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CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 OVERVIEW

While an introduction to the basic concepts was given in the previous chapter, the present chapter deals with a review of earlier work done on the same.

Research reports and studies giving details of migration, migration statistics and experiences of migrants were chosen for study. There was more focus on studies related to migrant students in the context of the specific variables selected in study. Also those studies which explored relations amongst the variables were given preference. Digital and print resources available in the Savitribai Phule Pune University library (Jaykar library) were used for accessing research papers and books. Material available online by reliable sources is also used. Reliable sources are defined as those published by recognized authorities like International Bodies, Renowned Universities and journals. All sources are duly cited.

A review of various studies done about the migration process and issues involved is given first, followed by an overview of research related to migrant students and their issues. Research done on the relationships amongst various factors is then discussed.

2.2 MIGRATION

The process of migration, the status of migrants and their assimilation in the host country, have been an area of interest to institutions as well as individuals – from government agencies, non governmental institutions to economists, sociologists, educationists and lately, psychologists.

International organizations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the World Bank and European Commission look at migration as a part of population studies. Some look at it as a part of urban studies, migration being fallout of urbanization and industrialization. They are concerned with the impact of migration
on socio-economic conditions and cultural aspects, both of migrants as well as host nations. Similar studies have been undertaken by nations like the United States (Florida Advisory Committee Report to United States Commission on Civil Rights, 2007), United Kingdom (Annual Report by Home Affairs Committee to Home Office), Canada, France, Australia, Netherlands and India, to name a few. Institutions, nongovernmental organizations and various universities like the University of Oxford, undertake projects to study migration and migrants.

Migration and urbanization are an integral part of the socioeconomic development of any nation. Therefore, the most important consideration in migration is the numbers. It is important to keep records of people migrating, at international as well as intrastate level. Accordingly reports about the numbers migrating are commissioned by the agencies mentioned above. All studies show an increase in the number of migration, from rural to urban and less developed to more developed nations/states. The finances involved in providing services to them are recorded and discussed in terms of their burden placed on the host government, on one hand and the adequacy of services provided through these finances for migrants on the other hand. The contribution made by migrants to the local economy and how much do the migrants contribute to the economy of their native place are also reported. As per a study by Ratha, Mohapatra and Scheja (2015), migration has an impact on development and remittances in the place of origin. The native country sees poverty reducing and economy developing due to the funds that migrants send back. The health and educational outcomes improve as a result. The host country, on the other hand, faces the challenges of integrating the migrants, accommodating the competition for jobs between the natives and migrant workers and bearing the cost of providing social services to migrants. Migrants are looked upon with hostility and suspicion. Yet the worst and most exploitative jobs are often passed onto them. Not only this, they do not receive government aid as migrants fall under several different sectors and ministries of the government. Several different departments need to interact and collaborate so that the various issues of voting, citizenship, health and nutrition as well as education, be addressed. This rarely happens as the welfare of migrants has low priority for governments.
The scenario is not very different for internal migration. Editors Faetanini and Tankha (2013), in their report to the UNESCO, write that nearly 30% of migrants within India are internal migrants. They quote Deshingkar and Akter (2009) to report that these migrants contribute to 10% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in India and make society, prosperous, dynamic and culturally innovative. Yet politicians and local fundamentalists propagate myths about them based on parochialism and unfounded fears of migrants being a drain on local resources. In fact Faetanini and Tankha (2013) note that the city of Pune, where the present study is based, was amongst those from where North East migrant students fled in massive numbers recently. The impact of these issues on migrants is seen at many levels and is a cause of concern for all. It should be noted that if migrants are not accepted and facilities are refused to them, the risks and costs of migration increase while the potential for development reduces.

The socio political changes caused by migration are matter of debate and research area in many reports. They consider migration to be a sociological event which takes place in a historical and political context (Batista-Pinto Wiese, 2010). When someone moves to other countries or relocates within the country, they often face social exclusion. This experience, along with economic, linguistic, administrative and legal challenges, poses a challenge for the mental health of the migrant.

An early paper on the impact of forced migration on individuals and their families by Roizblatt and Pilowsky (1996) looks at migration as having implications for the mental health of migrants. It also discusses how there is a conflict within the family of migrants – between the old generation, trying to cling on to values brought over from the place of origin, and the new generation, adopting the values of the new place.

