

A COMPARISON OF CULTURAL OCCASIONS IN TWO SOCIETIES:  
A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES ..... iii

Chapter

I. THE PROBLEM, REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND HYPOTHESES .....1

II. METHODOLOGY.....44

III. TESTING THE HYPOTHESES  
Distribution of Cultural Occasions, and Cultural Occasions by Size of Group, Nationality Composition, Types of Occasions by Selected Variables Including Size, Nationality and Kinship Relationship of Group and Cultural Occasions by Specified Kinship Relationships and by Sexual Composition, Age Composition and Kinship Relation of Group .....55

IV. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION .....68

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....76

Appendix

I. AN EXAMPLE OF A SPECIFIC CULTURAL OCCASION AS ACTUALLY TYPED DURING RESEARCH .....77

II. RESULTS OF RATING OF OCCASIONS BY JUDGES AND LANNING....81

III. PROFILES OF BOOKS .....89

IV. OVERALL AND IMPRESSIONISTIC VIEW OF NOVELS BY AUTHORS OF THE TWO CULTURES.....121

V. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE WRITER .....127

VI. TABLES, SIX, SEVEN AND EIGHT.....131

REFERENCES .....133

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	page
1. Distribution of Unitary and Complex Occasions Presented by Nationality of Authors .....	55
2. Distribution of Types of Unitary Cultural Occasions Presented, by Nationality of Authors .....	56
3. Distribution of Types of Complex Cultural Occasions Presented, by Nationality of Authors .....	57
4. Groups Sizes in Cultural Occasions, by Nationality of Authors .....	58
5. Nationality Composition of Groups Involved in Cultural Occasions, by Nationality of Authors .....	59
6. General Types of Unitary Occasions, by Groups Sized Two Through Three and Four Through Seven, by Indian and American Authors .....	132
7. General Types of Unitary Occasions, by Nationality Composition of Groups in Occasion, by Indian and American Authors .....	132
8. General Types of Unitary Occasions by Relationship Composition of Groups in Occasion, by Indian and American Authors .....	132
9. Familial, Non-Familial, or Familial - Non-Familial Composition of Groups Involved in Cultural Occasions, by Nationality of Authors .....	65
10. Sexual Composition of Groups Involved in Cultural Occasions, by Nationality of the Authors .....	66
11. Age Composition of Groups Involved in Cultural Occasions, by Nationality of Authors .....	66

I. THE PROBLEM, REVIEW OF LITERATURE  
AND HYPOTHESIS

Introduction

Sociology of literature encompasses study of the many possible relationships of literature and society. Recognition of this relationship is not confined to modern times, for many centuries ago the relationship between literature and society was perceived by Plato.<sup>1</sup> Consideration of this relationship returned with the advent of Renaissance humanism, when it was regarded that both ancient and modern literature were the unique creations of the respective periods.<sup>2</sup> The first study devoted to the relationship of literature and society was published early in the Nineteenth Century.<sup>3</sup> This two volume work by Madame de Staël discussed the connection of race and climate with literary styles and the impress of women and religion on art.<sup>4</sup> Although interest has been long standing, sociological analyses of literature have not been undertaken on a broad basis. Indeed, it has not been "a favorite son of organized social sciences."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Milton C. Albrecht, "The Relationship of Literature and Society," American Journal of Sociology, ILX (March, 1954), p. 425.

<sup>2</sup>Harry Levin, "Literature as an Institution," Accent, VI (Spring, 1946), p. 159.

<sup>3</sup>Albrecht, American Journal of Sociology, ILX (March, 1954), p. 425.

<sup>4</sup>James H. Barnett, "The Sociology of Art," Sociology Today, eds. Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), p. 199.

<sup>5</sup>Leo Lowenthal, Literature, Popular Culture and Society, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), p. 141.

Nonetheless, the number of studies that have been published offer guidelines for research and indicate further opportunities; especially is this so in the area of literature and mass society.<sup>1</sup>

### The Relationship of Literature and Society

The relationship of literature to society may be articulated as a social institution within the society. In this context, the author, public and critic may serve as units of observation; the intensity and variance of relations between or among the units would constitute the foci of attention.<sup>2</sup>

It has been hypothesized that the products of this literary institution reflect or tell us something about society. Probably the most common conception is that literature reflects values and norms which are significant. Literature has also been considered at one time or another to reflect social circumstances as affected by climate, race, social class, war, and the polity.<sup>3</sup> A major type of analysis done in the context of the reflection theory has been done within the Marxist tradition and has emphasized the artist's relation to means of production, markets, and class structure. "In general, the major thesis of Marxist analysis is that artistic production "reflects" the system of economic and industrial production."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 141.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Language and Literature in Society, (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 67.

<sup>3</sup>Albrecht, American Journal of Sociology, ILX (March, 1954), p. 426.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Bensman and Israel Gerver, "Art and the Mass Society," Social Problems, VI (Summer, 1958), p. 5.

The relationship of literature to society has been viewed in a social control context. In this context, literature supports the status quo of attitudes and ideals in a society.<sup>1</sup> Although not specifically mentioned in the context of social influence, Lazarsfeld and Merton propose that the mass media have a status conferral function. Hence, through the mass media status is conferred "on public issues, persons, organizations and social movements."<sup>2</sup> It has not been concluded here that the status conferral is restricted to those issues and items expressing social norms or values. Nonetheless, status conferral could result in social control. Literature has also been viewed in the more active function of shaping society, to the extent that certain social events may take place because a book was read by people.<sup>3</sup> Duncan has observed that literature operates within the realm of fantasy by removing "us from practical action by dissipating emotions which, if developed into action...or into conscious, rational experience..., would be a threat to those in control of the society."<sup>4</sup> This coheres well with social control, maintenance of the status quo, and shaping of society. However, the individual consumer of literature or art serves as the unit of observation in this context.

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<sup>1</sup>Albrecht, American Journal of Sociology, ILX (March, 1954), p. 425.

<sup>2</sup>Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action," Mass Culture, The Popular Arts in America, eds. Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press and the Falcon's Wing Press, 1957), p. 461.

<sup>3</sup>Albrecht, American Journal of Sociology, ILX (March, 1954), p. 434.

<sup>4</sup>Duncan, p. 42.

A related observation suggests that the mass audience may be essentially immobilized by the sheer amount of information ensuing from the mass media. The daily stipend of information requires an increase in the amount of time devoted to learning as it decreases the amount of time available for action. This phenomenon has been termed the narcotizing dysfunction of mass media.<sup>1</sup>

Another hypothesized relationship of literature and society was proposed by Mueller. He suggested that literature functions as an escape from personal dilemmas of the author and/or members of the public.<sup>2</sup>

The interaction between author and society has been stated. However, the author's relation to society must not obscure the circumstance that an artist may practice individual expression. This circumstance appears to be at the heart of the current dispute between artists and the official organs in the U.S.S.R.<sup>3</sup> In fact, one reason given for the slow start of sociological analyses of literature is that a work of art is highly personal and "this intimate identity of the author has tended to divert attention from the social forces which enter into its formation."<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, artists do not typically work in a social vacuum. It will be this interplay that will serve to focus this thesis.

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<sup>1</sup>Lazarsfeld and Merton, p. 464.

<sup>2</sup>John H. Mueller, "The Folkway of Art: An Analysis of the Social Theories of Art," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (September, 1938), pp. 226-228.

<sup>3</sup>Gerd Ruge, Easternak, A Pictorial Biography, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959), pp. 118-119.

<sup>4</sup>Mueller, American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (September, 1938), p. 223.

### The Problem

The problem at hand is within the sociology of literature and is specifically cast within the context of the reflection theory. I have compared novels written by male American authors and male Indian authors. The locale of each novel was India. The purpose of the study was to compare randomly selected cultural occasions presented by American authors with those by Indian authors. A situation having two or more persons and having a distinctive role constellation and distinctive situational process, may be called a cultural occasion; and according to Dakin's typology there are 26 categories fully inclusive of all types of cultural occasions.<sup>1</sup>

The comparison of novels involved consideration of the distinct types of cultural occasions located, with each occasion classified within at least one of Dakin's categories. Also considered, for each cultural occasion, were the number of persons involved, sex composition, class similarities or differences, age categories, national group, and familial relation. The methodology utilized and the social attributes viewed constitute this as a sociological study.

The hypotheses of this study focus on differences and are cast within the context of the reflection theory. Differences between authors will manifest: the cultures are different; authors representing the two cultures differ as writers in style,

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<sup>1</sup>Ralph E. Dakin, "Cultural Occasions and Group Structures: A Photographic Analysis of American Social Situations," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1960), p. 67.



content. In the latter instances, differences would arise out of socialization of authors or unknown factors. Each hypothesis generated is specifically concerned with either the difference between authors or the difference between cultures.

It is known that there are many differences between Indian and American cultures. One observer notes numerous reasons why America differs from other cultures.

Most obvious perhaps is the different environment--- different location, physical surroundings, climate, resources, and so on. Equally impressive are the many diverse cultural strains and subsequent crosscultural contacts within the American aggregate. Aside from these, and from any possible genetic selectivity, we know that a society separated from others by spatial and socio-political barriers will, over a period of time, develop a relatively distinct culture.<sup>1</sup>

Differences between cultures may be approached on the level of values. Values, traits or themes in American culture have been pointed out by Williams, Coleman,<sup>2</sup> Torrance and Meadows,<sup>3</sup> and others. Williams gives a comprehensive treatment of values in American culture, stating that there are often contradictions between values dominant in a culture. Williams list of the dominant values is as follows:<sup>4</sup>

#### Dominant Values in American Culture

1. personal achievement and occupational success of "self-made" man
2. action and productive work

<sup>1</sup>Robin M. Williams, American Society, A Sociological Interpretation, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), pp. 409.

<sup>2</sup>Lee Coleman, "What is American: A Study of Alleged American Traits," Social Forces, Vol. XIX (May, 1941), pp. 492-499.

<sup>3</sup>William Torrance and Paul Meadows, "American Culture Themes: An Analysis of Foreign Observer Literature," Sociology and Social Research, IVIII (Sept.-Oct., 1958), pp. 3-7.

<sup>4</sup>Williams, pp. 409-468.

3. "moral orientation" by which conduct is judged
4. "humanitarian mores"
5. efficiency and practicality
6. cult of progress
7. high level of material comfort
8. "equality"
9. "freedom"
10. "external conformity"
11. "science and secular rationality"
12. "nationalism-patriotism"
13. "democracy"
14. worth of individual personality
15. racism and group superiority

Obvious differences between Indian values and American values can be pointed out and these differences fall around some of the values pointed out by Williams. The value on personal achievement and success of the "self-made" man by Americans is quite different from the Indian orientation in which the value of ascription to a position by birth supercedes the value of achievement. This is true, even though the ascriptive caste system has been legally abolished; the caste system is sustained by centuries-old tradition and is thoroughly ingrained in the culture. The tenets underlying the caste system also oppose the principle of equality of persons, a major Value in American culture. However, it must be noted that an American value, racism-group superiority, also opposes equality of persons.

The American concern with high level of material comfort is probably not nearly as prominent in the Indian system of values, as India has traditionally been a Hindu society and Hinduism places much emphasis on the spiritual. This preoccupation has impeded material progress in India.<sup>1</sup> With the focus on industrialization and modernization in India, interest in material items has perhaps increased, though the central government has encouraged people to abstain from buying material items and luxuries and invest their money in other ways which will benefit the economy.

The recent emphasis on industrialism in India and the idea of progress have been endorsed by the central government. Endorsement of the value of progress by the government, does not mean that the peoples of India have internalized this value. Quite likely Indians and Americans differ on the weights attributed to progress.

It would seem evident that nationalism would be among the major value orientations in India, as well as in America, with the Independence struggle of India so recent. Actually, in India, nationalism is diminished by a patriotism towards the area in which one was born, and the language and way of life of the community of upbringing.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Joe David Brown and Editors of Life, India, (New York: Time Incorporated, 1961), p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Filliozat, India, the Country and Its Traditions, (London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1962), p. 63.

There are other differences to be found between Indian and American cultures besides the ones pointed out as centering around values. Between the two societies, there is a basic difference in the institution of the family. In America the nuclear family has been the important family unit, while in India the extended family has been the important family unit, and an extremely important institution in the society.

In the extended family it is traditional for three generations of a family to live together in the same house. The father is the head of the family and included in this family are the father's sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters and the grandchildren. This living arrangement is preserved only in the higher classes now.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, the importance of the family as a referent for its members is still very strong. In fact, for many centuries in India, concern for the family took precedence over concern for any individual member of the family. Even in modern times the will of the individual is often subjected to the will of the family. An example of this is the arranged marriage to which unwilling but dutiful individuals submit. In America where individualism is highly valued this and other situations similar would not generally be found.

The male is the head of the family in India, as well as occupying a superordinate position to women in other areas of society. In America, women do not occupy a subordinate position

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

to men to the degree that women of India do. It has already been mentioned that there is subordination within the caste system. Also, subordination within Indian society may be found in non-peer relationships, in which older persons are given respect and honor and attention, and are superordinate to the younger persons. The youthful orientation of America is quite different.

Finally, a noticeable difference between Indian and American cultures is in the amount of urbanization. India is seventy per cent rural while America is nearly seventy per cent urban.

#### Review of Literature

Written accounts of cross-cultural comparisons of literature or of other artistic media are few. Thus the main body of sociological study which is congruently relevant to this research is limited. There are, however, many non-contrastive studies of/about literary products of cultural groups. These relate to this study, which has considered the work of artists from two cultures. The cited non-contrastive, non-comparative studies of works from cultural groups are restricted to those of American works, as this study, in part, concerns itself with novels of American authors. Studies of literary products of Indian culture have not been found by this author; because of this gap no citations will be made.

The nature of this problem involves consideration of works of particular authors from different cultures. Eventually, the question of the relationship of the author to his culture or a culture will occur. This question has a secondary but cogent

relationship to this study. Since this is the case, a discussion of the relation of an author to culture is appended. (Appendix V.)

A point of controversy over the types of analysis used in sociology of literature research is whether dependence for data should be based on qualitative analysis or quantitative content analysis; content analysis always involves at least some quantification.<sup>1</sup> In strictly quantitative content analysis, careful counting of the units decided upon is stressed. The fact that artists tend toward individualistic expression inhibits the application of strict quantitative criteria. Moreover, many sociologists consider qualitative analysis to be more valuable because categories are not so finely prescribed, allowing categories to remain general correlates with subtle interpretations. Some sacrifice of objectivity, in other words, correlates with an increase in the yield of fruitful insights. Because of the state of the literature in the sociology of literature it is warrantable to use qualitative methods. More precise measurement schemes---quantitative methods---await further advances in the limited area of investigation and in tangential methodologies as well. One concern in qualitative analysis is with content as a symptom of latent phenomena. In some instances qualitative analyses are quantified. This procedure has become one viable option of content analysis. More readings presented herein reported their results in quantitative terms.

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<sup>1</sup>Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 114-134.

Contrastive-Comparative Studies  
Relevant to the Problem

Herbert Lewin carried out a study to determine the major aims and goals of the Hitler Youth and the Boy Scouts of America. He analyzed literature published for the use of members and that literature intended for the use of leaders. The author relied on quantitative content analysis in his procedure, but presents the view that this type of analysis "cannot always present clear-cut indications of differences or similarities, nor can it fully interpret the "implicit values." All quantitative findings must, therefore be read with a view of the total findings."<sup>1</sup> Content analysis according to Lewin, is conducted best when the two methodologies are employed.

Though notable differences in aims and goals were expected, there were certain areas of agreement, which may be accounted for by "thinking of Western cultures as a common source of socio-ethical values."<sup>2</sup> Literatures of the two organizations agreed on the ways in which the members should realize the ends or exhibit virtue, with both organizations advocating practical experience. Common ends for both groups were group emotional unity, moral duties, service to community and physical fitness.

Ideologically, with regard to rationale for ends and their values, there were differences. For the Hitler Youth Movement, ends were justified by needs of the national socialist society, while

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert S. Lewin, "Hitler Youth and the Boy Scouts of America," Human Relations, I (1947), p. 210.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 226.

for the Boy Scouts, goals were supported by the philosophy that puts self-development and individual achievement as being very important. The emotional impacts which these groups used to further achievement of goals were quite different in intensity, with Hitler Youth encouraged to work for goals in "blind faith," while Americans were not given intense motivation, yet some appeal was presented in the form of patriotic values needing acceptance. Also, there was a difference, in that the American youth were presented with the idea that ends were to be achieved as obligations to self, rather than to the nation, as was the case for German youth. All these differences were accounted for by the author as being "predominately caused by the cleavage between the value system in a democratic and in an authoritarian society."<sup>1</sup>

A study of national character by comparative analysis of German and American school songbooks was made by Hans Sebald. The author was especially looking for value reflections that would support the hypothesis "that the modal character of the Germans is basically authoritarian."<sup>2</sup> In looking for such indicators, the author had mentioned that the relationship between cultural values reflected in the literature and the modal personality structure cannot be grossly simplified, for there is no simple and direct relationship between the two variables. The author did not assume knowledge about the modal personality from scanning only literary sources. The author's main hypothesis

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 226.

<sup>2</sup>Hans Sebald, "Studying National Character Through Comparative Content Analysis," Social Forces, XXX (May, 1962), p. 319.



reflected this cognizance of no simple relationship and states that:

the German child is exposed to an extreme polarity in "relations to authority," with the authority dimension consisting of dichotomously opposed extremes: dominant and submissive, commanding and obeying, superior and inferior, with human relationships rarely viewed on a horizontal level.<sup>1</sup>

In this case the medium of possible exposure to concepts central to the authoritarian personality is the school songbook. Two school songbooks were used in this study and were published in 1939 and 1940 and were similar in layout in that each covered a cross-section of life in society.

Findings supported the hypothesis that the German child is exposed to polarity in authority relations. Thus, thirty-six per cent of the German songs subordinated the individual to the larger social system, while not one per cent of the American songs exhibited this.<sup>2</sup> Actually, the findings suggest two different cultural themes. Values and norms tied up with the National-Socialist view were emphasized in the German medium, with goals of society placed well above those of individual goals; goals and ideals of the American songs placed individual achievement and self-development in the forefront.

Mary Ellen Chaddha compared social interacts in novels written by whites and Negroes in an effort to determine differences and similarities in the ways these authors handled interaction in differently composed racial groups and to determine if results could adequately be explained by the reflection theory. Differences

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 319.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 320.

were found in the way that interactions were handled. White and Negro authors differed in the number of depicted interactions between those of the same racial group for both Negro and white and between Negro and white, with white authors writing about white-white interaction more than about inter-racial interaction, and Negro authors writing more about inter-racial interaction than Negro-Negro interaction. The Negroes wrote about white-white interaction less often than Negro-Negro interaction.

