nationality groups in India, many individuals in this study have definite opinions about which nationalities are friendly and which are not. Such individuals have "facts" and beliefs to support their opinions. One Indian who has studied in Germany, for example, feels the "Germans are the

⁷¹ See Chapter V for further discussion of why an Indian-Western couple generally has difficulty becoming integrated into Western community groups in India.

easiest to mix with because the Germans and the Brahmins share the idea that they are superior beings, and each respects this in the other." Another, however, feels equally strongly that the German feeling of (Aryan) superiority is the reason Indians have more difficulty making friends with Germans than any other nationality. Similarly, the long history of English involvement in India is given as a reason for ease in entering British circles--"they understand us"---and for difficulty in penetrating that nationality group as well--"they still have the superior colonial attitude toward the natives."

Evaluations of the occupational third cultures in India and ease of participation in each are also influenced by an individual's experiences. But there is a little more consensus regarding the nature of Westerners when they are classified by occupation than by nationality. This is particularly apparent with respect to Western businessmen and academicians. Although only a minority of respondents expressed an opinion, their comments suggest that in general the business community is the hardest to get to know and the academic community the easiest.⁷² There are several reasons for this difference. Academic people are less apt to be in India for long periods or on a semi-permanent basis, and they are also

⁷² This refers to the opinions of couples who are not already integrated into one of the Western communities. Those couples who are integrated into the Western business community would not agree with this overall evaluation.

inclined to be "first-time-outers" compared to the "old hands" in the business community, especially the British business community. An important difference between the "first timer" and the "old hand," reported by the Useems, is the enthusiasm of the "first timer" for plunging, often indiscriminantly, into Indian society.⁷³ As a result of these characteristics, the academic person is seen as friendly, but willing to interact with anyone. One Indian wife describes her impression of the educators and scholars she has known.

The academic Westerners seem to make friends more easily, and they seem willing to make friends with anyone. I guess if they are here only temporarily that they don't have to be so discriminating. I wouldn't make friends with some of the same types because I will be here longer and would have to put up with it all. There are just certain people I don't think my children should have contact with, or with their children; their standards of living are so different from ours.

Another important difference is the locale of the business and academic Westerners. Businessmen are generally in the commercial centers which means that most are in the cosmopolitan larger cities.⁷⁴ They are usually within well-established business organizations as

⁷³For further discussion of the generations of the third culture see: John and Ruth Useem and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Roles of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration," Human Organization, 22 (Fall 1963).

⁷⁴Respondents tend to include industrialists with businessmen when discussing Westerners in India. Many of their attitudes are similar; however they differ in one respect. The Western industrialists in India are less likely to be living in major urban centers. Rather, they are advisers in smaller cities or even in newly-developed industrial areas which are not located in a city. Their attitudes toward Westerners married to Indians depends to a greater extent on the degree of isolation from other Westerners and on the size of the Western community.

well which means that even the newcomers move into an ongoing network of social relationships including Indians associated with that particular group of Westerners. The foreign scholar, on the other hand, is more likely to be Independent of other Westerners. Even when he is affiliated with an organization he is frequently associated, on his own, with an Indian university in a small city or an Indian part of a larger city. He may be the only Westerner in the area, in which case his associations with Indians are not circumscribed by the group with which he is affiliated. And, he is dependent on Indians for his social activities.

Not only are the Western academicians distributed differently than businessmen in India, but on the average they maintain a slightly lower standard of living as well. This eases interaction with Indians and Indian-Western couples as will be seen later in this chapter. One last factor contributing to the friendly image of academicians is that Western academic communities are generally more accepting of cross-marriages of all varieties.

Undoubtedly one of the most important variables related to ease of associating with Westerners in India is the size of the Western community. When there are only a few Westerners in an area their criterion for inclusion in their nationality group is broadened to include nationals married to Indians and even Indians who have spent time in their country. A Western wife points this out:

When we were living in a small town we were good friends with a lot more foreigners than here (larger city). It was a smaller community and there were several foreign families connected with a national laboratory. We were all close friends there.

Others living in areas with very few Westerners report that whenever a Westerner passes through the area all are called to meet him.

Any Westerner, married to a host national or not, living "up country" becomes, in a sense, an outpost of the Western community.

One missionary relates that when he was stationed in a small town any Westerner doing village research stayed with him and depended on him for contacts and information, even though many disapproved of missionaries. Sometimes those in small pockets of Westerners are in India on short tours without families. When this is the case it is easier for them to open themselves to Indians and to Westerners married to Indians. Communities become more protective as the proportion of women and children increases.

It is easier for the Indian-Western couples to make contact with other Westerners in the large cities where there are more Westerners, in more fields of activity--business, academic, professionals--providing more channels of access to the Western community. In addition, there are more associations where the isolated Indian-Western couples can predict they will meet Westerners if they so desire, e.g. the Indo-American Society, the Max Mueller Bhavan (German culture center), etc.

While it is easier to make contact with Westerners in the larger cities, it is not necessarily easy to become integrated into

the social life of the foreign community. In large cities the Western population splits into functional or occupational third culture groups--business, government, etc. Each socializes its own members and determines, to a large extent, how much interaction with the "natives" is permissible and which of the host nationals are appropriate as associates. These functional communities, or an entire national community, e.g., the British, in cities with a smaller Western population, are generally large enough to be socially self-contained. Yet they are small enough to be aware of what their members are doing, and to be able to enforce social sanctions on those who transgress the established norms with respect to social behavior and associations. The following quotation describes the way a group pressures its members to avoid close associations with outsiders. Although this passage actually refers to an Indian community in Europe, the dynamics apply to many foreign enclaves.

Participation in the life of a foreign country is not easy... Most difficult is leaving your own group, which usually regards such an attempt as unnecessary defection, convinced that it can provide you with a self-contained social life...Attempts at fraternization, dubbed you as one of them and ashamed of your own people.⁷⁵

Several of the Western wives who lived in India prior to their marriages described reactions to their violation of the community's norms of association when they attempted to become better acquainted with Indians other than those prescribed by their own community, or

⁷⁵ Prakash Tandon, Punjab Century, (London; Chatto and Windus, Ltd., 1961), p. 208.

appeared to be developing more intimate relations with Indians than was considered appropriate. Before Independence the norms of association with Indians were more restrictive than is true presently, as one of the English wives relates:

When I first came out English people weren't allowed to get to know Indians. In fact I nearly got put out of India by the English resident directors more than once because I insisted on meeting Indians, and it just wasn't done in those days. I met them anyway, but it wasn't easy.

A Canadian wife reports that the British community let it be known she was transgressing its norms by dating Indians in 1960, although the sanctions were not as strong as those reported before Independence. She was told that it was not wise to fraternize with Indians because "it might lead to marriage."

The majority of the Indian-Western couples are not integrated into a Western community by virtue of occupation. (See Chapter V for more detailed discussion of this.) In this respect they are considered outsiders to any specific subcommunity, e.g., the business community. Because those in the Western community are in India to represent their own nation or some segment of their own society to Indians, the Indian-Western couple, unless the husband is functionally related to the community, has difficulty becoming closely associated. They are only half-Indian, and the representational role is better fulfilled with a completely Indian couple.

The couples find it easier to establish close friendships with Westerners who are, themselves, on the fringes of a Western community. There is a high probability in cities with a large

foreign population of meeting Westerners who do not wish to subscribe to the norms of their specific subcommunity or who do not belong to any community by virtue of occupation. Couples also find it easy to establish close friendship with Westerners who are isolated from such a group. This is the kind of Westerner found in the small towns already described.

India's three largest cities, Calcutta, Bombay, and New Delhi, each have a distinctive character which can also influence the nature of a couple's interaction with Westerners. Calcutta holds most strongly of all to the colonial heritage. It was, and still is, the center of British commerce in India. At the time of the interviewing, many of the British in Calcutta were old colonial hands still in India, and still holding to many of their colonial attitudes about associating with Indians. The British are a larger proportion of the foreign population in Calcutta than elsewhere and therefore are in a better position to dictate the nature of cross-cultural interaction for that city.

Bombay is a far more heterogeneous city than Calcutta, with respect to both Indians and Westerners. The very modern Parsi community is centered in Bombay; there are also many Goan Catholics and South Indian Christians in Bombay as well as Hindus. The British have never been as strongly represented in Bombay as in the other two major cities. The Western communities, more equally distributed in that city, have been free to develop their own codes of behavior in India. The Indians have also felt freer to mix with Westerners

in Bombay because they were not brought up with quite the same awe of the British. An Indian wife compares the two cities in which she has lived, Calcutta and Bombay, saying,

The Bengali is more difficult to know. They are either traditional or desperately Westernized. In Bombay the British were a small minority, so not very important. They lived a normal life like everyone else. Isolation of the British, the way it is in Calcutta, was impossible there. Bombay is cosmopolitan. In Calcutta it is the Bengalis and the foreigners, two separate worlds.

New Delhi is, as its name implies, a newer city and therefore without as strongly established a tradition regarding East-West relations as Calcutta. Because it is the national capital, all parts of India and the world are represented there. It is more difficult for any one group to dictate social patterns. Much cross-cultural interaction in New Delhi falls within diplomatic protocol. So many Westerners are involved in required diplomatic social activities that many couples feel, since they do not represent any collectivities, they are marginal to the diplomatic world. Some complain that the social life of Westerners in New Delhi is too ritualized and thus it is difficult to establish informal relationships with the Westerners there.

Factors Discouraging Interaction with Westerners

More complaints were expressed concerning difficulty of interaction with Westerners than with Indians by everyone but the Indian wives, as can be seen in Table 13.

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS GIVEN FOR DIFFICULTY OF MEETING OR ASSOCIATING WITH WESTERNERS IN INDIA ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE.

	Indian husbands (N=72)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=92)	Total (N=199)
<u>Situational Difficulties</u>					
No opportunity, no time, there aren't many here	50.0	25.0	53.4	45.5	45.2
<u>Characteristics of the Westerners</u>	<u>29.2</u>	<u>10.0</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>55.5</u>	<u>39.6</u>
Snobs, clicquish, reserved, lower class but put on airs, won't visit us	18.2	10.0	20.0	34.8	25.1
Not interested in India, just here to make money, not permanent, no roots here	16.6	10.0	13.3	28.2	21.2
<u>My Characteristics</u>	<u>19.5</u>	<u>15.0</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>39.2</u>	<u>29.2</u>
I don't have enough money	8.4	5.0	6.7	16.3	11.6
I am Indianized, less formal, have different interests, have different entertainment patterns	2.8	5.0	13.3	18.5	11.1
I am not interested in meeting them, prefer Indians, don't need Westerners	--	--	13.3	13.1	7.0
It makes me homewick, gives me a complex about my marriage	5.6	--	--	6.5	5.0
I am not sociable, I'm too old	5.6	5.0	13.3	2.2	4.5
<u>No Difficulty Associating with Westerners</u>	<u>40.4</u>	<u>65.0</u>	<u>40.0</u>	<u>13.2</u>	<u>30.0</u>

Percentages add to more than 100 because with the exception of "no difficulty" respondents can be included in more than one category.

Table 13. Chi Square Test. Made a statement regarding difficulty to made no statement regarding difficulty of association with Westerners.
 $\chi^2 = 28.5$, $df = 3$, $p = <.001$

In general the couples, especially the Indian husbands and Western wives, feel it is more difficult to establish social relationships with Westerners in India than in the West. This feeling was expressed even by those who had been married in the West and might have faced the prejudice against a mixed marriage there. Couples who feel this are reacting to the phenomenon noted by many Indians who have traveled between Britain and India, the "Suez Switch." They have observed that the British are friendly and egalitarian, that they treat Indians as individuals and human beings in the United Kingdom, but once east of the Suez treat Indians, almost with respect to status, as "lowly natives." This has probably been less true since Independence when the British became guests rather than rulers in India and it is probably less true of the other Western nationalities.

Not only do attitudes toward the Indian-Western couple, or the Western-returned Indian for that matter, change according to geographical setting, they sometimes change with the social situation in India as well. A Western wife pointed out that within their own communities Westerners often appear unfriendly, while the same people are friendly to an Indian-Western couple in a mixed nationality gathering. In the homogeneous Western nationality group the mixed couple stands out as being different. Once in an international gathering where there are many other nationalities and many more Indians, however, the mixed couple with the partner of the same nationality is familiar and shares a nationality bond. Another

factor in this attitude difference is the basis of group affiliation. In the Western nationality grouping the basis for membership is nationality and thus the mixed couple only half qualifies. In an international gathering, e.g., a political discussion group, a theater group, etc., the basis for affiliation is talent or interest. In this situation the mixed couple's credentials and those of the Westerner are equal.

Attitudes of Western Wives and Indian Wives Differ

Eighty-seven percent of the Western wives registered complaints regarding the difficulty of establishing social relationships with Westerners in India, compared to only 35 percent of the Indian wives. The attitudes of husbands on this subject fall between these extremes. This difference between Indian and Western wives reflects both expectation and reality. The difficulties appear greater to the Western wife because she expects to be accepted by her own people. The Indian wife, as a foreigner on the other hand, is pleased with her acceptance into the Western community.

In addition to having greater expectations of acceptance, the Western wife is likely to feel a greater need for the company of Westerners in India. The Indian wife is still in her own country and has childhood friends and family in the same country if not the same city. The Indian wives are more familiar with norms of interaction in India, and do not feel as awkward with Indians as the newly-arrived Westerner. The Western wife has neither family nor childhood friends in India for social support, and not being

familiar with Indian culture is likely to perceive a greater need for the support of Westerners who share her cultural heritage. As is true of any newly-arrived foreigner, the Western partners use those foreigners who have been there longer to test their observations and to learn more about how to operate in the new setting. The Western-returned Indian partner and other Western-returned Indians are helpful in this respect. However they still do not have quite the same perspective as another who is completely new to India.

There are several other very real differences in the lives of Indian wives and Western wives which make it easier for the former to associate with Westerners in India. The Western husbands and Indian wives are more likely to be living in a city where there is a large foreign population. (Fifty-five percent of Indian wives live in Bombay, Calcutta or Delhi compared to 28 percent of the Western wives.) Even those Western wives who live in the cosmopolitan cities are less likely to have contact with Westerners than the other couples because the couples' social patterns generally follow the husbands' friendships. These, because of interests and occupational contacts, are primarily within the husband's own community as a rule. In addition, the husband's status dictates the wife's. By virtue of his nationality, the Western husband has a certain amount of status which most Indian husbands cannot claim. If the wife is of a commensurate status she is accepted regardless of nationality, especially by the class-conscious British. Also,

the economic status of Indian husband-Western wife couples is usually below that of Western husbands and Indian wives. This, too, makes interaction with Westerners difficult.

Situational Factors Inhibit Interaction With Westerners

More difficulty is encountered in developing social relationships with Westerners than Indians, in part, simply because there are not many Westerners in India compared to the millions of Indians. This is reflected in the reasons most commonly given for problems of associating with Westerners--lack of opportunity. Forty-five percent of the respondents mentioned situational factors which make it difficult to meet Westerners, including such comments as: "there are none in this city/area," "We have no transportation to visit them," "there are none in my husband's/my field of occupation," etc.

When there is an opportunity to meet Westerners there is often little choice of individuals. If those Westerners who happen to be living in the same community are friendly it is good. If they do not have mutual interests with the couple or are not friendly, there are no others to whom the couple can turn as they can in the case of Indians. The group pressures in a foreign community, just discussed, also make it harder to associate with Westerners than Indians, although similar factors are not altogether absent among Indians.

Indian husband-Western wife couples in Indian military or government service are discouraged from extensive social contact

with Westerners not only because they are likely to be stationed far from foreigners, but also because of rules regulating the husbands' occupations. Social contact with foreigners for them is supposed to be limited to formalized occupational entertaining, although in practice most do have some Western friends.

Characteristics of Westerners Blamed for Problems of Interaction

Forty percent of the interviewees, including over half the Western wives, feel that at least part of the difficulty they experience in developing social relationships with Westerners in India can be attributed to characteristics of the Westerners themselves. Their comments fall into two broad categories:

- 1) the feeling that Westerners do not accept Indian-Western couples and
- 2) the feeling that Westerners are not interested in India or Indians.

It is important to note a difference in the main thrust of complaints about interaction with Indians compared to complaints about interaction with Westerners. Culture and personality differences are mentioned most often as reasons the couples feel uncomfortable with Indians. This refers to the traditional Indians, for the modern and somewhat Westernized Indians are much like the couples themselves. The implication is that the couples decide for themselves that they may prefer not to spend much time with traditional Indians. More like the Westerners in culture and personality, the couples' most common complaint about mixing with Westerners (besides the strictly situational factors) is the

feeling that they are not accepted. One-fourth of the respondents reflected this feeling when they listed the "snobbishness," "cliquishness," and "condescending attitudes of Westerners" as barriers to friendships. Before Independence the Westerners' "exclusiveness" was highly formalized; Indians could not, for example, join most of the clubs in India. Western husbands could join but not bring their wives; Western wives report that they were occasionally invited to accompany British ladies to the clubs. Many refused to do so, however, because that suggested a rejection of their husbands and families, for not even their children were permitted entrance. And, they felt, it would be deceitful. While most of the clubs now accept Indians, the feeling that they are "snobbish" persists. Some respondents support this contention by pointing out that it is harder for an Indian to get membership in the club than a Westerner. This does not indicate an anti-Indian policy as much as a desire to maintain a balance between Indians and Westerners. There are more Indian applicants to begin with, and there is virtually no turnover rate among Indian members. A Western family can be accepted to fill the place of another which just left India. One couple argues that this policy does contradict the purpose of the club because a Westerner, regardless of social status, can get membership while an Indian with considerable social status may have to wait a long time.

Much of what the couples perceive as "cliquishness" among Westerners in India can be attributed to occupational as well as national bonds. Frequently the Swedes in a city, for example, are

all working with a single industry and live in the same residential area. Their social interaction is an extension of their work and residential patterns. A Dutch wife noted that this is an important reason why she and her husband find it difficult to participate in the Dutch community's social activities.

Sometimes I feel badly at all Dutch parties. They are usually very polite, if they talk to you. It is difficult because they all work together and see each other daily. There is the KLM (airlines) group, the bank Dutch move in a group and so on. When we get together I don't fit in any group.

A British wife substantiates this. As the wife of an Indian doctor she was acquainted with many of the British in her city, but did not have any social contacts with them. When her husband was appointed director of the British company clinic she became part of the community and from then on has been invited to all the British morning coffees and other social events. Although she did not point it out, there is another important reason her husband's new job changed her relationship with the British community. Not only did he become part of that occupational community, but he gained a good deal of status as well. Status is important to both British and Indians as a basis for establishing social relationships.

The status differential between Indians in general and Westerners in India is a source of concern underlying the couple's comments regarding the Western community's "snobbish attitude." It is always hard when one feels that others are looking down on him, but it is even harder when those who are looking down, by

most indices of social status, should be looking up. A commonly-heard complaint is that the Westerners in India are not of the same class, and especially not of the same educational level as the couples, but that they let their high salaries and the status of "sahib" (master) go to their heads in India. Typical of these comments are:

I would meet more English people if I could, but the ones who come here are not our sort of people--that is, today they are of a lower class (working in business or industry instead of civil service), I wouldn't associate with them in England, so why should I here? I don't say that just to be snobbish, but I don't have anything in common with them. Also, they don't like us because they know we know their background, whereas they pretend to be wealthy and important people when they come here and fool the Indians.

The most critical Westerners here are the technical types, the ones who are not educated.

I don't have much in common with many of the Europeans here. Their background is different. They would live very low in Europe. They wouldn't be much more than a foreman, and here they are in charge of a whole department and are higher than Indian engineers. They get so much money and don't know how to act with it. They try to live the high life of Europe and they go overboard. One German couple always puts "Formal" on their invitations. They feel they must be formal to show their status. Another German woman told me, when she first came out, that her father taught high school gymnastics. Later he was a college instructor, and before she left he was a private lecturer in physical culture or something like that. He had to keep up too. The people with a good background, like the World Health Organization people, don't let the money go to their heads.

Another factor leading to the superior attitude of Westerners perceived by these couples is the stereotype that girls who marry Indians are landladies' daughters, or generally of lower class origins. While the facts do not support this, as has been shown,

there are Westerners who react to Indian-Western couples categorically on the basis of this belief, they do not want to meet people who are "beneath them." Quite a different case was reported in which an Indian-German couple was consistently ignored by certain Americans. Many interpreted this as a rejection of a mixed marriage when, in fact, it was due to an American's categorical dislike of Germans.

There is a degree of the self-fulfilling prophecy in the lack of interest some couples feel in Westerners' attitudes toward them. A British wife who has been married to an Indian and living in India since before Independence blames the Western wives for bringing their problems on themselves.

If she feels there is nothing to do here, she won't find anything to do. If she feels she won't be accepted by her own people, she probably won't be. I came out 27 years ago and I've always felt accepted by the English. Not mixing with the Westerners because of lack of money is nonsense. If they are worth knowing they will visit you whether you serve them coffee or cocktails.

This woman has made things easier for herself by exempting those who don't accept her as "not worth knowing." It is true, nonetheless, that some who would be friendly to a mixed couple otherwise are discouraged by a defensive attitude. One Western wife revealed this kind of defensive attitude when she said, "I don't go looking for Westerners. Their talk is boring, and I assume they'll be condescending to me because of my marriage." Couples with a similar attitude were observed at parties by the author. They generally enter a room quietly and stand on the

edge of the group until someone approaches. They answer questions politely, often in monosyllables. It isn't long before the other party wanders off in search of more stimulating conversation. At one such gathering the center of attention was another Indian-Western couple, negating the claim that the Westerners there were condescending because of the mixed marriage.

The majority of couples do identify with India to some degree and all have close relations with at least some Indians. This fact is recognized by both the couples and the Westerners as a feature which distinguishes them from one another. It is a factor which can make it difficult for the Western community to include the couple or the Western partner in its more informal gatherings. One function of such informal gatherings is the airing of grievances about India and open discussion of relations with Indians. It may be felt that such a discussion would be an insult to the Western partner as well as the Indian. Although the Western wife may feel as great a need as Westerners to discuss her "Indian problems" some admit that in Western groups they not only refuse to criticize India but defend it against the very criticisms they themselves make. The Western community fears more than insulting the Western partner of an Indian when they do not include her in such gatherings. There is the deeper fear that her close connections with Indians will provide a channel through which information and attitudes will pass into the Indian community.

In a discussion with the author, a Westerner living in India suggested a more psychological explanation for the attitude Western wives, in particular, interpret as condescending. The Westerner, it was argued, is more accepting of the Western husband-Indian wife couples than the others because of the degree of choice in the marriage he attributes to the Western partner. It is the man's role to propose marriage, thus it is reasoned, the Western man who chooses an Indian wife probably does so rationally. It is his decision. Women, on the other hand, are to be protected, lest they be lured away by outsiders. The Western girl married to an Indian, it may be felt, has been caught by an exotic Easterner; she may be pitied, but not respected or treated as an equal. Since the woman does generally follow the husband into his community there is also the feeling she has betrayed her people. A German wife recalls feeling she was being pitied at the Max Mueller Bhavan morning coffees.

...the members were all German ladies with Indian or Western husbands. It happened, though, that the ones married to Germans sat together and talked about the unhappy girls married to Indians. It wasn't that we weren't welcome, but they felt sorry for us. They hear of broken marriages and generalize. They forget that people with German husbands have marital problems as well. It seems more important to them if we have them.

Lack of interest in India on the part of Westerners living there is the second broad criticism made of Westerners. A little over one-fifth of the respondents indicated that this characteristic of Westerners hinders the development of friendships. The fact that Westerners do not have permanent ties with India has many

implications. Very simply, it is more difficult to establish deep friendships with individuals who are not there permanently. Not only does the termination of active interaction discourage friendships in the long run, but, after a while, the very newness of foreigners becomes wearing. Some respondents commented that they have tired of hearing the same first observations, the same complaints, and answering the same questions from newly-arrived foreigners. For some the tediousness of this task, combined with the increasing depth of Indian friendships has led them to cease seeking contact with Westerners. A similar reaction may explain why more Indian-Western couples aren't involved in third culture organizations. One American wife pointed out that after a while the programs at the Indo-American society became rather repetitious. Some indicated that they would be willing to put up with the repetition if the Westerners ever showed a "sincere interest" in India. They felt that most Westerners have no interest at all in India, make no effort to understand the country or Indians, look down on Indians and are insincere in their relations with Indians.

Occasionally a comment is heard showing indignation at the ignorance of Westerners, not for looking down on Indians, but for unrealistically idealizing them. For example,

Sometimes I get fed up with types from America who think India is very spiritual that we are lucky to live here with all the glory of the Upanishads. I think that it is more materialistic here. It sounds stupid to say it is so spiritual and to run down the West as though it was too materialistic.

The lack of permanence has other implications as well, reflected in comments such as, "they are just here to make money and leave; they don't care to give anything to the community." Such comments were heard mainly from those who had known India in the colonial period when British were powerful superordinates. Then they came to stay and had deep roots in India, at least in the British community and in the missionary communities. It was they who built clubs as well as many hospitals and schools and kept them running. An Indian husband commented that there is little to talk about besides families with the British now. Before Independence when the British were more or less permanent residents they had all the interests of the country in common.

Couples' Characteristics Hinder Interaction With Westerners

Comments about themselves mentioned by 29 percent of the respondents, comprise the last general category of factors discouraging interaction with Westerners. The category further substantiates the fact that Western wives are most likely to perceive difficulty associating with Westerners in India. Most of the following examples are from 39 percent of Western wives who blamed themselves for such problems, although nearly as large a proportion of Western husbands, one-third, also looked to themselves to explain this kind of problem.