There is a need for developing policies to integrate migrants better. This can be done through improved data collection on migration and an improved mechanism for establishing safe channels for migration, within legal procedures. This can happen if migration is seen as a suitable and convenient strategy to cope with environmental, socioeconomic and political stress (Faetanini and Tankha, 2013; Foresight, 2011).
An extensive study of the migration process was undertaken by Mawani (2001), Project Coordinator at the Women’s Health Center, Canada with the aim of developing a toolkit to facilitate the migration experience. It describes the factors involved in impacting migration and resettlement of migrants. It suggests that the following factors are important –

i. Whether migration is voluntary or forced and the specific reasons for migration.

ii. The age at which migration occurs is important, as adults face more difficulty in learning new skills, language, accepting and adapting to new cultures as compared to children. Thus adults are at a disadvantage.

iii. Relationship with family members changes as migration causes changes in roles and responsibilities within families – parents, children and siblings. This has both positive and negative psychological effects. Having to take filial responsibilities, parental roles or engage in language brokering leads to emotional, behavioural and somatic problems in people falling in these age groups – young adults, adolescents and children (Love and Buriel, 2007; Wu and Kim, 2009). Positive psychological outcomes like increased interpersonal skills, social self efficacy and self confidence along with increased cognitive functioning and motivation (Kuperminc, et al, 2013; Weisskeirch, 2013; Wu and Kim, 2009) are also observed.

Most studies of migration discuss issues of long term migrants and their families. Even those studying students, consider those who are children of migrants. However, college students who migrate for the sake of higher education have issues, inclusive of the ones most migrant face, along with certain exclusive ones. The present researcher agrees with Youn Jung (2008) that most of the available literature on migration is still related to economic or labour force issues and not about migrant students. Migrant students are mostly looked at as visitors or temporary residents and therefore do not receive much priority in policies made for migration.

The studies related to migrant students are discussed in the next section.
2.3 **MIGRANT STUDENTS**

One extra ordinary situation, where human beings face cultural, economic, social as well as psychological changes, is the movement of students away from home for education. When students migrate from their native places in pursuit of higher education, it is considered to be a given that they will face adjustment issues. They have to adjust to a different educational set up, an alien local culture and a changed personal situation where they have to manage independently.

Migrant students are those individuals who study outside their place of birth or citizenship for a period of at least one year or more (Spring, 2009). An overview of available literature shows that several factors affecting migrant students have been previously studied.

Several studies have explored the reasons for migration that students have. These reasons can be classified broadly as push and pull factors. In India, students migrate because of lack of infrastructure and facilities available in the native place. The higher educational opportunities and courses offered in the place of origin might be limited in number. The host college may have not only more number of courses but they may offer superior quality and standard of education, that can enhance professional opportunities. They also look at the host place as a stepping stone to move on to bigger cities and opportunities (Jones, et al, 2000). Longkumer (2009) concurs and adds that the presence of siblings, cousins or other relatives in the host place, termed chain migration, is also one driving force in the decision to migrate. He notes that in the case of students from the North East, the political turmoil and violence due to insurgency is a push factor that makes students migrate to other more peaceful states. Chandrashekhar and Sharma (2014) suggest that young adults are likely to be attracted to those cities or states that have a strong labour market or high paying job opportunities. They note that such places will also be more likely to have higher education institutes, a pull factor.

A study by Tuckman (1970) is considered to be the first on migrant students (Youn jung, 2008). He viewed student migration from an Economics point of view, where he suggests that students choose to migrate by weighing “consumption benefits to consumption costs” (p.184). Students compare the costs incurred for getting the
degree as against the benefits that would accrue. Another study suggests that it is
difficult to study student migration as the ‘market’ for international higher education
is immature, unstable and unpredictable because the demand and number of migrant
students both keep changing (Sastry, 2006).

Migration leads to varied experiences and challenges to the person. There are
several studies that look at the situation of migrant students from various perspectives.

A socio-cultural approach in studies of migrant students suggests that they
experience culture shock (Fabrizio & Neill, 2005) and transculturation (Agulhon &
De Brito, 2010). Culture shock refers to the physical and emotional distress
experienced by individuals when they come in contact with a culture different from
their own; where beliefs, values and traditions are completely different. It sometimes
causes significant difficulty in dealing with the new situation, in interpersonal
relationships and completing tasks (Neill and Heuback, 1997; Thurber, 1995).
Extreme cases of culture shock may lead to depression, frustration and or anger,
ilness, injury or withdrawal. This can be termed as failure to cope and may lead to
issues in readjustment on returning home, in turn causing serious psychological
effects.

Transculturation involves identifying with the local community and adopting
its values and mores; level of integration with host culture being the main concept
studied (Agulhon & De Brito, 2010). Psychologists describe the process as
acculturation as it involves psychological changes along with cultural ones.
Acculturation is the process of learning the culture of the host country. It involves the
removal or replacement of earlier beliefs, values and traditions while adopting new
ones (Bornstein and Bohr, 2011). This may lead to the experience of cultural
bereavement. The result is acculturative stress. Acculturative stress happens when
people experience problems that occur from the acculturation process. It can be a
result of incongruent cultural values and practices, language difficulties and
discrimination (Gil, et al, 1994). Availability of social support plays an important role
in dealing with acculturative stress (Williams and Berry, 1991). They experience a
loss of status in social relationships as they remain ‘unseen’ in a group of strangers.
Those migrant students, who fit in better, are considered superior to others.
Along with local culture, each academic institution has a culture of its own, an academic culture. Students find it difficult to adjust to this too. It falls upon the host institution to enable these students to become effective learners. For this, they are obligated to provide assistance to migrant students. Mukminin, et al (2013), reported that migrant students in the United States of America experienced acculturative as well as religious stress. The students were Muslim and experienced obstacles and problems in offering prayers, observing Ramadan fast or in eating halal food. They remarked on the fact that not only was there no holiday on Eid, but nobody even wished them a ‘Happy Eid’. Those students adjusted quickly who found a supportive social network with Muslim students from their own native country or Muslim students in general. Another strategy that helped was to keep sight of academic goals.