When Negroes wrote about cross sex situations, they tended to write about participants of their own race, while two of the white authors tended to write about participants from their own race and also those from both races. All Negro and white authors presented more situations in which participants of their own race had equal role positions, than they did situations of bi-racial interaction with equal role positions. Fewer white authors than Negro authors presented bi-racial situations with equal role positions. Negro authors, more than white authors, presented situations in which the Negro identified himself as subordinate and the white person considered himself as an equal and the Negro viewed himself as subordinate. Other differences between white and Negro authors could not be adequately explained by the reflection theory.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Mary Ellen Chaddha, Social Interaction as Depicted by White and Negro Authors: A Sociological Analysis of Six Novels, (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Economics and Sociology, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, 1963), Appendix.

An attempt to determine more about the value systems of America and Russia was made by Ivor Wayne in his comparison of values expressed in photographs contained in two major family magazines, Life and Ogonék which is a Russian publication. These photographs appeared in thirteen randomly selected issues of both magazines published in 1948. Distinct differences were found after photographs and pertinent captions, if necessary, were classified. A classification typology was adapted from a scheme Types of Men by E. Spranger and which specifies types of men and the supreme value espoused by each type. To this adaptation, the author added three categories of his own. Notable results were that the economic category with supreme value of utility had a higher incidence in Ogonék than in Life, and that the political category with supreme value of power had a slightly higher incidence in Life than in Ogonék. The finding which Wayne considered of most importance was that Ogonék presented a posed ideal of the Soviet prototype while Life tried to show real behavior patterns.<sup>1</sup> The fact that Life showed real behavior patterns was found to be very understandable, as the ideal pattern of the American way of life is to be liberal, with minor deviations from norms permissible and sanctioned. The Russian presentation of posed situations was termed as reflecting a strictness inherent in reality and implying "that all that is permissible is embodied

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<sup>1</sup>Ivor Wayne, "American and Soviet Themes and Values: A Content Analysis of Pictures in Popular Magazines," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Spring, 1956), p. 320.

in the ideal pattern of the New Socialist Man," and what lies outside this cultural norm is---by definition---subject to censure."<sup>1</sup>

These four studies set within context of the reflection theory, give partial support to this theory in discussion of the findings. Of these four contrastive studies, only the study by Sebald uses the data from study of literary products of one culture, America, almost solely as a contrast to those of another culture, Germany; the author's main interest in this study was to determine indications of authoritarian personality amongst Germans, and primary concern was not with indications about American personality, except to contrast with findings from German literary products.

#### Non-Contrastive, Non-Comparative Studies Relevant to the Problem

Ralph E. Dakin made a photographic analysis of American social situations by analyzing pictures in Life. His analysis involved utilization of a cultural occasion typology developed for this study. Dakin grouped the twenty-six distinct types of cultural occasions previously referred to under five general types. The definition of cultural occasion given by Dakin has previously been stated in this paper.

There were 1,017 cultural occasions depicted in photographs which Dakin analyzed. The sample on which these were based was a randomly selected issue of Life for each month for 1944 and 1945. For each cultural occasion the distinctive type of occasion was noted, also the structural features of size of plurality involved

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 320.

and distribution of persons in the situational space. When specific types of occasions were not considered, analysis showed that the largest per cent of total occasions presented fell under the general type of amusement. The largest per cent of total distinctive types of occasions presented fell under the sociability type. The sociability type falls under the general type of amusement. The next largest per cent fell under production and maintenance which was classified under the general type of utilitarian, which has the second largest per cent of occasions falling under a general type. Also, it was found that there was significant association between type of cultural occasion and structure which includes size and distribution of plurality.<sup>1</sup>

Inglis was interested in comparing social change with changes in fiction in order to test the validity of the reflection theory and the social control theory. She chose to study literary heroines appearing in 420 short stories appearing in the Saturday Evening Post from January 1901 to December 1935. Her sampling consisted of the first romantic short story of each month. The author wondered if there was an increase in the per cent of literary heroines gainfully employed, as she had previously noted that there had been an increase in the per cent of gainfully employed real life American women. All of her observations on real life women were made from examining census data. Inglis reasoned that if the increase in literary heroines gainfully employed came before the increase in women gainfully employed that this would

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<sup>1</sup>Dakin, American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1960), pp. 66-74.

be a support for the control theory, in that real life women would be influenced by heroines in the books. However, if the increase came after the increase in employment by real life women then this would mirror social change and support the reflection theory. The author also compared fictional heroines and real life women according to economic class, occupations, and age.

The author found a definite relationship between percentages of actual working women and fictional heroines, with increases in fictional employed heroines lagging about a decade behind the factual trend. The reflection theory was supported here, but was not generally supported in all comparisons made by the author; heroines were more youthful than their real life counterparts, their economic status showed little connection with actual economic conditions. For example, booms or depressions were not treated. From all of her findings, the author concludes that there is no consistent reflection of actual conditions. There was no evidence for the social control theory operating, but the author did state that heroines tended to conform to popular standards and were rewarded for virtue. In this way the stories encouraged maintenance of the status quo. "Only in this restricted sense" was the social control theory substantiated.<sup>1</sup>

The literature produced by a group of writers from the American South---the Fugitives---has been analyzed by Hugh Holman.

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<sup>1</sup>Ruth A. Inglis, "An Objective Approach to the Relationship Between Fiction and Society," American Sociological Review, III (August, 1938), p. 532.

He viewed these artists in their native culture. In the early 1920's these writers were expressing their rejection of the common literary expression of the South, which was in an "age of the sentimental color story, the imitative moralistic poem, of the sentimentally exaggerated picture of the plantation."<sup>1</sup>

With the beginning of the depression, the Fugitives embraced political, social and economic causes and turned from literary art as a self sufficient religion. They became advocates of Southern culture. Its agrarian way which they adopted, "was in a sense, a myth of the good order of the past used as a weapon of attack against what they believed to be the bad order of the present."<sup>2</sup> This myth was a good rallying point within the world of economic disaster, but was not convincing to others. By World War II, the urban South was soon to become a reality.

The literature of the South had found in the Agrarian myth a viable legend, a fruitful subject through which the themes of order, of tradition, of grace, and of good manners, of those good and surviving qualities of the Old South, could be expressed. And these elements, stripped of their economic and political expressions, have given Southern writing depth of meaning, grace of expression, and intensity of feeling unique in our time.<sup>3</sup> Despite the lessening of the relevance of the agricultural base for the Southern population the myth served well literature and

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<sup>1</sup>Hugh Holman, "Literature and Culture: The Fugitive Agrarians," Social Forces, XXXVII (October, 1958), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

the South in recent times. Holman's findings were based on qualitative analysis.

Mass periodical fiction and its values, for the years 1921 and 1940 were studied by Johns-Heine and Gerth. Randomly selected issues of the following magazines were chosen: Saturday Evening Post, Ladies' Home Journal, Country Gentleman, Atlantic and True Story. These issues chosen were analyzed through stories chosen at random. Changes in values were observed in these stories. The authors found that themes pointing to self-realization "over and above conventional group definitions," began to give way by the 1930's: decline of these success themes was evident in 1921 and was paralleled by "a rise in the idolization of the little man as the favored hero and the small town as the favored locale."<sup>1</sup> The authors explained these phenomena by the change from the optimism of Post-World War I to the impact of the Depression and some political pessimism.

Changing culture as related to changes in literature was also explored by Punke. He used census information to trace per capita increases in the numbers of periodicals and magazines from 1810 to 1929. The author was able to make the conclusion that for almost 120 years there was continuous per capita increase in numbers of copies of periodicals and newspapers, but that during post-war periods (1870-80 and 1919-23) there was decreased circulation. Also, there was a decrease in circulation after the 1927-29 period, marking unfavorable economic conditions.

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<sup>1</sup> Patricke Johns-Heine and Hans H. Gerth, "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction, 1921-1940," Public Opinion Quarterly, XIII (Spring, 1949), p. 113.



The author also found that increase was not proportional in all types of publications. From his data obtained from U. S. Census figures, the author concluded that Americans were gradually, but definitely becoming readers of two distinct types of literature, daily and Sunday newspapers and monthly magazines, with other types such as tri-weeklies and semi-weeklies not expanding proportionately to population increases.

Popularity of publications by interests served has varied with social change. This was ascertained from evidence in Census figures and newspaper annuals. Prior to two decades after the Civil War, publications of literary character predominated. By the 1870's many unsettling social forces appeared. These extended into the new century. It was not possible for periodical literature to remain status quo. The rise of labor organizations and industrialization, women entering the labor force, changes in the educational system, the war with Spain, were a few of the fundamental changes. During the last twenty years of the century, publishers experimented to discover the public's interests. Religious and agricultural interests were given predominant attention until urbanization became widespread. By the second quarter of the Twentieth Century literature not prominent during the first quarter began to appear. This new literature took the form of magazines of travel, fiction, sport and motion pictures. With regard to this finding the author remarks that "these publications reflect a change in abundance, as well as in the use made of the wealth

and leisure afforded by present society, as contrasted with that of earlier times.<sup>1</sup>

Lowenthal studied biographies published in Collier's and Saturday Evening Post during certain selected years between 1901 and 1941. He found that in the first quarter century those in the entertainment field played only a small role in the biographical material. The proportion of those in political life, business and professional orientation was quite high. Lowenthal expressed the view that social facts are reflected, in that he remarks that the 1901, 1902 selection of people about whom biographies were written represent "a fair cross-section of socially important occupations."<sup>2</sup> He calls heroes of the past "idols of production."<sup>3</sup>

Beginning after World War I, the largest proportion of biographies turned to the subject of entertainers. This predominance continued. Lowenthal found in 1941 that the largest proportion of biographies was still devoted to entertainers. It was also found that almost all biographies, even those having to do with persons occupied in industries other than entertainment emphasized leisure time in that persons discussed were related directly or indirectly to sphere of leisure time and consumption, rather than production. He calls these heroes the "idols of consumption."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Harold H. Punke, "Cultural Change and Changes in Popular Literature," Social Forces, XV (March, 1937), p. 369.

<sup>2</sup>Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines," American Social Patterns, ed. William Peterson, (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.), 1956, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

In 1900 and about 1920, Lowenthal found that distribution of vocational affiliations of magazine heroes actually reflected the occupational composition of the nation, by 1941 the heroes no longer reflected the actual distribution. After the latter date, most heroes written about were connected with professions providing for leisure time of readers, rather than connected with the broad range of professions representing the true occupational composition.

Lowenthal notes two distinct atmospheres accompanying the trends in biography writing. He states that perhaps the needs of the reading public have changed with the times, and thus the change in biographies may be partly due to a response to these needs by writers and their sponsors. Before World War I authors addressed themselves to an optimistic public interested in achieving success, but by the beginning stages of World War II, the average individual was not so optimistic about achieving success and had lost belief in self-determination and thus found refuge in identification with normalcy so often presented by authors.

Barnett and Gruen have studied reflections of social attitudes and practices regarding divorce in contemporary United States by focusing on analysis of twenty-five divorce novels which they have defined as those "in which important characters have been divorced, obtain a divorce, or go as far as court proceedings even though they fail to obtain a divorce, or a novel which closes with declared intention to obtain legal divorce."<sup>1</sup> More than

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<sup>1</sup>James H. Barnett and Rhoda Gruen, "Recent American Divorce Novels, 1938-1945: A Study in the Sociology of Literature," Social Forces, XXVI (March, 1948), p. 322.

one-half of the "divorce novels" published between 1938 and 1945 were investigated. Nine of the novels in this study were mainly concerned with tracing effects on children of homes broken by divorce, and seven portrayed that married love has permanence of psychological nature, even if a divorce has been obtained. Two could be termed milieu novels, mainly concerned with descriptive accounts of Reno, America's divorce colony. Another two concern themselves with the alienation process leading to divorce. The other five novels were classified as miscellaneous.

Middle class people and divorce were the foci and the authors noted that it is likely that the emphasis on undesirable effects of divorce on children "reflects the fact that this situation is of greatest concern to middle class individuals."<sup>1</sup> Also, the individuals involved in novels which concerned the "permanence of married love" were, without exception, of middle class outlook and background.<sup>2</sup>

When categories of occupation, rural-urban distribution and regional areas of persons in the novels were considered, it was found that these novels reflected factual reality to a limited degree. As reflections of social attitudes, these novels could be considered socially sensitive. The authors felt that the new theme of "permanence of married love" which occurred in these novels was "a reflection of the persistent cultural belief of importance of romantic love which has survived the general social

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 326.

acceptance of divorce."<sup>1</sup> The notion of permanence seems to be quite similar to the articulation of agrarianism in the South.

Walter Hirsch gathered data on the image of the scientist in science fiction, by analyzing a random sample of stories published in American science fiction magazines between the years of 1926 and 1950. He found that scientists were depicted typically as heroes or villains, but proportionally, businessmen were more villainous than scientists. The number of social scientists were found to be negligible. His analysis indicated that the social role of the scientist changed. The initial concept was that the scientist could save humanity but, by World War II, human problems were shown as being solved by aliens from other planets.

The author was concerned as to whether reality was reflected in these writings. His interpretation is that real life views of science rendered it as not omnipotent. This lack of omnipotence is shown in the literature analyzed in which there was presentation of a "distinct decline in the use of technology and natural science as a means for solution of problems."<sup>2</sup> Social reality is not always reflected; often the literature provides an escapist function in this context. Hirsch noted that less was written about poverty and unemployment in the depression than was noted before or after its onset. Increases in international conflict were portrayed realistically as was the portrayal of the scientist in the bureaucratic setting.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Hirsch, "The Image of the Scientist in Science Fiction," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (March, 1958), p. 510.

A study of the way in which the integration issue has affected the Negro creative artist was made by Arthur Davis. He argued that the introduction of the concept of integration has an important effect on literature; after integration became a realistic objective writing of Negro authors changed even more drastically. With the imminent possibility of integration Negroes' "most fruitful literary tradition," protest writing, declined.<sup>1</sup> New themes within the racial context have been found by some fiction authors, while others have avoided the Negro character entirely. Some of the poets have become silent and others avoid protest themes or explicate them subtly.

It has been hypothesized by the author, that as time passes, Negro writing will change to "positive reporting" and will somewhat play down harshness in lives of Negro Americans and also emphasize the progress towards equality and draw pictures of the Negroes in their internal life.<sup>2</sup> Later, when segregation becomes a thing of the past, according to the author, Negro writers will begin to write of their own people on universal terms. This analysis is a qualitative one.

An attempt to explore the reflection theory, as related to some American novels has been made by William Van O'Connor in another qualitative study. He is wary of finding sociologically reliable descriptions in highly imaginative fiction. He specifies that "in fiction the 'real,' the 'factual,' and the 'true' are

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur P. Davis, "Integration and Race Literature," Phylon, XVII (1956), p. 142.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 145-146.

inevitably caught up in the author's private vision."<sup>1</sup> Just as "it would be naive to reconstruct Elizabethan England after reading the Shoemaker's Holiday or As You Like It," it would be naive to picture the Spanish-American War, a small town in Ohio, or life of the middle class in Connecticut after having read novels on each of these.<sup>2</sup> Books mentioned, and which the author maintains do not represent life exactly are The Day of the Locust by Nathaniel West, Winesburg, Ohio by Sherwood Anderson, also The Light in August, Intruder in the Dust, Sanctuary and Phylon, all by William Faulkner. The author maintains that attempts to reconstruct real life, must be preceded by investigation of the aesthetic questions---literary conventions and nature of stylization found in a specific novel---and the author's way of looking at a subject.

Berelson and Salter sought to determine the kinds of people appearing in typical magazine short stories. Analysis concerned the religious, racial and national backgrounds of the people represented and the manner in which were treated. One hundred and ninety-eight short stories appearing in Saturday Evening Post, Colliers, American, Cosmopolitan, Woman's Home Companion, Ladies' Home Journal, True Story and True Confessions were analyzed. These stories were from 1937 and 1943 issues. These dates were chosen to isolate possible effects of War on fictional representation of

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<sup>1</sup>William Van O'Connor, "The Novel and the Truth About America," Studies in American Culture Dominant Ideas and Images, eds. Joseph J. Kwait and Mary C. Turpie, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1960), p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

various groups.

In the stories with a United States setting, foreign and minority groups were infrequently mentioned. These groups appeared much less frequently than in the actual population. Stories published after the War began did not modify treatment of foreign and minority groups, so data from both years were combined.

Of the persons presented in the stories, eighty-four per cent of these were white Protestants exhibiting no foreign ancestry, seven per cent were Anglo-Saxon and Nordic "minorities;"<sup>1</sup> Jews, Negroes, Italians, Germans, Poles and Orientals, and so forth made up the remaining nine per cent. White American Protestants were cast in the leading roles and assigned more of the material advantages and occupied superordinate roles in most depicted relationships.

Goals of characters varied also, with white Protestants being occupied with "heart" goals which could be characterized by purity, idealism, and pleasantness.<sup>2</sup> Jews, Negroes, Italians and so forth, were especially likely to be associated with "head" goals which could be characterized by mundane and calculating quality.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Americans are defined as "white Protestants with no distinguishable ancestry of foreign origin." By process of subtraction, it can be reasoned that Anglo-Saxon and Nordic minorities are persons of Anglo-Saxon and Nordic background whose ancestry is easily distinguishable.

<sup>2</sup>Bernard Berelson and Patricia J. Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," Mass Culture The Popular Arts in America, eds. Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press and the Falcon's Wing Press), p. 245.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 245.



In totality, it could be said that for the three basic groups: white Protestants, Anglo-Saxon and Nordic minorities, and Jews, Negroes, Italians and others, that each was pictured as living very differently from the other. While it was found that, on the whole, Americans were treated better than the other groups, it was shown that Anglo-Saxon and Nordic minorities fared better than the Jews, Negroes and others, and even within this latter group, some fared better than others, with Negroes and Jews getting the least preferential treatment, with respect to treatment by others and possession of amenities.