The two most commonly mentioned characteristics thought to hinder association with Westerners are 1) lack of money and 2) Indian normative patterns.

Twelve percent of all respondents feel that their relatively lower financial status makes social interaction with Westerners embarrassing, if not impossible. This is an important factor contributing to the feeling, discussed earlier, that Westerners look down on some couples. An Indian husband may make as little as one-fifth what his Western counterpart does. In addition, many Westerners have large homes or flats provided for them, some can buy Western liquor tax free, and have access to Western goods through commissaries. All of these affect style of entertaining greatly. An American wife now flatly refuses invitations from any but academic Americans in India. She explains:

I don't particularly want to give myself the opportunity to feel inferior. If I went to the international coffees, I'd have to return the invitation. I don't feel inferior in general; many of those Westerners are mechanics at the factories. Here they live high and their noses are up. They wouldn't believe the way we live.

And a British wife describes what happened whenever she did invite a Westerner, when her husband was still a young lawyer.

At first it was agony if we called a Westerner. We would spend the whole day running around worrying about how every thing in the house looked, counting and recounting the knives and forks to be sure we had enough. We used to find it so embarrassing to have them to the house that the rare times we did invite a Westerner we usually took them out to a restaurant. We had to save for a long time and count every pice if we could offer them one drink.

Quite a few couples simply do not allow themselves to get into a situation where they must reciprocate invitations. One who does is an American wife who was a member of the American Women's Club. Her home is only slightly less comfortable than those of the other American ladies. She recalls her embarrassment

after entertaining that group when she discovered that she had never put out a roll of toilet paper instead of, or at least in addition to, the traditional lota (jug of water for cleaning oneself after using the toilet). This indicates a concern for their comfort, but also a realization that this small slip opened a great window into the changes in her nature and behavior which had taken place since she came to India. It would, she feared, make them realize how Indianized, and therefore to some extent unlike them, she had become.

Eighteen percent of the Western wives (11 percent of all respondents) echoed this American wife's belief that their acceptance of Indian norms hinders interaction with Westerners. Some, like the woman above, fear embarrassing themselves or insulting the Westerners by failing to follow Western patterns of behavior. A French wife discloses her initial fear of meeting Europeans after several years in India:

I had an awful time the first time I went to Delhi from an outlying town. I feared being with Europeans. I had forgotten how to act, what to do. I scarcely ate. I had also forgotten the language. The first time it was very hard. Now I am used to making the change and can do it, but I'm still uncomfortable, I fear shocking the Europeans with my Indian ways of acting. They are far more formal.

Other women state that they have internalized Indian norms to the extent that they simply prefer Indian company. One finds entertaining Indians more relaxed because of what she now sees as the "excessive formality of Westerners." She describes one small aspect of this formality:

If I entertain a foreign woman I'm all the time worrying about the end tables--are they in the right place--and if the table is set just so. It is too disturbing. You can't relax.

An English wife, applying Indian norms to interaction with Westerners, finds that she is embarrassed when Western men transgress those norms and look her in the eye when talking to her. To resolve this dissonance she avoids meeting Western men.

Other Western wives simply point out that their interests and life styles are different from Westerners. One Western wife complained, "all they talk about is servants, and I don't have any." Another said, "I don't have anything against them, but I don't live the same life. I don't have time for 'elevensies' and maj jong parties. I don't spend time at the club."

A few of the Western wives admit that one of the reasons they are hesitant about mixing with Westerners is that it makes them homesick. Westerners in India spend a great deal of time comparing India and their home countries, and talking about what they will do when they return. This kind of interaction with Westerners reminds them that they will not, in the near future at least, be going home. It also makes some highly dissatisfied with India. Realizing they are here and must make the best of India they too reduce the cognitive dissonance by avoiding the Westerners. Over time, as the Western partner becomes more acclimatized to India and develops deeper friendships with Indians she begins to realize that she doesn't need friendship of Westerners to the same degree that she did when she first arrived in India.

One final comment is offered by an Indian husband who used to seek out Americans in India because he wanted to improve the linkage between the two countries. Eventually he decided he was not needed for this role. "We don't bother any more. The Westerners are so surrounded by Indians that you have to stand in line for attention." But then he added a more commonly given reason for his low rate of interaction, "...besides to meet Westerners you have to go where they do, to the club. I neither drink nor dance, so we don't belong."

The majority of the respondents feel there has been no change over time in ease of meeting and associating with Westerners. Western husbands are the most likely to feel that it has become more difficult, mainly because of situational changes--"there aren't as many here now," "we have moved," "I have retired." This corresponds with the fact that situational factors were almost the only reasons given by Western husbands for difficulty in mixing with Westerners.

Factors Facilitating Interaction with Westerners

Over half of the Western husbands and Indian wives made some positive comment about ease of associating with Westerners in India. Nearly half the Indian husbands also made such comments, but only about one-fourth of the Western wives had anything positive to say about ease of interaction with Westerners in India. This corroborates the finding that Western wives are most apt to feel interacting with Westerners can be problematical.

TABLE 14. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS GIVEN FOR EASE OF ASSOCIATING WITH WESTERNERS IN INDIA ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE.

<u>Reasons</u>	Indian husbands (N=70)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=92)	Total (N=197)
My situation--e.g. job with international contacts	18.6	25.0	40.0	16.3	19.8
My Characteristics	21.4	55.0	6.7	3.3	15.2
Communal Reasons--e.g. easy to mix with your own kind	10.0	--	26.6	10.9	10.7
Their Characteristics	4.3	5.0	13.3	3.3	4.6
No Comment	54.3	35.0	46.5	74.0	61.0

Percentages add to more than 100 percent because, with the exception of "no comment" the respondents may be in more than one category.

Table 14. Chi Square Test. Made some comment regarding ease of association with Westerners compared to no comment on ease of of association with Westerners. $\chi^2 = 14.7$, $df = 3$, $p = < .005$

Western partners most commonly cite situational factors to explain why mixing with Westerners is easy, the most common of these being that one of the partners works in a Western cultural center, embassy, or business. As Westerners, they see no point in mentioning that they share the Western community's cultural heritage. Indians, on the other hand, feel that their own Westernized personality and cultural preferences, usually a reflection of lengthy experiences abroad, are the main reason they find associating with Westerners

easy. Some Westerners do mention that it is always easy to "get along with your own kind."

Shared cultural heritage is responsible for encouraging some who do not have automatic occupational contact with Westerners in India to seek them out. Indian husbands may make a point of locating Westerners because they feel this is necessary for their wives' happiness. For those who have the time and inclination, once the first Western contact has been made, it is generally not difficult to expand the circle of Western acquaintances. While there are sub-groups of national and occupational third cultures, there is also a certain circularity in the third culture; membership in many of the international organizations is overlapping. Expanding acquaintances within the Western community does not mean a couple becomes fully integrated into the community's social life, however.

Although Western wives paint the most negative picture of interaction with Westerners, they do not feel all is lost. Nearly half feel that it has become easier to associate with Westerners over the years. Again, the importance of proximity to association with Westerners can be seen in Table 15. The most commonly given reason for improved relations is that the respondent's situation has changed by moving to a residence or job providing more contact, not that the nature of the interaction itself has changed.

As was pointed out in the discussion of interaction with Indians, a paucity of in-depth comments indicating ease of interaction with Westerners does not necessarily mean that most find it

TABLE 15. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMENTS REFLECTING CHANGE IN EASE OF MEETING OR ASSOCIATING WITH WESTERNERS IN INDIA ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE

<u>Reasons for change</u>	<u>Indian husbands (N=71)</u>	<u>Indian wives (N=20)</u>	<u>Western husbands (N=15)</u>	<u>Western wives (N=92)</u>	<u>Total (N=198)</u>
No Change	51.0	65.0	60.0	36.0	45.8
Easier (total)	<u>28.2</u>	<u>20.0</u>	<u>20.0</u>	<u>44.5</u>	<u>34.2</u>
Situation has changed	19.7	5.0	6.6	32.6	23.2
I have changed	5.6	20.0	--	16.3	11.6
They have changed	4.2	5.0	13.3	10.9	8.1
More Difficult (total)	<u>24.0</u>	<u>20.0</u>	<u>40.0</u>	<u>28.2</u>	<u>26.7</u>
Situation has changed	21.2	20.0	40.0	18.5	21.2
Harder in general	7.0	10.0	13.3	13.1	10.6

Percentages add to more than 100 percent because, with the exception of "no change," the respondent may be included in more than one category.

Table 15. Chi Square Tests.

- a) Statements indicating that it has become easier to interact with Westerners compared to statements indicating a lack of change or more difficulty in relating to Westerners.
 $\chi^2 = 10.05$, $df = 3$, $p = < .02$
- b) Statements indicating that it has become more difficult to interact with Westerners compared to statements indicating no change or greater ease in interaction with Westerners.
 $\chi^2 = 2.2$, $df = 3$, $p = > .10$
- c) Statements indicating no change in ease of interaction with Westerners compared to those indicating change.
 $\chi^2 = 8.5$, $df = 3$, $p = < .05$

difficult. People are more apt to discuss difficulties at length

than the often intangible factors which make life easy or pleasant.

This is especially true when there is a captive listener in the person

of an interviewer. There were many enthusiastic comments made about life in India with special reference to the kind of people, Western as well as Indian, the couples meet. An American wife pointed out that her life in Calcutta is far more exciting and cosmopolitan than she feels could ever have been possible in the United States. A British wife also feels her contacts in India are more interesting than they would be in England.

Life is more interesting here. You meet so many new people. Here I can meet the celebrities; in England I never could. Here when an M.P. comes we are invited to everything for him. We meet the top brass; we were even invited to meet the Queen at a party. That would never happen in England. Here you are more of a somebody.

Interaction with Westerners: An Overview

The primary factor affecting ease of interaction with Westerners is the couple's situation, their proximity to Westerners. Among those who live in the vicinity of Westerners, the Western wives stand out, once again, as the group perceiving the greatest difficulty in interaction. Cultural bonds lead the Western wives to expect great ease in associating with their countrymen in India; status differences are thought to be the reason for the lack of acceptance by Westerners. Status differences include both the relative position of Indians in general compared to Westerners, as well as actual differences in financial status and thus standard of living. Western husband-Indian wife couples find less difficulty associating with Westerners because a larger proportion of Western husbands are affiliated with the Western community by occupation and the wives tend to follow their husbands' social patterns.

The Partner's Effect on Interaction with Indians and with Westerners

Westerners in this sample, as a group, are more convinced that their partners help their interaction with people of the partner's nationality than are Indians. Nearly three-quarters of the Western partners feel that being married to an Indian facilitates their relations with Indians and a little over half the Indian husbands also feel that their marriage is an asset in relating to people of their partner's nationality. Indian wives are slightly less convinced that a cross-cultural marriage contributes to ease of association with Westerners. But, it will be recalled that as a group they were rather Westernized before marriage and many had established relationships with Westerners in India.

TABLE 16. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMENTS REFLECTING EFFECT OF MARRIAGE ON EASE OF ASSOCIATION WITH OWN NATIONALITY IN INDIA ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE.

	Indian husband (N=70)	Indian wife (N=20)	Western husband (N=15)	Western wife (N=89)	Total (N=194)
Marriage makes no difference	57.2	55.0	73.5	41.6	51.0
Marriage makes it easier	17.2	15.0	13.3	12.4	14.4
Marriage makes it harder	22.9	30.0	13.3	37.0	28.4
Depends on group or situation	7.1	--	--	9.0	6.7
Don't know what effect it has	--	--	--	1.1	.5

Table 16. Chi Square Test. Marriage makes no difference in associating with own nationality plus don't know what effect it has compared to marriage does make a difference in associating with own nationality. $\chi^2 = 7.3$, $df = 3$, $p = <.10$, $>.05$

TABLE 17. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMENTS REFLECTING EFFECT OF MARRIAGE ON EASE OF ASSOCIATION WITH PARTNER'S NATIONALITY IN INDIA BY SEX AND NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE

	Indian husband (N=70)	Indian wife (N=20)	Western husband (N=14)	Western wife (N=92)	Total (N=196)
Marriage makes no difference	39.0	55.0	21.4	24.0	32.6
Marriage makes it easier	54.0	45.0	74.0	72.0	62.7
Marriage makes it harder	1.4	--	--	1.1	1.0
Depends on group or situation	4.2	--	7.4	2.2	3.1
Don't know what effect it has	2.8	--	--	1.1	1.0

Percentages total more than 100 percent because one individual may be included in more than one response category.

Table 17. Chi Square Test.

- a) Marriage makes no difference or don't know the effect of marriage in association with partner's nationality group compared to marriage does make a difference in associating with partner's nationality. $\chi^2 = 9.85$, $df = 3$, $p = < .02$
- b) Marriage makes it easier to associate with partner's nationality group compared to no difference, depends on group, harder, or don't know effect. $\chi^2 = 35.16$, $df = 3$, $p = < .001$.

Contact is the main reason given by all the respondents in explaining how the marriage helps to establish or maintain social relations with the partner's nationality group. Westerners notice this more readily because there is always the possibility of

increased contact with Indians in India. If, on the other hand, a couple lives in an area where there are no Westerners, having a Western partner does not help the Indian increase his circle of Western friends.

Acceptance by the partner's nationality group is the second most commonly cited contribution made by the marriage to ease of interaction with the partner's nationality group. Westerners believe that the marriage makes them accepted as part of the Indian family and the community. "They see me as one of them," or "now I'm a wife instead of a German," are frequently heard comments. The Indians, on the other hand, state only that marriage makes them seem more acceptable, or "makes the Westerners feel we have more in common." These comments substantiate to some degree, the feelings brought out in the preceding section that the couples feel more accepted by Indians than by Westerners in India. An Indian husband relates how having a Western wife made him a social center for Westerners visiting his city.

Almost every American who came to town visited us and most of the British who were stationed there came to call on us when they wouldn't on other Indians. In other homes, while the husband might be modern, the wife was usually orthodox Hindu and Westerners weren't comfortable there. It was hard for those Hindus to invite Westerners to their homes, social life was different. Indians don't have social life as it is in America. Only the men visit, and only at weddings or funerals do the wives come out too. We were an exception, I was Indian and my wife could entertain so the British and Americans always came to us. We were the social center for all the foreigners in that city. We were the first on the British list. When the Governor came we sat next to him and his wife at the dinners.

Absolutely no one indicated that their marriage hinders association with people of their partners' nationality. The same cannot be said of the effect of cross-cultural marriage on interaction with one's own people. A significant minority, ranging from 13 percent of the Western husbands to 37 percent of the Western wives feel that marrying someone of a different nationality does have a negative effect on the ease of interaction with their own countrymen in India.

Wives are more aware of the change in relations with their own people than their husbands because the wives generally do follow their husbands socially into his community. Change in status with marriage is given most frequently by both Indian and Western wives as the reason it is now harder to maintain social relations with their own countrymen. The direction of the status change differs, however. Indian wives state that friends are apt to think they have become too Westernized, too pro-foreign. This, combined with the status of the Westerners in India, leads some friends to suspect they will be "snobbish," some of the Indian wives report. One wife mentioned just such an incident. "We met one couple and the wife didn't talk to me for some time. Later she said it was because she thought that having married an American I would be too proud to talk to her." Western wives complain that they lose status in the eyes of some fellow countrymen who look down on Indians and consequently on the Western wives of Indians. This situation was discussed in the preceding section.

Indian husbands continue to distinguish between Indians when discussing the effect of their marriage on association with Indians.

The most frequently mentioned hindrance, the wife's inability to speak the language, only affects friendships with the more traditional couples. One of the two Western husbands who feel the marriage hinders relations with the Western community said he wouldn't go where his wife couldn't, and the other simply felt that Westerners would be more friendly if his wife were the same nationality, but that they are not unfriendly now.

The majority of respondents, it should be emphasized, feel that their marriage has no effect on relations with their own nationality in India. This represents over half of all the groups except Western wives. In fact, three-quarters of the Western husbands find their wives accepted completely as one of the community. Some of the respondents even feel that their marriage enhances ease of interacting with their own community because people are drawn to them. One Western wife who does feel her marriage encourages interaction puts it this way. "Westerners like to meet you because they are curious. They like to ask about India. Sometimes it is hard for them to meet Indians, and it is easy to include an Indian socially when they invite us."

A Reaction: The Mixed Couples Group

This chapter has been concerned with couples' feelings about social relations with Indians and with Westerners. Fifteen percent of the respondents made no statements about ease of difficulty of interaction with either Indians or Westerners. For some of these,

nationality is irrelevant. They may think of themselves first as human beings and their friends in the same way; the fact that a given individual is called German or Gujarati makes no more difference than the difference between Germans called Wolf and those called Hans, or the difference between those Gujaratis called Ram and those called Sujit. Or, nationality may be irrelevant because they are so completely involved in groups with a functional basis, such as scholars studying the Mogul period, modern artists, socialists, etc., that they don't notice the group's nationality composition. Others in this group are aware of nationality differences, but enjoy the contrast provided by friends of different nationalities and do not find the differences problematical.

The complaints about interaction are from people who are not only aware of nationality differences but are unhappy about some aspect of their position bridging cultures. They find it hard to associate with Indians or Westerners, or feel they are caught in a cross-fire between people from those cultural areas. One reaction to the feeling that there is a cross-fire, is to confine oneself to a one-culture setting, either in Europe or a part of India where there are no foreigners. A multi-culture setting makes people self-conscious about cultural differences, and thus makes it hard to interact without inhibitions. Each group in such situations, a respondent with this view maintains, sees the mixed couple as representative of the other group and thus is on guard when they are present. Also, torn between the two groups, the couple does

not settle into the routine of one or the other. In homogeneous cultural settings there is no question about the style of life to follow and the outsider can be accepted as an individual instead of a representative of another group with ties to the other group.

Some of those who are dissatisfied in the multi-national social setting, or dissatisfied in the all Indian setting react when there are others in the vicinity by forming their own small group or community of mixed-couples like themselves. Presently 14 percent of the couples are involved to varying degrees--some very tangentially--in groups of Indian-Western couples or in groups composed of one partner of a mixed marriage. Nearly all of these people are Indian husbands or Western wives, slightly more of the latter. The one Western husband and Indian wife who can be said to be associated with such a group are very much on the fringes of the group. An additional 10 percent of the subjects, all Indian husbands or Western wives, have been part of a group of mixed couples sometime in the past, but are no longer

Ninety-one percent of the respondents know at least one other Indian-Western couple in their area. However, unless the marriage is an important basis of a friendship these are not considered mixed-marriage friendships. Some friendships between mixed couples are simply a continuation of friendships established among Indian students abroad. Others are friendships based on shared interests to which the marriage is irrelevant.

TABLE 18. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING IN A SOCIAL NETWORK OF INDIAN-WESTERN COUPLES AT ANY TIME SINCE MARRIAGE IN INDIA BY SEX AND NATIONALITY

	Indian husband (N=82)	Indian wife (N=20)	Western husband (N=18)	Western wife (N=92)	Total (N=212)
In mixed Couples' Social Network	24.4	5.0	5.5	30.6	23.6
Not in Mixed Couples' Social Network	75.6	95.0	94.5	69.4	76.4

Table 18. Chi Square Test. Respondents who have at some time since marriage in India been associated with a group of Indian-Western couples compared to those who have never been associated with such a group. $\chi^2 = 9.498$, $df = 3$, $p = < .025$

Groups of Indian-Western couples were far more common before Independence because the two social systems, British and Indian, were so sharply divided. The Indians were more traditional then, so a Western-returned Indian and a Western partner might have less in common with most Indians than they do now. In addition, the British almost completely ostracized British nationals married to Indians. The Indian-Western couple who did not wish to adapt to the fairly traditional Indian social system had no alternative but to turn to others in the same situation. It is reported that there were a number of formalized organizations of mixed couples as well as many informal social networks in the larger cities before Independence.

Now that interaction is freer between Indians and Westerners in India, the need for a self-contained group of Indian-Western couples is not as great. Association with other Indian-Western couples does fulfill important functions for those who feel the need. The need is felt most strongly by newly-arrived couples and Western wives. Nearly one-third of the couples in India less than a year are part of a circle of mixed couples. Not only do Western wives have the largest proportion involved in groups of mixed couples, or wives of such couples, they are also the most likely to say "other Indian-Western couples" when asked what group of people they would most like to increase among their friends.

There are a number of related reasons why some couples desire the friendship of other mixed couples. As was mentioned, they may feel they do not belong or fit into either of the parent cultures. In Western company they feel the need to defend India and in Indian company the need to present a good picture of the West. In a group of mixed couples there is no need to support either. This is the place couples can let their defenses down and gripe about India, about the Westerners in India, and about their own position.

It is from other couples many newcomers learn their roles. A few of the more settled couples do what one called "our own private social work." It is the Western wives, many of whom remember their own period of adjustment, who are particularly active in this kind of activity. Fourteen percent spontaneously mentioned efforts to help newly-arrived Indian-Western couples. They are reception

centers for the newly arrived couples; they introduce them to Indians and to Westerners, feed them with Western food if they cannot get it, and generally try to make them feel at home. Such contacts are generally short-lived, for as soon as the new couple becomes established the need for the tie ceases to exist and the friendship fades. It is a functional friendship and is seen as such by the older initiator. The established couples who help newcomers locate them in various ways. Usually an Indian friend of one hears about the other and introduces them. Sometimes an international network brings them together as in the following case.

One girl had married a Hindu who agreed to let her keep her religion, but once here he gave her a very hard time. She wrote to Rome for advice, they wrote to England and the people there wrote my missionary friend who asked me to help out. I took her to mass, but I didn't want to get too involved.

The younger couples sometimes gather to determine their place and identity together, discussing questions such as "what is our identity, and where is our allegiance?" Western wives of Indians discuss problems of household and children as any women do. To this some add discussion of "getting our husbands to live the way we like, by celebrating Christmas and New Years," as one woman put it. An American who lives among relatively traditional Indians mentions another problem that some couples discuss, i.e., how to present their lives to outsiders.

When a friend of my husband's visited with his American wife we talked for a long time. It made all the difference in the world to talk with someone who had the same problems, for instance, what to write home. You can't tell the truth, people wouldn't understand. They would be horrified if you

told them about the conditions--then what is left to write about? It's not so bad, it just sounds bad. But if you write and they haven't been able to see for themselves you just get pity and you don't want that.

Another American wife who is very happily settled in India enjoys the company of other mixed couples very much. She does not feel the need for moral support; she continues her relationships with other Indian-Western couples, she says, because "I find the people who marry other nationalities usually interesting. They are generally well-educated and have well-formed opinions on important things."

Reasons given by couples who prefer not to associate with other Indian-Western couples are just the reverse of the reasons given for association. For example, most say a reason for associating with other mixed couples is that they cannot afford to interact with Westerners. One couple claims the reason they dropped out of a large circle of mixed couples was inability to afford their pattern of entertainment. Another commented, "I wouldn't go out of my way to meet mixed couples. The Indian boys pick out such dreadful women." A reason given by one Western wife for not associating with other couples is unrelated to the mixed marriage but inhibits interaction just the same. "Most of the couples we meet are Western women married to Bengalis. My husband can't stand Bengalis." By far the most commonly given reason for not associating with other mixed couples reflects this statement: "I don't seek out other

cross-cultural couples. I am completely at home and happy both in India and the West and I feel accepted by both. Why should I bother?"

CHAPTER V

THE LINKAGE ROLE OF INDIAN-WESTERN COUPLES COMPARED WITH WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES AND WESTERN-EDUCATED INDIANS

The final chapter provides an overview of the role Indian-Western couples play in the general process of establishing and maintaining links between India and the West. This is done by comparing their roles with those of Western-educated Indians and with Westerners who are representatives of Western collectivities in India.⁷⁶

Characteristics Shared By All Three Groups Linking Through Occupational Roles

There is some difficulty assessing the unique contributions made by Indian-Western couples to the total process of linking India and the West because in most cases the cross-cultural marriage is but one of the role relationships involving these individuals in Indian-Western relations. Ninety-five percent of the Indian husbands and all of the working Indian wives have had work and/or study experience abroad which they apply to their occupational roles. By definition all Western-educated Indians have had at least study experience in the West. Most of the

⁷⁶ Representatives of Western collectivities (hereafter called Western representatives) are formal representatives of Western nation states (e.g., diplomats) or segments of Western societies (e.g., missionaries, businessmen, scholars). The discussion of Western representatives in this chapter is based on a study of representatives from one Western society, the Useem study of Americans in the third culture in India. See Useem, Passim.

Western partners who are employed are in third culture occupational roles; 60 percent of the husbands and 85 percent of working wives are employed as representatives of some segment of their own society as are the Westerners with whom they are compared in this chapter.⁷⁷ The remaining Westerners who are working in India have transnational occupational roles. Like the Western-educated Indians, they apply experience in another culture to their work role, but they do not formally represent another society. For most couples, then, their cross-cultural marriages provide an additional linking role to those the couples share with the Western-returned Indians and Western representatives. These linking roles may be mutually supporting or they can conflict.

New World View and Identities

Indian-Western couples, including the wives who are not employed, share with Western representatives and Western-educated Indians three characteristics of a modernizing status role.⁷⁸ The first of these is commitment to rational, secular, open-ended, expansive and future-oriented procedures. The second characteristic,

⁷⁷ Four Western husbands who do not currently have third culture occupations came to India in such positions. Two have remained in their original positions although since Independence, the organization has been "Indianized." As a result, they are now in transnational occupational roles. One of the other two who came to India in third culture occupations has gone into business independently and the other has retired.