Language and communication have an important role to play in the experiences of migrant students. In fact, Meja and McCarthey (2010) reported that migrant students suffered from higher levels of depression and anxiety with language preferences playing an important part. Some studies show the difficulty migrant students face with the host institution’s language of teaching and expectation of more than functional use of that language. They explain how academic use of language requires a more technical as well as scientific approach to writing (Catterall & Ireland, 2010) which migrant students may not be equipped to do. Loss of language is often considered as equivalent to loss of cultural identity. Language is not merely a means of communication but a means of expressing one’s culture as it forms an important aspect of cultural identity. Fluency in official language greatly facilitates the process of resettlement otherwise complications multiply.

Migrant students report experiencing loneliness and disruption in relationships post migration. Migrants find it difficult to form attachments and get a sense of belongingness in the new place. A loss of connection to the place of origin is also felt. On the other hand, when one has positive connections with peers, adults and family, it is easy to adapt to stressors (Masten and Coatsworth, 1998).

the signals, the codes, the norms and values on which identities are fundamentally based-and thus transforms them” (p. 2). Migration and acculturation are experiences that organize and reorganize the self concept, bringing in changes in self identity and self image (Bornstein and Bohr, 2011).

Psychologists have conducted research on various issues regarding migrant students. Leong (2001) compared the psychological and academic adaptation of migrant and non migrant students to college education and found that the two groups differed on the factors affecting adaptation. She found that social relationships were important for the psychological and academic adaptation of migrant students while for non migrants, it was the sense of control.

When one considers that education is the most important goal of migrant students, a review of studies in educational psychology becomes imperative.

According to Wang et al. (1997), those learner characteristics that are important for academic learning can be classified in the following important categories – learner demographics, history of educational placement, social and behavioral outcomes, motivation, affective, cognitive, meta-cognitive, and psychomotor abilities (Gerlach, et al, 2002). DiPerna and Elliot, (2002) also suggest that student characteristics (i.e. social, behavioral, motivational, affective, cognitive, and meta cognitive) have the most significant impact on learner outcomes. However, as suggested by McGrew (2007) no matter what individual cognitive and non-cognitive characteristics students have, they do not learn in vacuums. These characteristics interact with many different environmental variables to produce various academic outcomes. Meeuwisse et al (2014) discussed the differences and similarities between ethnic minority and ethnic majority students with reference to the interface of family-study demands, and its impact on academic outcomes. They found that students who received more family and social support report less conflict in family time and study time along with more facilitation for academic pursuits. The academic outcomes of ethnic minority students were poorer due to family study conflict. On the other hand, ethnic majority students experienced more support leading to more study effort and higher grades. It is important to note here that the ethnic minority students in the study were from migrant families. The same study mentions data from international research reporting that the study careers of ethnic
minority students are on an average less successful as compared to the study careers
of ethnic majority students. Ethnic minority students also earned lesser credits in the
same amount of time (Swail, et al, 2003).

It is important then that both personal and situational variables be studied to
understand the situation of migrant students. Yet it has been observed that previous
research has focused on only certain psychosocial variables regarding the experiences
of migrant students. It will be helpful if more light is thrown on psychological aspects
of migrant students like personality, resilience, academic motivation and stress of the
individual that affect the readjustment, a situational variable, of the individual.

2.4 PERSONALITY

Different individuals adjust differently to changed circumstances. Some find it easier
to make friends, some thrive in the face of new experiences, some can be flexible and
adapt easily while others can manage emotions easily. These individual differences in
migrant students have led to differences in readjustment and experienced stress of
migrant students. It is the personality of the individual that he or she brings with them
to the new situation and which influences their functioning extensively.