Berelson and Salter have in some degree presented reasons for the particular presentations of certain groups by writers of magazine fiction. Ill treatment of certain minority groups was not malicious according to Berelson and Salter but was a convenient form of expression in that the author could easily portray stock roles. Also, such presentations became a standard pattern from which few authors deviated. In writing for a heterogeneous audience broad symbols of identification are needed. Historically, literature has been biased towards centering around the powerful and prestigious. The presumable effects of this unfavorable treatment are probably small, according to the authors. However, over a long period of time this kind of presentation could serve to "activate the predispositions of a hostile or even an indifferent audience."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

Stanley Hyman studied qualitatively the literature written by American Negroes as it related to the traditions of the folktale and the blues. He restricted his analysis to works by writers whom he felt used their literary effort as "an act of moral indignation."<sup>1</sup> Prominent in the folktale is the darky act of the smart man playing dumb. This is also to be found presented in the works of Richard Wright, Rudoph Fisher, Ralph Ellison and J. Saunders Redding. Negro characters are seen as performing this act for other characters. Quite interesting, is the fact that in Rudoph Fisher's The Conjure Man Dies, the darky art is performed by one of the characters for the white reader. Hyman stated that the "blues" theme is more visible than is the folktale. The blues theme is expressed in leaving and traveling as well as in other ways. Wright and Ellison, especially wrote of traveling and leaving. The self-pity theme of the blues is present in some works by James Baldwin, and the compensatory reaction to this, the grandiose fantasy found in the blues, is seen in books by Baldwin, Langston Hughes, Ellison and Redding.

Leslie Fiedler characterized the American novel as "innocent, unfallen in a disturbing way, almost juvenile."<sup>2</sup> This child's world is seen as asexual, haunted and one of loneliness and fear; the American novel is "pre-eminently a novel of terror."<sup>3</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup>Stanley Edgar Hyman, "The Negro Writer in America: An Exchange, 1. The Folk Tradition," The Partisan Review, XXV (Spring, 1958), p. 198.

<sup>2</sup>Leslie A. Fiedler, "The Novel and America," Partisan Review XXVII (Winter, 1960), p. 43.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

horror is characterized as being essential, for through the images presented

...are projected certain obsessive concerns of our national life: the ambiguity of our relationship with Indian and Negro, the ambiguity of our encounter with nature, the guilt of the revolutionist who feels himself a parricide---and, not least of all, the uneasiness of the writer who cannot help believing that the very act of composing a book is a Satanic revolt.<sup>1</sup>

It is perhaps conceivable that "the whole odd shape of American fiction arises simply....because there is no real sexuality in American life and therefore there cannot very well be any in American literature."<sup>2</sup> But, actually, the matter is a "chicken-egg dilemma," and it is hard to know whether "the quality of passion in American life suffers because of a failure of the writer's imagination or vice versa."<sup>3</sup> Without resolving the question, Fiedler, does state that what is called "love" as presented in the literature, influences real life more than real life influences it. This author's literary survey done in a qualitative manner, covers such works as Moby Dike, Huckleberry Finn, The Last of the Mohicans, The Red Badge of Courage, The Scarlet Letter, stories of Edgar Allen Poe, and works of Charles Brochden Brown, William Faulkner, Eudora Welty, Paul Bowles and John Hawkes. This article, as well as the article by Hyman, appears to be highly subjective in nature and also more literary than sociological in orientation. Nonetheless, some speculations of a sociological nature are evident and may be fruitfully exploited.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Dorothy Deegan has made a very detailed study of the stereotype of the single woman in some novels having their setting in America. She has given consideration to those women characters thirty years and older presented in one hundred and twenty-five novels published between 1951 and 1935. Her main findings were that there was a definite tendency for stereotyping, in that certain elements recurred. For example, more than one-half of the women had no vocation by which they earned their living. The majority of those who worked were dressmakers, domestic workers or schoolteachers. Two other patterns of stereotype emerged; gossipmongers and pairs of maiden sisters were more predominant than any one vocational group. These novels do not accurately reflect data of the psychosexual research concerning single women, with women in the novels being highly decorous and not behaving like their real life single sisters are attributed to behave. Neither does the newly acquired economic independence, with obligations to care for others, of the American woman, find its reflection in literature about single women of the 1920's and after. While actual data indicate that many single women have been eminent, not one of the one hundred and fifty single women characters found in the novels won eminence. Throughout, authors have tended to see the single woman as unfortunate, at best, and often hold a derogatory attitude toward her.

Though times have changed the stereotypes of the single woman have not changed in the broad outlines. Reasons for this

have been given as social lag in reverse of the usual type; minor character assignment to single women requires brief and sharp sketching; the possibility that the single woman is not a "convincing figure in the social mind;" reluctance of society to realize that the single woman "does not symbolize a way of life that safely can be emulated," and thus be confidently brought to the attention of the public.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Curley has made a qualitative study as to the effects of the Catholic religion on the art and social attitudes of American Catholic writers and includes within this group, writers who have left the church and those who have not. In the first three decades of the twentieth century the Catholic Church in America tended to separate its members from the impacts of modernity and was regressing intellectually and in imagination. During this era, writers who left the church were O'Neill, Fitzgerald, Hemingway and James Farrell. Farrell, while noting the gap between the church and its masses, did not shrink from writing about it as he saw it and did not attempt to falsify or force his experiences. Hemingway and Fitzgerald made the modern experience the central part of their works and gave no major concern to the Catholic Church. During the time when these authors were growing up and the present generation of Catholic writers was still young, changes within the church allowed it to become "more a cultural force in the lives of the

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<sup>1</sup>Dorothy Yost Deegan, The Stereotype of the Single Woman in American Novels, (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1951), p. 187-188.

young," and American-Catholic-experience became a reality.<sup>1</sup> The Catholic writers, Edwin O'Connor, and J. F. Powers were products of this period and they have in their works dealt imaginatively with this Catholic experience. Flannery O'Connor, also part of this generation is seen as having an intensely religious sensibility, but has written about Protestants and in her works has explored her conflict between the attraction to the Holy and the disbelief so common in our times.

Albrecht hypothesized "that short stories read by large audiences, even though representing distinct reading levels, will express essentially the same basic values and ideals of the American family."<sup>2</sup> Also, it was anticipated that there would be variations in emphasis and selection of values between levels. Magazine short stories were chosen for study, and the following magazines were chosen as popular in certain social classes and thereby representing cultural levels of reading: True Story and True Confession, lower level; American and Saturday Evening Post, middle level; and Atlantic and New Yorker, upper level. Only stories from the 1950 issues of these magazines were analyzed. The moral ideas or values of the American family chosen for analysis were adapted from a list by Sirjmaeki. A list of ten values with at least two alternatives for each was made

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas F. Curley, "Catholic Novels and American Culture," Commentary, XXXVI (July, 1963), p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Milton C. Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect Common Values?" Sociology, the Progress of a Decade, eds. Semour Martin Lipset and Neil J. Smelser, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 233.

and analysis involved notation of author's statements of direct or positive approval of values and goals, plus differentiation of principal value and theme from others, also summarization of the plot.

His principal hypothesis was confirmed. Also, the percentages of main themes supporting basic values varied between levels with the upper cultural level showing a noticeably smaller percentage of themes supporting basic values.

There was a fluctuation in all levels in frequencies of main themes appearing. The simple reflection concept that implies "that cultural norms and values are expressed in literature about equally," is not supported in regard to fluctuations in frequencies of main themes.<sup>1</sup> There was a positive correlation of rank orders of frequency between all levels except middle and upper, thus setting apart the upper level from the middle but not the lower level of literature.

There was a concentration of frequencies on a few themes. Personal choice of partner in marriage occurred twice more frequently than the theme that manifested "esteem for individuals along with strong affection."<sup>2</sup> Two other themes occurred with frequency, "happiness in marriage" and marriage as a goal."<sup>3</sup> This clustering of themes may indicate broad acceptance of mentioned values, but since some values known to be widespread

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

are omitted as themes at some levels, this clustering of themes "is probably a function of other variables besides widespread acceptance of the values represented---variables that must also account for the absence from each level of certain subjects."<sup>1</sup> Romantic orientation of our society is a partial explanation of the dominant themes, while sex taboos may explain neglect of themes on sex and so forth.

Emphasis and selection of values between levels was found. Familistic trends were more marked in upper and lower level stories, status concern emphasized more at the upper and unity of the family at the lower level. Other expected variations did not exist.

Friedsam in his study has specified that sociological analysis of literature "is largely a process of identifying the values involved and indication of the way in which writers have related them."<sup>2</sup> Friedsam believes that in the typical novel the hero is the novelist's strategy for sketching the value situation. He concentrated on the heroes of some contemporary novels that criticized bureaucratization of American life, and which attended to the nature of the bureaucracy. Approximately twenty-one novels were chosen for study. No attempt was made to sample every novel published in a given period as the problem

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>2</sup>H. J. Friedsam, "Bureaucrats as Heroes," Social Forces, XXXII (March, 1954), p. 269.



was "one of the symbolic values of an emerging type of novel rather than its frequency, representativeness, etc."<sup>1</sup>

Symbol manipulators such as scientists, creative writers or intellectuals were often the heroes. The plausible reason for this common appearance of the symbol manipulators relates back to the hypothesis that the hero is the intersection of systems of values. In this specific case, the contemporary bureaucracy controls employed intellectuals making hired hands of them; it restricts their freedom and their right of expression so that an irreconcilable conflict ensues.

Throughout the novels this conflict is pointed out, although some bureaucrats are seen as devoted idealists. Some devoted heroes eventually become aware of the difficulty of behaving idealistically even though they want to do so.

Various costs for belonging to the bureaucracy are developed in these novels. One pattern involves courtesy in which emphasis is placed on knowing the right kind of people, dancing with the boss's wife, being a "yes" man and so forth. We also see the hero as successful at the price of exploitation.

Heroes are at times seen as gradually becoming aware of the curbs on their freedom; this awareness often results in the decision that it is not worth it to carry on in the required manner, and the employee gets fired. There are others who become ulcer patients or alcoholics while harboring this conflict. These situations apply to heroes in bureaucracies where there

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 271.

is a constancy of bureaucratic ends.

In some of the novels the heroes are seen as in accord with the ends of the bureaucracy in one phase, but as different ends emerge in the later phase, the heroes are immersed in trying to adjust to new behavior requirements.

There tended to be two ways in which conflict is resolved; the tragic, in which the hero gives in to the bureaucracy, and the romantic, in which the hero rebels. This study used qualitative methods.

All of the articles which I have mentioned are related to the American scene in one way or another. Those studies by Lewin and Sebald are concerned with youth and socialization. Chaddha, Davis, Berelson and Salter, Hyman and Curley have centered attention on writers of minority groups, or on minority groups, and within this group Curley and Davis have shown some concern with social change. Other aggregates, scientists, single women, performers, et.al. were considered by Lowenthal, Hirsch, Deegan, and Friedsam. Curley, Inglis, Holman and Davis, Johns-Heine and Gerth, Punke, Lowenthal and Hirsch have to some degree been concerned with social change. Holman focused on writers from a geographic area. Barnett and Gruen consider the social problem divorce and values, while Albrecht considers American family values, and Wayne implicates values in his study. O'Connor and Fiedler have taken a Gestalt approach to literature and American culture. Dakin considered cultural occasions depicted in an American magazine.

Most articles dealt with fiction in novel or article form. Quantitative studies make up the majority of the studies.

The reflection theory has been directly mentioned or at least implied in most of the articles. Some authors partially supported it. Discounting of the theory was never total. Evidence in hand warrants are considering the reflection theory as tenable but its validity remains to be tested.

### HYPOTHESIS

Within the context of the reflection theory, I will hypothesize regarding cultural occasions as presented by authors of two cultures.

- A. American and Indian authors will differ in their written presentations in novels of Indian locale with respect to:
1. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented
  2. sizes of groups involved in the cultural occasions
  3. nationality composition of groups
  4. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented by size of group
  5. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented by nationality of group
  6. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented by relationship composition of group
  7. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented which involve certain kinship relations of group
    - (a) mother and daughter
    - (b) mother-in-law and daughter-in-law
    - (c) father and son
    - (d) father-in-law and son-in-law
    - (e) husband and wife

The first seven parts of the hypothesis are concerned with differences between the writings of the authors of the two cultures and not immediately with social situations. It is true that social situations could be reflected in the distribution of types of cultural occasions, if utilitarian types of occasions are more frequently presented by American authors than Indian authors, for the values of work and progress and major values in American culture. Social situations may be reflected in other instances, and if so it will be noted.

8. familial, non-familial, or combination of familial-non-familial composition of groups

Parts eight through eleven are mainly concerned with differences in the typical social situations of the two cultures. Hypothesis eight deals with the relationship compositions of groups, whether familial, non-familial or a combination of both. It is expected that Indian authors would tend to present familial occasions with more frequency than American authors, and of the occasions that they present that the least frequency of presentations would be in the non-familial relationship category. These predictions are based on the fact that the family is a different kind of social unit in India, than it is in America.

9. sexual composition of groups

With regard to sexual composition of groups, it would seem that Indian authors would devote more attention to all male composed groups than to all female groups, or combination sex groups, for if the male is more important in the society then he would be deemed more worthy of attention than the female.

Also, in Indian society, where the sexes still seem to be somewhat segregated, males and females do not associate with each other as much as they do with those of their own sexes. It is also hypothesized that Indian authors would write about all male composed groups with greater frequency than American authors. American authors would be more likely to write about male and female groups with equal frequency and write about combination male-female groups with greater frequency than Indians.

10. age of those involved in groups

It is also expected that Indian authors would picture non-peers together more frequently than American authors. Conversely, it is expected that American authors would present peers together more frequently than would Indian authors. The principle of equality is under consideration here. It is expected that Indian authors would depict hierarchical social situations which would contrast with the portrayal of nonhierarchical situations by American authors.

11. distribution of certain kinship relations of group

- (a) mother and daughter
- (b) mother-in-law and daughter-in-law
- (c) father and son
- (d) father-in-law and son-in-law
- (e) husband and wife

With regard to the distribution of certain kinship relations it is expected that Indian authors would present more "in-law" occasions than American authors, for in the extended family living arrangement, in-law relationships would be a daily occurrence. American authors would be likely to present those familial relationships not involving in-law relationships: husband and wife, father and son, mother and daughter.

The books were compared on the basis of these hypotheses. Also, an impressionistic comparison of the books was made and may be found in Appendix IV.

## II. METHODOLOGY

### Selection of Novels

The novels for study were reviewed in the Book Review Digest for July 1954 through June 1964. This source cites only works of fiction reviewed four or more times in the periodicals surveyed by the Book Review Digest. However, in the case of a book having been reviewed in the Subscription Books Bulletin, one such review suffices. Periodicals from which reviews are taken are largely those published in the United States, Canada and England. The books reviewed warrant study because they received considerable attention by critics as contrasted with books not reviewed. In essence, these published collections of reviews constitute an operationally defined group of important books in the English speaking world.

The novels chosen were specified in the Book Review Digest as set in India. Only those written by American and Indian authors were observed. Seven books by American male authors listed in the Book Review Digest met the criteria. All were included for study. Nineteen books by Indian male authors met the criteria. Some authors had more than one book listed for the decade. In these instances, random elimination of all but one work was used in order to allow one book per author. After this elimination the list included nine. Seven of these were randomly chosen for study. The fourteen novels analyzed, seven by American and seven by Indian authors, are listed below.

## Books by Indian Authors

Too Long in the West,  
Balachandra Rajan

Swami and Friends,  
R. K. Narayan

Chemeen, Thakazhi Pillai

Mano Majra, Khushwant  
Singh

Steps in Darkness, Krishna  
Vaid

The Serpent and the Rope,  
Raja Rao

He Who Rides a Tiger,  
Bhabani Bhattacharya

## Books by American Authors

The Dark Dancer, Frederick  
Prokosch

The Consul's Wife, William  
Shirer

Krishna Fluting, John  
Berry

The Greater Darkness, David  
Rubin

Nine Hours to Rama, Stanley  
Wolpert

Shadow of the Monsoon,  
William Manchester

Bombay Meeting, Ira Morris

Specifying an Indian locale for both sets of books constitutes a partial control on observations. Hence, as authors of each nationality cast their books in an Indian setting, differences in the use of certain types of cultural occasions may be partially attributed to cultural differences of the authors rather than to differences in the general locale treated. It is not to be assumed that these American authors are representative of all American authors, or that they are typical. That they have chosen to write about India suggests that they are in the minority of American writers. These authors are at least interested in India as a locale and some have been there, an indication of some acquaintance with the culture. It is likely that these authors would see India more from a viewpoint of an Indian than would other American authors. Nonetheless, from their American socialization, they would still



be very much inclined to look upon the Indian scene from the American viewpoint.

### Analysis of the Novels

#### Sampling of the Pages

Prior to attempting quantitative analysis of the novels, I read each. By this preliminary reading, I tried to determine the size of sample necessary to yield at least ten cultural occasions per book, the number I considered necessary to yield valid information about a book. In those instances when I did not estimate correctly and took a ten per cent sample which did not yield at least ten occasions, I took an additional ten per cent random sample. Thus, a ten per cent or twenty per cent recurring interval page sample was used to identify pages that were used as sources of data.

#### Location and Isolation of Cultural Occasions

On each sampled page a newly initiated cultural occasion was located. If none occurred the page was eliminated from the sample. The definition of a cultural occasion is specified below:

A cultural occasion consists of a grouping of two or more persons whose presence is directly mentioned or implied, who are within the immediate physical area described and also those who are in direct contact with those in the immediate area. The majority of these persons must be involved in one or more of the distinctive types of role configurations and key situational processes specified by Dakin, and maintain this particular involvement during a continuous time interval. At the point of a change of role configuration or situational process, a new occasion is deemed to begin.

It should be noted that Dakin's specification of cultural occasion implies that a singular key situational process and role configuration will comprise a cultural occasion. My definition allows that there may be several key situational processes and role configuration going on simultaneously.

Instances in which no accurate determination could be made as to whether an occasion fully met the above specification were excluded from consideration. Examples of such ambiguous situations are given below.

(1) A large crowd of persons is implied as present, but only a few persons are mentioned directly; their role configuration(s) indicated clearly, but role configurations of the large mass not indicated clearly.

(2) A smattering of the conversation between two persons is given, but there is no definite indication of role configuration(s) given.

Consideration was always given to majority involvement in role configuration and key situational process. Such consideration was put to the test in situations in which one or more persons entered or left the confines: because changes in the number of persons involved did not change necessarily the majority involvement in role configuration and key situational process. Further, with regard to majority involvement, onlookers of the situation, though not actively participating, were seen as contributing to the role configuration.