⁷⁸ John Useem and Ruth Useem, "American-Educated Indians and Americans in India: A Comparison of Two Modernizing Roles," Journal of Social Issues, XXIV (1968), p. 151-3.

supported by comments throughout these interviews, is a broadened world view.⁷⁹ As is true of the others, Indian-Western couples see and interpret much of what takes place in the immediate environment in terms of social and political entities which extend far beyond their own communities or nations. Close association with people of other nationalities helps them see their own country and people from an outsider's point of view. They also find they are more sensitive to events in other parts of the world. Some attribute this increased sensitivity to a heightened sense of personal identification with specific parts of the world through past experiences there, or friends or relatives presently there. Others consider themselves citizens of the world and express concern for all other "citizens of the world."

Individuals in all three groups find that involvement in other cultures expands self identity and social identity as well as world view. The Indian finds on return to India that he is no longer just another Indian, he is a "Western-returned" Indian. The Westerner in the third culture is "the foreigner," or perhaps "British," even if he is American or Italian, and the foreign wife of an Indian is frequently referred to as "the English mem-sahib." The particular social identity attributed to people

⁷⁹ When asked how they had changed since marriage, 28 percent of the respondents made statements indicating a broader world view. The high degree of cross-cultural involvement before marriage accounts for the relatively small proportion responding in terms of broadened outlook since marriage.

from other cultures by host nationals depends, to a large extent, upon the host national's experience outside his own community. To a provincial Indian all foreigners may be "British" and the American or Italian must learn to operate within this social identity. The more sophisticated make fine identity distinctions.

Interviews with the Indian-Western couples reveal three expressions of new social identities: heightened awareness of one's own national identity, a disavowal of national identity, and recognition of broader bi-national or multi-national identity.⁸⁰ (See Table A-60.) Nearly nine out of ten Western partners mentioned situations in which they are made particularly aware of their own nationality, and the fact that they are different from the Indians. Most commonly the Western partner is aware mainly that he was socialized in a different culture. This awareness is particularly evident in traditional Indian situations, especially if everyone else is speaking a different language. Comments indicating this feeling emphasize differences between the Western partner and Indians with respect to world view and approach to life, social behavior, and language.

Nearly one-third of the Western respondents report that they are made acutely aware, some uncomfortably so, of their national identity when they are singled out by Indians for special treatment.

⁸⁰ This discussion is based upon responses to three questions: "Who am I?" "Do you ever think of yourself in terms of nationality?" "Are there times when you feel a foreigner?"

This treatment may take the impersonal form of being stared at, or the more personalized special attention of being given a table and silverware when everyone else is seated on the floor eating with fingers.

While many Westerners married to Indians and many simply working in India are made more aware of national identity by their experiences in another country, there is a difference in the meaning this has for the individual. For the Western representative working in India the realization of his differences with Indians generally leads to a new appreciation of his own culture and country. Many comment that they realize how lucky they are to be Americans. Westerners married to Indians, on the other hand, were heard to make statements such as "I've always been proud to be French and I am proud." No comments, however, were heard suggesting a realization of how lucky they are to be French, American, etc. The significant difference is that Westerners working in India have a heightened awareness of their bonds with their own nationality. Westerners married to Indians, on the other hand, realize that they are no longer just Americans whose home is the United States, or Swiss who will return to Switzerland. They recognize their strong ties to India and Indians. Most of the comments reflecting a heightened national identity made by this group stress how it sets them apart from the people of their new home, India.

Over half of the Indian partners indicated a similar feeling of being different from most Indians. Most frequently this reflects awareness of a particular social identity within India, for example, "I am a Bengali in Maharashtra," or "I was a city girl in the village." For many Indians, however, this reaction is related to the third new kind of social identity, for it emphasizes the degree to which the Indian respondent has internalized modern or Western cultural patterns, the extent to which he is a participant in a larger social order.

Just the opposite of heightened national identity, a disavowal of national identity in favor of a far broader reference group, was evidenced by a little over half of all the respondents. (See Table A-61 in appendix.) When asked the question "Who am I?", for example, these individuals responded with statements such as "a human being," "a person in this world," or "a link in the chain of life." Others indicated simply that nationality is not a salient part of their social identity.

A third response to involvement in more than one culture is to build a sense of participation in more than one society into one's social identity. (See Table A-62 in appendix.) Approximately one-third of the cross-culturally married indicated that they think of themselves as belonging to both India and the West.⁸¹

⁸¹ These new identities are not mutually exclusive. A Western respondent can feel that he is "A human being" and deny the importance of nationality, yet still be made aware of his national identity when in a traditional Indian group.

Indian-Western couples have an additional social identity which the Western-educated Indians and Western representatives do not--being a mixed marriage. Although this identity is undoubtedly heightened for most couples during courtship or the early period of marriage, more than a third stress that the mixed marriage is not a salient part of their identity. (See Table A-63 in appendix.) When asked directly if they are ever conscious of being a mixed marriage, however, nearly two-thirds of the respondents indicated that they have been in some situations. According to those who have been married and living in India for a long time, awareness of their mixed marriages was greater when there were fewer other couples in India to attract attention. There was also a greater tendency to form social groups in the past, because the smaller number could be encompassed in a cohesive unit and because it was so difficult to bridge the two societies before Independence. Those who joined groups of mixed couples mutually reinforced the importance of this identity.

When asked if they are conscious of their mixed marriage, the Indian partners more frequently than the Western partners point out that this awareness is heightened in social situations. This is especially true when their partner is the only foreigner in a group. They are aware that they are responsible for introducing the foreign element into an otherwise homogeneous group. The Western partners, on the other hand, are more likely to be made aware of their cross-cultural marriage by changes in their own style

of living and social patterns than in impersonal or social situations. These changes heighten awareness of the marriage more than of the Western nationality because for many their life style and social patterns are considerably different from others of their nationality living as representatives in India.

Few of the Western-educated Indians, Western representatives, or Indian-Western couples have been socialized to their roles during childhood. Because of this, not only do they have new social identities, but they are in the process of learning or creating new roles as well. The Western educated Indians and the Indian-Western couples are not formally representing specific collectivities in their linking roles as are the Western representatives. Therefore they are not as subject to the norms of those collectivities, and are freer to be innovative in the creating of the roles. The Indian-Western couples, linking cultures through marriage, are subject to some behavior restrictions by the Indian family, but the family cannot remove the couple from their linkage position in the same way a government agency, religious institution, etc. can remove the Western representative who does not meet the norms of that segment of his society he represents.

Modernizing Roles

All three groups, Western-educated Indians, Western representatives, and Indian-Western couples rely upon interpersonal relationships and thus oral communication in encouraging understanding of one society on the part of the other. Not only do these individuals all carry knowledge of specific national cultures to other parts of the world,

they are representatives of modern cultures in general. In this respect, the Useems point out, Western-educated Indians and Western representatives have an important symbolic function, one shared by the Indian-Western couples.

Altogether they represent modernity in what they are supposed to be doing and accomplishing. Whether or not those ends are achieved, they signify a class of men who, along with like-minded Indians, are deeply involved in strengthening the modernizing patterns. They help attain this general goal less through specific innovations or the tasks they perform than by reinforcing the convictions of those who are firmly committed to modernity but encounter indifference to their aspirations in their immediate work situation or otherwise feel alone and isolated from the mainstreams of what they value most.⁸²

Modernity is not confined to work related roles. Indian-Western couples have an important symbolic function in encouraging modernization of the family as well. Several respondents in this study reflected this point with comments suggesting that they symbolize a nonparochial outlook.

Comparison of the modernizing roles of American-educated Indians and Americans in India reveals that there is little overlapping of the two groups' spheres of influence in India.

The amount of interaction between them is only moderate... we found that it was neither the shared American experience nor the common outlook but the structuring of their work roles that brought them together. While there is some overlap, each group enters into India by different ecological pathways and are positioned differently in the work structures.

⁸²Useem and Useem, "American-Educated Indians and Americans in India, op. cit., p. 154-5.

American-educated, although rarely residing in villages where the vast majority of Indians live, are more widely distributed over India and more dispersed in the metropolitan centers. Americans tend to live in more circumscribed areas inhabited by foreigners and upper-status Indians. Although American missionaries are widely dispersed, the communities with whom they interact have few foreign-educated.⁸³

Indian-Western couples overlap the other two groups' spheres of influence as well as providing completely new kinds of links. In the following sections the nature of Indian-Western couples' linkage will be compared specifically with patterns of each of the other groups.

Comparison of Westerners Married to Indians and Western Representatives in India

Concern with Images

Indian-Western couples are less concerned with the collective image of foreigners in India than are the representatives of the West. Most Westerners married to Indians are more concerned with individual than group adjustment, for they are not organized in terms of a collectivity. Western representatives are more concerned with collective images. A great deal of discussion in gatherings composed of any one Western nationality in India is devoted to what national image should be projected. One aspect of this concern is how much adoption of "native culture" and how much involvement with host nationals is consistent with maintaining this image. The great majority of Americans in India see themselves as part-time

⁸³Ibid., p. 153-4.

ambassadors of their societies, although they envisage different manifestations of the role such as "getting along," improved understanding by Indians of their country, or building stronger association of Indians and Westerners.⁸⁴

The Westerner married to an Indian does not appear to be as concerned about the picture he presents of his country as does the representative of a Western collectivity, unless he is in a formal representational role by occupation. One reason this concern does not come out as strongly in those married cross-culturally is that norms for their role as culture mediators have not been defined for them by a group. There are several other factors which reduce the importance of the national image for Westerners married to Indians: 1) they are in India as individuals and national identity is not primary in their interaction with Indians, 2) Indians often consider the Western partner of an Indian one of them, or at least, "somehow different from other Westerners," and 3) there is the feeling that as isolated individuals a Western partner does not have as much impact on Indian images of a Western nation as does a Western community group as a whole.

This does not mean that Westerners married to Indians are unconcerned about the images Indians have of their countries. As was pointed out in Chapter III, 73 percent of the Western

⁸⁴Useem, Passim.

husbands and 62 percent of the Western wives acknowledge their role as cross-cultural links; they are aware that they contribute to understanding between societies and to the impression each has of the other. (See Table A-27 in appendix.) When discussing Indians' images of Westerners and of the West, however, the Westerner married to an Indian is more likely to focus on the picture the formal representatives give than the way they themselves represent their societies. They perceive their linkage role as a personal one rather than cultural or political. A similar lack of personal responsibility is seen in the couples' concern with the image of Indian-Western couples in general. There is some concern over the effect already established ideas about mixed couples may have on social interaction with Indians or Westerners. But there does not appear to be much discussion about how a couple can change the image.

Indian-Western couples are aware of one another; all are aware that there are other cross-cultural couples, and the vast majority of the Western partners (92 percent of the wives and 70 percent of the husbands) are personally acquainted with other couples like themselves. (See Tables A-64 and A-65 in appendix.) This does not provide the same kind of collective identity that is found among the Western representatives, most of whom live near and share common work roles or organizations with other Westerners. The greater diversity of work roles and residential distribution are two important factors contributing to the greater involvement

of Indian-Western couples in Indian society and their lower level of involvement in Western groups compared to Westerners working in India.

Participation in Indian Society

In general, the Indian-Western couples and the Westerners interact with the same kinds of Indians--modern, urban, and primarily Hindus, Christians and Parsis. The breadth of associations with Indians is greater, however, for the couples. The Westerner married to an Indian has additional channels into the Indian society provided by the Indian partner's familial ties, childhood and college networks, and communal bonds--caste, regional or religious. Another reason the couples have a greater variety of contacts in Indian communities than Western representatives is that the group the Westerners are representing circumscribes the kind of Indians with whom interaction is appropriate. A high ranking foreign diplomat, for example, does not have contact with villagers. The couples, on the other hand may be related to villagers.

Not only are the couples' relations with Indians more widespread, they are more likely to have deeper and more personalized relations with Indians than the Western representatives. All of the Western partners, with the exception of two wives, have close Indian friends compared with 20 percent of the Americans in the study of the American community in India.⁸⁵ This depth reflects

⁸⁵ John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem, "The Interfaces of a Bi-national Third Culture: A Study of the American Community in India," Journal of Social Issues, XXIII (January 1967), p. 137.

the fact that the Western partners are in India as individuals rather than representatives of a collectivity, that their Indian spouses provide ready-made, highly-personalized contacts for them, and that they are in India for a longer time than the Western representatives, except for the traditional missionaries. The last factor means that many in the sample had already been in India a long time when interviewed and had made close friends over that period. The fact that a newcomer plans to spend a long time in India may also influence the willingness of both the Western partner and the Indians to commit themselves to friendships.

Participation in the Western Community in India

Westerners married to Indians have a lower rate of involvement in Western communities in India than the Western representatives. The Western representatives tend to live near one another and to interact in multiple role relationships. Their family lives, work lives, and social lives are all closely intertwined in the same social system. With the exception of the 11 percent of the Indian-Western couples who are encompassed by some third culture community, the couples generally enter such networks through a single role relationship, either functional or social.

The difference between the couples' and the Western representative's levels of participation in Western groups in India is made clearer by using the fourfold system of classification presented in the following table.⁸⁶

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 139; definitions of Integrated, Fringe and Isolated individuals are those used by Useems.

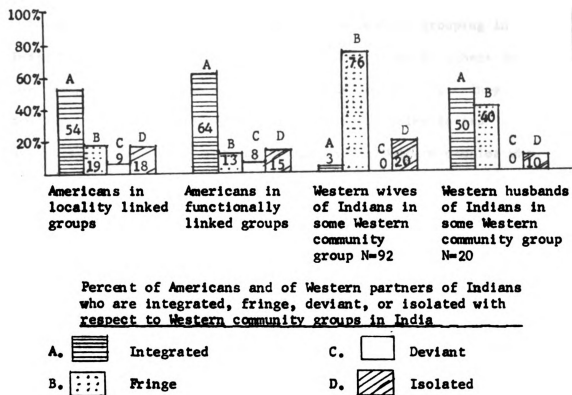


Figure 17. Percent of Americans and of Indian-Western couples in Western community groupings in India according to type of participation.⁸⁷

Figure 17. Chi Square Test. (Western partners of Indians only)

	Integrated	Fringe	Isolated	Total
Western wives	4	70	18	92
Western husbands	10	8	2	20

$$\chi^2 = 31.30, df = 2, p = < .001$$

⁸⁷ Data on the Americans refers only to heads of household, while the data on Western partners includes both husbands and wives.

Individuals who are integrated with a Western grouping in India both consider themselves and are so regarded by others in the group as being an active member in its social life. They conform to the group's style of living and subscribe to its prevailing values. All but one of the Indian-Western couples who are integrated into a Western community are part of business or missionary communities. The Western husbands are integrated into one of the Western communities by virtue of their occupations; their Indian wives are accepted as any other wife. The integrated Western wives, with the exception of one, were integrated into the missionary community by occupation and then married Indians who were in that community themselves. Significantly, only one of the Westerners who are integrated parts of a Western community is married to a Hindu. The Christian and Parsi Indian partners are more easily integrated into the foreign community because, in a sense, they too are differentiated from the dominant Hindu community.

The vast majority of Western wives, and nearly half the Western husbands of Indians are fringe to Western communities in India. That is, they identify themselves as a nominal part of a group, but do not feel strongly attached to it. They enter only intermittently into its routinized social life. The integrated members of the ingroup, in turn, identify such individuals as acceptable but peripheral figures to be occasionally included on ceremonial events or under special circumstances. Especially in large cities, the Western communities congregate around work roles;

thus, for example, Western bankers form a community, as do diplomats. The Western woman whose Indian husband is employed in an Indian organization, or who is independently employed, finds it difficult to become integrated into such a group. Likewise, the 40 percent of the Western husbands who are fringe to Western community groups are working independently, for Indian concerns, or are the lone Western representatives of an occupational category such as a newspaper editor. Those who are fringe to the total community group may, nevertheless, be central to one part of that community. They might be a leader in one of the Western churches, or very active in an interest group, but not in other facets of the community's social life.

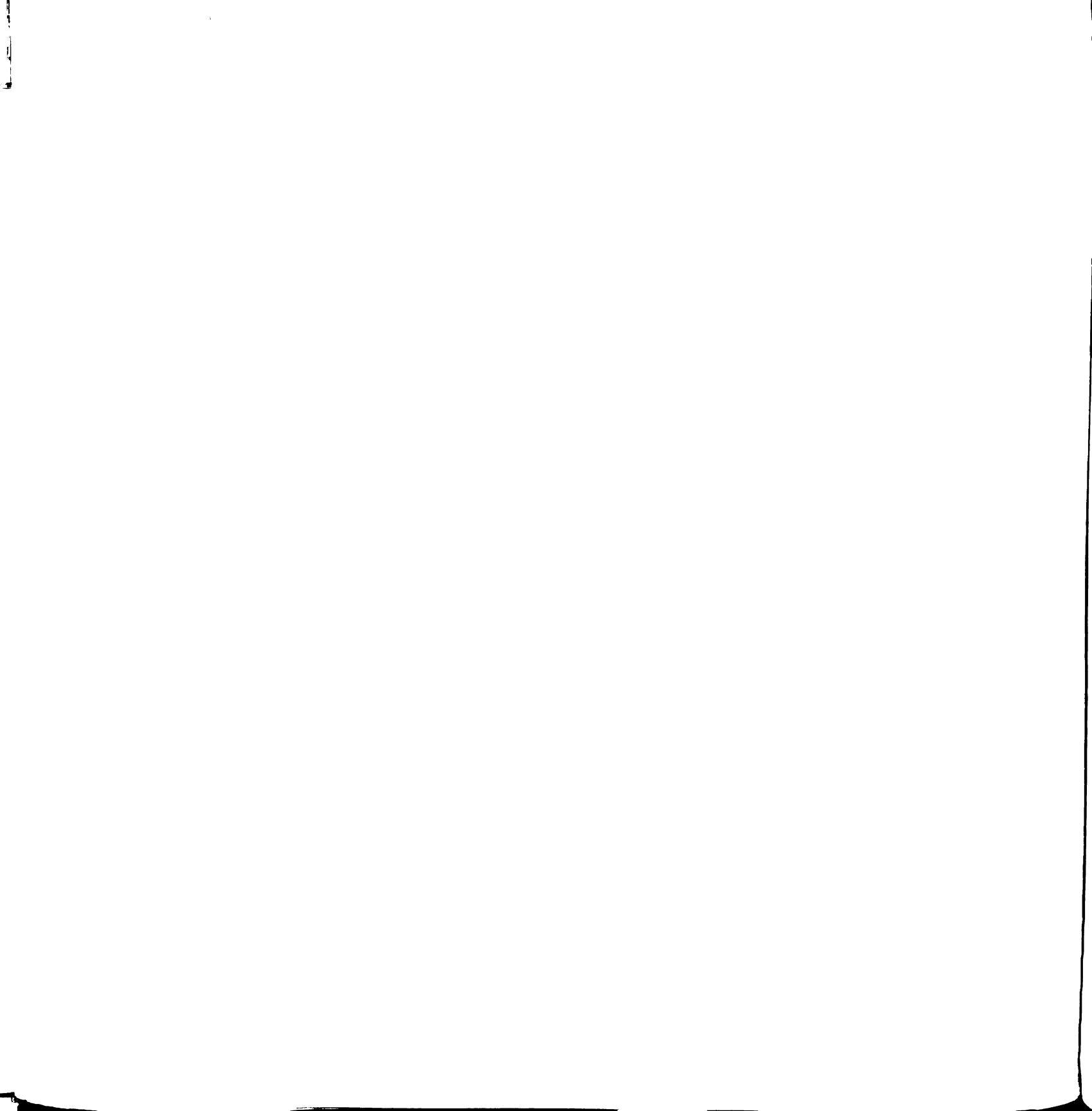
There are no deviants to Western community groups in this sample of Indian-Western couples. A deviant is one who must be included in the group because of his work role, residence, status or organizational affiliation. The majority of Indian-Western couples do not qualify as individuals who must be included, and therefore cannot be deviant. Those in this sample who do qualify as integral parts of the community are integrated. It is, of course, theoretically possible for an Indian-Western couple to be deviant to a Western community in India.

Isolates are not even marginally affiliated with Western communities in India. Most of the isolates in this sample of Indian-Western couples are living in small cities in India where there is no Western community. Some of these have Western friends

who are also isolates from Western groupings. Many of the isolates have lived elsewhere and at that time were fringe to Western communities. Isolates may also live in the vicinity of Western communities but be unaware of them or unknown to the group. The proportion of isolates among the couples studied is quite close to the proportion of Americans isolated from groups of other Americans, thus the major difference between the two groups is in ability to become integrated into Western community groups as opposed to being a "fringe" participant.

The meaning of participation of Western groups for most couples is "communal." The groups in which they participate may be locality or functional groups for the Westerners involved, but because for such a great proportion of the Western partners the meaning is "communal," the distinction between locality and functional groups is not made here.⁸⁸ The locality-linked group, in particular, is not as important a basis of association with Westerners for the couples as it is for Western representatives because many are not in a geographical position to be included naturally in such groups. Those couples, especially, who are geographically separated from Westerners in their city may seek contact with the Western partner's nationality group because they

⁸⁸ For a discussion of locality-linked and functionally-linked groups in the American community in India see John Useem, "The Community of Man: A Study in the Third Culture," The Centennial Review, VII (Fall 1963), pp. 492-4. See also, John and Ruth Useem and John Donoghue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture, 'The Roles of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration,'" Human Organization, 22 (Fall 1963), p. 176.



desire friends who speak the same language, and follow similar norms in social relations. They desire more than the similar life style which characterizes locality-bound groups. There are many modern Indians who have a life style similar to that of the Indian-Western couple, and many undoubtedly live in their locality. This difference in meaning can lead to misunderstanding. The Western locality-linked group is formed on the basis of residential proximity, and Westerners who are integrated into the Western community but do not live in a certain area understand why they are not included in a locality group's activities. The Westerner who is not integrated (whether married to an Indian or not) sees the locality group as "fellow Americans," and does not discern its residential basis. He is therefore more likely to be hurt when not included in its activities.

Association with the Western community has the same meaning for Western partners and for newly arrived Western representatives. It provides a feeling of stability, a link to one's own culture, when all else is new. The meaning of the community differs, however, when the Western representatives and those married to Indians have been in India a longer time. For the individual in the third culture, especially one who has been stationed in different parts of the world, the American, British or other Western community provides a sense of continuity to his life. Although third cultures in Nairobi, Paris and Bombay may differ

in specific details, the overall pattern of the diplomatic or business third culture, for example, is basically the same.

The longer Indian-Western couples are in India and associated with foreign communities, by contrast, the more aware they become of the turnover in membership. The general pattern of the associations continues relatively unchanged, but there is a high rate of mobility in the personnel. This is contrasted by the couples to the associations with Indians which may include continuous relationships from the time of arrival in India, if not from the Indian partner's childhood. The difference in perception of continuity or lack of continuity provided by participation in third culture groups is also related to the position of the individual within the group. When an individual is central to a group, highly integrated, it is the group which is important. Particular individuals within the group may change but the cohesive unit remains. As has been shown, the Westerners married to Indians are more likely to be fringe to Western groups than integrated into them. When a person is on the edges of a group he may be more strongly attached to specific individuals within the group than to the group itself. When those individuals leave that person's relations with the group change and he is necessarily more aware of the turnover.

The meaning and function of third culture communities impinge differently upon Indian-Western couples and Western representatives in several other ways as well. One very important function of the

Western community in the third culture is providing a place where a member can relax. He does not have to be self-conscious about his behavior and what he says because the others share his life style and norms. The group may provide a catharsis for some who feel a need to talk about problems of dealing with host nationals or of living in a new place. Some of the Western partners find that the Western community in India serves this function for them as well. Others feel that they are viewed as Indian or part Indian, and that when they are present interaction becomes self-conscious again. When a Western partner senses that his own nationality group is not relaxed in his presence he may feel the need for an escape from the Western as well as the Indian community. Some of the Westerners married to Indians who feel this way turn to other mixed couples for their own catharsis; in that group they find others who share their own particular life style and face similar problems.

Two norms of third culture communities are described in the study of Americans in India as follows.

- 1) The newcomer is not expected to possess great social talents or an exceptional personality, the only demands being that he adopt the folkways of the group--if golf is the recreation, then he learns to play golf; and if politics is not an appropriate topic at parties, then he learns to avoid the subject.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ John Useem, "The Community of Man," p. 494.

2) The most universally specified norms (originating out of the rejection of the colonial heritage) are social acceptance of persons as equals and freedom from racial bias and attitudes of superiority and inferiority. In the words of a leading American figure: 'If Indians think you are condescending, patronizing, or acting like a burra sahib, you are through.'⁹⁰

The first norm applies to those who qualify for membership in the group by ascription, those single persons or family heads who have an occupation with representational responsibilities. In other words, Western husbands with third culture occupations and their Indian wives fit easily into the Western communities in India. The necessity of accepting the group's folkways, of which many of the mixed couples complain, is one of the major factors inhibiting interaction with Westerners. "To be part of the group you must play golf, you must serve drinks, you must have servants, and we cannot afford any of these on an Indian salary."

Western representatives in India may believe they are acting in accordance with the second norm of equality. That their behavior is not always seen in this light by outsiders is indicated by the fact that one quarter of the respondents in this study stated that interaction with Westerners is difficult because they "are snobbish," are "cliquish," "act like burra sahibs" (V.I.P.'s), or "have a superiority complex." (See Table 13.) Some who made this complaint attribute the attitude to financial differences. Others,

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 496.

in the minority, attribute the attitude to racial and cultural prejudices.⁹¹ These couples may be on the defensive with Western representatives because of their lower position in the system of stratification in India. Also, what the couples interpret as attitudinal differences or differences in life style are, in part, only a reflection of the relatively high conformity stemming from constant interaction in different roles in comparison to their own lives which are influenced by involvement in a different social system.