The present research uses the Big Five classification based on the trait factor
approach. The Five Factor Model (FFM) by McCrae and Costa (1997) is the preferred
trait dimensional approach to study populations falling in the normal range (Vittengl,
et al, 2003). The traits enumerated in this approach have been found to be universal
and evidence supporting FFM was found in more than 50 countries, including India
(McCrae and Terraccino, 2005). They are associated with many important aspects of
human life and play an important role in deciding how individuals regulate their
behavior (Scheier, et al, 1994). Roth and Von Collani (2007) did a head to head
comparison of the Big 5 types with traits to find who would predict social attitudes
better. They reported that the five dimension cluster solution is better than the three
dimension cluster solution in predicting social attitudes. Along with this they also
noted that the five factor model has a strong empirical base and is well accepted.
However, it is the trait of neuroticism that shows consistency across different studies
while other traits show fluctuations (Roth and Von Collani, 2007).
2.4.1 Personality and Resilience

Personality is considered to be a part of either risk factors or protective factors in resilience (Luthar et al, 2000, Lemery-Chalfant, 2010). Campbell-Sills, et al, (2006) found that resilience was negatively associated with neuroticism as neurotic individuals have a vulnerability to experiencing negative emotions, anxiety and depression (Bienvenu & Stein, 2003, Brown, et al, 1998; Costa & McCrae, 1992). Another study also found a strong negative correlation between neuroticism and resilience (Nakaya, et al, 2006) with neuroticism causing 35% variance in resilience. The same study reported that extraversion, openness and conscientiousness have moderately strong positive relationship with resilience, accounting for 14 to 18% variance in the same.

Resilience has a strong positive correlation to extraversion as extraverted individuals experience more positive emotions, form attachments easily and seek social interaction. It has been observed to have a moderately positive relationship with conscientiousness as individuals high in this trait are also seen to have high self esteem (Costa & McCrae, 1992).

2.4.2 Personality and Academic Motivation

Research conducted by Clark and Schroth (2010) on the relationship between personality and academic motivation showed that extroverted, agreeable, conscientious and ‘open to experiences’ individuals are intrinsically motivated to attend college. While extroverted, agreeable, conscientious but neurotic individuals are extrinsically motivated. Amotivation is seen to be related being disagreeable and careless. Lepine, et al, (2004) considered the traits of conscientiousness and emotional stability to have a positive influence on both motivation to learn and learning outcomes. They did find conscientiousness to share a moderately strong positive relation with motivation to learn (r = .33, p < .05) but not in the case of emotional stability. A study by De Feyter et al (2012) found that conscientiousness and academic motivation interacted to affect academic performance. The same researchers also reported that neuroticism had a positive indirect effect on academic performance, when self efficacy levels were high and had a direct effect on academic performance when self efficacy levels were low.
2.4.3 Personality, Adjustment and Readjustment

According to Lazarus (1966) adjustment and personality are the processes by which the person has transactions with the world about him. Yet these processes are not the person, but the organization of subordinate processes of motivation, emotion and cognition within the person. In fact, personality itself is made up largely of the more or less stable and organized processes of adjustment in terms of motivational, emotional and cognitive adjustment.

Research on personality and emotions suggests that the centrality of emotional memories, whether positive or negative, is decided by their interactions with personality traits, especially, extraversion and neuroticism (e.g., Gilboa & Revelle, 1994). Extraverts might focus more on memories of positive emotional experiences while neurotics may focus more on memories of negative emotional experiences. Migrants go through many experiences that cause positive and negative emotions. Individuals with different personality traits will focus on emotions differently leading to various adjustment scenarios.

At present there is no empirical study which discusses the amount of adjustment to be made all over again under new circumstances, as migrant students must do, nor is the role of their personality, resilience or their motivation to study, been made clear.

2.4.4 Personality and Stress

Research on personality and stress has been seen to have focused on traits other than those described by the five factor model e.g. Type A personality type, locus of control, negative affectivity and dispositional optimism. Yet the role of traits as defined by the Five Factor model in the migration experience has not been focused upon. Moreover, the relationship between neuroticism and stress has been explored greatly and extraversion as well as conscientiousness to some extent but openness and agreeableness has not been focused upon (Grant & Langan - Fox, 2007).

Industrial psychologists have noted that personality traits make a difference in dealing with stress at work. Several researchers report that personality traits,
especially, conscientiousness, extraversion and neuroticism (Kim, et al, 2000) act as predictors of job burnout. Personality traits like locus of control, time urgency, hostility, anger, competitiveness and self esteem influence an individual’s ability to tolerate stress (Schultz and Schultz, 1998). Swanepoel and Oudtshoorn (1988) showed in a study conducted in South Africa that lower levels of stress were associated with conscientiousness, emotional stability and realism. On a similar note, Ghazinour, et al (2003), report that job stress develops with personality traits such as neuroticism, introversion along with perfectionism and low self-esteem (Jaffe–Gill et al., 2007).

On the other hand, research done on Malaysian University students by Chai and Low (2015) found no relationship between the different personality dimensions and amount of stress experienced. The researchers suggested that the coping strategies used could play a buffering role in the two as they had found significant correlations between various personality traits and different coping styles.

2.5 **RESILIENCE**

Resilience is an important factor while studying migrant students. Especially because all the three aspects considered vital for the resilience response to occur are also present in the process of migration –

i. The presence of significant adversity due to social isolation, academic stress or life transitions that may threaten balance.

ii. Quick recovery or successful adaptation.

iii. Sustainability of recovery like avoiding falling ill after an examination (Zautra, et al, 2010).