At some points occasions were interrupted by other occasions, events, or unrelated text, and returned to later. These interrupted occasions were counted as continuances of the occasions commenced

earlier because distinct key situational process(es) and role configuration(s) were not changed and there was no lapse in time interval for those involved in the occasion. For example, an interruption may have been in the form of an anecdote or account described by a character in the occasion. These stories cohered with the occasion's context, and did not terminate the occasion. Another illustration of a cultural occasion is typified in the situations in which a single character was recollecting a group activity in which he had been involved. Such recollections were counted as occasions, if they fitted the criteria specified. By this same reasoning, legends recounted by the author, and not involving any of the characters, were considered as cultural occasions.

When persons were seen in momentary contacts, these contacts were not counted as occasions unless a particular role configuration came into existence. An example of a momentary contact not counted as a cultural occasion is as follows: persons passing each other on the street and one questioning the other about the location of some particular landmark, and both going about their activities as if their contact had never taken place. Such instances are of quite a different nature than instances where authors gave only a short excerpt of conversation, for in these instances information was incomplete, and if given completely the related matter might qualify for an occasion, while for such phenomena as above, complete information is given and is clearly indicative.

Particular problems as to the group of persons to be focused upon were posed when two groups were shown in less than momentary contact; for example, a touring party and persons on a street corner. This problem was solved by focusing on the group of persons to which the author gave more than momentary attention. If the author focused on the street corner group, any occasion which was located would involve this group only. But if the persons touring were focused upon, any occasion located involved this group only.

One other consideration, and one which is extremely important to this study, was taken into account: there is always the possibility that action encapsulated within a cultural occasion may be mistaken for another cultural occasion. This action is not in context with roles assumed by persons, nor does it involve assumptions of a new role. An example of action within an occasion is as follows: a scattering of sociable remarks addressed between members during a business meeting.

#### Typing the Cultural Occasions

After the cultural occasion on a page was located, designation was made as to whether the occasion was a unitary occasion or a complex occasion. Designation of the cultural occasion as one of the two above mentioned involved consideration of these definitions.

Unitary occasion. When only one distinct role configuration and key process are going on within the occasion

Complex occasion. When there are two or more key processes and role configurations going on simultaneously

The typing of the occasion as one or a combination of the types isolated by Dakin was the next step. It was recognized that the unitary occasion adapts itself to typing according to only one of these categories, while the complex occasion may be typed by more than one of these categories.

Dakin isolated twenty-six types of cultural occasions. I have made use of all twenty-six categories. The typology of the twenty-six occasions follows and is quoted from Dakin, but in transposed order. All of the occasions which I located fitted somewhere within Dakin's categories, with the exception of two occasions in which the dominant role configuration and key situational process seemed to be best termed under a category of "waiting." This category was included under the general type of utilitarian. This addition, brought the total number of cultural occasions I had to choose from to a total of twenty-seven.

#### A TYPOLOGY OF CULTURAL OCCASIONS OR SITUATIONS BASED UPON STANDARDIZED CONFIGURATIONS OF ROLES AND IMPLIED SOCIAL PROCESSES

##### MENTAL TYPE OCCASIONS

###### Exploratory occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of investigators implying that the key situational process is systematic exploration or fact-finding.

###### Planning and decision-making occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of planners implying that the key situational processes are policy or rule formulation and task decision-making.

###### Orientation and training occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of teachers-informers and students-informees implying that the key situational process is instruction or informing.

Counselling occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of counsellors or consultants and clients implying that the key situational process is advisement.

Assessment occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of assessors or judges implying that the key situational process is evaluation or passing judgement.

## UTILITARIAN TYPE OCCASIONS

Promotional occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of recruiters or campaigners implying that the key situational process is persuading or inducing.

Deployment occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of travellers implying that the key situational process is movement from one place to another.

Production and maintenance occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of workers implying that the key situational process is making, processing, or maintenance of resources.

Exchange occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of consumers implying that the key situational process is satisfaction of need through utilization of situational resources.

## ORGANIZATIONAL TYPE OCCASIONS

Conjunctive occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of neophytes and members implying that the key situational process is physical help or assistance.

Control occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of victors or control authorities implying that the key situational process is command of others or resources.

Recognition and commemorative occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of honorers and achievers implying that the key situational process is recognition for achievement.

Disciplinary occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of discipliners and failures implying that the key situational process is disciplining for performance deviation and failures.

## DISORGANIZATIONAL TYPE OCCASIONS

Disruptions and disasters

The central constellation is a configuration of victims implying that the key situational process is accidental injury or damage to persons or resources.

Crimes

The central constellation is a configuration of criminals implying that the key situational process is violation of legal norms.

Wars

The central constellation is a configuration of combatants implying that the key situational process is organized fighting aimed at destruction of an adversary.

Capitulation occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of capitulators implying that the key situational process is loss of control or defeat.

Disjunctive occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of dissociates implying that the key situational process is severance of relationships.

## AMUSEMENT TYPE OCCASIONS

Contests

The central constellation is a configuration of contestants implying that the key situational process is rivalry or striving to excel an opponent.

Exhibitions

The central constellation is a configuration of exhibitors and spectators implying that the key situational process is the display and viewing of productions and accomplishments.

Spectacles and productions

The central constellation is a configuration of entertainers and spectators implying that the key situational process is public execution of acts or productions for a viewing audience.

Recreational occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of active recreators implying that the key situational process is active play or diversion for refreshment or relaxation.

Sociability occasions

The central constellation is a configuration of friends implying that the key situational process is fraternizing or friendly, affable sociation.<sup>1</sup>

## Further Classification of Occasions by Other Variables

Each occasion was analyzed in other terms. The sex and age

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<sup>1</sup>Ralph E. Dakin, Cultural Occasions and Group Structures, a Photographic Analysis of American Social Situations, unpublished Doctoral Thesis (University of Colorado, 1958), pp. 16-23, 87-89.

composition and the number of persons involved was determined. Social class membership of participants---upper, middle, or lower---was scored as being the same or different. Analyses of occasions as being familial, non-familial, or a combination of familial and non-familial, were made. A familial occasion was considered an occasion involving family members only, a non-familial occasion as one involving individuals who were not familiarly related. For each familial occasion notation was made of the exact family relation of the participants, and also of the age groups of the participants. The breakdown in age groups was: (1) child, through age twelve; (2) adolescent, ages thirteen through twenty; (3) adult, ages twenty-one through sixty-four; and (4) aged, age sixty-five and upwards. For those occasions considered as non-familial, combination of familial and non-familial or of undetermined relationship, notation was made only as to whether participants were age peers or non-peers. The four categories cited above were used as points of reference when the determinations as to age relationship were made. For all occasions, determination was made as to whether all participants were Indian, non-Indian, or if the participants were both Indian and non-Indian. In this analysis, those who were noted as Anglo-Indian were classified as Indian. Also, the number of lines in an occasion was ascertained. Sentences were not split in determination of lines.

A copy of the schedule used in collecting information is appended.



All information was placed on IBM cards and processed through a sorter.

After all information was collected about the cultural occasions located, twenty-one occasions not clearly allocatable by the author were subjected to the further scrutiny of seven persons, each of whom were asked to type these occasions by making use of the twenty-seven categories. This was done to find out ease of the use of the instrument and to determine if Lanning's ratings were like or unlike ratings of others. These typings were checked against my typing for percentage agreement, and also to ascertain ease of use of the categories. When this was done it was found that the typings of the raters did not agree with each other or with Lanning in a large number of instances, with total per cent of answers in agreement with Lanning being 24.5 per cent. When the typings of the judges and Lanning were allocated under the five general types of occasions and compared, the agreement between the judges and Lanning was 43.3 per cent. Because of this problem in typing of these occasions, these occasions rated by the judges were eliminated from tabulations which solely considered type of occasions.

The results of the analyses of judges as compared to my analysis are located in Appendix II.

III. TESTING THE HYPOTHESES---Distribution of Cultural Occasions, and Cultural Occasions by Size of Group, Nationality Composition, Types of Occasions by Selected Variables Including Size, Nationality and Kinship Relationship of Group and Cultural Occasions by Specified Kinship Relationships and by Sexual Composition, Age Composition and Kinship Relation Of Group

Distribution of Cultural Occasions Presented

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:

1. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented.

Table 1 below shows the distribution of unitary and complex occasions.

TABLE 1.--Distribution of Unitary and Complex Occasions Presented, by Nationality of Authors

Nationality of Authors	Unitary Occasions		Complex Occasions		Total	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Indian	78	92.9	6	7.1	84	100.0
American	84	83.1	17	16.8	101	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 3.744, 1 \text{ degree of freedom, } P < .10.$$

The data indicate that Indian and American authors differ in presentation of unitary and complex occasions, with the null hypothesis rejected at the .10 level. Differences were not supported at the conventional level ( $P < .05$ ).

Table 2 shows distributions of types of unitary cultural occasions presented.

TABLE 2.--Distribution of Types of Unitary Cultural Occasions Presented, by Nationality of Authors

Unitary Occasions	Indian Authors		American Authors	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Mental Type	17	21.8	20	23.8
Exploratory	5	6.4	6	7.1
Planning and decision making	3	3.8	1	1.2
Orientation and training	6	7.7	9	10.7
Counselling	2	2.6	3	3.6
Assessment	0	0.0	1	1.2
Spiritual	1	1.3	0	0.0
Utilitarian Type	18	23.0	28	33.4
Promotional	3	3.8	1	1.2
Deployment	4	5.1	17	20.2
Production and maintenance	3	3.8	4	4.8
Exchange	6	7.7	1	1.2
Consumption and personal maintenance	2	2.6	4	4.8
Waiting	0	0.0	1	1.2
Organizational Type	16	20.5	13	15.6
Conjunctive	5	6.4	3	3.6
Rehabilitative	2	2.6	5	6.0
Control	6	7.7	4	4.8
Recognition and commemorative	0	0.0	1	1.2
Disciplinary	3	3.8	0	0.0
Disorganizational Type	15	19.3	6	7.2
Disruptions and disasters	1	1.3	2	2.4
Crimes	1	1.3	1	1.2
Wars	0	0.0	1	1.2
Capitulations	0	0.0	0	0.0
Disjunctive	13	16.7	2	2.4
Amusement Type	12	15.4	17	20.2
Contests	0	0.0	0	0.0
Exhibitions	0	0.0	0	0.0
Spectacles and production	2	2.6	1	1.2
Recreational	0	0.0	0	0.0
Sociability	10	12.8	16	19.0
Total	78	100.0	84	100.2

$\chi^2 = 7.735$ , 4 degrees of freedom,  $P < .20$ .  $\chi^2$  test run on data found on five main types of unitary occasions.

The differences in types of unitary cultural occasions are significant at the .20 per cent level. Differences are not supported at the conventional level.

Complex cultural occasions fell under two main types: those coming under consumption and personal maintenance and another type, and those coming under deployment and another type. These complex occasions tend to pile up in very few categories (Table 3).

TABLE 3.--Distribution of Types of Complex Cultural Occasions Presented, by Nationality of Authors

Complex Occasions	Indian Authors		American Authors	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
Type				
Consumption and personal maintenance combined with other types	3	50.0	11	64.7
Deployment combined with other types	3	50.0	5	29.4
Spiritual and Spectacles and production	0	0.0	1	5.9
Total	6	100.0	17	100.0

A Chi Square test was not run on these data as cell values were too small. There are noticeable differences in types of complex cultural occasions.

From analysis of data presented, it has been found that differences between Indian and American authors in distribution of unitary and complex occasions are significant at the .10 per cent level, and that the differences in distribution of types of unitary cultural

occasions are significant at the .20 per cent level, and some differences are indicated between types of complex cultural occasions. As support is not at the conventional level ( $P < .05$ ) it cannot be said that part 1 of Hypothesis A is supported with regard to data in tables one and two, though slight support is offered this part of hypothesis from differences in types of complex occasions.

#### Cultural Occasions by Size of Groups

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:

2. sizes of groups involved in the cultural occasions.

Table 4 shows the two main categories of sizes of groups involved in the cultural occasions presented by the authors. The number of occasions with groups sized nine and over were negligible, but these data were not included in table 4.

TABLE 4.--Groups Sizes in Cultural Occasions, by Nationality of the Authors

Size of Group	Nationality of Authors			
	N	Indian Percentage	N	American Percentage
Two Through Three	59	63.4	78	69.0
Four Through Eight	11	11.9	14	12.4
Nine Through Twenty-one	2	2.2	3	2.7
Twenty-two Through Forty	0	0.0	0	0.0
Forty-one and Up	1	1.1	4	3.5
Unspecified	20	21.5	14	12.4
Total	93	100.1	113	100.0

$\chi^2 = .009$ , 1 degree of freedom,  $P < .95$ , significantly similar.  $\chi^2$  run on data for groups sized two through three and four through eight.

The remainder of occasions presented by the authors included groups sized nine and over and groups including an unspecified number. The total per cent of occasions presented by American authors included 12.4 per cent of occasions of unspecified size, while Indian authors presented 21.5 per cent of their occasions as being of unspecified size. This difference does not offer sufficient support for part 2 of Hypothesis A. There is a significant similarity between Indian and American authors in groups sized two through three and four through eight written about, therefore part 2 of Hypothesis A is not supported.

Cultural Occasions by Nationality Composition of Groups

Hypothesis --A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:

3. nationality composition of groups.

Nationality composition of groups is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5.--Nationality Composition of Groups Involved in Cultural Occasions, by Nationality of Authors

Nationality Composition	Nationality of Authors			
	N	Indian Percentage	N	American Percentage
Indian	80	86.0	40	35.4
Non-Indian	1	1.1	23	20.4
Mixed Indian and Non-Indian	12	12.9	50	44.2
Total	93	100.0	113	100.0

$\chi^2=55.36$ , 2 degrees of freedom,  $P < .01$ .

There are significant differences between nationality composition of groups written about by Indian and American authors. Indian authors wrote almost exclusively about their own people with 86 per cent of their occasions involving only Indians. In contrast, American authors gave exclusive concern to their own nationality or other non-Indian groups only 20.4 per cent of their occasions. The emphasis of the Indian authors on their own nationality is so great that only one of their occasions involves another nationality exclusively. This small percentage is opposed to the 35.4 per cent of occasions by American authors which give sole attention to Indians. American authors picture Indian and non-Indian interacting much more frequently than do Indian authors, noting such interaction in 44.2 per cent of their occasions, while Indian authors note such interaction in 12.9 per cent of their occasions. The hypothesis supporting differences in nationality composition of groups in cultural occasions by Indian and American authors is supported. These data as contrasted with several earlier analyses, were completely reported by authors. Reporting of ethnic affiliation appears to be more relevant among these authors than is full reporting of age or sex composition.

Distribution of Types of Cultural Occasions  
By Sizes of Groups Involved

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentation with respect to:  
4. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented by sizes of groups involved.

Analysis of data for presence of such differences as hypothesized in part 4 of the hypothesis as well as parts 5 and 6

of the hypothesis was not planned for in the original outline and hypotheses of this thesis. These findings (in this section and the next two sections) may be considered of minor importance in relation to other findings of the study. Table 6 gives the data that are relevant to part 4 of the hypothesis. These data do not include occasions subjected to judging. See Appendix VI for Tables 6,7 and 8

Indian and American authors writing about mental occasions involving groups sized two through three and four through seven exhibited similar tendencies in presentation of frequency of these for each size group and presented less mental occasions for groups sized four through seven than two through three. A similarity was also present for utilitarian occasions, with a higher frequency of these for groups size four through seven.

Indian and American authors differed in their frequency of presentations of organizational, disorganizational and amusement occasions involving the two sizes of groups. For Indian authors there was an increase in frequency of organizational occasions from groups sized two through three to four through seven, while a decrease for American authors. The same is apparent for amusement occasions. For disorganizational occasions Indian authors decreased their frequency of presentation of these for groups sized four through seven, while American authors exhibited a divergent trend.

The differences cited give support to the hypothesis.



Distribution of Cultural Occasions by Nationality of Groups

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:

5. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented by nationality of groups.

Table 7 gives the data relevant to this hypothesis. These data do not include those occasions subjected to judging.

For mental occasions by nationality composition of group, there was a decrease in frequency of presentations from Indian groups to combined composition groups of Indians-non-Indians, by Indian authors. The same was true for American authors, though their frequency of presentations for Indian groups and non-Indian groups was nearly the same.

There were differences between authors in presentations of utilitarian organizational and disorganizational occasions by nationality composition of the group. Indian authors increased frequency of utilitarian occasions from Indian to combined composition groups while for American authors there was a sharp decrease in frequency of presentation of utilitarian occasions from Indian to non-Indian composition occasions and then an increased frequency of presentations for combined composition groups.

Indian authors depicted organizational activities with 22.5 per cent frequency in Indian composed occasions. They depicted none of these occasions in combined composition situations. However, American authors depicted organizational activities as not frequently occurring in non-Indian situations and gave equal attention to these activities in the other kinds of nationality situations.

Indian authors decreased their frequency of presentations of disorganizational occasions from Indian to combined composition groups, while American authors increased their frequency of presentations from Indian to combined composition groups.

Indian and American authors increased the frequency of presentations of amusement occasions from Indian to combined composition groups, though for American authors the increase is not so sharp as for Indian authors.

The differences noted support the hypothesis.

#### Distribution of Cultural Occasions by Relationship Composition of Groups

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:

6. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented by relationship composition of groups.

Table 8 gives data relevant to this hypothesis.

For mental occasions, Indian authors showed an increase in frequency of these from familial to non-familial but presented none for familial and non-familial combined composition groups. American authors had a decrease in presentations from familial to the combined composition groups.

American and Indian authors wrote similarly in that they increased the frequency of presentation of utilitarian occasions from familial through a combined composition groups. Indian authors presented no organizational situations for non-familial groups. The other nationality compositions were treated approximately equally. American authors presented organizational situations in

the following order: non-familial, familial, combined familial and non-familial. There were similarities in presentations of disorganizational occasions. Indian authors presented a decreasing incidence of them from familial through combined composition occasions, as did American authors.

Both Indian and American authors showed a decrease in frequency of presentation of amusement occasions from familial to non-familial composition occasions, and then increased the frequency of presentation for non-familial to combined composition occasions.

The differences found support the hypothesis.

#### Cultural Occasions by Specified Kinship Relationship Composition of Groups

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:

7. distribution of types of cultural occasions presented which involve certain kinship relations: (a) mother and daughter, (b) mother and daughter-in-law, (c) father and son, (d) father and son-in-law, (e) husband and wife.