Indian-Western Couples and Western-Educated Indians Interaction
with Indians

In many respects the Indian-Western couples are like the Western-educated Indians, for, after all, 95 percent of the Indian husbands and 75 percent of Indian wives are, themselves, Western-returned Indians. Like other Western-returned Indians, the couples are modern, predominantly urban, and mobile. It is probable that the Indian-Western couples are somewhat more urban than the Western-educated Indians and that they have slightly less contact with traditional Indians.⁹² An Indian married to a Westerner may be

⁹¹ It is difficult for one who has had little opportunity to observe the interaction between Indian-Western couples and Westerners in India to assess the extent to which the couples are looked upon as inferiors, or the extent to which those making the comments enter a group of Westerners fearing such a treatment and thus creating a self-fulfilling prophecy.

⁹² In their study of Western-educated Indians the Useems do not include estimates of amount of contact with traditional Indians, nor is it possible with the data collected for this study to quantify the amount of contact these couples have had with traditional Indians for direct comparison.

somewhat more likely to stress urban employment than his counterpart who married an Indian to make his Western partner more comfortable both physically and socially. He may also, consciously or unconsciously, avoid association with traditional Indians to "protect" the Western partner and/or save himself from embarrassment. Several specific ways in which a Western wife can inhibit her husband's social involvement with traditional Indians were discussed in Chapter IV.

When the Indian-Western couple has prolonged or frequent contact with traditional Indians, however, they may provide a link to the West for more Indians than the Western-educated Indian can. Most Indians who have been abroad are male. On return to India the recipients of their new knowledge are also generally male. The contributions to India of their foreign experience are more readily apparent in the work situation than the home.⁹³ When the Indian-Western couple meets traditional Indians the wife has an opportunity to introduce elements of modern culture to the otherwise shielded women.

Interaction with Westerners

The Indians married to Westerners and the Western-educated Indians also differ with respect to ease of contacting and ease

⁹³ It is noteworthy that in Western Educated Man in India, (New York: Dryden Press, 1955), the Useems focus on the world of work because "foreign educated both judge and are judged by their degree of success in this area of life," p. 77. There is no discussion of their influence in the sphere of family life.

of integrating into Western groups in India. An Indian married to a Westerner is far more likely to be motivated to make contact with segments of the Western or international communities in India than the Indian who does not have a Western partner. The Western partner provides many of the contacts. However, it is also socially legitimate for the Indian to seek out Westerners in India "on behalf of his wife." By contrast, when a Western-educated Indian seeks friendships in the Western community he is often looked upon as one who "runs after foreigners."

Three-quarters of the Indian husbands and 85 percent of the Indian wives at least interact regularly with the same Westerners in one or several social circles, establishing a congeniality relationship. Although there is no directly comparable data for Western-educated Indians this appears to support a higher rate of contact with Westerners on the part of Indians with Western partners. (See Tables A-66 and A-67 in appendix.) The Indian man married to a Westerner may have a more difficult time than an Indian couple on the other hand, going beyond the congeniality relationship and becoming integrated with a segment of the Western community in India. When members of the diplomatic corps, for example, interact with persons outside of their own national community in India, they do so as representatives from that community to Indians. The Indian with a Western partner is only half Indian, and does not appear to be as viable a representative of India as an Indian couple. Only three percent of the Indian husbands are integrated

into a Western community group in India, although 35 percent do indicate that they have close friendships with Westerners in India.

The Indian wife of a Westerner is in a different situation, and differs significantly from Western educated Indians with respect to probability of becoming integrated into a Western grouping in India. Half of them are integrated into one of the Western communities in India. As was pointed out earlier, they are included as the wives of Western men who are defined as part of that community by virtue of occupation and are accepted as a part of the community. An additional quarter of the Indian wives have close Western friends in India.

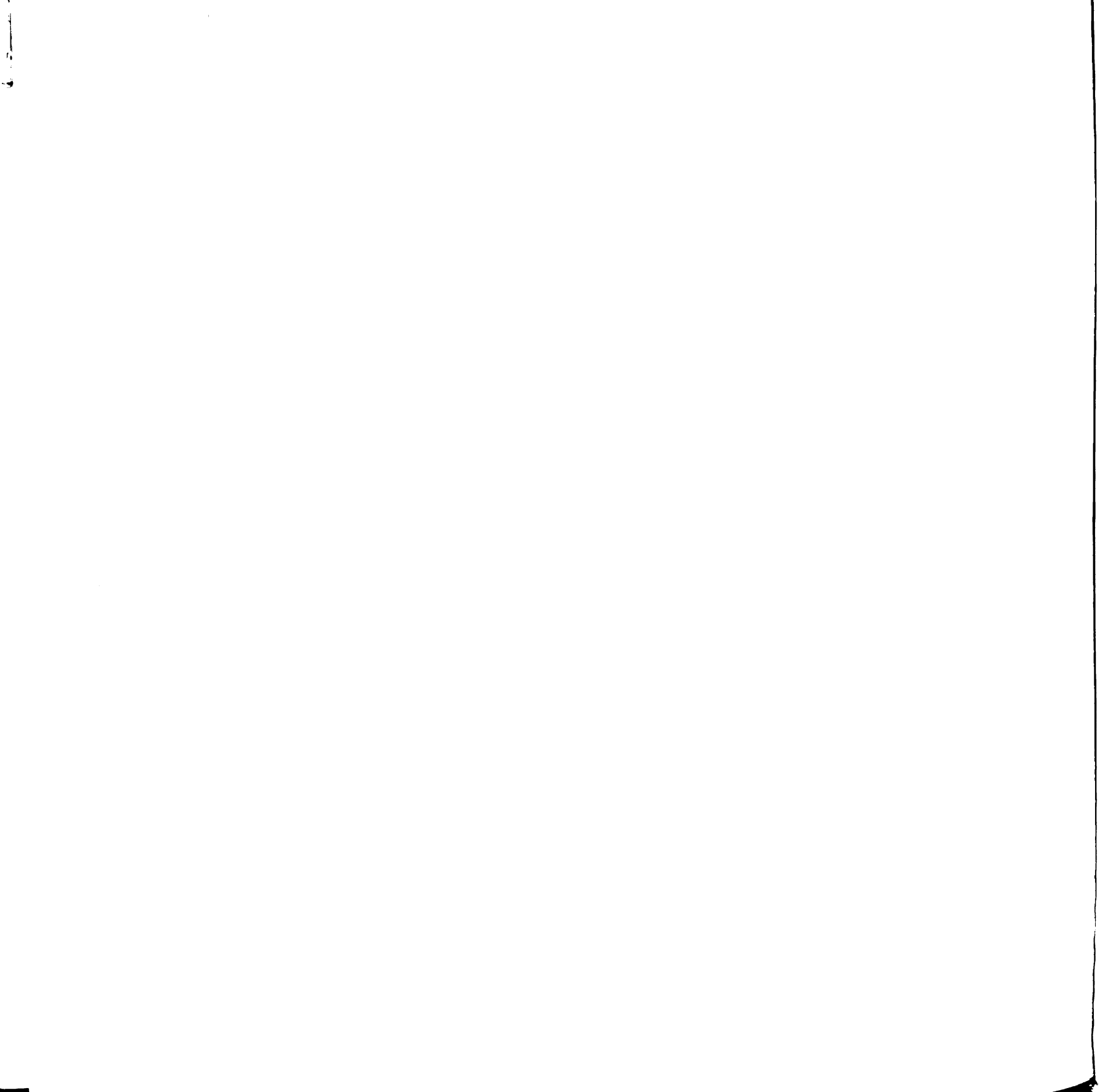
Indian-Western couples also have a higher probability of continued relations with Westerners in Europe or North America. Indian partners who have lived abroad share with the other Western-educated Indians continuing functional ties, usually professional, with persons in the West. The Western-educated Indians non-professional ties with acquaintances in the West diminish rapidly after his return. The Indian with a Western wife, on the other hand, also has at least indirect contact with his partner's friends and relatives. Communication with these too diminishes over time, but not as rapidly nor to the same degree.

The Linkage Roles of Indian-Western Couples

Three different ways Indian-Western couples encourage linkage between India and the West in general can be discerned according to the group with which the couple is associating.

1) Sustaining a link. Couples who are integrated with third culture Western communities in India are sustaining an already existing link in their interaction both with the Western representatives and the Indians associated with them. Although the couples may strengthen this bridge between societies, it would exist without them. For those couples integrated into a specific third culture community (50 percent of the Western husband couples and four percent of the Indian husband couples), this kind of sustaining linkage is central to their life style. The majority of couples, those who are fringe to third culture communities, sustain already established links in certain role relationships. A Western wife employed in her nation's culture center, for example, would be sustaining a link in that role, but in no others.

2) Activating or Reactivating a link. Interaction with modern Indians who are indirectly influenced by the West, and who share with Westerners the culture of the "ecumene," is activating a nascent cross-cultural link. For example, a couple at an Indian university in a small city, or a couple in the Indian military is associated with Indians whose professional lives, in particular, involve them in an international network, although they may have never been in personal contact with outsiders. When a colleague or friend has himself been trained abroad, but has lost contact with friends and associates outside India, the couple is reactivating a weakened link. All couples fulfill this role at least some of the time, and for most this kind of linkage is their primary contribution to the overall process of cultural mediation.



3) Initiating a link. Couples who interact with traditional Indians are initiating a completely new link. Traditional Indians may have heard of Western nations, especially Britain, but remain largely unaffected by modern ways of thinking. Most commonly contact with traditional Indians is through family relationships. Sometimes the contact has only the potential of initiating a link, for it is limited to a brief period at a large gathering. It is possible for a Western partner to become completely involved in traditional Indian society and culture, excluding any remnants of his Western past. Such a person ceases to perform any linking role. Several such persons were reported, but none are in this sample. Most of the couples in this study have had at least limited contact with traditional Indians and thus the potential for initiating a link. Twelve percent of the couples, primarily Indian husbands and Western wives, have enough contact with traditional Indians to play an important role as initiators.

The second and third linking activities described are those in which the symbolic function, mentioned earlier, is particularly important. The contribution to cross-cultural relations is more than symbolic, however, and is often more than introducing a single Westerner who is married to an Indian to the scene. Friends from abroad visiting India may be drawn to that town by the Western partner, as well as Western friends in India. Western partners are also able to put Indians in touch with people in their own countries to help them while in India or while abroad.

In none of the above activities does the Indian-Western couple make a unique contribution to cross-cultural relations. They share the first function with all the Western representatives in India as well as with a few Western-educated Indians. The second and third they share with the Western-educated Indian and with a few Western representatives. In a following section some of the ways these Indian-Western couples make special contributions to the overall linkage process are discussed.

The Importance of Indian-Western Couples as Cross-Cultural Links

In many respects, the kind of links Indian-Western couples provide between India and the West are also provided by Western-educated Indians and/or Western representatives. In addition, many of the subjects in this study perform linking functions in other roles which many would fill regardless of their marriage. One might ask then--what is the couples' importance to cross-cultural relations?

Cross-cultural marriages do contribute to occupational and voluntary linkages between societies in two ways. First, the marriages put some individuals who might otherwise not have the opportunity or inclination to mediate between cultures in a position to do so. This is particularly true of Western wives. Second, the understanding gained from marriage to someone of another culture strengthens a person's effectiveness in his other linking roles.

Increasing Understanding

The assumption of this study has been that interaction between individuals from different societies contributes to the development of mutual understanding between their societies. There are, however, several different kinds of understanding: factual knowledge, comprehension, and endorsement.⁹⁴ Because of differences in their cross-cultural roles, the Indian-Western couples are less concerned with the last type of understanding than are representative Westerners. Although the couples' cross-cultural role is not primarily directed toward improving understanding, they are in a particularly favorable position for personally contributing to comprehension of facts that Indians or Westerners can gather elsewhere.

It is because their relationships in both societies are highly personalized and intimate that cross-cultural couples are in a position to make special contributions to the overall process of linkage. They relate to others in this role as human beings, in addition to being formal and/or informal representatives of larger collectivities. As such, they are more credible to many. Indians, in particular, place a great deal of importance on personalized relationships and are more willing to trust someone with whom

⁹⁴ See Western Educated Man in India, op. cit., p. 134, for original discussion of these three kinds of understanding.

they have established a close personal relation than with someone they meet in an official role.

Indian-Western couples have added credibility in certain domains of life because their knowledge of each society is also highly personalized. The Indian married to a Westerner is likely to have more personal experience in the private life of the Western society through his wife's personal-social associations than the Western-educated Indian and certainly the Western partner speaks from greater personal experience than the Western-educated Indian. The same is true for the credibility given the couples' explanation of India to Westerners.

The Indian-Western couple's additional sphere of influence in India is as important a factor in their impact on cross-cultural understanding as the intimacy of relationships and the nature of their knowledge. Once the Western partner of an Indian is accepted in India, he is accepted into that society's most central institution, the family.

Stability of Linkage

Because of its apolitical, non-ideological nature, the link provided by cross-cultural couples is less sensitive than that of Western representatives to variations in international relations. When international relations cool the exchange of representative personnel is curtailed or the bi-national participation becomes more circumscribed. Although governments cannot withdraw foreign partners of nationals from a country, policies regarding the

exchange of persons and other endeavors between countries does affect the potential number of cross-cultural marriages.

The Western partner is more likely to remain in India during periods of international tension than the Western representatives. However, the nature of the situation does affect the ease with which the couple is able to bridge their societies. When tension between societies polarizes the populations it is difficult for a cross-cultural couple to move freely between their nationality groups. Both groups close channels of access to the other. Either side, or both sides, may actively discourage interaction with the bi-national couple, precisely because of their ability to serve as a channel between the two societies. It is feared that information given one partner will pass, through the foreign partner, to the other group. Another aspect of this polarizing is the tendency to see people increasingly in categorical terms. The foreign partner is seen more as a foreigner and less as an individual than at other times. Categorical suspicions and negative attitudes may extend to include the Indian partner. Instead of gaining prestige from association with a Westerner, the Indian partner is regarded as one who has "sold out" when Indian-Western relations are not friendly.

This increased tendency to categorize makes it more difficult for the newly arrived Indian-Western couple than one which has lived in India a long time to bridge societies in times of stress. There is little known about the recently arrived couple besides the fact

that one partner is foreign. They have not yet had time to establish the important intimate relationships and to establish their "bona fides" in other, more neutral, roles. The foreign partner who has lived in India for a long time when relations between the countries cool has validated himself in a variety of other roles, and thus is not as likely to be seen only in terms of nationality. Such a person may be known as a dedicated volunteer worker in the hospital, or "the cousin who took care of our children," for example. In many ways, over the years, the foreign partner has had an opportunity to show his attachment to his adopted country. One Western wife organized women's defense groups during the Indo-Pakistani conflict in 1965. Another showed her identification with India during the fight for Independence by always wearing a sari, although she preferred Western dress.

Couples react and adjust to their changed situation in different ways. Some avoid the situation by moving to a third country. Others find that the polarization extends into their personal relationship and the strain is resolved by divorce. The majority, however, remain living where they are and adjust their behavior to minimize conflict with their own friends and associates. The couple may be sought out in the early stages of tension between their countries, as an important source of information to help others in the interpretation of a changing situation. As tension increases, however, and feelings about the other group intensify, the couples are likely to emphasize the strictly personal aspects of

friendships even more than before, and to avoid political discussions. Activities which underscore the couple's bi-national nature are likely to be played down or ignored, and non-sensitive areas emphasized. The Western partner might stop teaching his language, for example, or encouraging young Indians to study in his country. They are still available, however, for those Indians in the third culture who wish to maintain associations reaching beyond their own national and cultural boundaries.

Final Note

Cross-cultural couples provide one of many and often additional linkages between diverse societies. The supplement and complement other individual, organizational and communal linkages between social systems. The diversity in the network drawing societies closer gives it flexibility and strength. Each kind of link has its own strengths and weaknesses. One will be able to withstand stresses which break another of the linking systems. The diversity also provides a broader understanding between societies, for each provides a slightly different kind of understanding and influences a slightly different segment of each society. The overall frailty of the ties between societies can be seen in the difficulty many linkage systems will have surviving the increasingly nationalistic feelings developing in many parts of the world.

The fact that linkage systems may weaken or break does not mean the disappearance of third culture values. The cross-cultural

couples, along with others who have participated in bi-national or international social systems can provide a symbolic link. The following comments are indicative of the attitudes which provide a symbolic link between societies, even in the absence of actual interaction.

People ask me what the people there are like. I tell them that deep down in their hearts all people are alike, that there are good and bad in every country.

I am far more tolerant of differences, social and individual.

It (cross-cultural marriage) makes you question your own ideas, ways of living, values. Ours is not the only way.

The cross-cultural couple has an important linkage function in furthering interaction between societies and in representing third culture values, for they bring cultures together in both their private and public lives. Not all are able to do both successfully. Some feel they have succeeded at neither. Some feel they have failed in their personal lives, but have contributed to building bridges between societies and still others feel they have done just the opposite.

The sense of fulfillment in bridging societies may often be uneven. As one woman commented, "sometimes I feel I have done nothing; at other times I know I have made a real breakthrough." In spite of all, most couples would agree with the woman who said

My feeling is that the world would do better with more inter-marriage because when you intermarry you love the country of your spouse as well as your own. There would be less danger of war and such if everyone would consider all the countries of the world their own. We help in a small way; now my family in Europe feels that India is their country too.

And a husband adds, "one of the great pleasures of my life is being a link, and my marriage has only increased this."

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

TABLE A-1. LENGTH OF MARRIAGE IN INDIA BY NATIONALITY OF FOREIGN PARTNER, PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

<u>Length of Marriage</u>	<u>Great Britain</u> (N=36)	<u>United States</u> (N=23)	<u>Common-wealth</u> (N=8)	<u>Germany</u> (N=16)	<u>Other European</u> (N=30)
0-5 years	30	39	50	50	20
6-10 years	17	26	25	25	20
11-15 years	11	9	25	6	13
16-20 years	3	17		6	30
21-25 years	6	-		6	7
<u>more than 25 years</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>9</u>		<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	100	100	100	99	100

Table A-1. Chi Square Test

	Great Britain	United States	Others
1-10 years	17	15	30
11-20 years	5	6	17
<u>More than 21 years</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	36	23	54

$$x^2 = 12.62, df = 4, p = < .02$$

TABLE A-2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO FATHER'S OCCUPATION

<u>Father's occupation</u>	<u>Indian husbands</u> (N=84)	<u>Indian wives</u> (N=20)	<u>Western husbands</u> (N=19)	<u>Western wives</u> (N=88)
Executive	1.2	0	10.5	3.4
Professional	34.6	50.0	15.7	15.9
Semi-professional	10.7	35.0	21.0	15.9
Proprietor	21.4	0	15.7	27.2
Official	21.4	0	0	11.4
Other (clerical, sales, farm, craft, service)	9.5	15.0	31.5	23.9
Can't classify, none	1.2	0	5.2	2.3
Total	100	100	99.6	100

Table A-2. Chi Square Test.

	IH	IW	WH	WW	
Executive, professional, semi-prof.	39	17	9	31	$x^2 = 28.12$
Proprietor, official	36	0	3	34	$df = 6$
Other	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>23</u>	$p = < .001$
Total	83	20	19	88	

TABLE A-3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO CASTE.

Caste	Indian Husbands (N=93)	Indian Wives (N=20)
Brahmin	27.0	10.0
Writers, Doctors	18.3	10.0
Merchants	9.7	5.0
Agricultural	17.2	10.0
Other	2.2	5.0
Not applicable, no response	25.8	60.0
Total	100.2	100.0

TABLE A-4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Educational level	Indian husbands (N=84)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=19)	Western wives (N=89)
Less than B.A.	3.0	20.0	21.0	76.0
B.A., B.A. plus diploma	39.0	35.0	32.0	15.0
M.A. or equivalent (including work toward Ph.D.)	23.0	35.0	26.0	3.0
Ph.D., M.D., etc.	34.5	10.0	21.0	6.0
Total	99.5	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-4. Chi Square Test.

	Western wives	all others	
less than B.A.	68	11	$\chi^2 = 100.78$
B.A. and M.A.	16	77	$df = 2$
Ph.D.	5	35	$p = < .001$
Total	89	123	

TABLE A-5. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN PARTNERS ACCORDING TO FAMILY TYPE

Family Type	Indian Husbands (N=84)	Indian Wives (N=20)
Traditional	37.0	10.0
Transitional	39.4	20.0
Indian Christian	4.2	30.0
Parsi	9.5	15.0
Modern	9.5	0
Westernized	2.1	15.0
Third Culture	0	10.0
Total	101.7	100.0

Table A-5. Chi Square Test.

	IH	IW
Traditional	31	2
Transitional	33	4
Non-traditional	20	14
Total	84	20

$$\chi^2 = 15.92, df = 2, p = < .001$$

TABLE A-6. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WESTERN PARTNERS ACCORDING TO FAMILY TYPE.

Family Types	Western Husbands (N=18)	Western Wives (N=92)
No cross-cultural experience	22.2	21.8
Superficial cross-cultural experience	38.9	36.0
Extended cross-cultural experiences	0	18.5
High cross-cultural involvement	38.9	20.6
No family	0	3.3
Total	100	100

Table A-6. Chi Square Test. Extended or high cross-cultural involvement in family compared to all others. $\chi^2 = .003$, $df = 1$, $p = < .10$

TABLE A-7. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO EMOTIONAL STATE AT TIME OF MARRIAGE.

Emotional State	Indian husbands (N=71)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=90)
Desire to maintain identification with more than own society or culture	12.7	30.0	53.2	16.7
Desire to change identity or to live in another society	7.0	15.0	0	13.3
Feeling of insecurity, frustration, etc.	24.0	35.0	40.0	34.4
Period of crisis, i.e. war	5.6	0	0	6.7
Nothing special indicated	55.5	30.0	13.3	36.8

Percentage total more than 100 percent because a respondent may be in more than one category, with the exception of those in the "nothing special" category.

Table A-7. Chi Square Test.

- a) Some emotional state indicated compared to no emotional state indicated at time of marriage. $\chi^2 = 12.15$, $df = 3$, $p = < .01$
- b) Desire dual or changed identity compared to all others. $\chi^2 = 9.67$, $df = 3$, $p = < .025$

TABLE A-8. LEVEL OF CROSS-CULTURAL EXPERIENCE BY PERIOD IN WHICH COUPLES MET: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

Level of cross-cultural experience	Date of Meeting		
	Pre-1945	1946-55	1956 and after
<u>A-8a. Indian husbands</u>	(N=20)	(N=23)	(N=29)
No cross-cultural experience	-	-	-
Superficial cross-cultural exp.	20.0	9.0	3.0
Internationally experienced	40.0	26.0	7.0
Highly international	40.0	65.0	90.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-8a. Chi Square Test. Superficial and internationally experienced compared to highly international. $\chi^2 = 13.55$, $df = 2$, $p = < .005$

<u>A-8b. Indian Wives</u>	(N=4)	(N=5)	(N=10)
No experience	0.0	0.0	0.0
Superficial experience	75.0	40.0	20.0
Experienced	25.0	20.0	20.0
Highly international	0.0	40.0	60.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-8b. Chi Square Test. Does not meet assumptions for Chi Square.

<u>A-8c. Western Husbands</u>	(N=2)	(N=5)	(N=9)
No experience	0.0	0.0	0.0
Superficial experience	0.0	0.0	11.0
Experienced	100.0	60.0	77.0
Highly international	0.0	40.0	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	99.0

Table A-8c. Chi Square Test. Does not meet assumptions of Chi Square.

<u>A-8d. Western Wives</u>	(N=26)	(N=33)	(N=30)
No experience	31.0	9.0	0.0
Superficial experience	42.0	36.0	40.0
Experienced	15.0	43.0	53.0
Highly international	12.0	12.0	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-8d (cont.)

Table A-8d. Chi Square Test. No experience and superficial cross-cultural experience compared to experienced and highly international.
 $\chi^2 = 6.92$, $df = 2$, $p = < .05$

TABLE A-9. LEVEL OF INDIAN PARTNER'S CROSS-CULTURAL EXPERIENCE BEFORE MARRIAGE BY INDIAN RELIGION: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION.

Level of cross-cultural experience	Hindu (N=58)	Muslim (N=8)	Christian (N=14)	Parsi (N=7)	Sikh (N=4)	Jain (N=1)	Tribal (N=1)
Superficial	7.0	25.0	57.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Experienced	26.0	25.0	14.0	29.0	25.0	100.0	0.0
Highly international	67.0	50.0	29.0	71.0	75.0	0.0	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-9. Chi Square Test.

	Christian	All others
Superficial and exper.	10	27
Highly international	4	52
Total	14	79

$\chi^2 = 6.89$, $df = 1$, $p = < .01$

TABLE A-10. LEVEL OF WESTERN PARTNER'S CROSS-CULTURAL EXPERIENCE BEFORE MARRIAGE BY WESTERN NATIONALITY: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

Level of cross-cultural experience	Great Britain (N=34)	United States (N=22)	Commonwealth (N=8)	Germany (N=10)	Other European (N=33)
No experience	18.0	14.0	0.0	0.0	6.0
Superficial	32.0	23.0	37.8	40.0	43.0
Experienced	44.0	50.0	37.8	50.0	33.0
Highly international	6.0	13.0	25.0	10.0	18.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.6	100.0	100.0

Table A-10. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 1.01$, $df = 2$, $p = > .10$

TABLE A-11. CULTURAL ORIENTATION OF RESPONDENTS BY PERIOD IN WHICH THEY MET THEIR PARTNERS: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

A-11a. Indian Partners

Cultural Orientation	Pre-1945 (N=21)	1946-55 (N=32)	After 1956 (N=38)
Home oriented with some cross-cultural or non-traditional experience	29.0	53.0	40.0
Rebelling, rejecting, disillusioned	14.0	22.0	10.0
Expanding outward	24.0	9.0	32.0
Socialized in third culture	33.0	16.0	18.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-11a. Chi Square Test.