According to Wach (2000), resilient children had been protected from the harmful effects of their day-to-day environments. Research on resilience showed that in spite of living in disadvantaged and risky environments, some children conquered the daily problems and showed high levels of motivation, achievement and performance (Gutman, et al, 2002).

2.5.1 **Resilience and Academic Motivation**

Resilience and motivation are linked to one another. Students migrate to satisfy academic and personal goals. Stressors present in the readjustment process affect goal
related striving (Ewart, et al, 2002). This striving faces challenges, evoking a resilient response. Resilient individuals will have intrinsic motivation. Resilience, being defined as good outcomes in spite of adversities, would mean that extrinsically motivated people will be focused on the outcomes of readjustment. Gutman, et al (2002) note that showing high levels of motivation, along with similar high levels of achievement and performance, is an indicator of the presence of resilience in children.

2.5.2 Resilience and Readjustment

Migration is an extraordinary situation, where human beings face cultural, economic, social as well as psychological changes. When students migrate from their native places in pursuit of higher education, it is considered to be a given that they will face adjustment issues. They have to adjust to a different educational set up, an alien local culture and a changed personal situation where they have to manage independently. This situation brings with itself possible stress and challenges to personal resources. They may experience ‘culture shock’ (Fabrizio & Neill, 2005) as a result of experiencing a combination of homesickness, negative acts and interpersonal conflicts. Migrant students go through a process of adjustment to these circumstances, termed as ‘readjustment’ in the present research. Some students show problems in adjustment while others remain psychologically healthy and show positive adaptation (Quale and Schanke, 2010), that is, they show resilience. Quale and Schanke (2010) explain positive adaptation as doing much better than what would be expected given the occurrence of social, financial or personal burdens in an adversity. Those students, who adjust their goals and ambitions, reorient themselves and act positively, are resilient and find it easy to readjust. Klohnen (1996) reported that an individual’s trait resilience was not only related to physical and psychological health, work and social functioning but also to global adjustment. Mak, et al (2011) found higher level of resilience to be significantly and positively correlated to high life satisfaction and low depression.

Many studies have been conducted to examine how various factors related to lifestyle, like diet, sleep and exercise differently influence resilience (Hawkley, et al, 2005) or how risk or protective factors are a result of learning from and perception of varied experiences (Curtis & Cicchetti, 2003). These risk or protective factors are both present in the post migration process of readjustment. In fact some researchers
look at resilience as an outcome, and consider it synonymous with positive adjustment.

### 2.5.3 Resilience and Stress

The disruption caused in normal functioning by stressors lasts for only a few weeks if the individual is resilient. Resilient individuals soon return to a relatively stable and healthy functioning. In contrast, non resilient individuals show symptoms that can be considered clinically significant for at least six months. They may return to mental health gradually, over a period of several years (Bonanno, 2004). Li (2008) noted that resilience predicted active coping in stressful situations. Many studies have shown that social variables such as social network and social support (e.g., Antonucci, et al, 1997; Russell & Cutrona, 1991) as well as personal resources such as optimism and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997) influence how older people cope with stressors and remain healthy. Both self-efficacy and related motivational constructs have been found to mediate the relationship between social support and well-being (Antonucci, 2001), making them a part of the resilient response to stress.

### 2.6 Academic Motivation

Academic motivation in the present study is based on the self determination theory by Deci and Ryan (1985) as it looks at motivation in a broad and multidimensional context, involving regulation, energy and social contexts. It considers human beings to be competent, proactive and growth oriented (Parkerson, 2011).

According to the self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002), self-determined individuals act for the joy of doing something (intrinsic motivation) and to pursue goals that are important for the person (identified motivation). On the other hand, non-self determined behaviors are performed to avoid shame and guilt (introjected motivation), to obtain rewards or avoid punishments (extrinsic motivation), and whenever a person has no particular reason to keep on doing any actions (amotivation) (Thompson and Gaudreau, 2008). Achieving personally significant goals and being happy doing so, is the key to optimizing human potential.

Academic motivation is considered vital to explain why student achievement and academic outcomes differ even when aptitude and intelligence are similar.
Further, many studies show that academic motivation is associated with experience of cultural differences, adjustment, socioeconomic status, persistence, and locus of control, procrastination, and academic self-concept as well as stress (Parkerson, 2011).

### 2.6.1 Academic Motivation and Readjustment

The psychological adjustment of students is affected differently by different motivational processes. The process of migration and readjustment affect three basic psychological needs – those of autonomy, competence and relatedness, the foundations of academic motivation. These needs form the basis of academic motivation. Those environments that nurture the fulfillment of these needs produce self determined behaviours or intrinsic motivation whereas environments that block these needs cause non-self determined behavior or extrinsic motivation. Amotivation refers to a general lack of motivation and direction. It could also be described as a state where the student perceives that his or her actions do not lead to desired outcomes. In other words, there is some disconnect between actions and outcomes. Environmental factors affect the integration and organization of the self through the working of these three needs.