The number of cultural occasions involving persons with these kinship relationships were too few to analyze.

#### Cultural Occasions by Familial, Non-Familial or Familial - Non-Familial Composition of Groups

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:

8. familial, non-familial, or familial - non-familial composition of groups.

Table 9 shows the relationship composition of groups. This table, unlike Table 8 includes all cultural occasions located. Table 8 does not include occasions subjected to judging or any complex occasions.

TABLE 9.--Familial, Non-Familial, or Familial - Non-Familial  
Composition of Groups Involved in Cultural Occasions,  
by Nationality of Authors

Relationship Composition	Nationality of Authors			
	N	Indian Percentage	N	American Percentage
Familial	27	29.0	10	8.8
Combined Familial and Non-Familial	12	12.9	25	22.1
Non-Familial	38	30.1	62	54.9
No Answer	26	28.0	16	14.2
Total	93	100.0	113	100.0

$\chi^2 = 20.39$ , 2 degrees of freedom,  $P < .001$ , significant difference.

There are significant differences between relationship composition of occasions by Indian and American authors, therefore, part 8 of hypothesis A is supported. The percentage of occasions by Indian authors that are of familial composition is 29.0 per cent, while the percentage for American authors is 8.8 per cent. The preoccupation with familial relationships by Indian authors is contrasted with the preoccupation of American authors with non-familial relationships which made up 54.9 per cent of their occasions. Indian authors do not present as many combined relationship occasions as do American authors, having only 12.9 per cent of these, while American authors have 22.1 per cent of these.

#### Cultural Occasions by Sexual Composition of Groups

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:

9. sexual composition of groups.

Table 10 shows the sexual composition of groups.

TABLE 10.--Sexual Composition of Groups Involved in Cultural Occasions, by Nationality of the Authors

Sexual Composition	Nationality of Authors			
	N	Indian Percentage	N	American Percentage
All Male	34	36.6	38	33.6
All Female	6	6.5	6	5.3
Combination Male and Female	45	48.4	65	57.5
No Answer	8	8.6	4	3.5
Total	93	100.1	113	99.9

$\chi^2 = 1.174$ , 2 degrees of freedom,  $P < .50$ , not significant.

There are no significant differences in the sexual composition of groups written about by Indian authors and American authors. The data do not support part 9 of Hypothesis A.

Cultural Occasions by Age Composition of Groups

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:  
10. age composition of groups.

Table 11 shows the age composition of groups.

TABLE 11.--Age Composition of Groups Involved in Cultural Occasions, by Nationality of Authors

Age Composition	Nationality of Authors			
	N	Indian Percentage	N	American Percentage
Age Peers	21	22.6	39	34.5
Non-Peers	32	34.4	18	15.9
No Answer	40	43.0	56	49.6
Total	93	100.0	113	100.0

$\chi^2 = 9.18$ , 1 degree of freedom,  $P < .01$ , significant.

There are significant differences between Indian and American authors in the age composition of the groups within the cultural occasions in which ages of characters were specified. American authors wrote about age peers more than did Indian authors, devoting attention to age peers in 34.5 per cent of the occasions located within their novels while Indian authors gave attention to age peers in 22.6 per cent of the occasions located within their novels, and Indian authors wrote about non-peers more than did American authors. The high percentage of no answers may have influenced the results. Part 10 of Hypothesis A is supported by the data for which empirical evidence was provided. In the matter of non specification of age characteristics there is some agreement between the two classes of authors.

#### Distribution of Kinship Relations

Hypothesis--A. American and Indian authors will differ in their presentations with respect to:

11. distribution of certain kinship relations: (a) mother and daughter, (b) mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, (c) father and son, (d) father-in-law and son-in-law, (e) husband and wife.

The number of cultural occasions presented by Indian and American authors that involved persons in these kinship relations was few except for the husband-wife relationship. Of the two person relationships specified, nine out of eleven such relationships were husband and wife relationships in the case of Indian authors, and five out of six for American authors. Data are insufficient.

#### IV. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Data collected in this study supports six parts of Hypothesis A, does not support two parts of this hypothesis, and partially supports two parts of the hypothesis. For the remaining parts of the hypothesis, data were insufficient from which to draw conclusions.

##### Differences between Writings of the Authors of the Two Cultures and Reflections of Social Situations Located

Hypothesized differences with regard to distribution of occasions, complex and unitary and specific types delineated by Dakin and into living unitary occasions were supported at the .10 per cent and .20 per cent levels respectively (non-conventional levels) and there were differences found in specific types of complex occasions. On the basis of these results this part of the hypothesis was not supported, except with regard to types of complex occasions. The lack of conventionally significant differences may be a function of the instrument used or this may reflect that these authors "write alike." The differences that were found between types of complex occasions presented by the authors were not subjected to a chi square test as row or column totals were too small. American authors wrote about consumption and personal maintenance and other type of occasions with greater per cent frequency than about deployment and other type of occasions. Indian authors presented consumption and personal maintenance and other type of occasions and deployment and other type of occasions with about equal percentage of frequency. No especial explanation can be given for this.

It was hypothesized that sizes of groups written about by Indian and American authors would differ. This was not found to be the case. In fact, there was a significant similarity. This may be explained by conveniences of artistic style, in which groups of certain sizes are conveniently handled in prose.

It was found that American authors were more concerned with specifying group sizes than Indian authors. This difference may reflect an American tendency to specify numbers with precision. Such a tendency could manifest a greater American concern with individuals as contrasted with an Indian interest in collectivities.

Nationality composition of groups in cultural occasions presented by Indian and American authors differed. Over 80.0 per cent of occasions by Indian authors included groups composed of Indians only. American authors devoted 20.4 per cent of their occasions to non-Indian composed groups. Indian authors, by setting their stories in their own country focused on India and its people. American authors depicted Americans or non-Indians as abroad for adventure, service and employment; India served as a backdrop for action of foreigners.

Americans or non-Indians abroad would have contacts with Indians. This would help explain the fact that American authors depicted a higher percentage of occasions involving a combination of Indians and non-Indians than did Indians who were writing about their own people in their own land. Both groups of authors may have depicted empirical situations with which they were acquainted.

Other differences were found. Indian and American authors differed on distribution of types of cultural occasions by sizes



of groups involved, nationality of groups involved, and relationship composition of groups involved.

The most notable differences between Indian and American authors on general types of occasions by size of group are as follows: Indian authors more frequently presented disorganization occasions for groups sized two to three than did American authors, while American authors more frequently than Indian authors presented disorganizational occasions in groups sized four through seven. American authors tended to view amusement occasions as occurring in groups sized four through seven, and Indian authors in groups two through three. Reasons for these differences may be due to cultural factors. It is possible that American authors picture their disorganizational occasions as occurring in larger size groups than Indians, out of a tendency to "overplay" or to make something "big" even bigger, an hypothesized characteristic of Americans. On the other hand, Indian authors view larger collectivities as "safer," and smaller as less desirable. Accounting for other differences does not seem tenable.

Nationality composition of groups vary between Indian and American authors in the context provided by the general types of cultural occasions. The data for non-Indian composed groups for the two sets of authors were not sufficient. Therefore, analysis of general types of cultural occasions by nationality composition of groups is suggestive. Americans presented utilitarian occasions as occurring more frequently in groups of Indians than in groups combining Indians and non-Indians, and that Indian authors

exhibited a converse trend. American authors depicted the fewest utilitarian occasions in non-Indian composed groups. It may be that each group of writers prefers to see the out-group engaged in utilitarian activities. Other differences were that Indian authors showed disorganizational occasions as occurring more frequently in Indian comprised groups than in combination Indian and non-Indian comprised groups and Americans exhibited a converse trend. The fact that American authors pictured disorganizational occasions as occurring in combined Indian and non-Indian composed groups may indicate that Americans tend to see cross-cultural contacts as favoring conflict. Indian authors view situations involving their own nationality as especially threatening. Recent internal conflict on the Indian continent resulting in the Partition may account for this.

Indian and American authors differed in their depictions of familial and non-familial cultural occasions. For example, American authors presented organizational occasions as occurring with greatest frequency, and with 17.6 per cent of their incidence in non-familial occasions. Indian authors presented no organizational occasions in a non-familial context, but presented them as occurring with nearly equal frequency in the familial and combined familial - non-familial occasions. Perhaps Indian authors located organizational activities in the family, because of the Indian culture's orientation toward the extended family. The Indian "family" has more relevance than does the American "family," in this instance. American authors tended to see organizing forces on their lives as coming from outside the family. The difference is not conclusive.

Data were not sufficient to draw conclusions concerning the presentation of specified kinship relations in sampled cultural occasions.

#### Social Situations as Reflected in the Writings of the Authors of the Two Cultures

Indian authors wrote about familial occasions with more frequency than American authors, as was predicted. Indian authors depicted with less frequency the combined familial, non-familial situation. They wrote about non-familial contexts to a higher degree. But when the percentages of occasions falling within the familial and combination relationship group are combined, the percentage much exceeds the percentage of occasions falling within the non-familial. These results support the hypothesis regarding differences and also reflect social reality as discussed earlier, and reflects the American concern with presenting individual characters or this outcome may reflect the empirical situation. Hence, Americans in India would be more likely to engage in non-familial situations than would Indians. The Indian would have access to his family to a much greater extent.

There was no significant difference in the sexual composition of groups presented by the two groups of authors. Indian and American authors differed in their presentations of the age composition of situations. American authors tended to emphasize age peers and Indian authors emphasized non-peers more frequently. The hypothesis was supported.

It had been earlier proposed that Indian authors would present many familial occasions which would include non-peers. When data were cursorily examined it was found that Indian authors wrote about familial situations involving non-peers with almost the same frequency that they wrote about peers in family situations. Of the non-peer relationships presented by Indians, only slightly over a third were presented within a family situation, thus presentation of familial occasions does not account for the preponderance of non-peer relations. When Americans wrote about Indians, they gave a third more attention to peer composed groups, than to non-peer composed groups. The limited nature of the data warrant a conjectural conclusion.

It was expected that the authors would differ in presentation of certain kinship relations, but data were not complete enough to make a comparison. Of the relationships specified, only husband and wife relationships were presented with any frequency. Indian and American authors treated this kinship pair with approximately equal frequency.

Taking the results in totality, reflection theory is not wholly supported. With regard to the parts of the hypothesis concerned with differences in the writings of the authors, some were found, differences in nationality composition of groups and distribution of types of cultural occasions. These findings reflect reality. In regard to findings that there were no significant differences in types of occasions presented by the authors, sampling error or subjectivity involved in classification by type may have interfered. The author of this thesis had had

thorough training in the cultural occasions methodology by Professor Dakin. Perhaps because of this training, nine out of ten of the sampled occasions were not difficult to assign. However, 21 occasions, approximately 10 per cent, were not so clearly allocatable to the specific types of cultural occasions. These were referred to seven judges for their designations. Their training consisted of their reading the methodology by the author and of Dakin's classification scheme, and involved very limited reinforcement with the author of this thesis. The low degree of agreement among judges and the low degree of agreement between their aggregated designations and those made by the author suggest the following: the residual included occasions in which relationships among depicted persons or the key situational configuration were obscured; differences between the intensity of training of the judges and that received by the author were operative in yielding different designations; the age, social, or occupational heterogeneity of the panel of judges yielded the difference in designations; the number of judges were possibly too few and ability of these persons to internalize the meanings of the various role configurations may have differed.

Also, it is tenable to point that the typing of occasions by the author involved cultural bias. These occasions may have been differently typed by an Indian. However, the author likely has had far more acquaintance with Indian culture, through personal contact and through exposure to Indian literature, than the average American student has had.

At any rate, it would be useful to replicate the thesis by further analysis of the same sampled occasions. Replication by an Indian or by members of other nationalities would undoubtedly yield some provocative conclusions.

The reader of this thesis may find the general approach taken and the methodology with its strengths and weaknesses as offering perspectives for further research in sociology of literature, especially in cross-cultural research. Little previous research has been done in this area of sociology of literature and approaches to it must be devised and tested.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank Dr. Wayne Rohrer, my major professor, and Dr. Ralph Dakin for all of the help and advice they have given me. I also wish to thank Dr. Francis Lanning, Dr. and Mrs. Larry Erickson, Dr. Joseph Julian, Mr. Terry Carlson and Janet Morton for their help in acting as judges.

## APPENDIX I

AN EXAMPLE OF A SHORT AND CONCRETE OCCASION AS ACTUALITY TAKEN DURING RESEARCH

The cultural occasion is from He Who Dances a Tiger, by Subhasi Bhattacharya, and is located on page 145.

... The old man picked up the mill-sockets, his hands straining with the weight.

"The mill has to be boiled," he said, coming up with his sister.

"Boiled?"

"It has lain in the rotisserie. All day for miles. The voice was soft, as if a child's.

"You are right."

Vishwanath litened in the temple. In his room, Kalo sat by the bare floor, smoking. He had defiled the temple. The temple trustees could not let it pass. He recalled the five men on the board, each in turn, protected by money and prestige as they stood before him. Shri. Anandaram, the world's all-powerful Chairman. Everyone knew that he had cornered great quantities of rice. As scarcity grew, as prices of people died of hunger, his margin of profit increased. Masses of people had to die so he could profit. Vishwanath was directing the life of the temple. Kalo was a...

APPENDIX I

... he had made his bold challenge. That could have served his purpose better. But he had to strike out and be the equal of Vishwanath--his equal in policy and in execution.

"It is better that I leave," Vishwanath said, smiling, trying to read his master's mind.

"What left?"

"I shall not bring trouble to you. You should be immediately..."

"You will stay."

... he fell silent. When he was ready, his death picked up the sockets...

From various information in the text, it can be determined that these men are from the same caste, though nothing is given to determine whether they are the same caste.



AN EXAMPLE OF A SPECIFIC CULTURAL  
OCCASION AS ACTUALLY TYPED DURING RESEARCH

The cultural occasion is from He Who Rides a Tiger, by Bhabani Bhattacharya, and is located on page 125.

.....The old man picked up the milk buckets, his arms straining with the weight.

"The milk has to be boiled," he said, catching up with his master.

"Boiled?"

"It has lain in the reservoir. Milk for babies..." The voice was soft, as if apologetic.

"You are right."

Viswanath lighted a charcoal fire in his room while Kalo sat on the bare floor, thinking. He had defied the temple. The temple trustees could not let it pass. He recalled the five men on the Board, each in turn, protected by money and prestige as they stood before him. Sir Abalabandhu, the Board's all-powerful Chairman. Everyone knew that he had cornered great quantities of rice. As scarcity grew, as masses of people died of hunger, his margin of profit increased. Masses of people had to die so he could profit. Sir Abalbandhu directing the life of the temple. Kalo was at the Board's mercy.

Why had he made his bold challenge? Tact would have served his purpose better. But he had to strike out and be the equal of Viswanath--his equal in folly and in strength!

"It is better that I leave," Viswanath said, quietly, trying to read his master's mind.

"What for?"

"I shall not bring trouble on you. How could I be ungrateful?"

"You will stay."

They fell silent. When the milk was ready, Viswanath picked up the buckets....."

(From previous information in the text, it has been determined that these men are from the same caste, though nothing is given to determine whether they are age peers.)

Cultural Occasion Schedule

Book He Who Rides a Tiger Author Bhattacharya Date of pub. 1954  
 Sampling rate 10% Publisher Crown Author: Indian X American \_\_\_  
 Page sampled 125 New occasion: Yes X No \_\_\_ Lines of text 29  
 Number of persons involved 2 Males 2 NA \_\_\_ E \_\_\_ C X  
 Females \_\_\_ E \_\_\_ or C \_\_\_, NA \_\_\_. Relationship of those involved:  
 (either A, B, C, or D).  
 A. FAMILIAL \_\_\_ Same Class \_\_\_ Different Class \_\_\_ NA \_\_\_ father  
 and son-in-law \_\_\_ father and son \_\_\_ mother and daughter \_\_\_  
 mother and daughter-in-law \_\_\_ husband and wife \_\_\_ mother and son  
 \_\_\_ father and daughter \_\_\_ grandfather and granddaughter \_\_\_ grand-  
 father and grandson \_\_\_ grandmother and granddaughter \_\_\_ grand-  
 mother and grandson \_\_\_ other familial \_\_\_. Participants belong  
 to following age groups: child \_\_\_ adolescent \_\_\_ adult \_\_\_ aged \_\_\_  
 NA \_\_\_. Circle above person(s) in older(est) age group present if  
 difference in age groups.  
 B. NONFAMILIAL X Same Class X Different Class \_\_\_ NA \_\_\_.  
 This involves: (age) peers \_\_\_ non-peers \_\_\_ NA \_\_\_.  
 C. COMBINATION OF FAMILIAL AND NONFAMILIAL \_\_\_ Same Class \_\_\_  
 Different Class \_\_\_ NA \_\_\_. This involves: (age) peers \_\_\_ non-  
 peers \_\_\_ NA \_\_\_. Occasion is Unitary X or Complex \_\_\_ Occasion  
 type or types: Exploratory \_\_\_, Planning and decision-making \_\_\_,  
 Promotional \_\_\_, Conjunctive \_\_\_, Orientation and training \_\_\_,  
 Counselling \_\_\_, Deployment \_\_\_, Production and Maintenance X,  
 Exchange \_\_\_, Consumption and personal maintenance \_\_\_, Disrup-  
 tion and disasters \_\_\_, Crimes \_\_\_, Wars \_\_\_, Contests \_\_\_,

Rehabilitative \_\_\_\_, Control \_\_\_\_, Capitulation \_\_\_\_, Assessment \_\_\_\_,  
 Recognition and commemorative \_\_\_\_, Disciplinary \_\_\_\_, Exhibitions  
 \_\_\_\_, Spectacles and Productions \_\_\_\_, Recreational \_\_\_\_, Sociability  
 \_\_\_\_, Disjunctive \_\_\_\_, Spiritual \_\_\_\_, Waiting \_\_\_\_. Brief description  
 of occasion:

One man is boiling milk to be served to starving babies and  
 the other man has accompanied him. Both Indian.