Some cross-cultural or non-traditional experience	6	17	15
Rebel, reject, disillusioned	3	7	4
Expanding + socialized in third culture	12	8	19
Total	21	32	38

$$x^2 = 7.22, df = 4, p = > .10$$

<u>A-11b. Western Partners</u>	(N=29)	(N=36)	(N=38)
No strong orientation	45.0	25.0	39.0
Uprooted	3.0	14.0	8.0
Rebel, disillusioned	14.0	28.0	18.0
Expanding outward	21.0	28.0	32.0
Socialized in third culture	17.0	5.0	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-11b. Chi Square Test.

No strong orientation	13	9	15	$x^2 = 5.53$
Uprooted plus rebelling*	5	15	10	$df = 4$
Expanding plus socialized in third culture	11	12	13	$p = > .10$
Total	29	36	38	

*These are combined only for the purposes of meeting the chi square test assumptions

TABLE A-12. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES ACCORDING TO HOW THEY MET.

Way of meeting	Indian husbands Western wives (N=93)	Western husbands Indian wives (N=19)
Mutual friends	37	53
Occupation	29	37
Interest groups	16	5
Travel	4	5
Chance	6	0
Residence	8	0
Total	100	100

Table A-12. Chi Square Test.

Friends	34	10	$x^2 = 4.32$
Occupation	27	7	$df = 2$
All other means	32	2	$p = > .10$
Total	93	19	

TABLE A-13. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PARENTS' REACTION TO THE MARRIAGE.

Parental Reaction	Indian husbands (N=85)	Indian wives (N=19)	Western husbands (N=18)	Western wives (N=92)
Positive, without reservation	9	16	11	10
Agree with reservation, i.e., age difference, distance	22	16	50	38
Indifferent, agree with reluctance	8	0	17	2
Unhappy, very opposed	28	10	0	26
Opinion changed, parents disagreed	8	21	11	12
Parents did not know, not living or not told	25	37	11	13
Total	100	100	100	100

Table A-13. Chi Square Test.

Positive plus agree	26	6	11	44	$x^2 = 28.46$
Indifferent	7	0	3	1	$df = 9$
Opposed	24	2	0	24	$p = < .001$
Other	28	11	4	23	
Total	85	19	18	92	

TABLE A-14. DETAILED LIST OF RESPONDENTS' FIELDS OF OCCUPATION (in numbers).

Field of occupation	Indian husband	Indian Wife	Western husband	Western wife
Business Firms	<u>14</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>
British or Western	8	1	6	1
Indian Firm	5	1	0	1
Indian, British managed	1	0	1	1
Industry	<u>14</u>			<u>1</u>
Western Industry	2			
Indian Industry, Govt.	4			
Indian Industry, private	5			
Family industry	2			1
Own Business or Industry	<u>12</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>
Own small industry (factory)	3		2	
Small production plant (cheese, pottery)	2			1
Farm related--dairy, stud	2			
Shops	2			4
Contractors	1			
Equipment supply	2			
Rents rooms				1
Independent Professionals	<u>14</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Lawyer, judges	4			
Editor of paper	2		1	
Doctor in Indian hospital	3	1	1	
Doctor in Western hospital	1			
Doctor in own clinic	2	1		1
Architect, artist	1			1
Free lance writer	1			
Nurse in Western clinic				1
Professionals in Institutes	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>
Govt. institutes, usually research oriented	5			
Ford Foundation consultant	1			
Secretary, teacher, etc. world assembly of Youth Alliance Française, etc.	1	1	1	8

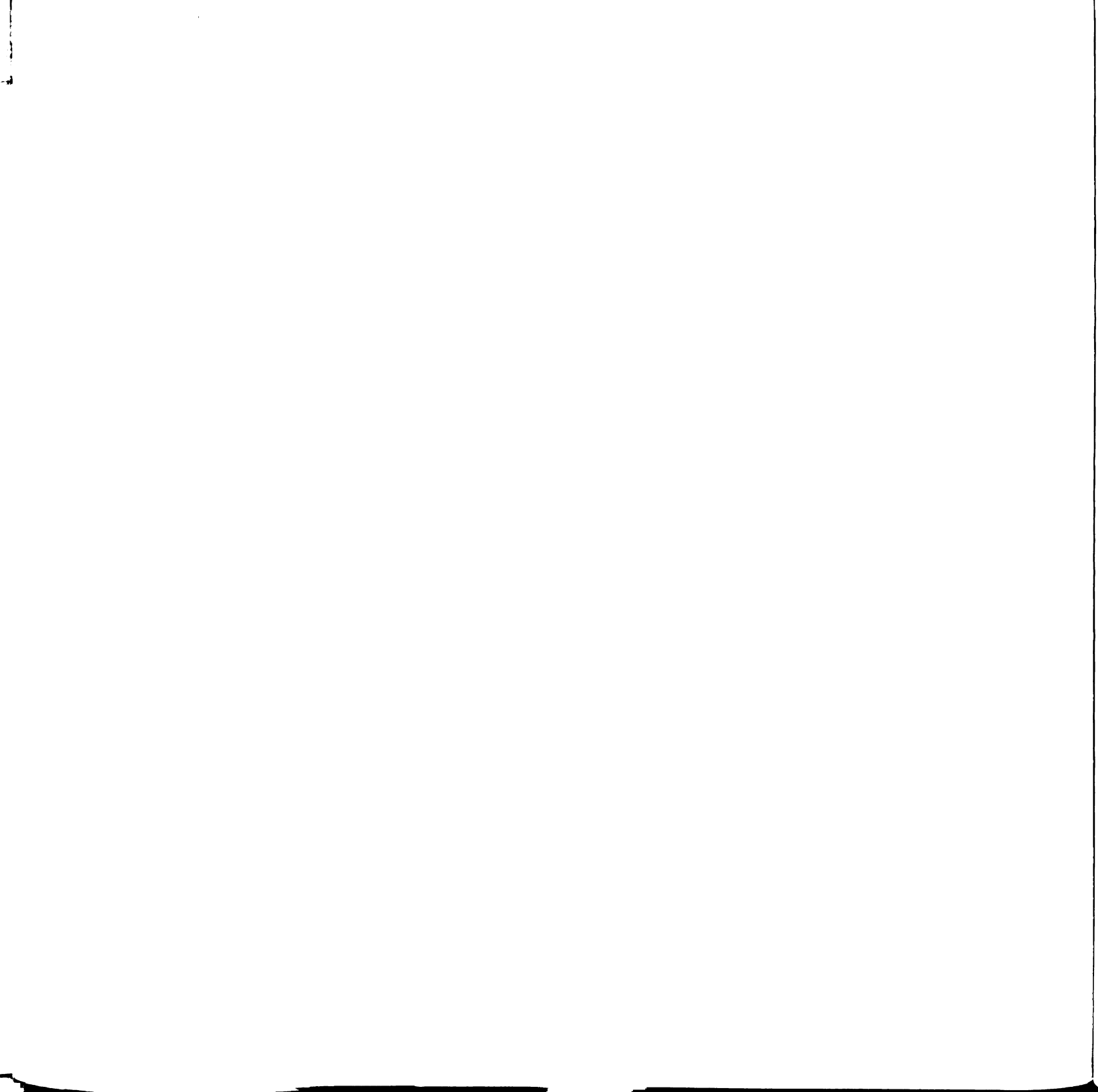


TABLE A-14 (cont.)

Field of occupation	Indian husband	Indian wife	Western husband	Western wife
Academic	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>18</u>
Teaching in college	15	2	2	6
Primary or secondary	1	3	6	
Teach language on own				2
Student			2	1
Non-academic personnel				2
Established own school				1
Government officials	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
Indian government	10	1	1	1
Western government				2
Military	<u>6</u>			
Doctor	4			
Other	2			
Religious (not incl. teaching in church college or school)	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Minister			1	
Missionary	1			1
Church official			1	
Other				
Independently wealthy	1			
Not working	<u> </u>	<u>9</u>	<u> </u>	<u>50</u>
TOTAL	94	20	20	93

TABLE A-15. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL FIELD WHOSE OCCUPATION IS THIRD CULTURAL.

In third culture occupation	Business/ Industry	Own Business/ Industry	Professional*	Academic**	Religion**	Govt. + Military	Total
A. Indian husbands	(N=28)	(N=11)	(N=20)	(N=16)	(N=2)	(N=16)	(N=93)
Yes	35.8	0.0	10.0	12.5	100.0	0.0	17.2
No	<u>64.2</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>90.0</u>	<u>87.5</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>82.8</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
B. Indian wives	(N=1)	(N=0)	(N=3)	(N=4)	(N=1)	(N=1)	(N=10)
Yes	100.0	0.0	66.6	75.0	100.0	100.0	80.0
No	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>25.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>20.0</u>
Total	100.0	0.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
C. Western husbands	(N=7)	(N=2)	(N=4)	(N=4)	(N=3)	(N=1)	(N=21)
Yes	85.5	0.0	50.0	25.0	100.0	0.0	57.0
No	<u>14.5</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>50.0</u>	<u>75.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>43.0</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
D. Western wives	(N=3)	(N=5)	(N=9)	(N=17)	(N=2)	(N=3)	(N=39)
Yes	33.3	0.0	77.7	41.0	100.0	66.6	50.0
No	<u>66.6</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>22.3</u>	<u>59.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>50.0</u>
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

*Professional includes individuals who are teaching in cross-cultural institutes and government culture centers.

**One Western husband who teaches in a theological college is included in both the Religion and academic categories.

Tables A-16 through A-26 indicate the percent of respondents who spontaneously mention voluntary linkage activities. Three main categories of voluntary linkage activity--educational, interpersonal, and activity to help--indicate the total percent of respondents who mentioned at least one of the voluntary activities listed in the tables immediately following the three main tables.

Voluntary linkage activity	Indian husbands	Indian wives	Western husbands	Western wives	Total
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EDUCATIONAL

TABLE A-16. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION ENGAGING IN SOME VOLUNTARY EDUCATIONAL LINKAGE ACTIVITY BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=69)	(N=20)	(N=16)	(N=89)	(N=194)
Mentions educational linking	23.0	45.0	62.5	47.0	40.0
Does not mention	77.0	55.0	37.5	53.0	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-16. Chi Square Test: $\chi^2 = 13.65$, $df = 3$, $p = < .005$

TABLE A-17. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION GIVING SPEECHES ABOUT INDIA OR THE WEST BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=70)	(N=20)	(N=15)	(N=91)	(N=196)
Mentions giving speeches	32.4	20.0	20.0	5.5	10.7
Does not mention	67.6	80.0	80.0	94.5	89.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE A-18. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION WRITING BOOKS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=68)	(N=19)	(N=13)	(N=88)	(N=188)
Mentions writing books	2.84	5.2	38.4	6.9	7.4
Does not mention	97.2	94.9	61.6	93.1	92.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE A-19. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION TEACHING INDIA ABOUT WEST AND WEST ABOUT INDIA BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=69)	(N=20)	(N=15)	(N=91)	(N=195)
Mentions teaching India about West + West about India	21.8	35.0	46.5	40.7	33.0
Does not mention	78.2	65.0	53.5	50.3	67.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

INTERPERSONAL

TABLE A-20. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION SOME INTERPERSONAL ACITIVITY BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=74)	(N=20)	(N=15)	(N=92)	(N=201)
Mentions some inter-personal activity	17.6	25.0	33.3	24.0	22.4
Does not mention	82.4	75.0	66.6	76.0	77.6
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

χ^2 on total impersonal = 2.2, df = 3, p not significant at $\angle .05$

TABLE A-21. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION HELPING WESTERNERS ADJUST IN INDIA BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=73)	(N=20)	(N=14)	(N=92)	(N=199)
Mentions helping Westerners adjust in India	12.3	15.0	28.5	12.0	13.5
Does not mention	87.7	85.0	71.5	88.0	86.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE A-22. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION MAKING A POINT OF INVITING MIXED GROUPS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=74)	(N=20)	(N=16)	(N=92)	(N=200)
Mentions making a point of inviting mixed groups	2.8	15.0	12.5	8.3	7.0
Does not mention	97.2	85.0	87.5	91.7	93.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



TABLE A-23. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION HELPING OTHER MIXED COUPLES BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=72)	(N=20)	(N=16)	(N=91)	(N=199)
Mentions helping other mixed couples	4.2	5.0	6.2	14.3	9.05
Does not mention	95.8	95.0	93.8	85.7	91.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

ACTIVITY TO HELP INDIA

χ^2 on total activity to help India = 7.5, df = 3, p not significant at $< .05$

TABLE A-24. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION SOME ACTIVITY DESIGNED TO HELP INDIA BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=69)	(N=20)	(N=13)	(N=92)	(N=194)
Mentions some activity designed to help Ind.	7.2	15.0	3.1	19.6	15.5
Does not mention	72.8	85.0	96.9	80.4	84.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE A-25. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION INTRODUCING CHANGE, SETTING EXAMPLE OF WESTERN WAYS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=70)	(N=20)	(N=14)	(N=92)	(N=196)
Mentions introducing change, setting example of Western ways	4.3	10.0	14.3	13.3	9.7
Does not mention	95.7	90.0	85.7	86.7	90.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE A-26. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO MENTION OTHER WAYS OF HELPING INDIA BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	(N=70)	(N=20)	(N=13)	(N=92)	(N=195)
Mentions other ways of helping India	2.9	15.0	23.0	5.4	5.7
Does not mention	97.1	85.0	77.0	94.6	94.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE A-27. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO THINK OF THEMSELVES AS LINKS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WEST BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	Indian husbands (N=60)	Indian wives (N=19)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=80)	Total (N=174)
Think of selves as links	49.0	58.0	73.0	62.0	58.0
Do not think of selves as links	51.0	42.0	27.0	38.0	42.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-27. Chi Square Test. Indian partners compared to Western partners. $\chi^2 = 4.41$, $df = 3$, $p = >.10$

TABLE A-28. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO EXPLAIN/DEFEND INDIA TO WESTERNERS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

Explain/Defend India to Westerner	Indian husbands (N=66)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=86)	Total (N=187)
Do	91	85	80	78	83.5
Do not do	9	15	20	22	16.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100.0

TABLE A-29. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO EXPLAIN/DEFEND THE WEST TO THE INDIANS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

Explain/Defend West to Indians	Indian husbands (N=66)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=12)	Western wives (N=87)	Total (N=185)
Do	85	85	92	84	85
Do not do	15	15	8	16	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE A-30. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO RELATIVE AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT IN ALL INDIAN GROUPS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

In all Indian groups	Indian husbands (N=74)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=91)	Total (N=200)
Most or tied for most frequently	81.0	40.0	53.0	70.0	70.0
2nd or 3rd most frequent, or tied for middle frequencies	19.0	55.0	47.0	30.0	29.5
Least, or tied for least freq.	-	-	-	-	-
Never	-	5.0	-	-	.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-30. Chi Square Test.

	IH-WW	WH-IW	Total	
Most	124	16	140	$x^2 = 11.7$
Middle, least, never	41	19	60	$df = 1$
Total	165	35	200	$p = .001$

TABLE A-31. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO RELATIVE AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT IN ALL WESTERN GROUPS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

In all Western groups	Indian husbands (N=74)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=91)	Total (N=200)
Most or tied for most frequently	2.7	15	7	4.5	5
2nd or 3rd most frequent or tied for middle frequencies	40.5	65	60	45.0	46
Least or tied for least frequent	6.7	-	-	3.4	4
Never	50.0	20	33	47.0	44
Total	99.9	100	100	99.9	99

Table A-31. Chi Square Test.

	IH	IW	WH	WW	Total	
Most-middle	32	16	10	45	103	$x^2 = 10.05$
least-never	42	4	5	46	97	$df = 3$
Total	74	20	15	91	200	$p = .02$

TABLE A-32. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO RELATIVE AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT IN GROUPS OF MIXED NATIONALITIES BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

In mixed nationality groups	Indian husbands (N=74)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=91)	Total (N=200)
Most or tied for most frequently	27	70	67	33	37
2nd or 3rd most frequent or tied for middle frequencies	58	25	27	53	50
Least or tied for least freq.	-	-	-	1	.05
Never	15	5	6	13	12
Total	100	100	100	100	99

Table A-32. Chi Square Test.

	IH-WW couples	WH-IW couples	Total	
Most	50	24	74	$\chi^2 = 17.2$
Middle	91	9	100	df = 2
Least-never	24	2	26	p = .001
Total	165	35	200	

TABLE A-33. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO RELATIVE AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT IN GROUPS OF INDIAN-WESTERN COUPLES BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

In groups of mixed couples	Indian husbands (N=74)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=91)	Total (N=200)
Most or tied for most frequently	2.7	-	-	3.3	2.0
2nd or 3rd most frequent or tied for middle frequencies	6.6	-	-	7.7	5.0
Least or tied for least freq.	5.2	-	-	6.6	6.0
Never	84.5	100.0	100.0	82.5	87.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-33. Chi Square Test.

	IH-WW couples	WH-IW couples	Total	
Most-middle	16	0	16	$\chi^2 = 3.69$
Least-never	149	35	184	df = 1
Total	165	35	200	p = <.10

TABLE A-34. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO PARTICIPATE IN SOME ALL INDIAN SOCIAL NETWORK (EXCLUDING FAMILY) BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

All Indian social network	Indian husbands (N=89)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=18)	Western wives (N=93)	Total (N=220)
Does participate	92	80	75	88	88
Does not	8	20	25	12	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table A-34. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 5.496$, $df = 3$, $p = > .10$

TABLE A-35. PERCENT OF RESPONDING SAMPLE IN SPECIFIC INDIAN SOCIAL NETWORKS. (N = 220)

Family		97
Occupation		64.5 ^(a)
Husband's occupation	45.0	
Wife's occupation	2.7	
Joint occupation	3.6	
Occupation/location (e.g. factory compound)	11.9	
Communal occupation (e.g. caste occupation)	6.1	
Indian "Communal"		55.3
Indian Communal (e.g. Parsi, Bengali, Caste)	43.7	
Communal occupation	11.9	
Western-Returned Indians	5.3	
Childhood friends		27.8
Locality (including occupation/ location)		24.5
Special Interest groups		21.0 ^(a)
Husbands interest group	11.7	
Wife's interest group	3.3	
Joint interest group	2.3	
Intellectual group	9.4	
Indian Social Club (e.g. gymkhana)		7.4 ^(b)
Unspecified Indian social group		4.0 ^(b)

(a) Occupation sum does not equal the sum of its parts because 1 couple can be involved in social networks based on both husband's and wife's occupation. The same is true for interest groups.

(b) Unspecified social groups will be grossly underrepresented since the questions did not elicit information regarding such networks.

TABLE A-36. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING IN SOME ALL WESTERN SOCIAL NETWORK BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

All Western social network	Indian husbands (N=80)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=18)	Western wives (N=92)	Total (N=210)
Does participate	61	80	78	76	71
Does not	39	20	22	24	29
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table A-36. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 6.02$, $df = 3$, $p = > .10$

TABLE A-37. PERCENT OF TOTAL RESPONDING SAMPLE IN SPECIFIC ALL WESTERN NETWORKS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.(N = 210)

Western nationality	77
Occupation	6.9
Husband's	1.4
Wife's	6.4
Locality	1.5
Special interest-husband	1.0

TABLE A-38. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING IN SOME MIXED NATIONALITY SOCIAL NETWORK BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

Mixed nationality Social network	Indian husbands (N=80)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=18)	Western wives (N=92)	Total (N=210)
Does participate	84	90	83	85	85
Does not	16	10	17	15	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table A-38. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 1.95$, $df = 3$, $p = > .10$

TABLE A-39. PERCENT OF TOTAL RESPONDING SAMPLE IN SPECIFIC MIXED NATIONALITY SOCIAL NETWORK. (N = 210)

Clubs (e.g., Poona Club, Delhi Gymkhana)		42
Occupation		40.7 (a)
Husband's occupation	33.6	
Wife's occupation	7.7	
Joint occupation	4.5	
Occupation/location (e.g., campus, compound)	12.4	
Third Culture organization (Except church)		28.4
Church		20.2
communal/occupation (missionaries)	4.8	
Interest groups		18.2 (a)
Husband's interest group	4.4	
Wife's interest group	4.6	
Joint interest group	5.6	
Intellectuals, artists	4.9	
Locality (including occupation/location)		15.2
Social group (no discernible specific basis)		5. (b)

(a) See explanation Table A-35.

(b) See explanation Table A-35.

TABLE A-40. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING IN SOME MIXED COMMUNAL SOCIAL NETWORK (INDIAN-WESTERN COUPLES OR ANGLO-INDIAN) BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

Mixed communal social network	Indian husbands (N=80)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=18)	Western wives (N=92)	Total (N=210)
Does participate	33	25	22	40	34
Does not	67	75	78	60	66
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table A-40. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 10.78$, $df = 3$, $p = .02$

TABLE A-41. PERCENT OF TOTAL RESPONDING SAMPLE IN SPECIFIC MIXED COMMUNAL SOCIAL NETWORKS. (N = 210)

Anglo-Indian	12.7
All Indian- Western couples	23.6

TABLE A-42. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' CLOSE FRIENDS WHO ARE INDIAN, WESTERN AND INDIAN-WESTERN COUPLES ACCORDING TO CHANNELS THROUGH WHICH THEY MET.

How they met	Indians	Westerners	Indian-Western couples
	(N=213)	(N=42)	(N=14)
<u>A. INDIAN HUSBANDS</u>			
Functional relationships	42.2	55.0	28.5
Communal relationships*	16.4	7.2	7.0
Social networks	7.5	19.0	14.2
Childhood/college friends, own or partners	28.2	11.9	14.2
Other	<u>5.6</u>	<u>7.2</u>	<u>35.6</u>
Total	99.9	100.3	100.5

Table A-42a. Chi Square Test

How they met	Indian friends	others	
functional	9	27	$x^2 = 56.19$
communal	35	4	$df = 3$
childhood	60	7	$p = < .001$
other	28	18	
Total	213	56	

	Indians	Westerners	Indian-Western couples
<u>B. INDIAN WIVES</u>	(N=45)	(N=58)	(N=2)
Functional relationships	11.1	13.8	-
Communal relationships	15.5	26.0	-
Social networks	11.1	50.0	-
Childhood/college friends, own or partners	55.5	5.2	-
Other	<u>6.8</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE A-42. (cont.)

Table A-42b. Chi Square Test.

	Indian friends	others	
functional	5	8	$x^2 = 34.19$
communal	7	15	df = 3
childhood	25	3	p = < .001
Other	8	32	
Total	45	58	

	Indians	Westerners	Indian-Western couples
<u>C. WESTERN HUSBANDS</u>	(N=33)	(N=24)	(N=2)
Functional relationships	60.5	25.0	50.0
Communal relationships	15.1	46.0	-
Social networks	9.1	16.6	-
Childhood/college friends, own or partners	15.1	8.4	
Other	-	4.2	50.0
Total	99.8	100.2	100.0

Table A-42c. Chi Square Test	Indian friends	others	
functional	20	7	$x^2 = 10.11$
communal	5	11	df = 3
childhood	5	2	p = < .02
other	3	6	
total	33	26	

	Indians	Westerners	Indian-Western couples
<u>D. WESTERN WIVES</u>	(N=232)	(N=80)	(N=53)
Functional relationships	41.6	31.2	26.4
Communal relationships	22.2	28.8	20.8
Social networks	10.3	12.5	20.8
Childhood/college friends, own or partner's	15.0	1.2	3.8
Other	<u>10.3</u>	<u>26.2</u>	<u>28.4</u>
Total	99.4	99.9	100.2

TABLE A-42 (cont.)

Table A-42d. Chi Square Test.

	Indian friends	others	
functional	97	39	$x^2 = 31.7$
communal	52	34	df = 3
childhood	35	3	p = < .001
other	48	57	
total	232	133	

N = number of friends mentioned

*own or partner's community

TABLE A-43. PERCENT OF CLOSEST INDIAN FRIENDS WHO ARE FROM CHILDHOOD FOR INDIAN WIVES AND FOR ALL OTHER RESPONDENTS.

Origin of friendship	Indian wives (N=45)	all other respondents (N=478)
Childhood	54.4	20.9
All others	45.6	79.1

Table A-43. Chi Square Test: $x^2 = 27.13$, df = 1, p = < .001

TABLE A-44. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FIVE CLOSEST FRIENDS ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY BY SEX AND NATIONALITY OF RESPONDENT.

Community of closest friend	Indian husbands (N=72)	Indian wives (N=19)	Western husbands (N=14)	Western wives (N=92)
All Indian	43.0	26.4	14.3	18.5
All Western	1.4	10.5	7.1	1.1
Mixed nationalities	50.0	63.0	71.4	77.3
No close friends	5.5	-	7.1	3.3
Total	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.1

Table A-44. Chi Square Test.

- a) Those who name only Indian close friends compared to all others.
 $x^2 = 13.58$, df = 3, p = < .005
- b) Those who include more than one nationality among closest friends.
 $x^2 = 13.46$, df = 3, p = < .005

TABLE A-45. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELONG TO SOME CLUB OR ORGANIZATION (REGARDLESS OF MEMBERSHIP) BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	Indian husbands (N=73)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=92)	Total (N=200)
Belong to some club or organization	78.0	85.0	87.0	74.0	77.0
Do not belong to any	22.0	15.0	13.0	26.0	23.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(does not meet assumptions of χ^2)

TABLE A-46. PERCENT OF THOSE BELONGING TO CLUBS OR ORGANIZATIONS WHO ARE IN AT LEAST ONE WITH ALL INDIAN MEMBERSHIP BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	Indian husbands (N=57)	Indian wives (N=17)	Western husbands (N=13)	Western wives (N=68)	Total (N=155)
Belong to some all Indian club or organization	72.0	23.0	31.0	43.0	50.0
Do not belong to all Indian club or organ.	28.0	77.0	69.0	57.0	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-46. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 21.47$, $df = 3$, $p = < .001$

TABLE A-47. PERCENT OF THOSE BELONGING TO CLUBS OR ORGANIZATIONS WHO ARE IN AT LEAST ONE WITH ALL WESTERN MEMBERSHIP BY SEX AND NATIONALITY OF RESPONDENTS.