Deci & Ryan (2002), suggest that personal and situational factors that allow individuals to satisfy their basic psychological needs are likely to result in increased intrinsic or self-determined motivation and decreased extrinsic or non-self-determined motivation. There are changes observed in the motivation of children while they pursue academic activities. These changes may be the caused due to the efforts they put in self regulation that in turn cause students to get feelings of autonomy and competence. When a student can successfully regulate the self, with the use of task-oriented coping, he or she experiences competence and a stronger sense of autonomy toward academic tasks. This increases self-determined motivation for academic pursuits. In contrast, sense of autonomy and competence diminish when the student disengages self from the process of trying to attain one’s goal. This disengagement-oriented type of coping results in an increase in non-self-determined motivation.

A study by Young, et al (2011) reported that perceived social support significantly predicted academic motivation with prior college experience and socio-
economic status as contributors among African American students. The same study found significant correlations between total perceived social support and both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as well. Total perceived social support also contributed about 35% variance in intrinsic motivation and a significant 50% of variance extrinsic motivation. It is important to note that total perceived social support is an external or situational variable.

Faye and Sharpe (2008) note that academic performance and intrinsic motivation increase in an environment full of challenges and opportunities to meet those challenges, that is, a competence supportive one. There has to be a balance between challenges and opportunities so that the student experiences an environment that is competence supportive, rather than autonomy supportive. This leads to healthy psychological development.

There is another view about the relationship between academic motivation and adjustment experiences of migrant students. Fuligni et al. (2005) reported that Asian and Latin American youth showed more academic motivation as compared to European counterparts, when achievement was kept constant. This finding suggests that migrant youths need more academic motivation to reach the same level of achievement as non-migrants maybe due to experiences of discrimination. Researchers found that cultural socialization enables youths to maintain high levels of motivation or to do so well in college (Hunh and Fuligni, 2008). In an earlier study, Fuligni (2001) noted that family obligation was found to be positively correlated to academic motivation and time spent in studying.

One way of dealing with possible discrimination experiences would be preparation for bias, especially when studies showed that it was associated with higher grades (Bowman and Howards, 1985) and increased academic motivation (Sanders, 1997). However Marshall (1995) found contradictory evidence when preparation for bias led to lower grades in primary school students. In fact Hunh and Fuligni (2008) suggested that preparation for bias should be considered as promotion of mistrust. The same researchers found that promotion of mistrust had an adverse impact on academic achievement while positive cultural socialization messages led to higher levels of motivation in migrant students.
2.6.2 Academic Motivation and Stress

A study by LePine, et al. (2004) reports that a student’s motivation to learn is affected by two types of stress, challenge stress or hindrance stress.

A longitudinal study by Sherman, et al. (2013) showed that identity threat and stereotyping led to experiences of stress as well as reduced academic motivation and performance in ethnic minority students. Academic motivation is sensitive to identity and stereotype threat (Sherman, et al., 2013) and can be protected or enhanced by creating affirmation.

Studies in the academic field, have found that amotivation is related to boredom and low focus in class (Vallerand et al., 1993), poor psychosocial adjustment to college, increased perceived stress at school and while studying (Baker, 2004), and, disturbingly, to dropping out from high school (Vallerand & Bissonnette, 1992; Vallerand et al., 1997). When faced with stressors, challenges or even boredom, the student needs energy to put in sustained effort. This energy and direction is provided by having personally significant goals, that is, through intrinsic motivation, especially, identified motivation. Intrinsic motivation plays a regulatory role in the face of stressors. It protects the well being of the student even when there is any academic setback, as it is not contingent on performance. Grolnick and Ryan (1987) found intrinsic motivation to be associated with positive outcomes like, increased cognitive flexibility, active information processing, and grasping concepts. These factors are linked to positive coping and less stress. On the other hand, extrinsic motivation was found to be associated with negative outcomes like physical symptoms, negative affect, depression and narcissism.
2.7 READJUSTMENT

Readjustment involves adapting to the new situation after migration. For migrant students, this is a global process, demanding adaptation at many levels from personal to social to academic to financial. Agulhon and De Brito (2010) suggests that adaptation to post migration situations depends on many factors such as prior mobility experiences, the cultural proximity between the host country and the place or origin, closeness to peers. She states that the readiness of the migrant to accept the cultural differences will have an impact on the process of adaptation. Storti (1995) notes that the main reason for people having difficulties in social adaptation is that they instinctively assume that the others around them are like themselves or that normally everyone thinks and perceives in similar ways. This is the main challenge in migrant students adjusting to cross cultural differences.

Migration leads to one’s self view being challenged, leading to identity threat. One form of identity threat is stereotype threat (Steele, 1997,2010; Steele & Aronson, 1995) that occurs when the possibility exists that an important social aspect of one’s identity like ethnic identity could become less important in a given setting (Purdie-Vaughns, et al 2008; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Such identity threats include discrimination, exclusion, marginalization, and underrepresentation due to minority status, all of which can contribute to under performance (Jencks & Phillips, 1998; Nisbett, 2009).