APPENDIX II

## RESULTS OF RATING OF OCCASIONS BY JUDGES AND LARNERS

Occasion Number	Type(s) of Occasion as Rated by Lanning	Type(s) of Occasion Rated by Judges (7)	% Agreement With Lanning
1	Disjunctive	2 Deployment 2 Disjunctive 1 Disruption and disaster 1 Conjunctive 1 Planning and decision making and counseling	42.86
2	Orientation and training	1 Exploratory and orientation training 4 Exploratory 1 Orientation and training 1 Orientation and training and exchange	14.29
3	Deployment and social	2 Deploy and social 1 recreational 1 Deployment 1 Orientation and training and recreational	28.57
4	Exploratory	1 Assessment and sociability 3 Exploratory 2 Disruption and disaster 1 Orientation and training and recreational 1 Disruption and disaster and orientation and training	42.86
5	Disjunctive	1 Disruption and disaster and disjunctive and deployment 2 Control 2 Capitulation 2 Disjunctive and control 1 Disjunctive and deployment	3.03

APPENDIX II

## RESULTS OF RATING OF OCCASIONS BY JUDGES AND LANNING

Occasion Number	Type(s) of Occasion as Rated by Lanning	Type (s) of Occasion Rated by Judges (7)	% Agreement With Lanning
1	Disjunctive	2 Deployment 2 Disjunctive 1 Disruption and disaster 1 Conjunctive 1 Planning and decision making and counselling	28.6%
2	Orientation and training	1 Exploratory and orientation training 4 Exploratory 1 Orientation and training 1 Orientation and training and exchange	14.3%
3	Deployment and sociability	2 Deployment and sociability 1 Recreational 3 Deployment 1 Orientation and training and recreational	28.6%
4	Exploratory	1 Assessment and sociability 3 Exploratory 1 Disruption and disaster 1 Orientation and training and recreational 1 Disruption and disaster and orientation and training	42.9%
5	Disjunctive	1 Disruption and disaster and disjunctive and deployment 2 Control 2 Capitulation 1 Disjunctive and control 1 Disjunctive and deployment	0.0%

## Results of Rating (Cont'd)

Occasion Number	Type(s) of Occasion as Rated by Lanning	Type(s) of Occasion Rated by Judges (7)	% Agreement With Lanning
6	Counselling	1 Conjunctive 1 Conjunctive and planning 1 Counselling and conjunctive and rehabilitative 1 Disjunctive 1 Disjunctive and deployment and counselling 1 Counselling and disjunctive 1 Counselling	14.3%
7	Spiritual	2 Conjunctive 1 Sociability 1 Spiritual 1 Consumption and personal maintenance and recreation 1 Spiritual and rehabilitative 1 Disruption and disaster	14.3%
8	Exchange	7 Exchange	100.0%
9	Waiting	1 Counselling 3 Waiting 1 Consumption and personal maintenance 1 Conjunctive and orientation and training 1 Counselling and waiting	42.9%
10	Sociability	2 Assessment 1 Conjunctive 1 Exploratory 1 Consumption and personal maintenance and sociability and orientation and training 1 Sociability and orientation and training 1 Counselling	0.0%

Results of Rating (Cont'd)

Occasion Number	Type(s) of Occasion as Rated by Lanning	Type(s) of Occasion Rated by Judges (7)	% Agreement With Lanning
11	Planning and decision making	1 Assessment 2 Conjunctive 1 Planning and decision making and promotional 1 Disjunctive and planning and decision making 1 Sociability and promotional 1 Planning and decision making	14.3%
12	Counselling	1 Orientation and training 1 Conjunctive and counselling 3 Counselling 1 Consumption and personal maintenance and rehabilitative 1 Disjunctive and counselling	42.9%
13	Capitulation	1 Counselling 1 Conjunctive and counselling 1 Control and capitulation 1 Capitulation 1 Capitulation and control and counselling 1 Orientation and training and counselling 1 Promotional	14.3%
14	Orientation and training	2 Exploratory 1 Disruption and disaster and rehabilitative 1 Orientation and training 1 Disjunctive 1 Control and disciplinary and disjunctive 1 Orientation and training and crime	14.3%

## Results of Rating (Cont'd)

Occasion Number	Type(s) of Occasion as Rated by Lanning	Type(s) of Occasion Rated by Judges (7)	% Agreement With Lanning
15	Counselling	2 Conjunctive 1 Counselling 1 Assessment 1 Disjunctive and spiritual and consumption and personal maintenance	14.3%
16	Promotional	1 Sociability and exploratory 1 Exploratory	
16	Promotional	1 Planning and decision making and orientation and training 1 Planning and decision making 1 Orientation and training and counselling 1 Promotional 1 Crimes 1 Counselling and crime 1 Planning and decision making and promotional	14.3%
17	Orientation and training	1 War 2 Orientation and training 1 Orientation and training and sociability 1 Orientation and training and war 1 Promotional 1 Conjunctive and sociability	28.6%
18	Consumption and personal maintenance	2 Crime 1 Sociability 2 Consumption and personal maintenance 1 Exchange and consumption and personal maintenance 1 Consumption and personal maintenance and exploratory	28.6%



## Results of Rating (Cont'd)

Occasion Number	Type(s) of Occasion as Rated by Lanning	Type(s) of Occasion Rated by Judges (7)	% Agreement With Lanning
19	Sociability	2 Rehabilitative 2 Sociability 1 Conjunctive 1 Spiritual 1 Disruption and disaster and rehabilitative	28.6%
20	Promotional	1 Counselling and promotional 1 Exchange 1 Promotional 1 Planning and decision making 1 Disruption and disaster 1 Rehabilitative and control 1 Rehabilitative and exploratory	14.3%
21	Production and maintenance	1 Exploratory 1 Production and maintenance and sociability 2 Conjunctive 1 Deployment and production and maintenance, and crime and dis-junctive 1 Disciplinary and counselling 1 Production and maintenance	14.3%
Total Number of Ratings by Judges		147	
Total Number of Ratings by Judges Agreeing with Lanning's Ratings		36	
% Agreement with Lanning Ratings		24.5%	

There is 24.5 per cent agreement between total ratings of judges and the ratings by Lanning. On any one occasion, the highest percentage of agreement with Lanning was 100.0 per cent, and this was found in only one instance. The next highest percentage of agreement was 42.9 per cent. This was found in three instances. Five cases of 28.6 per cent agreement were found, and ten cases exhibited 14.3 per cent agreement, the remaining two cases exhibited 0.0 per cent agreement. Also, in individual occasions, the ratings disagreeing with Lanning's did not agree with each other in any instance, with number of disagreements running from three to six. The total percentage of agreement found, and individual cases of agreement are low, with the exception of one instance. The overall agreement between the judges and Lanning was somewhat higher when allocations of the judges and Lanning were classified under the **general** types of cultural occasions and compared. When this was done the rate of agreement was 43.3 per cent.

The lack of agreement with Lanning's ratings, and disagreement amongst raters may most plausibly indicate that the meanings of Dakin's categories are difficult to internalize upon brief contact, such as that afforded in the time devoted to the rating process. The author of this thesis spent an estimated forty hours with Professor Dakin learning to categorize occasions. On the other hand, the judges spent no more than forty-five minutes learning the classificatory system.

It is notable that one judge discussed her ratings with Lanning and after talking with Lanning about the classificatory

scheme, changed many of her ratings to those agreeing with Lanning. The conversation seemed to clarify a number of factors which reading of the methodology had not made explicit.

The judges of the occasions were a heterogeneous group including three sociology graduate students, two persons holding doctor's degrees in sociology, one person having a doctor's degree in chemistry, and another with a doctor's degree in chemical engineering.

...  
...  
...

... an international marriage, a spiritual love affair and the  
... of two persons are possible only when the human  
is a book.

... while he is studying at the University of Paris in France,  
... a young Indian woman falls in love with a beautiful  
... girl named ...  
... she ...  
... at the fact that there is something within her ... will kill  
... she ...

At the time his father ... goes ... to India to  
... to family ...

APPENDIX III  
PROFILES OF BOOKS

... The stepmother gives her several gifts to ...  
... including some ...  
... his ... and having sentimental value ...  
... and France, ...  
... and he ...  
... After a ...  
... England.

... the ...  
... of his ...  
... between them later, when they ...  
... at this ...  
...  
...  
... chosen by her family for her, and ...

The Serpent and the Rope  
Raja Rao (Indian author)  
London: John Murray, 1960.

An international marriage, a spiritual love affair and the search of two persons for meaning are only a few of the themes of this complex book.

While he is studying at the University of Caen in France, Rama, a young Indian Brahmin falls in love with a beautiful golden haired French girl named Madelaine. Eventually, they marry, but she beforehand warns him with the symbolic remark that she feels that there is something within her that will kill him, and leave her a widow.

At the time his father dies, Rama goes home to India to attend to family matters. During his stay in India he becomes very close to his widowed stepmother who is almost the same age as he is. The stepmother gives Rama several gifts to take back to Madelaine, including some toe-rings passed down by the women of his family and having sentimental value. When Rama gets back to Madelaine and France, things have changed between himself and Madelaine and he cannot bear to give her these for nothing is the same as it once was. After a time Rama leaves for studying in England.

Before Rama returned to France he met Savithri the fiancée of one of his friends, and a deeply spiritual love develops between them later, when they both are studying in Cambridge. At this time he presents Savithri with the gifts that were intended for his wife. Though Savithri never becomes Rama's wife, but marries the one chosen by her family for her, their love remains.

The final parting for Rama and Madelaine comes, and it is as if Madelaine has killed Rama, for it is more by her will than Rama's, and if she had not found a combination of Buddhism and Catholicism as her main commitment in life she would not have lost concern with him. The divorce leaves Madelaine free to pursue the total meaning in her life and leaves Rama lost and alone for a while, but finding his truth in life.

Raja Rao has a tremendous grasp of Indian religious philosophy, and weaves this in throughout his story. He has written one other novel.

Chemeen

Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai (Indian author)

New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1962.

This book is set in two fishing villages on the seacoast of India and concerns itself with the simple people of this area who live in awe of their goddess Katalamma who is believed to live at the bottom of the sea. They believe she has power over their lives, and that she can be influenced for the good if men are brave and moral and the women pure and chaste.

Karuthamma the daughter of a fisherman is of age to be married, but her father has been concerned with amassing funds to buy a boat which would give him both esteem and wealth in his community, and has not been concerned with getting a dowry for his daughter and arranging a marriage. For quite a long time Karuthamma and Pareekutti who is a Moslem fish trader have been friends and this friendship develops into love. Their relationship is in no way socially acceptable for Pareekutti is of a different religion and sub-group; furthermore any relationship between men and women before marriage was not acceptable. It was not long before Karuthamma was not well spoken of in the village and even her mother was afraid that she might provoke the wrath of the goddess.

The love which these persons hold for each other is not resolved in any sort of joyful ending. Soon after Karuthamma's father gets his boat he arranges a marriage for his daughter with a fisherman from another village. Karuthamma resigns herself to her fate without discarding her love for the other man.

After the wedding the couple goes to live in the other village, but news of Karuthamma's early friendship travels too. Her husband also begins to question her quality and the marriage relationship is tense. Events come to a sharp focus when Pareekutti comes one night to tell Karuthamma of her mother's death. The villagers find out about this and fisherman co-workers of Karuthamma's husband informs him that they do not wish for him to work on their boat with them any more, as his wife's actions could contaminate all of them. At this time Karuthamma's husband decides he will take matters in his hands and go out alone in his own boat and also that he will try to build a trusting and solidary relationship with his wife. Though Karuthamma does have a meaningful relationship with her husband she cannot forget Pareekutti and her love for him.

The fateful ending comes when Pareekutti comes again to see Karuthamma. This time, they cannot deny to themselves the truth of their relationship, cannot remain apart.... Sometime later, after a violent and fearsome storm their bodies are found washed onto the shore and locked in embrace. Karuthamma's husband's body is never found. --- It was as if the goddess has attained revenge.

The author of this book is an established novelist. This book which he has written won the most esteemed literary award in India, the President's Award. This Harper edition is a translation.



Too Long in the West

Balachandra Rajan (Indian author)

New York: Atheneum, 1962.

The fictitious village of Mudalur, India is the scene of this spoof on cross-cultural differences between India and America. Sambivasan a college professor and his wife have returned to their summerhouse, from which Sambivasan reigns over the village every summer season as sort of a village benefactor. During his annual stay he employs most of the village, largely in busy work. His pretense makes Sambivasan feel very important, but makes him look ridiculous in the eyes of the villagers. Converging on the scene at practically the same time is Nalini their young daughter who has just returned from America and Columbia University. Her parents, even before she arrived, began advertising for suitors for Nalini who is pictured as being both beautiful and intelligent, and the result is a pilgrimage of suitors to the doorstep, one arriving with her on the same train.

Nalini's suitors include a scholar who insists on being valued for himself rather than for social class distinctions of which he has none. Another suitor is a journalist that believes that a Brahmin girl should try to be like a cow, rather than have an education and a good figure. The other suitors are a cosmetics manufacturer hoping to turn Madalur into a place of pilgrimage; and a man who answers marriage advertisements as a way of life, with the purpose of eventually exposing the arranged marriage system in a book in which he will relate his encounters. Nalini's mother terms these suitors as nobodies,

but good enough for Nalini to practice on. With the arrival of Ernest, an enthusiastic American friend of Nalini's who has come to India to be on a malaria team, a fifth prospect is secured. Nalini is interested in none of these prospects and shows a peculiarly non-Indian independence about herself. She is the one running the show rather than the suitors.

Another man, the village barber, is the person whose presence is crucial. He is irritated at Nalini's father for his do-goodery as the father never helps the village develop its own resources so it can help itself. To make matters worse, the cosmetics manufacturer organizes a pilgrimage to the sacred mango tree on the mountain, and during which one of the participants injures himself. The barber places the blame for this on Nalini's father as he reasons that this would never have happened if Nalini's father had not advertised. Another thing which provokes the barber is the evident attitude of Ernest that all the world's problems can be solved by disinfecting for malaria, while the barber realizes that more than disinfection for malaria is needed to help the village. Sympathetic followers from the village are recruited, and a vicious threat of drastic measure is made to Nalini's father, that if Nalini does not choose a suitor in the morning that the house will be harmed. The time for choice arrives and Nalini surprises all by choosing the barber and giving for her reason something she learned at Columbia "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em." Their marriage begins an era of the self-development of Mudalur, with the cosmetics manufacturer

using the mango incident to make Mudalur a place of pilgrimage, also a place of manufacturing of cosmetics. Nalini's husband becomes a nose-driller and ear-piercer and spreads propaganda on progress to customers by distributing leaflets made on the newly acquired linotype which also prints criticism and poetry. An Institute of Social Involvement is set up and lectures given on arranged marriage and deficit financing methodology. Nalini rules the village and it is not unusual that the Fourth of July is observed annually; after all, was not Nalini "too long in the West."

Balachandra Rajan has a Ph.D. degree in English from Cambridge University, has done work with the United Nations and has authored a number of books, including works of nonfiction.

but it is Swaminathan, Rajan and another friend, Mani, that we see together mostly.

When Swami is not having to contend with his strict father who keeps urging him to study, or is not in classes, he is put with Rajan or Mani or both, and sometimes by an affair by himself. Swaminathan gets enticed by a cart driver who pretends to turn small coins into larger ones by a magic process, participates in an anti-British political plot, and organizes a cricket team along with Mani and Rajan. Swami's parents seem to have little knowledge of these activities as he is quite uncommunicative.

Problems for Swami arise when he is a member of the cricket team, for his class schedule does not permit him to get out early for practice with the other members. He tries getting an excuse from a doctor, but with no avail, and eventually cuts

Swami and Friends

R. K. Narayan (Indian author)

East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1954.

This book tells the escapades of some primary schoolboys; locale is a fictitious town Malgudi, India. The joys and agonies of childhood are seen. These are most clearly shown for Swaminathan. This small boy restricts his company to four friends, all in his school class. The status quo of this five-way friendship is disturbed when Rajam, son of the police superintendent joins the class, and he and Swaminathan become friends, much to the consternation of others, who are jealous of Swaminathan's status by association. As a result of this, Swami is nicknamed "The Tail" (Rajam's tail) and must endure the inattention of his friends for some time. Eventually, all friends are reconciled, but it is Swaminathan, Rajam and another friend, Mani, that we see together mostly.

When Swami is not having to contend with his strict father who keeps urging him to study, or is not in classes, he is out with Rajam or Mani or both, and sometimes on an adventure by himself. Swaminathan gets cheated by a cart driver who promises to turn small coins into larger sums by a magic process, participates in an anti-British political riot, and organizes a cricket team along with Mani and Rajam. Swami's parents seem to have little knowledge of these activities as he is quite uncommunicative.

Problems for Swami arise when he is a member of the cricket team, for his class schedule does not permit him to get out early for practice with the other members. He tries getting an excuse from a doctor, but with no avail, and eventually cuts

drill class so he can practice. As the result of this, the schoolmaster disciplines him severely enough that Swami flees out of the room. Out of school and in such dire circumstances, he feels he cannot return, but he is afraid to go home for fear that his father will send him back. Affecting the next decision he makes is the fact that his cricket team is having a very important match with another team in the next few days. The decision reached by Swami is that he will leave town, but come back for the match. Some hours of walking pass before Swami realizes that his decision to leave was wrong, for it is getting dark, he cannot find his way and he is hungry and tired. After many more hours of wandering he is found by a cartman and brought home, but not in time for the cricket match.

Swami's friends Mani and Rajam are quite annoyed with Swami for missing the match. At the end of the book we see Swami and Mani reconciled, but Swami does not know his standing with Rajam, and Rajam suddenly has to leave town with his parents. Swami, with childish ardor comes to the train station with his favorite book to present to his departing friend. Because of confusion, Swami never gets to converse with Rajam and is able only to relay the book to him. Swami is left wondering about Rajam's disposition and so is the reader.

The author of this book is a prolific writer. He was educated in India, and writes about his native land, often setting his stories in the fictitious town of Malgudi.

He Who Rides a Tiger

Bhabani Bhattacharya (Indian author)

New York: Crown Publishers, 1954.

The title of this work is taken from the ancient phrase "He who rides a tiger cannot dismount." In the instance of this book the main character has assumed a role not rightfully his and lives with the burden of carrying this until he no longer can, and exposes himself and the community of persons supporting him.

Kalo the blacksmith has lived in a small village and supported himself and his daughter adequately, but famine comes and he can no longer make a living. To save himself and his daughter from starvation he begins the journey along with thousands of others to Calcutta, where he will search for a job. On his way he becomes hungry and steals some bananas and is jailed for this offense. Even though the English judge knows why the bananas were stolen, he does not know what hunger is like, and gives punishment. Through this experience, the plight of the oppressed masses is focused more clearly for Kalo, though this is not the first instance of discrimination for him. When his daughter was in school she won a very high scholastic honor and if it had not been for her lower caste position there would have been open recognition from the community. To see his beloved daughter shunned hurt Kalo greatly, and emphasized the reality of the unjust caste system, in which one's status in life is assigned by birth.