	Indian husbands (N=57)	Indian wives (N=17)	Western husbands (N=13)	Western wives (N=68)	Total (N=155)
Belong to some all Western club or organ.	12.0	39.0	38.0	24.0	21.0
Do not belong to any all Western club or organ.	88.0	61.0	62.0	76.0	79.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-47. Chi Square Test.

a) $\chi^2 = 8.73$, $df = 3$, $p = < .05$

b) χ^2 (IH-WW couples compared to WH-IW couples) = 6.46, $df = 1$, $p = < .02$

TABLE A-48. PERCENT OF THOSE BELONGING TO CLUBS OR ORGANIZATION WHO ARE IN AT LEAST ONE WITH BI-NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY SEX AND NATIONALITY OF RESPONDENT.

	Indian husbands (N=57)	Indian wives (N=17)	Western husbands (N=13)	Western wives (N=68)	Total (N=155)
Belong to some club or organization with mixed membership	70.0	88.0	85.0	84.0	79.0
Do not belong to mixed membership club or organ.	30.0	12.0	15.0	16.0	31.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-48. Chi Square Test (Indian husbands compared to all others)
 $\chi^2 = 4.64$, $df = 1$, $p = < .05$

TABLE A-49. PERCENT OF TOTAL SAMPLE WHO BELONG TO SPECIFIC KINDS OF CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS AND THE NATIONALITY OF MEMBERSHIP MOST COMMON FOR EACH TYPE OF CLUB OR ORGANIZATION

Type of club or organization		Percent who belong	Most common membership composition
Social (Country) clubs		51.5	mixed
Third Culture organizations (not including respondents employed in third culture organizations)		26.6	mixed
Special interest groups (e.g., music, politics, cards)		24.5	mixed
Professional		22.0	Indian
Communal		16.7	Indian
Religious		16.1	mixed
Welfare (volunteer)		14.3	Indian
Government committees	less than	10	Indian
Social	" "	"	Mixed, Indian
Organizations of Indian-Western couples	" "	"	Mixed couples
Fraternal organizations	" "	"	Indian
Women's groups (e.g. Nat'l Assoc. of Indian Women, Bengal Women's Union)	" "	"	Indian

TABLE A-50. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES ACCORDING TO SIZE OF CITY BY COMBINED SALARY.

City size	Combined Salary Level				
	less than 1,498 Rs/mo. (N=44)	1,000- 2,498 Rs/mo (N=70)	2,000- 3,498 Rs/mo (N=48)	Over 3,000 Rs/mo (N=38)	Total (N=200)
Large	13.6	28.6	37.6	52.5	32.0
Middle size	59.9	48.6	46.0	31.6	47.0
Small	27.2	22.9	16.6	15.8	21.0
Total	100.7	100.1	100.2	99.9	100.0

Table A-50. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 15.604$, $df = 6$, $p = < .02$

TABLE A-51 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF COMBINED SALARIES BY HUSBAND'S FIELD OF OCCUPATION.

Level of combined incomes	Husband's field of occupation				
	Business + industry (N=82)	Professions (N=40)	Academic (N=38)	Religion (N=10)	Govt., Military (N=26)
less than Rs 1,498/mo.	7.3	20.0	63.2	60.0	15.3
1,000-2,498 Rs/mo.	24.4	45.0	31.6	20.0	38.5
2,000-3,498 Rs/mo.	34.2	25.0	5.2	20.0	23.0
Over 3,000 Rs/mo.	34.2	10.0	-	-	23.0
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8

Table A-51. Chi Square Test. Combined income of less than Rs 2,498/mo. compared to combined income of more than Rs 2,000/mo.
 $\chi^2 = 46.51$, $df = 4$, $p = < .001$

TABLE A-52. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES ACCORDING TO SIZE OF CITY IN WHICH THE COUPLE LIVES BY HUSBAND'S FIELD OF OCCUPATION.

Size of city	Husband's field of occupation				
	Business, industry (N=96)	Professions (N=48)	Academic (N=40)	Religion (N=10)	Govt., Military (N=34)
Large	41.6	37.5	25.0	20.0	11.4
Middle size + "suburbs"	48.0	50.0	30.0	40.0	65.0
Small	10.4	12.5	45.0	40.0	22.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.2

Table A-52. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 33.72$, $df = 8$, $p = < .001$

TABLE A-53. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SOME OCCUPATIONAL CONTACT WITH NON-INDIANS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

Nationality of occupa- tional contacts	Indian husbands (N=77)	Indian wives (N=11)	Western husbands (N=18)	Western wives (N=39)	Total (N=145)
Have some contact with non-Indians in work relations	68.9	82.7	77.8	79.6	73.8
All Indian (nearly half had contact with non-Indians in a previous job)	31.2	18.2	22.2	20.4	26.2
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-53. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 2.15$, $df = 3$, $p = > .05$

TABLE A-54. INDICES OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITY SIZE AND INVOLVEMENT IN INDIAN, WESTERN, AND MIXED SOCIAL SYSTEMS (PERCENTAGES).

Indices of Involvement in Indian, Western, and Mixed Social Systems	Large	Middle+ Suburbs	City Size Small	Total	x ² level Sig- nificance
<u>Indian Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with only Indian members	33.3%* of 67	46.5% of 97	36.2% of 36	40.0% of 200	x ² = 3.31 p = > .05
Belong to at least one Indian communal org.	1.5% of 66	10.3% of 97	0% of 38	5.4% of 201	does not meet x ² assumptions
Participate in at least one Indian communal social network	58.2% of 67	51.0% of 102	61.0% of 41	55.2% of 210	x ² = 1.5 p = > .05
Five closest friends are all Indian	16.9% of 65	26.6% of 94	50.0% of 38	27.5% of 200	x ² = 20.7 p = < .001
<u>Western Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with only Western members	29.4% of 67	11.2% of 98	10.8% of 37	16.8% of 202	x ² = 9.52 p = < .01
Belong to at least one Western communal org.	16.7% of 66	5.15% of 97	2.6% of 38	8.45% of 201	x ² = 8.77 p = < .02
Participate in at least one all Western social network	84.5% of 70	77.0% of 101	30.8% of 39	70.95% of 210	x ² = 45.92 p = < .001
Over 60% of acquaintances in India are Western	15.2% of 66	4.1% of 97	5.4% of 37	8.0% of 200	does not meet x ² assumptions
Five closest friends in India are all Western	6.2% of 65	0% of 94	2.7% of 38	2.5% of 197	does not meet x ² assumptions
<u>Mixed Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with Indian and Western members	64.2% of 70	69.5% of 101	46.0% of 37	63.5% of 208	x ² = 6.4 p = < .05
Belong to at least one third culture org.	35.4% of 68	30.6% of 98	2.8% of 36	27.2% of 202	x ² = 13.66 p = < .005
Participate in at least one mixed nationality social network	92.8% of 69	91.0% of 101	55.0% of 40	84.8% of 210	x ² = 33.9 p = < .001
Include both Indians + Westerners among five closest friends	52.4% of 65	48.0% of 94	23.6% of 38	44.7% of 197	x ² = 8.7 p = < .02

*This reads: 33.3% of the 67 respondents, for whom we have information, in large cities belong to at least one club with all Indian members.

TABLE A-54 (cont.)

Indices of Involvement in Indian, Western, and Mixed Social Systems	Large	Middle+ Suburbs	City Size Small	Total	χ^2 level Sig- nificance
<u>Mixed Couples and/or Anglo Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with all mixed couples, or Anglo members	4.6% of 66	5.2% of 97	0 of 38	3.9% of 201	does not meet χ^2 assumptions
Participate in at least one social network of mixed couples/Anglos	30.8% of 68	41.1% of 102	22.5% of 40	34.3% of 210	$\chi^2 = 4.96$ $p = .05$
Include at least one mixed couple (or partner) among five closest friends	26.2% of 65	31.0% of 94	26.4% of 38	28.4% of 197	$\chi^2 = .5$ $p = > .05$
<u>Miscellaneous</u>					
Made at least one state- ment regarding ease of mixing with Westerners	53.0% of 66	37.0% of 92	26.4% of 38	40.3% of 196	$\chi^2 = 7.96$ $p = .02$
Made at least one state- ment regarding difficulty mixing with Westerners	55.3% of 67	74.5% of 94	84.5% of 38	69.8% of 199	$\chi^2 = 11.48$ $p = < .005$
Made at least one state- ment regarding difficulty mixing with Indians	55.3% of 67	53.2% of 94	68.8% of 38	56.8% of 199	$\chi^2 = 2.66$ $p = > .05$
Include no Indians among five closest friends	16.9% of 65	1.06% of 94	13.1% of 38	8.6% of 197	$\chi^2 = 13.48$ $p = < .005$
Include no Westerners among five closest friends	35.4% of 65	50.0% of 94	73.6% of 38	49.7% of 197	$\chi^2 = 14.07$ $p = .001$

TABLE A-55. INDICES OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMBINED SALARIES AND INVOLVEMENT IN INDIAN, WESTERN, AND MIXED SOCIAL SYSTEMS (PERCENTAGES).

Involvement in Indian, Western, and Mixed Social Systems	Combined Salaries				Total	χ^2 level of significance
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4		
<u>Indian Social Systems</u>						
Belong to at least one org. with only Indian members	44.4% of 43	39.0% of 64	41.0% of 44	44.2% of 34	42.0% of 185	$\chi^2 = .4$ $p = > .05$
Belong to at least one Indian communal organization	2.38% of 42	4.4% of 68	9.1% of 44	9.4% of 32	5.92 of 186	$\chi^2 = 2.4$ $p = .05$
Participate in at least one Indian communal social network	68.0% of 44	55.0% of 69	37.6% of 48	51.5% of 37	53.0% of 198	$\chi^2 = 8.4$ $p = < .05$
Five closest friends are all Indian	52.5% of 42	32.4% of 65	19.5% of 41	21.2% of 33	32.0% of 181	$\chi^2 = 11.7$ $p = < .01$
<u>Western Social Systems</u>						
Belong to at least one org. with only Western members	7.0% of 43	15.0% of 67	11.4% of 44	39.4% of 33	16.6% of 187	$\chi^2 = 15.1$ $p = < .005$
Belong to at least one Western social network	42.0% of 38	68.0% of 69	62.5% of 48	94.5% of 36	66.5% of 191	$\chi^2 = 23.0$ $p = < .001$
Participate in at least one all Wes- tern communal org.	0% of 42	7.35% of 68	9.1% of 44	22.8% of 32	8.6% of 186	does not meet χ^2 assumptions
Over 60% of acquaint- ances in India are Western	2.86% of 35	12.1% of 66	2.4% of 42	12.5% of 40	8.2% of 183	does not meet χ^2 assumptions
Five closest friends in India are all Western	0% of 36	0% of 65	4.9% of 41	9.7% of 31	2.9% of 173	does not meet χ^2 assumption
<u>Mixed Social Systems</u>						
Belong to at least one org. with Indian + Western members	68.2% of 43	48.5% of 66	59.0% of 44	91.5% of 35	61.2% of 188	$\chi^2 = 17.6$ $p = .001$
Belong to at least one third culture org.	3.26% of 43	25.8% of 66	25.0% of 44	18.7% of 32	25.9% of 185	$\chi^2 = 1.0$ $p = > .05$
Participate in at least one mixed nationality social network	63.6% of 44	78.5% of 70	87.5% of 48	97.2% of 34	80.5% of 196	$\chi^2 = 15.1$ $p = .005$

TABLE A-55 (cont.)

Involvement in Indian, Western, and Mixed Social Systems	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Total	x^2 level of of significance
Include both Indians + Westerners among five closest friends	36.8% of 42	42.5% of 66	46.4% of 41	60.6% of 33	45.0% of 182	$x^2 = 4.4$ $p = > .05$
<u>Mixed Couples and/or Anglo Social Systems</u>						
Belong to at least one org. with all mixed couples, or Anglo members	4.9% of 41	2.9% of 69	4.3% of 46	6.1% of 33	4.2% of 189	Does not meet x^2 assumptions
Participate in at least one social net- work of mixed couples/ Anglo	20.9% of 43	38.3% of 68	47.7% of 44	19.4% of 36	33.0% of 191	$x^2 = 10.3$ $p = < .02$
Include at least one mixed couple(or partner) among five closest friends	11.0% of 36	38.6% of 65	39.2% of 41	20.5% of 31	35.2% of 173	$x^2 = 12.4$ $p = < .01$
<u>Miscellaneous</u>						
Made at least one statement regarding ease of mixing with Westerners	28.6% of 42	36.0% of 67	45.0% of 40	57.5% of 33	40.0% of 182	$x^2 = 6.9$ $p = < .05$
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mixing with Westerners	69.0% of 42	77.6% of 67	75.8% of 41	45.0% of 34	69.0% of 184	$x^2 = 12.4$ $p = < .01$
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mixing with Indians	51.0% of 42	55.3% of 67	54.7% of 42	64.6% of 34	57.3% of 185	$x^2 = .4$ $p = > .05$
Include no Indians among five closest friends	0% of 42	3.08% of 65	9.8% of 41	9.1% of 33	4.9% of 181	$x^2 = 5.86$ $p = > .05$
Include no Westerners among five closest friends	58.3% of 36	55.5% of 65	39.2% of 41	32.2% of 31	48.0% of 173	$x^2 = 6.8$ $p = > .05$

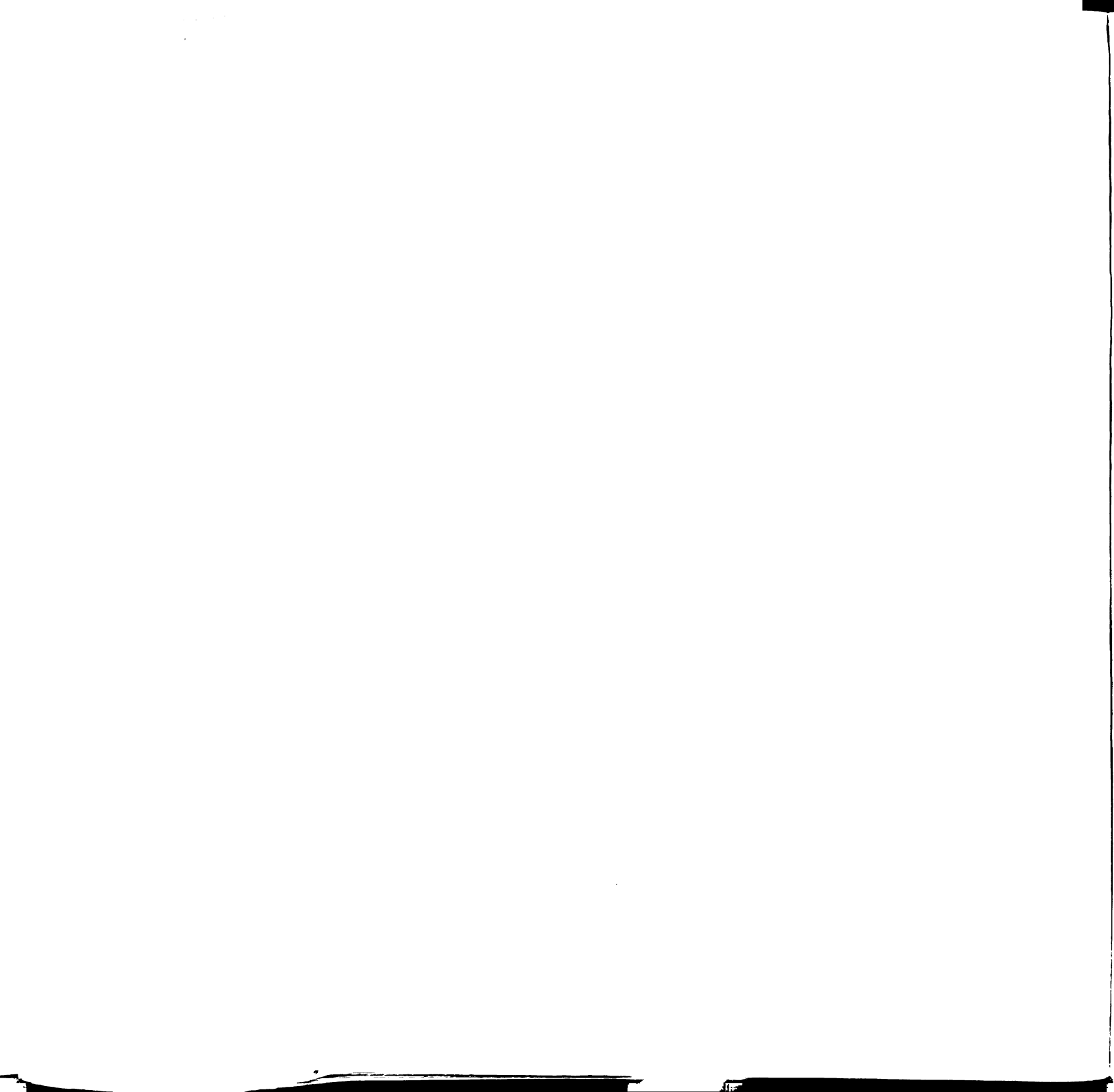


TABLE A-56. INDICES OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AREA OF HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION AND INVOLVEMENT IN INDIAN, WESTERN, AND MIXED SOCIAL SYSTEMS (PERCENTAGES).

Involvement in Indian, Western + Mixed Social Systems	Area of Husband's Occupation					
	Business+ Industry	Profes- sional	Academic	Govt+ Milit.	Religion	Total
<u>Indian Social Syst.</u>						
Belong to at least one org. with only Indian members	32.6% of 89	50.0% of 40	44.7% of 38	22.2% of 9	52.0% of 25	40.2% of 201
	$x^2 = 6.1, df = f, p$ not significant at $< .05$					
Belong to at least one Indian communal organization	5.6% of 89	4.7% of 42	5.2% of 38	0% of 9	8.3% of 24	5.4% of 202
	Does not meet x^2 assumptions					
Participate in at least one Indian communal social net.	51.5% of 95	50.0% of 42	65.0% of 40	100.0% of 10	38.0% of 29	54.2% of 216
	$x^2 = 13.6, p = < .01$					
Five closest friends are all Indian	20.5% of 88	41.0% of 39	54.0% of 37	0% of 5	37.5% of 24	32.6% of 193
	$x^2 = 16.6, p = < .005$					
<u>Western Social Systems</u>						
Belong to at least one org. with only Western members	24.8% of 89	23.3% of 43	5.25% of 38	0% of 9	0% of 25	16.7% of 204
	$x^2 = 7.6, p = < .01$					
Belong to at least one Western communal organization	13.5% of 89	9.5% of 42	0% of 38	11.1% of 9	0% of 24	8.4% of 202
	does not meet x^2 assumptions					
Participate in at least one all Wes- tern social network	82.5% of 95	71.0% of 44	45.0% of 40	50.0% of 12	45.0% of 27	70.2% of 218
	$x^2 = 24.4, p = < .001$					
Over 60% of acquaint- ances in India are Western	12.4% of 89	12.8% of 39	0% of 38	0% of 6	0% of 26	8.1% of 198
	does not meet x^2 assumptions					

TABLE A-56. (cont.)

Involvement in Indian, Western + Mixed Social Systems	Area of Husband's Occupation					Religion	Total
	Business+ Industry	Profes- sional	Academic	Govt+ Milit.			
Five closest friends in India are all Western	5.7% of 88	0% of 39	0% of 37	0% of 5	0% of 24	2.6% of 193	
	does not meet x^2 assumptions						
<u>Mixed Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with Indian and Western members	66.6% of 90	71.5% of 42	50.0% of 40	100.0% of 10	50.0% of 28	71.4% of 210	
	$x^2 = 12.4, p = < .02$						
Belong to at least one third culture organization	25.4% of 87	41.0% of 44	30.0% of 40	30.0% of 10	4.2% of 24	27.3% of 205	
	$x^2 = 10.5, p = < .05$						
Participate in at least one mixed nationality social network	91.6% of 95	80.0% of 46	55.0% of 40	100.0% of 10	74.0% of 27	80.7% of 218	
	$x^2 = 22.5, p = < .001$						
Include both Indians + Westerners among five closest friends	52.9% of 89	46.1% of 39	29.7% of 37	55.5% of 9	33.3% of 24	44.9% of 198	
	$x^2 = 7.4, p = > .05$						
<u>Mixed Couples and/or Anglo Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with all mixed couples, or Anglo members	6.7% of 89	4.7% of 42	0% of 38	0% of 9	0% of 24	3.9% of 202	
	does not meet x^2 assumptions						
Participate in at least one social network of mixed couples/Anglos	39.8% of 93	20.9% of 43	29.0% of 38	66.6% of 9	39.4% of 28	35.1% of 211	
	$x^2 = 8.6, p = > .05$						
Include at least one mixed couple (or partner) among five closest friends	39.4% of 88	20.5% of 39	21.6% of 37	0% of 5	25.0% of 24	29.5% of 193	

TABLE A-56 (cont.)

Involvement in Indian, Western + Mixed Social Systems	Area of Husband's Occupation					Total
	Business+ Industry	Profes- sional	Academic	Govt+ Milit.	Religion	
Miscellaneous						
Made at least one statement regarding ease of mixing with Westerners	55.0% of 89	23.6% of 38	23.6% of 38	55.5% of 9	26.0% of 23	39.6% of 197
	$x^2 = 18.4, p = < .005$					
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mix- ing with Westerners	62.4% of 90	64.0% of 39	79.0% of 38	66.6% of 9	96.0% of 24	70.0% of 200
	$x^2 = 11.2, p = < .025$					
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mix- ing with Indians	63.5% of 90	52.5% of 40	60.5% of 38	22.2% of 9	52.0% of 23	57.5% of 200
	$x^2 = 6.0, p = > .05$					
Include no Indians among five closest friends	10.5% of 88	0% of 39	0% of 37	0% of 5	0% of 24	4.6% of 193
	does not meet x^2 assumptions					
Include no Westerners among five closest friends	36.4% of 88	54.0% of 39	67.5% of 37	0% of 5	37.5% of 24	45.1% of 193
	$x^2 = 15.2, p = < .005$					

TABLE A-57. INDICES OF THE RELATION BETWEEN LENGTH OF MARRIAGE IN INDIA AND INVOLVEMENT IN INDIAN, WESTERN, AND MIXED SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

Involvement in Ind., Western, + Mixed Social Systems	Less than one year	Length of Marriage in India				Total	x ² level of significance
		2-5 years	6-9 years	10-19 years	20+ years		
<u>Indian Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with only Indian members	20.0% N=25	35.5% N=60	39.4% N=33	52.3% N=44	47.5% N=38	40.0% N=200	x ² = 8.42 p = > .05
Belong to at least one Indian Communal organization	-	-	-	7.0% N=44	19.5% N=33	5.4% N=202	does not meet x ² assumptions
Participate in at least one Indian communal social net.	50.0% N=28	39.1% N=64	54.0% N=37	57.0% N=44	66.0% N=47	52.5% N=220	x ² = 7.9 p = > .05
Five closest friends are all Indian	32.0% N=28	20.4% N=59	16.0% N=31	50.0% N=40	31.6% N=38	29.5% N=196	x ² = 12.44 p = .02
<u>Western Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with only Western members	23.0% N=26	23.4% N=60	3.1% N=33	20.4% N=44	10.0% N=38	17.0% N=200	x ² = p = < .01
Belong to at least one Western Com- munal org.	3.8% N=26	11.9% N=59	6.2% N=32	9.1% N=44	7.3% N=41	8.4% N=202	does not meet x ² assumptions
Participate in at least one all Wes- tern social net.	50.0% N=28	75.0% N=64	81.0% N=37	61.5% N=44	76.5% N=47	70.5% N=220	x ² = 10.87 p = < .05
Over 60% of Acquain- tances in India are Western	7.4% N=27	15.0% N=60	6.7% N=30	7.0% N=40	0 N=40	8.0% N=200	does not meet x ² assumptions
Five closest friends in India are all Western	2.6% N=28	5.1% N=59	0 N=31	2.5% N=40	0 N=38	2.5% N=196	does not meet x ² assumptions
<u>Mixed Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with Indian + Western members	24.0% N=25	72.0% N=61	68.6% N=35	57.0% N=44	77.0% N=43	63.5% N=208	x ² = 23.2 p = < .001
Belong to at least one third culture org.	19.2% N=26	32.8% N=58	36.4% N=33	20.0% N=45	24.4% N=41	27.0% N=203	x ² = 4.49 p = .05
Participate in at least one mixed nationality social network	65.5% N=26	86.9% N=60	94.5% N=36	79.5% N=44	91.0% N=44	84.6% N=210	x ² = 14.2 p = < .01

TABLE A-57 (cont.)