Adapting to a new social environment needs a reevaluation of personal norms, behavior and values, especially in view of the demands placed by migration. However, it is important to note that the skills developed in the process of adjustment can be applied to other aspects of a person’s life as well. These skills can also be used in other new and unfamiliar situations and social systems (Fabrizio and Neill, 2005). One heartening finding for migrant students is that a change in environmental context can increase the student’s potential to learn (Harter, Waters and Whitesell, 1998).

There have been several studies that measure readjustment after significant events. Noteworthy amongst them is the Social Readjustment Rating Scale (SRRS) by Holmes and Rahe (1967). They constructed the SRRS to measure a person’s response to fifty life changing events. It is used to measure the impact of change related
stressors. The respondent has to enumerate significant life events that have occurred in the past 12 months as per the check list given. Each life event is assigned a value that reflects the relative amount of stress the event causes in the population studied by the scale developers. The total stress experienced is measured by adding up the values corresponding to the events that have occurred in the respondent’s life over the past year. The test developers report a modest correlation among the numbers of life-changing units experienced in the previous year with a person's health in the present year. These changes however are global and address the complete span of human life stages. They range from marriage to divorce and birth of a child to death of a near and dear one. The present researcher had used the SRRS in an earlier study to study the role of personality factors and social readjustment in hope and resilience of migrant students (Kedari & Shaikh, 2011). The study found that there was significant and moderately strong negative correlation between neuroticism and hope among Indian migrant students. Social desirability was found to have significant and strong positive correlation with resilience. Social readjustment was not found to be significantly correlated with hope; however, it was significantly and positively, associated with resilience.

There is a difference between the SRRS and Readjustment Scale developed in the present research. In fact the SRRS was found to be inadequate to study the post migration experiences of students, as it focused on general life events and not those specific to the adjustment process of migrants. This made the development of the Readjustment Scale necessary. It gives a picture of the issues in adjustment faced by migrant students.

**Readjustment and Stress**

Readjustment of migrant students has been looked at as ‘life stress’ by Misra, Crist and Burant (2003). In their study of international students studying in the United States of America, they noted that even though all college students go through the process of adjusting to the new educational and social environment in colleges, international migrant students find adapting to this situation more stressful. They have to adapt to different cultural values, unfamiliar language, academic demands, study habits, and a separation from the home environment called as the uprooting disorder that disturbs their well-being (Coehlo, 1980; Mori, 2000; Zwingmann & Gunn, 1983).
It is thus that migrant students experience more adjustment problems in American colleges and universities than do local students, and consequently, more stress.

2.8 STRESS

A review of stress literature shows that the concept has been looked at differently by different researchers. In a study by LePine, et al (2004), students reported that they experienced two types of stress, hindrance stress and challenge stress while studying in college. Hindrance stress leads to exhaustion, low motivation and decrease in learning performance while challenge stress increases motivation to learn and high learning performance.

Thoits (1995) defines stressors as those demands on an individual, internal, social or environmental, that cause an individual to adjust his or her behavior. Three types of stressors have been identified: life events, chronic strains, and daily hassles. For migrant students, adjustment challenges, enduring separation, and conflicts that result in chronic strain become stressors. It is rare for a significant stressor to occur alone. Pearlin (1989) andThoits (1995) suggest that often one stressor triggers another, developing a cluster of stressors. However, which stressors they are exposed to and the manner in which people experience stress depends on their roles, social stratification and interrelationships as well as the mediators they are able to mobilize. Researchers emphasize the need to understand the complete array of stressors in an individual’s life for complete inquiry. Pearlin (1989), suggests that those challenges that occur first in an individual’s experience are primary stressors. In the present study, these challenges are divided in eight domains, interpersonal relationships, self identity, communication, cultural experiences, physical, behavioral, academic, and practical living. Similarly, prior researchers have considered life stressors in international students’ life to be language and financial problems, cultural adjustment and academic concerns as chronic strains and are therefore primary stressors. These life stressors have been reported to cause academic problems for international students (Marion, 1986; Orpeza, et al, 1991) which in turn, contribute to academic stress, a secondary stressor. In fact, Yang and Clum (1994) found that proficiency in English is a more important determinant of adjustment in international students’ adjustment than education, gender, age, or marital status. Language is thus a more important aspect of cultural adaptation than any other. Other difficulties in cultural
adjustment like food, music or entertainment have also been reported among African students (Puritt, 1978). Expectation of high achievement in academics is an important stressor for these students because they have higher expectations for academic success (most are toppers in their home schools), and pressures to maintain scholarship and financial support (Svarney, 1991). Secondary stressors (Thoits, 1995) are the outcomes of the primary stressors and are capable of independently generating intense stress. They are secondary only on the basis of their assumed order in the stress process, not on the basis of their importance to the process. Some studies consider academic stressors as secondary stressors, for example, the student’s perception that there is inadequate time to develop the knowledge base required (Carveth, et al, 1996) leads to performance anxiety.