After three months of hard labor in the jail Kalo arrives in Calcutta, to find hoards of hungry persons choking the streets of the city. Bodies of the dead litter the streets, so Kalo is

able to get a job clearing these bodies away. This awful squalor and oppression is contrasted by the high living of the wealthy and high caste who go on living their lives as before or capitalize on the desperate situation.

After some time in the city, Kalo allies himself with a house of prostitution. His job as solicitor goes on until the day that he finds his daughter has been tricked to come to the house where he works and he sees her, in her innocence, subject to the overtures of a wealthy man. He rescues her "in time", but a profound change now comes over his life.

A desperate man, out of his rage at the apathy of the wealthy and upper caste and through some practical knowledge on how to perform a "religious miracle," Kalo disguises himself as a Brahmin priest, and with his daughter, locates himself at a strategic spot and waits for the "miracle" (religious effigy arising from under the ground by power of sprouting seeds). When the "miracle" comes, the wealthy and high caste give their homage and money to this impostor priest who "has no right" to be one for he is not Brahmin. A fine temple is erected on the spot of the event and the temple becomes famous, but Kalo, living in deceit has divorced himself and his daughter from truth and from the meaningful life which they once had. After so much of this deception, he does dismount from the tiger. He frees himself and his daughter, triumphs over the artificial values of his benefactors, and chooses to return to the oppressed masses.

Mano Majra

Khushwant Singh (Indian author)  
New York: Grove Press, 1956.

The Punjabi village of Mano Majra, India is the scene of the action of this book, and the time is 1947 when the partition of India and Pakistan took place. The reader sees in this book a religious war being waged, and its effect on one village. Mass killings took place in the border area where this village was located, with Sikhs killing Moslems fleeing into Pakistan, and Moslems killing Sikhs escaping out of Pakistan. So far, the about equal numbers of Moslems and Sikhs living in Mano Majra had remained charitable to each other. They know very little firsthand about violence in the area. One day a train came to the station there, but no passengers got on or off, it was like a ghost train, and it was not long before fifty armed policemen arrived on the scene. Villagers, wondering what had happened, acted as they usually did when something of consequence happened and the women went to the headman's home and the men to the temple. It was not long before official persons came asking for kerosene and wood and later that night villagers saw bright flames silhouetted against the dark sky and learned that bodies of 1,000 murdered Sikhs were being cremated.

Animosity among the villagers did not arise, but the District Magistrate, realizing the dangers to the lives of Moslems in the area, planned by any means to move Mano Majra's Moslems out. The means used was purposely circulated gossip about the Moslems. After this gossip, though the Sikhs and Moslems of the village did



leave. They left with promises from the Sikhs that their property would be looked after, and that they would see one another again soon. It was a sad parting, for the people in this village had always gotten along and had no feelings against each other.

After the Moslems left, there was more evidence of violence to Sikhs in the area and the villagers looked on with heavy hearts. Soon a rabble-rouser Sikh came into the village, attracting a crowd, and asking them if their Sikh religion meant anything to them, and saying that if it did they should prove it, by revenging the killing of so many Sikhs. The plan was to murder as many as possible of the Moslems coming through on a train the next night. It was evident that the Mano Majra Moslems were on that train, but it was not long before fifty volunteers were enumerated, including some of them who had wept when their fellow villagers had left. Strategic persons were very unhappy about this, but somehow were unable to organize others to oppose the plan. It is the single-handed action of one heroic Sikh which saves many lives, but if it were not for the District Magistrate releasing him from jail, this brave Sikh could not have saved the Moslems on the train.

Strategic persons in this story are few. There is the young hero, thought of as the village bad man, but who, because of his love for a Moslem girl on the train, rises to the occasion and saves all except himself. The District Magistrate, who is also strategic, is upset by the violence and killing, tries to

rationalize it by attributing it to fate, but cannot. This man is not a person able to act directly and influence groups, but instead directs certain key persons into the groups needing to be influenced, for example, his purposeful releasing of the Sikh from jail.

The author was awarded \$1,000 as a prize for writing this novel; though over 250 manuscripts from India were reviewed by Grove Press, this was the winner. The author was brought up in India, but at the time this book was written was Specialist in Indian Affairs for UNESCO.

...it is usual that the ... resulting competition ... continues. The father ... usually with money in his pocket ... children, Beero, a young boy and Devi, his maturing sister ... Beero's ... family affairs ... point of the book. ... contacts with schoolmates, except one, are identifying, and he feels self-conscious because his ... situation. The one schoolmate ... who invites him to his house. When Beero compares the own family situation with the ... of his friend, the ... of his own situation stands out even more clearly. Essentially, Beero,

Steps in Darkness

Krishna Baldev Vaid (Indian author)

New York: The Orion Press, 1962.

This book is set in contemporary India, urban locale, and particularly concerns itself with the life of one Hindu family, very poor, but mainly a very unhappy family. The difficulties within this family at the time they are pictured, arises somewhat out of the mother's mental illness. The illness affects her in such a way that she is very belligerent. Aggravating the situation is the presence of the mother-in-law, with whom the mother does not get along. Quarrels are more than a daily occurrence, and it is usual that the drunkard father beats his wife with the resulting commotion attracting the attention of the whole neighborhood. Though the mother-in-law leaves, the ugly family situation continues. The father comes home drunk late at night, though usually with money in his pocket from gambling episodes. The two children, Beero, a young boy and Devi, his maturing sister are witnesses, if not directly involved as scapegoats.

Beero is shown as being extremely distraught about his family affairs and it is his tragedy that seems to be the focal point of the book. Misery seems to be Beero's lot almost wherever he steps. At school his teacher is unkind to him. Beero's contacts with schoolmates, except one, are unsatisfying, and he feels self-conscious because his schoolmates know his family situation. The one schoolmate who befriends him is a Moslem boy, who invites him to his home. When Beero compares his own family situation with the happy home of his friend, the wretchedness of his own situation stands out even more clearly. Eventually, Beero,

reaches a point of desperation and tries to hang himself, but fails. The book ends with this scene and the reader is left to wonder what is in store next. The maturing daughter, Devi, also suffers some. The result is that she is rarely at home. Those who talk give her a somewhat questionable reputation because of her wandering behavior.

Little further description about the family, beyond what is so far mentioned, is given, for most of the text is given over to conversations between family members, or descriptions of family events. The reader is not to be the father's occupation, but only means for income specifically mentioned is his gambling.

This book is the first novel written by Vaid, and was translated by Vaid from the Hindi original. The author was educated in India, through the Master's Degree, and has also studied at Harvard, receiving his Ph.D. there in 1961. He is presently teaching at Delhi University.

Bombay Meeting

Ira Morris (American author)

Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1955.

Bombay Meeting brings us a rather full view of an international writers conference which has converged on Bombay, India. Literary persons from over the globe, are thrown with Indians, including a few blue-blooded Brahmins, and a scarcer species, the Maharajah of Purjai. In the course of the book we see an international romance and the Society of Authors and Critics begins to show its altered nature.

Raif Aston, an older Englishman and Secretary General of the Society of Authors and Critics and organizer of this conference, sees his status in the organization slipping, as well as the ideals of the organization as they were when the organization was originally founded. Aston witnesses controversy in the organization over this question of ideals, feeling very sad when the original ideals of artistic excellency lose the upper hand to the monetary values of the commercial writing venture.

In this book we see the delegates in and out of meetings and often discontented with them, and very often at parties and small social gatherings. These delegates are also excursion minded. The closest social contact with Indian natives is made by one, a young and immature American writer, who is hailed with great promise and is the star guest of the conference. During the time he is in India he gets on a quite friendly basis with a Maharajah, becomes friends with and stays in the home of the leader of the rival literary faction of the Bombay literary group participating in the conference. More closely,

he has an affair with and falls in love with the Hindu wife of a wealthy Parsee chemist. As the outcome of his Indian adventure, he reaches a self-realization he has never had before. The wife of the Parsee, unfortunately, kills herself, so the young American writer must go on and live his life without her.

The author of this book has a B.A. from Harvard University and has written at least seven novels.

Krishna Fluting

John Berry (American author)

New York: MacMillan Company, 1959.

Peter Bruff, one-half Indian and one-half American Quaker has returned to Tashiling "place of blessing," located on a mountain in the Eastern Himalayas. He has many ties with Tashiling for here he helped found an orphanage along with his now deceased best friend Ananda Mayadev, who was an Indian, and with Lady Edith, a widowed Anglo-Indian. Also in Tashiling are the three women he is attracted to. One of these women is Liliu Aquilia, a Tibetan woman who holds him by sex attraction. Liliu is actually an evil woman who has at one time tried to poison Peter, another time murder him. The other two women are Irene Naylor, a Quakeress who once rejected Peter's marriage proposal, but now is widowed and interested in Peter; and Indira, sister of Ananda Mayadev. Indira is the woman that Peter loves.

At the time Peter arrives in Tashiling a large man-eating python is threatening the area and comes out at periodic intervals for his human dinner. Peter takes it upon himself to hunt and kill this creature that has cast a dark shadow over the lives of the inhabitants of the area. Also occupying Peter's mind is his plan to produce the epical Krishnayana from the Sanskrit notes of his friend Mayadev. Peter, who is a poet, plans for this project to be his life work. Of course the three women are no small matter in his life.

Liliu and Irene have a first reckoning about their rights to Peter. They have their final reckoning on the night that Peter sets out to trap the serpent Kailya. On this evening,

Liliu attempts to murder Irene, and in the struggle they run towards the woods where Peter is hunting the snake. The chase sends them in the direct path of Kailya who "purposely" chooses to crush Liliu between its coils. Irene is swept into the nearby river, along with Liliu and the slithering coils of the snake, but is luckily fished out by the man destined for her, Jim Chen, Chinese American from Honolulu, who has come to India to take refuge from discrimination. With Liliu and Irene eliminated from his immediate concern, Peter is led "through God's will" to Indira-Devi his true love, from whom he has been separated by circumstances for so long. Indira and Peter are left to carry on the work of the Ashram by themselves, for Lady Edith, is now dead also, having been poisoned by Liliu.

In this book we see Quakers transplanted to foreign environment, attempting to see and carry out the will of God. All of these persons are highly individualistic and unusual, and it is as if the author feels that foreigners in this far corner of the earth, would only be here if driven by a "demon," or are special in some way.

John Berry taught in India several years. This novel is his first and won the \$7,500 fiction award by MacMillan Company. Mr. Berry has also published poetry and short stories.



Shadow of the Monsoon

William Manchester (American author)

New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956.

The scene of this book shifts from Delhi, India, to Dar Kala a smaller town. Peter Becker, Englishman and representative of an American petroleum firm belonging to his wife's family, has been sent to Delhi with the threat that he will be dismissed if he doesn't open up a new market in the area. Peter, who has been a failure in most everything he has ever done, is also viewed so in the eyes of his American wife, Katie, who has accompanied him. Peter and Katie are staying in a hotel in Delhi, as is Spike Wiley, an American biologist who has been recruited to the Indian Public Health Foundation as consultant. His latest project has been to try and convince the Indians of Dar Kala that the Foundation's vaccine will not make them sterile. He has managed to convince the District Magistrate, but the sadhu who had a great following remained unconvinced.

Peter's plans to set up a new market have been opposed and prevented from materializing and he realizes his only hope is to convince the District Magistrate of the viability of his plan. He makes a very unfavorable impression on the Magistrate, with the resultant cutting off of the relationship. Peter then tries intrigue to get back in the magistrate's good graces. In his intrigue he has told some vicious lies about Wiley and Wiley's plans for vaccination are jeopardized, but the result is that Peter and his wife get an invitation to a tiger hunt planned especially for them by the magistrate.

In the meantime, Spike Wiley and Mrs. Becker have become involved with each other and this continues from the hotel in Delhi to Dar Kala, where all of them go, Peter and Katie going there for the leopard hunt, and Wiley for a rest and a chance to clear up the lies told about him and the vaccination plans.

The hunt is doomed before it begins, for the Magistrate is rather feeble and cannot shoot well, and also knows little about the terrain of the hunt area. Attempts by associates of the Magistrate to stop the hunt fail, and Peter and Katie, the Magistrate and a native guide set out on their expedition. When chance for a shot comes, it is Katie who shoots for it is courtesy's demand that a woman shoot first. Unfortunately, Katie cannot shoot well and only injures the animal. The hunting party then tries to hunt down the animal which fights and kills Katie's husband Peter and mortally injures the Magistrate. Still, the injured animal is not killed, and while it is on the loose it takes the lives of some of the natives in the area and frightens all persons.

The people of the area become incensed, blaming Mrs. Becker because she shot and injured the animal. The natives reason that it is the duty of Spike Wiley to kill the injured and dangerous animal, since he is her lover and she does not have a husband to avenge. The natives in an impressive force, giving hint of violence, convince Spike of the advisability of avenging. Spike does kill the animal and it is not long after this that we see Katie and Spike leaving Dar Kala and making life plans together.

The author was born in the United States and educated here. He has been a newspaper editor, a foreign correspondent, managing editor of the Wesleyan University Press, a Guggenheim Fellow, and has written at least seven books, some of which are fiction.

The Consul's Wife

William L. Shirer (American author)

Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1956.

This story involved intrigue and suspense in the fictitious city of Pawancore, India during the fight for Indian Independence. A war is going on in the city between the British and the nationalist revolutionaries. Rather embroiled in the conflict is the wife of the American Consul General, who through her friendship with a nationalist lawyer of Sikh descent has become interested in the Indian cause. Of course she has not told her husband of her interest and activities though he suspects her strongly, and being in the diplomatic position that he is in he has reason for concern. To complicate family matters, the daughter is in love with the very man that her mother is in cahoots with.

The extreme interest of the wife of the Consul General in independence movements goes back to her early experiences in the consulate service with her husband during which time World War II was raging and she could view the suffering caused by man's inhumanity to man; also she had seen much suffering and struggle in her own country of Hungary. The orientation of the consul's wife causes her to be sympathetic to the Indian's cause, for she feels there is much persecution of the Indians by the British. The main vent for her rage and also that of the Sikh lawyer is the old British Governor General, Lord Branhope. Together, the Consul's wife and the Sikh carry out plans and murder the British Consul General at a Fourth of July Party given by herself and her husband. The Consul's wife is not

entirely committed to the idea of murder, but once immersed in the plan there seems no way of turning back. Luckily for her, and unbelievably to the credulity of the reader, her part in the murder is never discovered by officials, though the Sikh is put to death. Fortunately, the American Consul General's term of office is ending anyway, so the Consul General and his wife return to the United States, and fortunately for all, their daughter gets over her attachment to the not so wiley Sikh.

One particularly interesting thing about this novel, is the lack of Indians as characters. The Sikh is the only named character who is Indian, with the rest of the Indians typed as servants, in fact, the Sikh himself, disguises himself as a servant so he can carry out the murder plans. It is easy to suspect that the author uses the backdrop of India mainly so he can tell a suspense story of a little more exotic level than usual.

The writer of the book is a journalist, though he has also written novels. At one time, as a foreign correspondent, he had the task of following the rising career of Gandhi.

The Greater Darkness

David Rubin (American author)

New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963.

Gauhar, India, imaginary city, is the location of most of the activities in this book. Mr. K. M. Rau, author and engineer and native Indian, had built his luxurious thirty-six room house, hoping to fill it, in true Indian style, with family. These plans failed to materialize, so, instead, he found himself renting parts of his house to tenants, one an Austrian gone native and the other a British medical doctor. As the book opens, Mr. Rau's Anglo-Indian adolescent granddaughter comes from England, her identity being neither with India or England. Coming almost at the same time are a couple from America, a sociologist and his wife. For the first time since the house has been built it is now fully occupied, and more than that, sociability between persons is encouraged and fostered by the lively Anglo-Indian wife of Mr. Rau, and she goes as far as to introduce most of the members of her big household to the significant members of the "Western" colony of Gauhar, and a few of the native Indians.

Daily events form a net which interweave the lives of several most interestingly, taking them all to crucial or final points. Kirun, the granddaughter, is trying to establish an identity, but she cannot seem to feel a belonging to India or a bond with the native people, while Carol Ames the wife of the sociology professor, finds herself for the first time in her life; almost immediately she begins to get the feel of India in her blood and comes to love it and its people, establishing real rapport. Her sociologist husband who is in India to study

and teach, is not able to be anything but dispassionate and is also unable to fathom the true nature of India, for his personality is not such that he can; he begins to realize that basic personality differences between him and Carol have never been accentuated so much before as in India, where they are really brought to focus. Gradually they become estranged. Carol finds herself attracted to the British M.D. and he to her. Carol's husband, through frequency of association with Kirun, finds himself pursuing her, though with little feeling. Kirun eventually ends this as she feels there is no good for her in this. Though Mr. Ames would like reconciliation with his wife, she is not interested. She leaves for good one evening and on the way to her destination she is killed in a riot. The M.D. is again alone, but distraught. Mr. Ames is not especially shaken by events, but is ready to return to America. By this time, Kirun, through her experiences, feels that England is the place for her and returns with full intent to take up with an Englishman who had wanted to marry her before she came to India.

The author of this book is an English teacher, and spent a year teaching in India.

The Dark Dancer

Frederic Prokosch (American author)  
New York: Farrar, Straus and Company.

The era of India's distant Mogul past is brought to life and is centered around a familiar theme, the legend of the Taj Mahal, the structure built by the grieving Emperor Shah Jehan as a monument for his dead wife whom he loved dearly.

As Prokosch presents the story we do not get the idealized portrait of the marriage found in the legend. The Princess Arjumand is not the only wife of Shah Jehan and he is in no way faithful to her, which fact makes her very unhappy. Shah Jehan or Khurram is shown as having concern for his wife though, and early in the marriage there was some degree of reciprocation from her. What is most revealing about the relationship is Prokosch's presentation of the scene of Khurram, practically on his deathbed, being told by one of his friends that he, Khurram, was in love with Arjumand. Khurram disputes this by questioning the nature of his affection and saying that he wished he knew what he had felt for his wife Arjumand. The friend replies that the monument Khurram had built should be testimonial enough to love, but Khurram answers that this proves nothing and that the answer lies in the dark part of his heart.

Besides providing a picture of this marriage, Prokosch has shown the intrigue that Khurram carried out to become emperor. Of the four in line for the throne, Khurram disposes of all of contenders, two by murder, one by poison and another by banishment. Through these means of disposal, Khurram became emperor at age thirty-six.