Involvement in Ind., Western, + Mixed Social Systems	Less than one year	Length of Marriage in India					x ² level of significance
		2-4 years	6-9 years	10-19 years	20+ years	Total	
<u>Mixed Couples and/or Anglo Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with all mixed couples, or Anglo members	0 N=26	6.8% N=59	0 N=32	2.3% N=44	7.3% N=41	3.9% N=202	does not meet x ² assump.
Participate in at least one social network of mixed couples/Anglos	29.6% N=27	31.7% N=60	40.5% N=37	26.2% N=42	43.2% N=44	34.3% N=210	x ² = 3.8 p = > .05
Include at least one mixed couple (or partner) among five closest friends	48.0% N=27	27.6% N=58	38.8% N=31	16.6% N=42	26.3% N=38	29.5% N=196	x ² = 9.37 p = > .05
<u>Miscellaneous</u>							
Made at least one statement regarding ease of mixing with Westerners	23.0% N=26	48.4% N=58	43.7% N=32	40.5% N=42	37.0% N=38	40.3% N=196	x ² = 5.08 p = > .05
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mix- ing with Westerners	74.1% N=27	55.8% N=59	79.2% N=32	81.0% N=42	69.2% N=39	70.0% N=199	x ² = 9.16 p = > .05
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mixing with Indians	55.5% N=27	68.4% N=60	59.4% N=32	61.0% N=42	31.5% N=38	57.0% N=199	x ² = 13.65 p = < .01
Include no Indians among five closest friends	11.1% N=27	10.3% N=58	9.7% N=31	4.8% N=42	10.5% N=38	9.2% N=196	does not meet x ² Assump.
Include no Westerners among five closest friends	77.7% N=27	38.0% N=58	29.0% N=31	52.5% N=42	60.5% N=38	49.5% N=196	x ² = 18.3 p = < .005

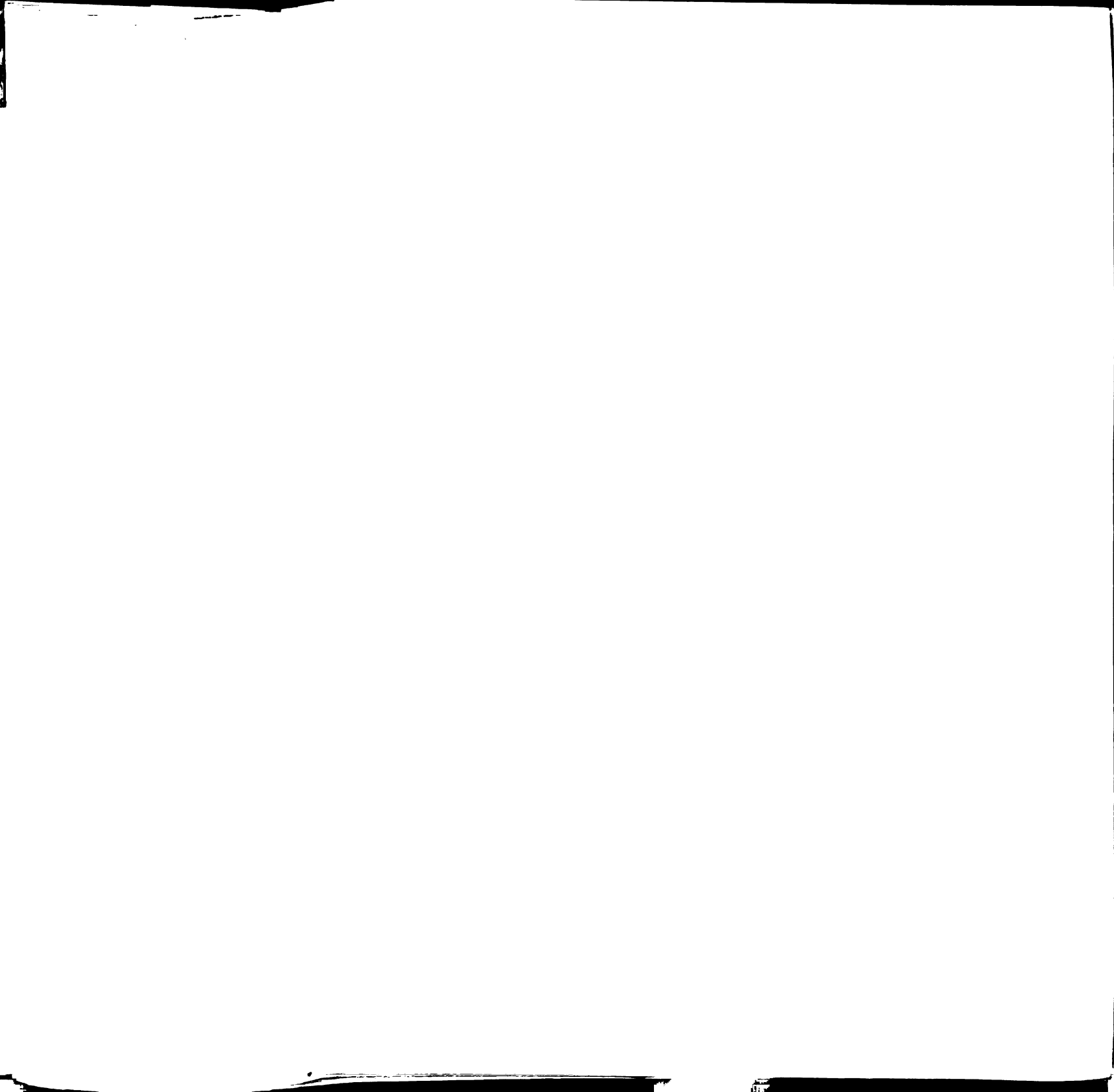


TABLE A-58. INDICES OF THE RELATION BETWEEN WESTERN NATIONALITY AND INVOLVEMENT IN INDIAN, WESTERN, AND MIXED SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

A. INDIAN RESPONDENTS (Classified according to partner's nationality)

Involvement in Indian, Western, + Mixed Systems	Britain	United States	Commonwealth	Germany	Other	Total	x^2 level of sign.
Indian Social Systems							
Belong to at least one org. with only Indian members	53.3% N=28	47.6% N=21	28.6% N=7	60.0% N=15	45.5% N=22	49.5% N=93	$x^2 = 2.2$ $p = > .05$
Belong to at least one Indian communal org.	6.9 N=29	0 N=22	0 N=7	0 N=15	8.7 N=21	4.2 N=96	does not meet x^2 assump.
Participate in at least one Indian communal social network	57.5 N=33	69.5 N=23	71.5 N=7	40.0 N=15	48.0 N=23	56.5 N=101	$x^2 = 4.6$ $p = > .05$
Five closest friends are all Indian	38.0 N=29	47.9 N=23	43.0 N=7	21.4 N=14	47.0 N=17	40.0 N=90	$x^2 = 3.03$ $p = > .05$
Western Social Systems							
Belong to at least one org. with only Western members	24.70 N=29	14.3 N=21	0 N=7	13.3 N=15	4.56 N=22	13.8 N=94	does not meet x^2 assump.
Belong to at least one Western communal org.	10.3 N=29	4.6 N=22	0 N=7	0 N=15	0 N=23	4.2 N=96	does not meet x^2 assump.
Participate in at least one all Western social network	77.0 N=30	66.6 N=24	12.8 N=7	86.8 N=15	65.1 N=23	70.0 N=99	does not meet x^2 assump.
Over 60% of acquaintances in India are Western	7.15 N=28	12.5 N=24	0 N=7	7.1 N=14	0 N=21	6.4 N=94	does not meet x^2 assump.
Five closest friends in India are all Western	6.9 N=29	- N=23	- N=7	- N=14	5.9 N=17	3.3 N=90	does not meet x^2 assump.
Mixed Social Systems							
Belong to at least one org. with Indian + Western members	71.0 N=31	62.0 N=21	14.3 N=7	69.0 N=16	60.0 N=25	62.0 N=100	$x^2 = 8.17$ $p = > .05$
Belong to at least one third culture org.	17.8 N=28	27.2 N=22	14.3 N=7	37.4 N=16	17.4 N=23	23.0 N=96	does not meet x^2 assump.

TABLE A-58A (cont.)

	Britain	United States	Commonwealth	Germany	Other	Total	χ^2 level of sign.
Participate in at least one mixed nationality social network	84.0 N=31	82.5 N=23	42.8 N=7	93.5 N=15	95.7 N=23	84.0 N=99	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Include both Indians + Westerners among five closest friends	41.4 N=29	47.9 N=23	57.2 N=7	50.0 N=14	23.5 N=17	42.3 N=90	$\chi^2 = 3.72$ $p = > .05$
<u>Mixed Couples and/or Anglo Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with all mixed couples, or Anglos	3.4 N=29	4.5 N=22	0 N=7	6.7 N=15	0 N=23	3.1 N=96	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Participate in at least one social network of mixed couples/Anglos	28.0 N=32	25.0 N=24	14.3 N=7	57.0 N=14	31.0 N=22	31.3 N=99	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Include at least one mixed couple (or partner) among five closest friends	6.9 N=29	4.3 N=23	0 N=7	35.7 N=14	23.5 N=17	13.4 N=90	does not meet χ^2 assump.
<u>Miscellaneous</u>							
Made at least one statement regarding ease of mixing with Westerners	54.0 N=26	40.8 N=22	28.6 N=7	61.4 N=13	50.0 N=20	44.0 N=98	$\chi^2 = 2.8$ $p = > .05$
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mixing with Westerners	53.6 N=28	52.2 N=23	71.0 N=7	42.8 N=14	60.0 N=20	54.5 N=92	$\chi^2 = 1.87$ $p = > .05$
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mixing with Indians	53.5 N=28	60.9 N=23	14.3 N=7	28.5 N=14	35.0 N=20	45.0 N=91	$\chi^2 = 8.18$ $p = > .05$
Include no Indians among five closest friends	13.8 N=29	0 N=23	- N=7	7.15 N=14	11.7 N=17	7.8 N=90	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Include no Westerners among five closest friends	48.3 N=29	52.1 N=23	43.0 N=7	50.0 N=14	76.5 N=17	54.5 N=90	$\chi^2 = 4.31$ $p = > .05$

TABLE A-58 (cont.)

B. WESTERN RESPONDENTS (Classified according to nationality)

Involvement in Indian, Western, + Mixed Systems	Britain	United States	Commonwealth	Germany	Other	Total	χ^2 level of sign.
<u>Indian Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with only Indian members	35.4 N=34	33.3 N=21	38.6 N=7	14.3 N=14	31.0 N=29	30.4 N=105	$\chi^2 = 2.2$ $p = > .05$
Belong to at least one Indian communal org.	12.1 N=33	4.76 N=21	0 N=7	0 N=14	6.9 N=29	6.7 N=104	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Participate in at least one Indian communal social network	57.2 N=35	68.2 N=22	71.5 N=7	35.6 N=14	41.4 N=29	53.2 N=107	$\chi^2 = 6.48$ $p = > .05$
Five closest friends are all Indians	17.6 N=34	23.8 N=21	16.6 N=6	7.15 N=14	21.4 N=28	18.5 N=103	does not meet χ^2 assump.
<u>Western Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with only Western members	26.4 N=34	18.2 N=22	14.3 N=7	14.3 N=14	14.3 N=28	19.0 N=105	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Belong to at least one Western Communal org.	15.6 N=32	18.2 N=22	0 N=7	7.1 N=14	13.3 N=30	13.4 N=104	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Participate in at least one all Western social network	80.0 N=35	69.5 N=23	50.0 N=8	93.5 N=15	82.0 N=28	18.0 N=109	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Over 60% of acquaintances in India are Western	11.8 N=34	18.2 N=22	0 N=7	7.7 N=13	0 N=29	8.6 N=105	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Five closest friends in India are all Western	2.9 N=34	0 N=22	0 N=6	0 N=14	3.6 N=28	1.9 N=103	does not meet χ^2 assump.
<u>Mixed Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with Indian and Western members	75.0 N=36	66.6 N=21	14.3 N=7	71.5 N=14	59.0 N=27	64.9 N=105	$\chi^2 = 10.13$ $p = < .05$
Belong to at least one third culture org.	27.2 N=33	27.2 N=22	14.3 N=7	71.3 N=14	24.1 N=29	32.4 N=105	does not meet χ^2 assump.

TABLE A-58B (cont.)

Involvement in Indian, Western, + Mixed Systems	Britain	United States	Common-wealth	Germany	Other	Total	χ^2 level of sign.
Participate in at least one mixed nationality social network	91.5 N=35	78.2 N=23	42.8 N=7	93.5 N=15	86.2 N=29	84.5 N=109	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Include both Indians + Westerners among five closest friends	47.0 N=34	62.0 N=34	66.6 N=6	50.0 N=14	38.0 N=28	49.6 N=103	$\chi^2 = 3.25$ $p = >.05$
<u>Mixed Couples and/or Anglo Social Systems</u>							
Belong to at least one org. with all mixed couples, or Anglos	6.1 N=33	4.7 N=21	14.3 N=7	7.1 N=14	0 N=27	4.9 N=102	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Participate in at least one social network of mixed couples/Anglos	43.0 N=35	30.2 N=23	14.3 N=11	50.0 N=14	38.0 N=29	38.0 N=108	$\chi^2 = 3.43$ $p = >.05$
Include at least one mixed couple (or partner) among five closest friends	47.0 N=34	33.3 N=21	66.6 N=6	71.5 N=14	32.1 N=28	44.7 N=103	$\chi^2 = 8.18$ $p = >.05$
<u>Miscellaneous</u>							
Made at least one statement regarding ease of mixing with Westerners	31.2 N=32	28.5 N=21	37.6 N=8	50.0 N=14	20.4 N=29	30.8 N=104	$\chi^2 = 4.03$ $p = >.05$
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mixing with Westerners	82.5 N=34	77.2 N=22	100.0 N=8	78.4 N=14	86.5 N=29	83.0 N=107	$\chi^2 = 2.58$ $p = >.05$
Made at least one statement regarding difficulty of mixing with Indians	70.6 N=34	63.6 N=22	62.5 N=8	71.5 N=14	65.5 N=29	67.5 N=107	$\chi^2 = 5.0$ $p = >.05$
Include no Indians among five closest friends	11.8 N=34	- N=0	16.6 N=6	7.15 N=14	17.8 N=18	10.7 N=103	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Include no Westerners among five closest friends	47.1 N=34	38.0 N=21	66.6 N=6	50.0 N=14	50.0 N=28	47.6 N=103	$\chi^2 = 6.05$ $p = >.05$

TABLE A-59. INDICES OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIAN PARTNER'S RELIGION AND INVOLVEMENT IN INDIAN, WESTERN, AND MIXED SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

A. INDIAN RESPONDENTS

Percentage involved in each index category					
Involvement in Indian, Western, and Mixed Systems	Hindu, Sikh	Jain Parsi,	Christian, Other	Muslim Total	x^2 level of sign.
<u>Indian Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with only Indian members	55.0% N=62	37.4% N=24	50.0% N=8	50.0% N=47	does not meet x^2 assump.
Belong to at least one Indian communal org.	3.12 N=64	8.35 N=24	0 N=8	4.16 N=96	does not meet x^2 assump.
Participate in at least one Indian communal social network	48.5 N=66	68.0 N=25	81.6 N=11	57.0 N=102	$x^2 = 5.6$ $p = < .02$
Five closest friends are all Indian	50.0 N=58	8.0 N=25	55.5 N=9	39.2 N=92	$x^2 = 14.07$ $p = < .001$
<u>Western Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with only Western members	11.1 N=63	25.0 N=24	0 N=8	13.7 N=95	$x^2 = 4.2$ $p = > .05$
Belong to at least one Western communal org	1.3 N=76	12.5 N=24	0 N=8	3.7 N=108	does not meet x^2 assump.
Participate in at least one all Western social network	68.0 N=65	84.0 N=25	50.0 N=10	70.0 N=100	$x^2 = 4.4$ $p = .05$
Five closest friends in India are all Western	0	8.0 N=25	11.1 N=9	3.3 N=92	does not meet x^2 assump.
Over 60% of acquaint- ances in India are Western	1.64 N=62	17.4 N=23	10.0 N=10	6.4 N=94	does not meet x^2 assump.
<u>Mixed Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with Indian and Western members	55.4 N=65	80.0 N=25	60.0 N=10	62.0 N=100	$x^2 = 4.6$ $p = > .05$

TABLE A-59A (cont.)

Involvement in Indian, Western, and Mixed Systems	Hindu, Sikh	Jain	Christian, Parsi, Other	Muslim	Total	χ^2 level of sign.
Belong to at least one third culture org.	21.9 N=64		19.2 N=26	37.6 N=8	24.0 N=98	$\chi^2 = .5$ $p = >.05$
Participate in at least one mixed nationality social network	81.4 N=64		100.0 N=25	72.5 N=11	85.0 N=100	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Include both Indians + Westerners among five closest friends	31.0 N=58		72.0 N=25	33.3 N=9	42.5 N=92	$\chi^2 = 11.94$ $p = <.001$
<u>Mixed Couples and/or Anglo Social Systems</u>						
Belong to at least one org. with all mixed couples, or Anglos	3.12 N=64		4.16 N=24	0 N=8	3.12 N=96	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Participate in at least one social network of mixed couples/Anglos	30.8 N=65		33.3 N=24	27.2 N=11	31.0 N=100	$\chi^2 = .04$ $p = >.05$
Include at least one mixed couple (or part- ner) among five closest friends	15.5 N=58		16.0 N=25	0 N=9	14.2 N=92	does not meet χ^2 assump.
<u>Miscellaneous</u>						
Made at least one state- ment regarding ease of mixing with Westerners	40.6 N=59		37.5 N=8	76.0 N=21	49.0 N=88	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Made at least one state- ment regarding difficulty of mixing with Westerners	53.5 N=60		45.5 N=22	77.7 N=9	54.0 N=91	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Made at least one state- ment regarding difficulty of mixing with Indians	32.2 N=59		62.5 N=24	75.0 N=8	44.0 N=91	$\chi^2 = 9.6$ $p = <.01$
Include no Indians among five closest friends	6.9 N=58		8.0 N=25	11.1 N=9	7.6 N=92	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Include no Westerners among five closest friends	69.4 N=58		16.0 N=25	55.5 N=9	53.5 N=92	does not meet χ^2 assump.

TABLE A-59 (cont.)

B. WESTERN RESPONDENTS

Involvement in Indian, Western, and Mixed Systems	Hindu, Jain Sikh	Christian, Parsi, Other	Muslim	Total	χ^2 level of sign.
<u>Indian Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with only Indian members	27.8% N=72	52.0% N=23	9.1% N=11	31.1% N=106	$\chi^2 = 7.6$ $p = < .02$
Belong to at least one Indian communal org.	5.4 N=74	13.6 N=22	0 N=11	6.55 N=107	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Participate in at least one Indian communal social network	44.5 N=74	69.5 N=23	81.6 N=11	53.5 N=108	$\chi^2 = 8.0$ $p = < .02$
Five closest friends are all Indian	16.4 N=73	13.6 N=22	36.2 N=11	17.9 N=106	does not meet χ^2 assump.
<u>Western Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with only Western members	16.2 N=74	36.2 N=22	9.1 N=11	19.6 N=107	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Belong to at least one Western communal org.	12.2 N=74	13.6 N=22	9.1 N=11	12.1 N=107	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Participate in at least one all Western social network	78.6 N=75	83.5 N=24	54.5 N=11	77.0 N=110	$\chi^2 = 3.8$ $p = > .05$
Over 60% of acquaint- ances in India are Western	5.4 N=74	23.8 N=21	10.0 N=10	9.5 N=105	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Five closest friends in India are all Western	1.4 N=73	4.5 N=22	0 N=11	1.9 N=106	does not meet χ^2 assump.
<u>Mixed Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with Indian and Western members	61.0 N=74	82.5 N=23	54.5 N=11	64.5 N=108	$\chi^2 = 4.2$ $p = > .05$
Participate in at least one mixed nationality social network	81.5 N=75	100.0 N=24	72.5 N=11	84.5 N=110	does not meet χ^2 assump.

TABLE A-59B (cont.)

Involvement in Indian, Western, and Mixed Systems	Hindu, Jain Sikh	Christian, Parsi, Other	Muslim	Total	χ^2 level of sign.
Belong to at least one third culture org.	29.8 N=74	36.1 N=22	27.1 N=11	30.8 N=106	$\chi^2 = .4$ $p = > .05$
Include both Indians + Westerners among five closest friends	45.2 N=73	68.2 N=22	18.2 N=11	47.2 N=107	$\chi^2 = 7.6$ $p = < .02$
<u>Mixed Couples and/or Anglo Social Systems</u>					
Belong to at least one org. with all mixed couples, or Anglos	4.06 N=74	8.35 N=22	0 N=11	4.69 N=107	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Participate in at least one social network of mixed couples/Anglos	40.8 N=76	29.1 N=24	27.1 N=11	37.0 N=111	$\chi^2 = 1.5$ $p = > .05$
Include at least one mixed couple (or part- ner) among five closest friends	43.8 N=73	36.2 N=22	45.4 N=11	42.7 N=106	$\chi^2 = 0$ $p = > .05$
<u>Miscellaneous</u>					
Made at least one state- ment regarding ease of mixing with Westerners	30.2 N=73	40.0 N=20	18.1 N=11	30.8 N=104	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Made at least one state- ment regarding difficulty of mixing with Westerners	84.0 N=74	77.4 N=22	91.0 N=11	83.0 N=107	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Made at least one state- ment regarding difficulty of mixing with Indians	67.3 N=73	59.0 N=22	90.9 N=11	67.0 N=106	$\chi^2 = .9$ $p = > .05$
Include no Indians among five closest friends	9.0 N=73	9.1 N=22	18.1 N=11	10.4 N=106	does not meet χ^2 assump.
Include no Westerners among five closest friends	49.4 N=73	18.2 N=22	72.5 N=11	45.3 N=106	$\chi^2 = 10.0$ $p = < .01$

TABLE A-60. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE A HEIGHTENED AWARENESS OF OWN NATIONALITY (IN SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES) BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	Indian Husbands (N=71)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=14)	Western wives (N=90)	Total (N=195)
Are made aware of national identity	53.5	60.0	85.7	88.0	72.4
Are not made aware of national identity	46.5	40.0	14.3	12.0	27.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-60. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 25.9$, $df = 3$, $p = < .001$

TABLE A-61. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO DISAVOW NATIONAL IDENTITY BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	Indian husbands (N=68)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=16)	Western wives (N=85)	Total (N=189)
Do not think of selves in terms of national identity	62.0	45.0	37.4	52.9	53.5
Did not make statement disavowing national identity	38.0	54.0	62.6	47.1	46.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-61. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 4.17$, $df = 3$, $p = > .10$

TABLE A-62. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO THINK OF THEMSELVES IN TERMS OF BOTH NATIONALITIES BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	Indian husbands (N=68)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=16)	Western wives (N=85)	Total (N=189)
Think of self in terms of both nationalities	31.0	40.0	18.8	35.0	31.8
Do not	69.0	60.0	81.2	65.0	68.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-62. Chi Square Test. $\chi^2 = 3.79$, $df = 3$, $p = > .10$

TABLE A-63. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMENTS INDICATING AWARENESS OF BEING A MIXED MARRIAGE BY SEX AND NATIONALITY OF RESPONDENT.

Awareness of mixed marriage	Indian husbands (N=70)	Indian wives (N=19)	Western husbands (N=15)	Western wives (N=90)	Total (N=194)
Not conscious of mixed marriage	40.0	31.6	26.6	40.0	38.2
Impersonal reactions of others--staring, etc.	20.0	15.7	13.3	17.8	18.0
Reactions of others in social situations, family	28.6	42.0	20.0	20.0	25.2
Aware because of change in self, life style	25.7	26.2	40.0	30.0	28.8

Percentages total more than 100 because a respondent can be in more than one of the last three categories.

Table A-63. Chi Square Test. Those who are not conscious of being a mixed marriage compared to those who are conscious of being a mixed marriage in some way. $\chi^2 = 1.42$, $df = 3$, $p = > .10$

TABLE A-64. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF OTHER INDIAN-WESTERN COUPLES KNOWN IN THE SAME TOWN BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

Number of couples known	Indian husbands (N=70)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=13)	Western wives (N=90)	Total (N=193)
None	13.0	5.0	7.7	7.8	9.3
1-5	56.0	45.0	53.8	56.7	55.0
6-14	24.4	40.0	38.4	27.8	28.4
15 or more	7.0	10.0	0.	7.8	7.2
Total	100.5	100.0	99.9	100.1	99.9

Table A-64. Chi Square Test. 0-5 mixed marriages known in same town compared to more than five in the same town. $\chi^2 = 2.34$, $df = 3$, $p = > .10$

TABLE A-65. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF OTHER INDIAN-WESTERN COUPLES KNOWN ANYWHERE BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

Number of other couples known	Indian husbands (N=60)	Indian wives (N=13)	Western husbands (N=13)	Western wives (N=82)	Total (N=168)
None	13.3	30.8	30.8	8.5	13.7
1-5	28.4	46.0	53.5	44.0	39.2
6-14	33.3	15.3	7.6	23.2	25.0
15 or more	25.0	7.6	7.6	24.4	22.0
Total	100.0	99.7	99.5	100.1	99.9

Table A-65. Chi Square Test. $x^2 = 16.68$, $df = 6$, $p = < .02$

TABLE A-66. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE CONGENIALITY RELATIONSHIPS WITH WESTERNERS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	Indian husbands (N=81)	Indian wives (N=20)	Western husbands (N=18)	Western wives (N=91)	Total (N=210)
Have congeniality relationships with Westerners	75.0	85.0	94.5	77.0	78.5
Do not have congeniality relationships with Westerners	25.0	15.0	5.5	23.0	21.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-66. Chi Square Test. $x^2 = 3.73$, $df = 3$, $p = > .10$

TABLE A-67. PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE FRIENDSHIPS WITH WESTERNERS IN INDIA BY SEX AND NATIONALITY.