The next aspect of stress considered in research is the stress outcomes or student’s reactions to stressors. It refers to the state of physiological arousal that is usually the result of the perception that demands placed on one are excessive (Pearlin, 1989). Literature shows that students have various responses to academic stress like physical, behavioral, psychological, and cognitive (Gadzella, 1994).

In an early study, Berry et al (1987) considered the demographic, social and psychological characteristics of the individual like socioeconomic status, gender, duration of stay in the host culture, past cross cultural experiences, contact experiences, maturity, education, cognitive style etc to moderate the relationships amongst acculturative experiences, stressors and acculturative stress.

Acculturative experiences, especially those related to religious experiences of Indonesian Muslim students were studied by Mukminin, et al (2013) in a qualitative study. These students reported several hardships faced in following religious practices, leading to distress and stress. Hindrance to religious practices became a stressor where even issues like not having a holiday on festivals, cause unhappiness. This was the case of the subjects in the aforementioned study, where participants had to attend classes on Eid, it not being officially recognized on the calendar. All the five indicators of life stress, language difficulty, challenges from a new culture and accompanying cultural adjustment termed as acculturization stress, academic concerns, financial concerns, and interpersonal difficulties (Misra, Crist and Burant, 2003) are present in the post migration life of migrant students. Stress increases as
adjustment problems of migrant students are more but resources allocated to deal with them are fewer.

Stress literature also looks at various factors associated with or mediators of stress, e.g., the amount of social support experienced by individuals (Thoits, 1982). Social support is a strong coping resource for students experiencing stressful life challenges, like adjusting to strange cultures (Mallinckrodt & Leong, 1992). Many studies have documented the benefit of social support to personal adjustment (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Sarason, et al, 1990). More importantly, the perception of social support alone, rather than actually receiving it, has a stronger influence on mental health (Dunkel-Schetter & Bennett, 1990; Wethington & Kessler, 1986). Thus, perceived social support acts as a mediating variable between stressful demands and responses to these demands. Past studies report that migrant students usually look for help and support from family, friends and other co-nationals (Bulthuis, 1986; Leong & Sedlacek, 1986). However support and deep cross-cultural friendships from fellow local students, is rarely reported (Bulthuis, 1986).

There are gender differences in perceiving stressors, responses to stress and seeking social support. In two separate studies, female college students were found to experience more social support than male college students (Fukuoka & Hashimoto, 1997; Lepore, 1992). Women also reported seeking social support and expressing their feelings more while men dealt with stress by putting in effort to control emotions, accepting the problem and trying to not think about it or putting in efforts to solve it. These findings show that coping techniques and/or coping styles also differ according to gender (Milkie & Thoits, 1993; Pearlin, 1989; Vanfossen, 1986). Moreover, women show more stress responses and higher levels of psychological and emotional distress than men, when intensity or amount of stress was same (Cronkite & Moos, 1984; Kessler & Cleary, 1980; McLeod & Kessler, 1990; Thoits, 1987; Thomas & Williams, 1991).
2.9 SUMMARY

Review of available research on the variables in the present study was done. Research reports and studies giving details of migration, migration statistics and experiences of migrants were chosen for study. There was more focus on studies related to migrant students in the context of the specific variables selected in study. Also those studies which explored relations amongst the variables were given preference. Digital and print resources for accessing research papers and books were used and appropriately cited.

Migration and urbanization are an integral part of the socioeconomic development of any nation. It is important to keep records of people migrating, at international as well as intrastate level. All studies show an increase in the number of migration, from rural to urban and less developed to more developed nations/states. Migration has an impact on development and remittances in the place of origin with poverty reducing and economy developing as well as health and educational outcomes improving. The host country faces the challenges of integrating the migrants, increased competition for jobs. Parochialism and fundamentalism cause migrants to be looked upon with hostility and suspicion.

Factors affecting migration experiences are whether it was voluntary or forced, age of migration, family, language skills and attachment to own culture, transculturation and acculturative stress.

Migrant students are those who move out of the study outside their place of birth or citizenship for more than a year due to some push and pull factors. Studies focus on language related challenges that these students face along with acculturation, psychological and academic adaptation, loneliness, changes in self concept, stress, as well as challenges of adhering to religious practices. Many studies consider the role of learner characteristics and their role in learning outcomes.

Vast body of research on the Big 5 and personality traits show that Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism are stable, universal and comparable traits. The relationship of personality traits with resilience, academic motivation, adjustment, readjustment and stress explored in various studies.
is given. Similarly, research studies related to relationship of resilience, academic motivation, adjustment and stress are discussed. Review of studies about academic motivation, readjustment and stress is done. The association of adjustment and stress as explored by previous studies is discussed. Wherever possible, this is done in light of migrant student or at least ethnic minority student experiences.