Life in the court is seen as involving boredom and meaninglessness for the privileged. Meaningless passionate encounters and maintenance of old and tired relationships are common; some persons take dope to evade reality. This court is not without cultural contacts though; poets and painters are seen where the power is. Contacts with foreign lands are not missing, with travelers coming from England and Spain and attracting the attention of royalty. The wealth and splendor of the court is fantastic. The world outside the court is much less rewarding, for plague, heat, superstition, and poverty are shown as the karma of the masses.

This American author has written six novels, three books of poetry and has translated a number of volumes.

Nine Hours to Rama

Stanley Wolpert (American author)

New York: Random House, 1962.

This book is centered around the assassination of Gandhi, the persons who tried to prevent it and those who plotted and carried out the murder. Wolpert gives an hour by hour description of that fatal day in New Delhi, India.

Gandhi who has been termed the "beloved father" of India advocated non-violence and brotherhood in the times of violence and religious unrest after the partition of India and Pakistan. Certain groups of Indian nationals, a group of professional revolutionists, including the Hindu Society of Nation Savers, were at odds with Gandhi's tenets. According to the plot of this book, the fatal action against Gandhi was committed by a member of this Nation Savers group after he was chosen by lot to do so. Nauram Godse, the assassin, was no new initiatee to violence, for he had already murdered one person in behalf of this organization, and at one time had helped in the successful bombing of a theater in which one-half of a company of British soldiers had been in attendance. Also, during the War he helped to disrupt British communications. Strangely enough, at one time in his life he had worked in Gandhi's non-cooperation movement, but became disgusted with Gandhi.

Also sketched are Godse's fellow-member companion who keeps him company through part of the day and Godse's girlfriend who is married to a Parsee playboy and tennis champion. In Godse's final moments of decision before he moves toward the garden where he will commit the murder, he is with this girlfriend. She is thinking of their relationship together and a future,

while he is thinking of his dharma to liberate the nation.

While the day progresses for Godse, Gopal Das, the highest ranking policeman in the nation, has wind of the plot for the assassination, and is vainly trying along with the leader of the Congress Party, to convince Gandhi to call off the prayer meeting or at least have ample protection. But the persuasion is ineffective. Godse or his companion cannot be tracked down though desperate efforts are made. Evening comes, Gandhi enters the crowd at the prayer meeting and then there is the shot.

The author of this book has a Doctorate in South Asian Studies, and has taught Indian history for a number of years. He has visited India twice, the first time arriving there the day after Gandhi was shot. This is Wolpert's second novel.

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and Journal of

#### APPENDIX IV

OVERALL AND IMPRESSIONISTIC VIEW OF NOVELS  
BY AUTHORS OF THE TWO CULTURES

There are some striking differences between the books by Indian authors and American authors, as well as similarities. One of the interesting differences was that American authors devoted more attention to violence and death than did the Indians. Murder was a dominant theme in Nine Hours to Rama and Consul's Wife, both of which concerned the plotting of murder and events leading up to the plotted crimes. Dark Dancer tells of at least five murders and one suicide, and Bombay Meeting includes suicide of one of the main characters. At least five persons die by the claws of a leopard in Shadow of the Monsoon, and a religious figure is murdered by his ex-followers. A snake is the agent of death in Krishna Fluting, as is one woman who poisons several and attempts murder of others. The Greater Darkness has a huge elephant stampede in which many die, and a mob scene in which one of the main characters is killed. Three of the Indian novels give more than passing attention to death and violence, there is Chemeen in which adulterous lovers and the other member of the triangle are "killed" by the vengeful goddess living at the bottom of the ocean, and Steps in Darkness in which there is an attempted suicide. In Mano Majra there are mass killings mentioned and which are a result of religious hatred.

In several of the novels, both Indian and American, one member of an adulterous pair or triangle dies, though in Indian novels adultery is not a common subject like it is in American novels. Only two Indian books include adulterous relationships.

and in one instance mentioned above, all three members of the triangle die. Five of the American books present adulterous relationships, one novel presenting two of these. In all cases presented, except one, one of the pair, or triangle dies or will die. The connection between death and adultery in these American novels, may or may not be meaningfully relational, though in the case of the Indian novel, the deaths were a result of the action of violating standards, and which violation offended the goddess.

The presentation of adultery would seem to imply that the American authors look upon the family situation as limiting its members or presenting difficulties, and this is borne out by the fact that unpleasantness within the family scene is frequently shown. This unpleasantness aspect is also seen by Indian authors and it may be said that for both sets of authors, couples are shown as dissatisfied with each other or are in poor communication and children are seen as not getting along with their parents.

It was expected that the Indian authors would picture the extended family living together, when they portrayed Indian families, but this was not the case except for two of the authors. American authors did not devote much attention to Indian families, but when they wrote about them there was not a tendency to write about three generations of a family living together. However, households including three generations were depicted, thus indicating the family as a more extensive unit than the nuclear family. The American family was depicted as a nuclear unit. This is reasonable because Americans on foreign duty would include, in average terms, just the nuclear household.

The position of women in the family and in society are shown differently in the two groups of novels. The simple and domestic female is pictured more than a few times in the Indian novels, while in the American novels she is almost entirely absent. American novelists tend to view women, whether Indian or American as being assertive and making their own way in this world, or at least acting independently of men. Indian authors do not exhibit this trait as much though there are a few independent females or those with aspirations to independence in their books.

The Indian preoccupation with spiritual or religious matters is borne out in the books by Indian authors. Mano Majra is entirely centered around religious strife; He Who Rides a Tiger has an impostor priest as its main character; Serpent and the Rope is concerned with a young Hindu interested in spiritual matters, who, for one thing, is doing a study on the Albigensian heresy; his Catholic wife becomes interested in Buddhism which eventually becomes the sole focus in her life. An American novel, Krishna Fluting involves American Quakers interested in carrying out their view of God's will, and Nine Hours to Rama is centered around Gandhi's murder by a representative of a fanatical and nationalistic religious group. There are other religious overtones in this book. Also, in Shadow of the Monsoon a priest is quite important and dominates the scene for awhile. Other American novels do not take much concern with the religious or spiritual side of things, and in total impact, American novels cannot be said to show as much concern with this aspect of life as the Indian novels.

The settings of the novels vary somewhat. Only three of the Indian novels could be characterized as having a completely rural setting, but American novels are all mainly within an urban setting, except Krishna Fluting and The Dark Dancer which has a court setting of a past century, hardly fitting the description on urban in the modern sense.

In the court setting of The Dark Dancer we see the highest possible class of persons, native and foreign. This tendency by Prokosch to concentrate attention on the higher classes and the more affluent is echoed by the other American authors almost completely; money, education and/or other openings to better than average social position are possessed by many of the main characters. American authors show many Americans that are abroad as implicated in the higher social echelons of their locales. Those that go abroad for professional reasons are usually highly trained or have unique vocational qualifications, as was true of the American sociologist in The Greater Darkness and the consul in The Consul's Wife.

These "elite" persons so often utilized by American authors are not shown as occupying their position at the expense of less fortunate others. Apparently, the lower echelons of society constitute a social backdrop that adds drama to the exotic scene of India. The sympathies of Bhattacharya, an Indian author, are fully with the unfortunate and down-trodden masses of Indian society, and the gap between classes is nowhere shown more clearly than in his book in which he devotes much attention to lower class persons, his main characters. One other Indian author, Krishna Vaid gives almost complete attention to an underprivileged family.



While only two Indian authors spend text on the very unfortunate ranks of society, another two give attention to the simple villagers of Mano Majra and of the Indian seacoast. It is only in Too Long in the West, Swami and Friends and Serpent and the Rope that there is a preponderance of those in high professions or position. The Indian authors are not as interested in writing about the more "elite" persons present in the society.

is one justified

APPENDIX V

## CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE WRITER

### Relations of the Writer to Society

That "every writer is a member of society," is one justification for a sociology of the writer.<sup>1</sup> The author's social origins may not be as important as his social allegiance or his ideology in determining the integration of an author in the social process. Whatever the writer's position or world view, his work and biographical documents are useful in sociological analyses. Some of the variables that may be explored are the author, his alienation from or integration with society, his economic motivations or rationales, his membership in or identification with specific subcultures, and other relations to the social milieu. Each writer's idiosyncratic experience will likely affect his writings.

### Relations of the Writer Within the Literary Institution

The author's relation within the literary institution of which he is a part, along with the public and critic is a more specialized concern than relation of the author to society and its aspects. It has been hypothesized by Duncan, in a detailed theoretical construct, that there are five basic types of relationships within the literary institution.<sup>3</sup>

(1) There is the phenomenon of a strong reciprocal relationship between public and author, but weak relationships between public and critic and author. Such a relationship is found in

<sup>1</sup>Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956), p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>3</sup>Duncan, p. 67.

instances of face to face telling of stories, when the critic is not differentiated from the audience to any extent.

(2) In instances where the author writes for the critics, the group of readers formally assigned the task of judging, he is concerned with these persons and neglects the public. Hence there is a weak relationship between the author and public. In this context critics are not concerned with the public at large, but constitute in essence the writer's public. The clerics of the Middle Ages operated in such a scheme as this.

(3) Another relationship within the literary institution resembles the previous one in that there is a strong relationship between the author and critic but differs in that between the critic and the general public there is a weak relationship and a strong relationship between the author and the public. In such instances, critics, as members of salons or as publishers consider themselves as guardians of a literary tradition, but do not consider themselves as having responsibility to the public which is considered vulgar. The writer considers himself as speaking for and to the general public and to the critic; may possibly even consider himself as a literary priest, prophet or writer.

(4) Another relationship is that where the author and critic both have a strong relationship with the public, but the author and the critic do not have communication. This relationship is presently exemplified in newspaper and magazine criticism of literature, in which the critics speak to the public, but do not approach criticism in a way which suggests to the author how he could communicate better.

(5) In the last type of relationship cited, there is a mutual and reciprocal concern between all three parties to the literary institution "in the belief that literature should have an autonomous function in society."<sup>1</sup> For example, the Book-of-the-Month-Club integrates all three members of this limited institution into a mutuality.<sup>2</sup>

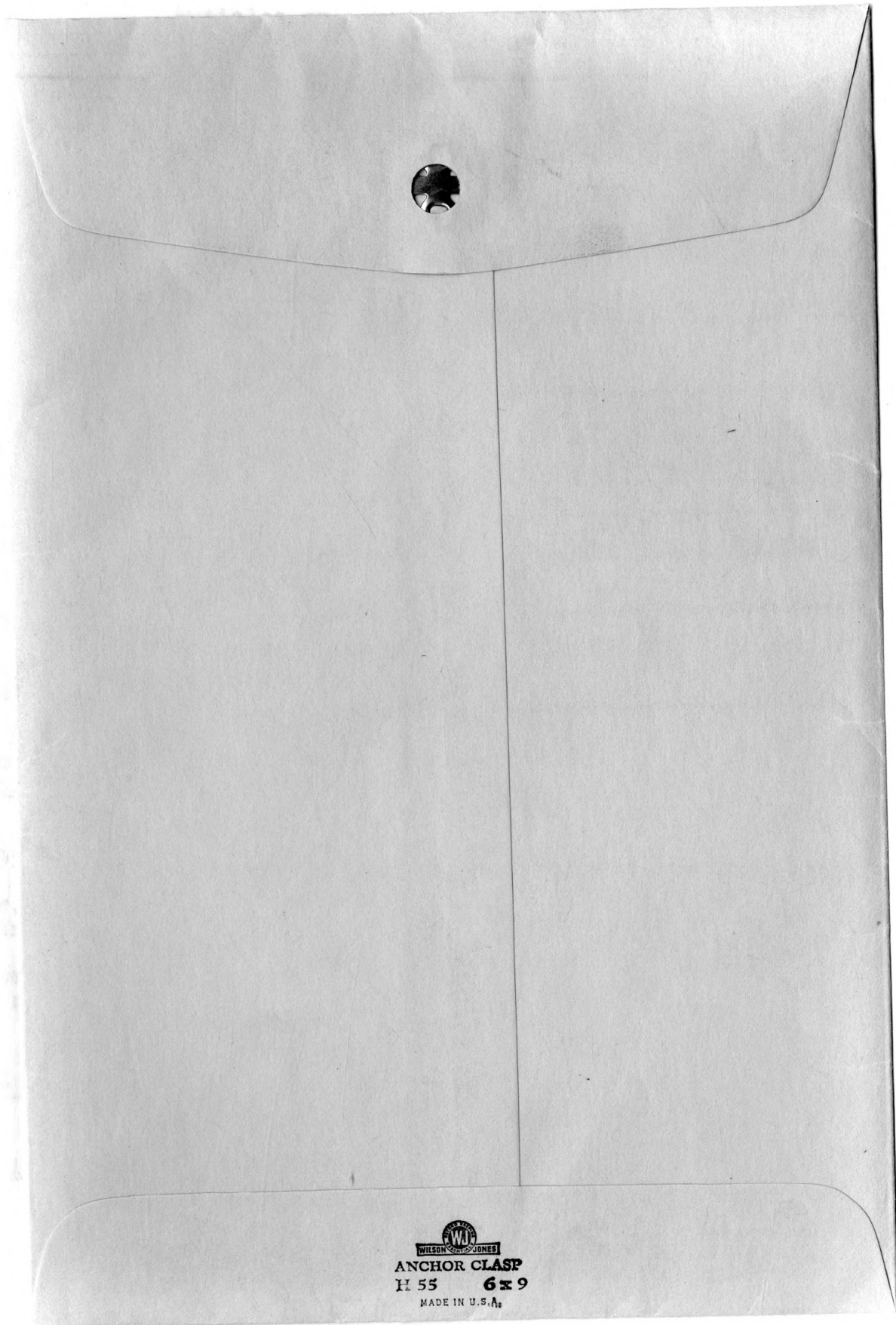
These pointed out relationships of the author to society at large and within the literary institution may be the framework for any specific studies in the sociology of the writer. Specific studies may involve historical phenomena and analysis of current trends, individual case studies of writers and studies of an aggregate of writers.

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<sup>1</sup>Duncan, p. 71

<sup>2</sup>Duncan, p. 72.

APPENDIX VI  
TABLES SIX, SEVEN AND EIGHT




  
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TABLE 6.--General Types of Unitary Occasions, by Groups Sized Two Through Three and Four Through Seven, by Indian and American Authors

Size of Group	General Types by Nationality of Authors																							
	Mental				Utilitarian				Organizational				Disorganizational				Amusement				Total			
	Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.					
	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age				
Two Through Three	11	22.9	16	25.9	12	25.0	18	29.0	6	12.5	10	16.1	12	25.0	3	4.8	7	14.6	15	24.2	48	100.0	62	100.0
Four Through Seven	1	10.0	1	12.5	3	30.0	4	50.0	2	20.0	1	12.5	1	10.0	1	12.5	3	30.0	1	12.5	10	100.0	8	100.0

A statistical test was not run on these data.



TABLE 7.--General Types of Unitary Occasions, by Nationality Composition of Groups in Occasions, by Indian and American Authors

Nationality Composition	General Types by Nationality of Authors																							
	Mental				Utilitarian				Organizational				Disorganization				Amusement				Total			
	Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.	
	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age	N	Percent- age
Indian	18	25.4	8	26.7	14	19.7	14	46.7	16	22.5	4	13.3	14	19.7	0	0.0	9	12.7	4	13.3	71	100.0	30	100.0
Non-Indian	0	0.0	5	29.4	0	0.0	3	17.6	0	0.0	4	23.5	0	0.0	2	11.8	0	0.0	3	17.6	0	0.0 <sup>1</sup>	17	99.9
Combined Indian and non-Indian	1	12.5	7	18.4	3	37.5	12	31.6	0	0.0	5	13.2	1	12.5	4	10.5	3	37.5	10	26.3	8	100.0	38	100.0

A statistical test was not run on these data.

<sup>1</sup>This table does not include for Indian authors any data on non-Indian composition groups.

TABLE 8.--General Types of Unitary Occasions by Relationship Composition of Groups in Occasion, by Indian and American Authors

Relationship Composition	General Types by Nationality of Authors																							
	Mental				Utilitarian				Organizational				Disorganizational				Amusement				Total			
	Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.		Am.		Ind.	Am.		
	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age	N	Percent-age		
Familial	4	17.4	2	28.6	3	13.0	1	14.3	5	21.7	1	14.3	7	30.4	1	14.3	4	17.4	2	28.6	23	99.9	7	100.1
Non-Familial	6	28.6	15	29.4	7	33.3	15	29.4	0	0.0	9	17.6	5	23.8	3	5.9	3	14.3	9	17.6	21	100.0	51	99.9
Combined Familial and Non-Familial	0	0.0	4	17.4	4	40.0	8	34.8	2	20.0	2	8.7	1	10.0	1	4.3	3	30.0	8	34.8	10	100.0	23	100.0

A statistical test was not run on these data.

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AN COMPARISON OF CULTURAL OCCASIONS IN TWO SOCIETIES:  
A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE

by

BARBARA LANNING

B. S., KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, 1962

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

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KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis involves a study within the sociology of literature which is a field of study considering the various relationships of literature and society. For this study fourteen novels of the India locale, seven by American authors and seven by Indian authors were quantitatively analyzed within the context of the reflection theory to determine differences in the writings of the authors of these two cultures and differences in the social situations of the two cultures reflected in the writings. Specifically, the analysis of the writings involved the determination of cultural occasions. Cultural occasions are social situations involving two or more persons engaged in one or more distinctive key situational processes and role configurations. The cultural occasions located were classified into one or more of the twenty-seven possible types of cultural occasions. Determination of the sex and nationality composition, relationship, size, and age composition of the group of persons involved in the cultural occasions was made.

Hypothesized differences in the writings were found with regard to nationality composition of the groups involved, distribution of types of cultural occasions by size of group, nationality of group, and relationship composition of group. Differences in types of cultural occasions were not supported at the conventional ( $P < .05$ ) level. The null hypothesis of no differences was rejected at the .10 level for one analysis and .20 level for another. Differences were not found with regard to sizes of groups written about. Though consideration here was mainly on differences in



the writings, in some instances these writings were found to reflect typical social situations.

Typical social situations were reflected in the relationship composition and age composition within cultural occasions presented by the authors of the two cultures, but were not reflected in the sexual composition of the groups involved in the cultural occasions.

Taking the research in totality the reflection theory has not been wholly supported in this study. The data collected may be considered as accurately reflecting the writings of these authors, but not in all instances as reflecting the postulated typical social situations of the two societies.