	Indian husbands (N=71)	Indian wives (N=19)	Western husbands (N=17)	Western wives (N=90)	Total (N=197)
Have friendships with Westerners	35.2	73.6	82.0	55.5	52.3
Do not have friendships with Westerners	64.8	26.4	18.0	44.5	47.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A-67. Chi Square Test. $x^2 = 18.20$, $df = 3$, $p = < .001$

APPENDIX B

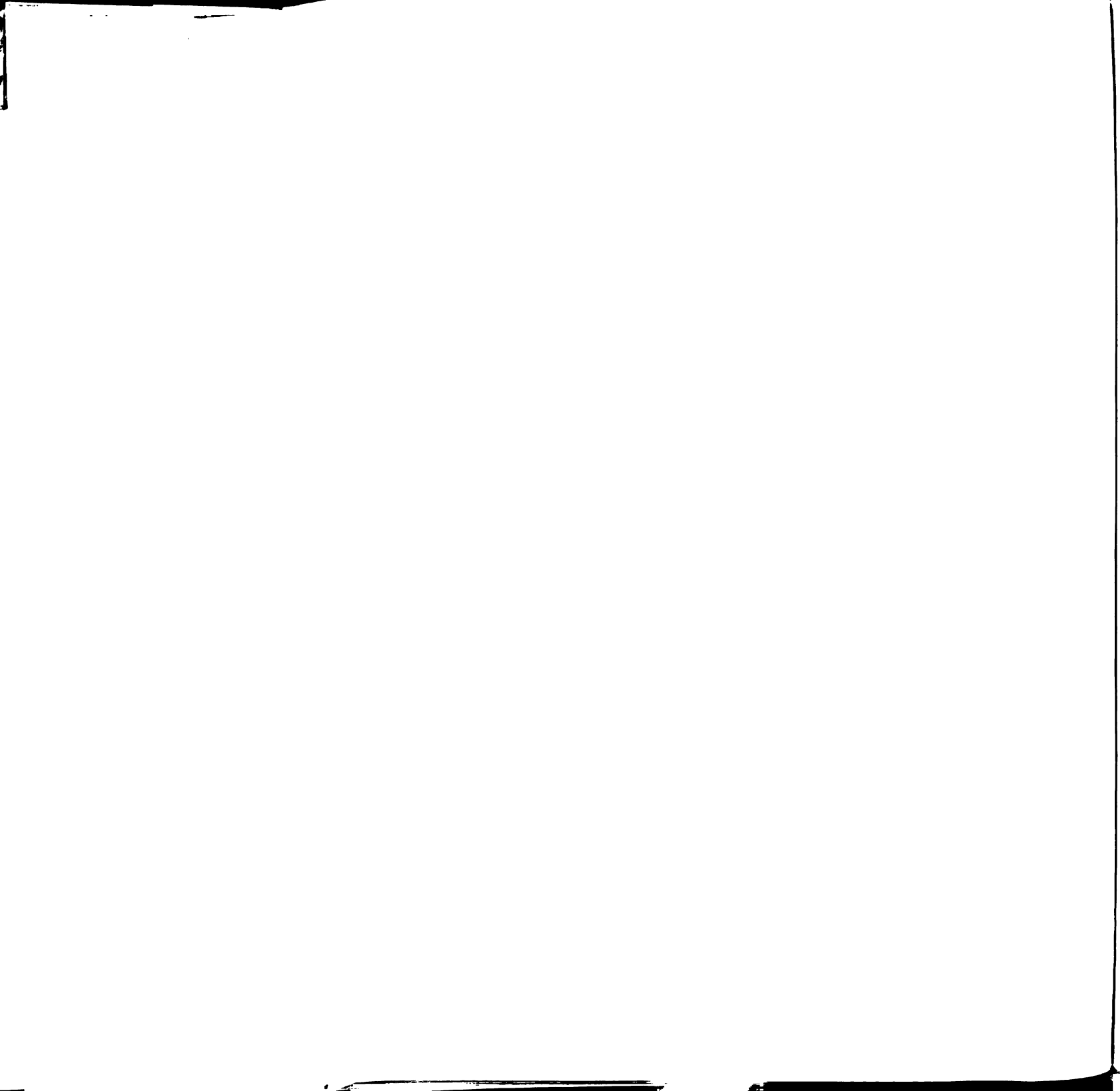
APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. a) How long have you lived in India since marriage? _____
b) Have you lived in any other country since marriage? Yes___ No___
If yes: Country Length of residence Reason for living there
c) What were your reasons for coming to India to live?
d) How did you feel about coming (back) to India to live?
What did you expect?
e) Have you been out of India since you came (since marriage)?
Yes___ No___
If yes: when where how long reason for going
2. Have you ever considered moving to another country? Yes___ No___
If yes:
a) What country? _____
b) Why have you considered moving?
c) How definite are your plans?
_____ We are definitely going. _____ We are presently making plans.
_____ We have considered it seriously but have made no plans.
_____ It has only been a passing thought?
d) How do you feel about moving?
3. a) Please list the places you have lived since coming to India
and indicate whether the people living in the immediate area
were:
A. all Indian
B. all Indian with 5 or fewer households of other nationalities
C. Indian with more than 5 households of other nationalities
D. about half Indian, half other nationalities
E. all other nationalities

<u>City</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>Dates of Residence</u>
-------------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	---------------------------

3. (cont.)
- b) If availability and cost of housing were no consideration at all, which kind of area would you prefer to live in?
 _____all Indian _____mainly Indian _____half Indian/half Western
 _____mainly other nationalities
 _____all other nationalities _____no preference
- c) What are your reasons for that choice?
4. a) (~~Western partner only respond~~) Do you feel at home in India now? Yes_____ No_____
- b) How did you feel right at first? Please describe.
- c) Who or what was most helpful in making you feel at home?
5. (Both partners respond)
- a) Are there (or have there been) times when you feel a foreigner? Yes_____ No_____ If yes, please describe.
- b) Did this happen more or less at first?
6. In general, would you say your style of life is more Indian or Western? Please indicate on this line where you would be if you put a very traditional Indian family on one end, and a _____(Nationality of foreign partner) family on the other end.
- a) Now Indian_____Western
- b) just after you came (married) Indian_____Western
- c) before marriage Indian_____Western
 (in India)
- d) In what way is it Indian, and in what way Western? How would it have been different if you lived in India married to someone of your own nationality?
7. a) What language(s) have you learned from your partner's country? (if none, why?)
- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|--|
| <u>language</u> | <u>how did you learn it?</u> | <u>verbal facility</u> (excellent,
good, fair,
poor) |
|-----------------|------------------------------|--|
- b) What is your mother tongue?_____
- c) What other languages do you know?_____
- d) In what language(s) do you speak with the following?
 (If more than one is used circle the one used most frequently)



7. d) (cont.)

your husband/wife? _____
 your children? _____
 your Indian relatives? _____
 your servants? _____

8. a) When do you eat Indian and when do you eat Western food?

b) Is this the pattern you have always followed? (Including the way you ate in India before marriage, if applicable)

c) (Wife only) Do you know how to cook food of your husband's country?

Yes _____ No _____ If yes, how did you learn it?

9. a) When do you wear Indian and when do you wear Western clothes?

b) Is this the way you have always dressed in India?

Yes _____ No _____ If no, when and how was it different?

10. a) Presently, who are the five people you most enjoy seeing? Please indicate nationality, religion if Indian, occupation, and how you met.

b) Have the five people you have most enjoyed seeing always been _____?

(all Indian, mixed nationalities, all Western, depending on response to 10 a)

Yes _____ No _____ If no, how has it been different--when and in what way?

11. a) Who are the five people you and your husband/wife most enjoy seeing together? (nationality, religion of Indian, occupation, how you met)

b) Have the people you as a couple have most enjoyed seeing always been _____? (all Indian, mixed nationalities or all Western) Yes _____ No _____

If no, when, and in what way was it different?

12. a) Now think of the people you have seen in all social situations over the past year. What percent would you say are Indian and what percent are Western?

Indian _____ Western _____

12. (cont)

- b) What do you think is the reason for this distribution?
- c) Has the distribution of your social acquaintances always been like this?
Yes____ No____ If no, when was it different, what was the distribution then and why was it different?

13. a) How many other Indian-Western couples do you know in this city?_____

b) What are the nationalities of the foreign partners?
(how many of each)

c) Where and how often are you apt to see another mixed couple?
Changed with time or residence? How?

e) How many other couples do you know or have you heard about?_____

14. a) Do you see any Anglo-Indians in social situations?
Yes____ No____ If yes: how many do you see socially?_____

How often do you see some Anglo-Indians socially?

In what situations do you see them? (i.e. visiting, parties, functions)

b) Has the number of Anglo-Indians you see socially changed with time? Yes____ No____ If yes: in what way?

15. a) Do you presently have social contact with people who are neither Indian nor Western, such as Japanese, Chinese, Africans, Arabs? Yes____ No____
If yes, what nationalities, and how many of each?

How often do you have social contact with such people?_____

Where do you see them? (i.e. visiting, parties, functions)

How do you know them?

16. a) If you had the opportunity to increase the number of friends you have in only one of the following groups, which would be your choice?

____Indians ____Westerners ____Other Indian-Western couples

____Anglo-Indians ____Other nationalities (i.e. non-Indian, non-Western) ____No preference

b) What are your reasons for that choice?

16. (cont.)

- c) If you could increase the number of friends you had in all of the following groups except one, which would you not increase?

____ Indians ____ Westerners ____ Other Indian-Western couples
 ____ Anglo-Indians ____ Other nationalities (non-Indian, non-Western)

- d) Why did you say that?

17. Now think of the Indians you see in social situations here in this city.

- a) Approximately how many do you know in each of the following groups? (In numbers not percentages) About how often do you see someone from each group? Are there individuals in each group you know well enough to entertain or visit at home?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Frequency of Social Contact</u>	<u>Exchange Visits</u> (yes or no)
Hindu			
Muslim			
Christian			
Parsi			
Sikh			

- b) Has the distribution of your Indian acquaintances always been about like this?
 Yes____ No____ If no, in what way, and at what period was it different?

18. a) Approximately how many Indians do you see socially who have the following occupations?

____ Business ____ Industry ____ Education
 ____ Doctors, lawyers, writers ____ Government officials
 ____ Military ____ Religious ____ Land owners or agriculture

- b) Has the general occupational pattern of your Indian acquaintances changed with time or residence? Yes____ No____ If yes, in what way, and when was it different?

19. Considering all of your Indian acquaintances, would you say they are more traditional or modern?
- a) presently traditional_____modern
- b) when you first came (married) traditional_____modern
- c) before marriage (in India) traditional_____modern
20. a) How many Indians do you know who have studied or worked in the West?
- b) Do you find any difference in getting to know those who have lived abroad and those who haven't? Yes____ No____ If yes, in what way?
21. a) Do you think it is easier or more difficult to get to know Indians now compared to when you first came (back) to India? Why do you think that?
- b) Does the fact that you are married to an Indian/Western make any difference in getting to know Indians? Yes____ No____ If yes, in what way?
- c) What do you think is the attitude of Indians toward mixed marriages?
22. Now think about the Westerners you know presently in this city.
- a) What nationalities are they, how many do you know of each nationality, how often do you see someone from each group, do you know anyone in each group well enough to visit or entertain at home?
- Nationality Number Frequency of Contact Exchange Visits (yes or no)
- b) How have you met the Westerners you know?
- c) Has the number or distribution of Westerners you know changed with time or residence? Yes____ No____
If yes, how and when was it different?

23. Approximately how many Westerners do you know in each of the following fields of occupation?
- a) ____Business ____Industry(technological) ____Education
 ____Professional ____Government officials ____Military
 ____Religious ____Land owners, agriculture
- b) Do you have any contact with tourists? Yes____ No____
 If yes, how, how often?
- c) Has this distribution changed with time or residence?
 Yes____ No____ If yes,how?
24. a) Do you think it is easier or more difficult to meet Westerners now compared to when you first came (back) to India? Why?
- b) Do you think that the fact that you have married an Indian/- Westerner makes any difference in getting to know Westerners?
 Yes____ No____ If yes, how?
- c) What do you think is the attitude of the Westerners in India toward mixed marriage?
25. a) How frequently are you (the only Westerner) in an all Indian group?
- b) In what situations does this occur?
 social groups of less than 10_____
 social groups of 10 to 50_____
 social groups of more than 50_____
 weddings, festivals, etc._____
 occupational functions_____
 organizations, associations, clubs_____
 family_____ other_____
- c) (~~Westerner only~~) How do you feel when you are the only Westerner in a group?
26. a) How frequently are you (the only Indian) in an all Western group?

26. (cont.)

b) In which of the following situations does this occur?

social groups of less than 10 _____

social groups of 10 to 50 _____

social groups of more than 50 _____

weddings, festivals, etc. _____ Occupational functions _____

organizations, clubs, associations _____

c) (Indian only respond) How do you feel in an all Western group?

27. a) How frequently would you be in a social group including Indians and Westerners?

b) What situations include groups of more than one nationality?

social groups of less than 10 _____

social groups of 10 to 50 _____

social groups of more than 50 _____

weddings, festivals _____ occupational functions _____

organizations, clubs, associations _____

28. a) How frequently are you with only other mixed couples?

b) What kinds of situations are those, how large are the groups?

29. Has the relative amount of time you spend in these kinds of groups changed with time or residence? Yes _____ No _____ If yes, in what way and when was it different?

30. a) Do you ever change your behavior in any way according to whether you are with Indians or Westerners? Yes _____ No _____ If yes, in what way, with what kind of Indians or Westerners?

b) Have you ever felt anyone would like you to change in any way? Yes _____ No _____ If yes, who and in what way would they like you to change?

31. a) What clubs, organizations, or informal groups have you belonged to since marriage? (including professional groups and things like card groups)

<u>Group</u>	<u>Nationality of Membership</u> (all Indian, mixed, or all Western)
--------------	--

31. (cont.)

- b) Are there others you might like to join but haven't?
Yes_____ No_____ If yes, what are they, why haven't you
joined?

32. How often do you attend films, plays or concerts? Are they
Indian or Western?

Frequency Indian or Western

- a) films
b) plays or concerts
c) Has the kind of films, plays or concerts you see changed
over time, or has the frequency changed?
Yes_____ No_____ If yes, in what way? Why?

33. Do you think the way you spend your leisure time is any different
from what it would have been if you had married someone of your
own nationality but lived in India? Yes_____ No_____
If yes, in what way is it different?

34. When you read for pleasure do you read books in any language other
than English?

Yes_____ No_____ If yes, what language?_____

- b) Do you read books by Indians or about India often_____
seldom_____ never_____?

- c) What journals, magazines, or newspapers do you read
regularly? (including professional journals)

THE NEXT FEW QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT OCCUPATION

35. What jobs have you held since you were married? (include volunteer
work)

Job Title Employer Dates of Employment

- b) Have any of these jobs required contact with people of
different nationalities?
Yes_____ No_____ If yes, what nationalities? How frequently?



36. a) How do you feel about your present Job?
- b) What were your reasons for choosing this job?
- c) What is your present salary?
37. a) Has the fact that you are married to a Westerner/Indian ever been a help to you in your job? Yes____ No____
If yes, in what way?
- b) Has being married to a Westerner/Indian ever been a negative factor in terms of job? (including reaction or employer to marriage initially)
Yes____ No____ If yes, in what way?
38. a) How do you feel about your husband's/wife's job?
- b) Have you been involved in any way in his/her job?
Yes____ No____ If yes, in what way?
39. What is your/your husband's attitude toward a working wife?

THE NEXT QUESTIONS DEAL WITH YOUR FAMILY--RELATIVES AND CHILDREN

40. How often do you see your Indian relatives? How long are visits (if more than a day), and where do they live? (include those you have not seen, and indicate why)
- | | <u>Frequency of Visit</u> | <u>Length of Visit</u> | <u>Their Residence</u> |
|---|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| a) Parents | | | |
| b) Brothers and sisters (list) | | | |
| c) Any other relative | | | |
| d) Has the frequency of visits with Indian relatives changed?
Yes____ no____ | | | |

41. a) How do you feel about visiting Indian relatives for short periods, and how do you feel about long visits with them? (check one statement in each column)

Short Long

_____ _____ I enjoy these visits very much.
 _____ _____ I enjoy these visits.
 _____ _____ I don't object to these visits but I don't particularly enjoy them.
 _____ _____ I do not enjoy these visits.
 _____ _____ I dislike these visits very much.

- b) Please explain why you responded as you did. Are there any relatives about whom you feel differently?
- c) How did you feel about visiting your Indian relatives at first?

42. a) Have you seen your Western relatives since coming to India?

Relative When How Long Occasion for Visit Where

43. a) How do you feel about visits with your Western relatives? (How would you feel if you have not seen them?)

Short Long

_____ _____ I enjoy these visits very much.
 _____ _____ I enjoy these visits.
 _____ _____ I don't object to these visits but I don't particularly enjoy them.
 _____ _____ I do not enjoy these visits.
 _____ _____ I dislike these visits very much.

- b) Please explain the above. Are there any relatives about whom you feel differently?
- c) Has your feeling changed with time? Yes _____ NO _____ If yes, how?

44. How often do you correspond with your own relatives?



45. a) What are the ages of your children? _____

b) Are the children's names Indian or Western? _____

46. a) Are your children being raised more Indian or more Western?

Indian _____ Western _____

b) Please explain your response. In what way are they Indian and in what way Western?

c) Do you think a conscious attempt should be made to introduce the children to both cultures? Yes _____ No _____ If yes, how and why?

d) Are there any aspects of the children's upbringing about which you and your husband/wife think differently? Yes _____ No _____ If yes, what?

47. What languages do your children speak?

Language

How did they learn it?

48. a) What kind of schools do/did your children attend?

government _____

private _____

church _____

day school _____

boarding _____

if boarding, where _____

English medium _____

Vernacular _____

b) What were your reasons for choosing that kind of school?

c) If money did not have to be considered, where would you like your children to have their higher education? (i.e., India or abroad)? Why? (if they are in college or have finished, please indicate place of study)

49. Where do your children reside presently?

50. What is the citizenship of your children?

51. a) How many of your children are married? _____ What are the religions, nationalities, and castes of their partners?

51. (cont.)

b) Did you, or will you, arrange your children's marriages?
Yes_____ partly_____ no_____

c) From which of the following groups would you prefer your children to choose their husbands/wives?

Indian Hindu_____	Western Jewish_____	African Negro_____
Indian Muslim_____	Oriental_____	Anglo-Indian_____
Western Christian_____		Indian Christian_____
Children of other Indian-Western couples_____		No Preference_____

d) Please explain the choice you made above.

e) Which of the following would you object to as partners for your children?

Children of other Indian-Western couples_____	Orientials_____
Indian Christian_____	Indian Muslim_____ Western Christian_____
Indian Hindu_____	Anglo-Indian_____ African Negro_____
Western Jewish_____	No Preference_____

f) Please explain that response.

52. What are the occupations of your children, or what would you like them to be?

NOW I HAVE JUST A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT RELIGION

53. a) Have either you or your partner converted? Yes_____ No_____

If yes, who, why, how do you feel about it?

If no, did you ever discuss the possibility of converting?

Yes_____ No_____

b) What religious holidays or festivals do you celebrate?

54. a) How important was the religion of your family to you at the time you met your husband/wife, and how important is it to you now?

Before Now

_____ It was/is very important part of my life.

_____ I practiced/practice it, but it was/is not extremely important to me.

54. a) (cont.)

Before Now

_____ I was/am indifferent to this religion.
 _____ I was/am disillusioned with this religion.
 _____ I had/have rejected this religion altogether.

b) Comments, explanations.

c) How often do you go to church/temple/mosque?

55. a) What was your attitude toward your partner's religion before you met and what is it now?

Before Now

_____ I took/take great personal interest in the religion.
 _____ I found/find it interesting.
 _____ I was/am indifferent to it.
 _____ I didn't/don't consider it worthwhile.
 _____ I was/am negative or resentful
 _____ I had never heard of it at all.

b) Comments, explanations.

c) Do you ever take part in worship in your partner's faith?
 Yes_____ No_____ If yes, how often and on what occasions/

56. a) What religion are the children being raised?_____

b) How did you decide on the children's religion?

c) What kind of religious training do the children get?

WE'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT YOUR MARRIED LIFE UP TO NOW. I HAVE A FEW QUESTIONS NEXT ABOUT YOUR LIFE BEFORE YOU MARRIED.

57. a) Had you ever been outside your own country before you married? Yes_____ No_____

If yes, Where How long Reason for Going

57. (cont.)

- b) Had other members of your family been out of your country before your marriage? Yes____ No____ If yes,

Who Where How Long Reason for Going

58. Had you been separated from your parents before marriage? (including living in hostels for school or work or because of death of a parent) Yes____ No____ If yes,

Age Length of Separation Reason

59. a) Did you have acquaintances of other nationalities before marriage? Yes____ No____ If yes, what nationalities, how many of each, and how did you know them?

- b) Were any of them close friends? Yes____ No____ If yes, which ones?

- c) Did you make a special effort to meet people of other nationalities? Yes____ No____

60. Did your parents have friends of other nationalities close enough to invite home? Yes____ No____ If yes,

Nationality How Many How Often Did They Visit

61. Have any of your relatives or close friends married people of other nationalities, races, religions, or castes? Yes____ No____ If yes,

Who Who Did They Marry Before or After Yours Was There any Influence

62. What schools, colleges, universities have you attended?

Years Degree Country Language Government, Private, Church

63. What is your present citizenship?_____

- b) (Westerner only) Why did you choose that?

- c) Have you been a citizen of any other country? no____
Yes (specify)_____

64. Nationality of parents at birth: Father_____
 (or language group for Indian) Mother_____
65. Religion of Parents: Father_____
 Mother_____
66. (Indian only) Caste of Parents:
 Father: caste_____ subcaste_____
 Mother: caste_____ subcaste_____
 (Westerner only) What is the caste of your husband/wife?_____
 What is his/her subcaste?_____
67. Occupation of Parents: Father's job title_____
 employer_____
 Mother's job title_____
 employer_____
68. How many older brothers_____, older sisters_____
 younger brothers_____, younger sisters_____ have you?
69. Did anyone live in your family when you were growing up besides your parents, brothers, and sisters? yes____ no____ if yes, who and how long?
70. Is this your first marriage? Yes____ No____ If no, what was the religion and nationality of your former husband/wife? (Indian, was he/she of your caste and community?) What was the cause of separation?
71. Had you ever considered marrying someone before your husband/wife? Yes____ No____ if yes, what nationality, religion, and caste was he/she?
72. What aspects of your own background do you think may have encouraged you to marry someone of a different nationality?
73. a) How did you meet your husband/wife?
 b) How long after meeting did you marry?_____
 c) After meeting your husband/wife, did you make any attempt to learn more of his/her country? Yes____ No____ if yes, what aspects, and how? If no, why not?

74. What was the reaction of the following to your marriage?

- a) Parents
- b) Brothers and Sisters
- c) Other relatives
- d) Friends
- e) Was there any other reaction strongly favorable or negative?
Yes_____ No_____ If yes, from whom?

75. a) Was your wedding civil_____ sacramental_____ or both_____?
If sacramental, what religion was the ceremony?_____

- b) Where were you married (city)?_____
- c) How many attended the wedding?_____ reception?_____
- d) Did your parents both attend? Yes_____ No_____ If no, who did not attend, and why?
- e) What year was it?
- f) How old were you?

76. Now I want you to place yourself on this ladder. Supposing the top rung (10) represents the best life possible, overall, and the bottom rung, 0, represents the worst life possible.

- a) Where would you place yourself presently?_____ Why?
- b) Where would you have put yourself the first year in India?
(or of your marriage if you lived here already)_____ Why?
- c) Now think back to just before you met your husband/wife.
Where would you have put yourself then?_____ Why?

77. Now I would like you to put down the first things that come into your mind if you ask yourself the question. "Who am I?"

- b) Do you ever think of yourself in terms of nationality?
Yes_____ No_____ If yes, how and when?

78. In what way do you think you have changed since you have been married?
79. Have there been times when you have been conscious of being a mixed marriage?
Yes____ No____ If yes, in what kinds of situations do you feel this? Did it happen more or less at first? If no, what has helped to avoid this feeling?
80. Do you ever hear comments about your own country that annoy you? Yes____ No____ If yes, what kind of comments, from whom? What is your response to such comments?
81. Do you ever hear comments about your partner's country that annoy you? Yes____ No____ If yes, what kind of comments, from whom? What is your response?
82. Do Indians ever look to you as a source of information about your/your partner's country? Yes____ No____ If yes, what kinds of things are they interested in? What kinds of Indians ask these questions?
83. Do Westerners ask you questions about India? Yes____ No____ If yes, what Westerners, what are they interested in learning about?
84. Do you find yourself comparing India and the West, or India and your/your partner's country? Yes____ No____ If yes, in what respects? With whom do you discuss this? Do you compare more now, at first, or is it the same?
85. Do you ever think of yourself as a link, so to speak, between your two countries or cultures? Yes____ No____ If yes, in what way?
86. Next, I would like to use the ladder again. This time the top rung (10) represents the highest overall opinion you could hold of a country, and the bottom the lowest opinion of a country. Where would you put the following?
- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| a) _____ India | f) _____ England |
| b) _____ Your own/your partner's country | g) _____ Nigeria |
| c) _____ The United States | h) _____ Pakistan |
| d) _____ West Germany | i) _____ Mexico |
| e) _____ Thailand | |

86. (cont)

Now think back to just before you met your husband/wife, at that time where would you have put

j) _____ India

k) _____ your own/your
partner's country

If you were not in your own country at the time you met where would you have placed your country before you left it? _____

What were your reasons for ranking India as you did before and now?

What were your reasons for ranking your own country as you did before and now?

87. As a summary question, do you recommend the idea of cross-cultural marriage? Why or why not?

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