CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF THE NEWCOMER AS A SYSTEM

For some years there has been a growing realization among sociologists that the study of "role-conflict" deserves special attention. This realization is based, and rightly so, upon (a) the existence of diverse and even conflicting social norms within the society, not to speak of conflicting norms of different societies, and (b) in a modern complex society an individual often plays a plurality of roles simultaneously. Hence every role incumbent is subject to what is called role conflict or role strain and has to use various social mechanisms to avoid or minimize it. Therefore, every modern individual is faced with the problem of making the role system into some kind of meaningful and articulated whole, just as every modern society is faced with the problem of integration of different role systems. The problem of a "foreign" student, in this instance a migrated student, is a case in point.

Our point of departure is that the sources of strain lie both within the newcomer and in his immediate and

larger environment. However, our main interest is in the sources of strain that lie within the newcomer and in his immediate i.e. the existing environment.

First, since the newcomer's earlier socialization has taken place in a different social system, conformity with the existing norms and values is not very easy. Even if the newcomer strives to conform, the "invisibility" of norms and values often makes him indulge in either over-conformist or under-conformist behaviour. In either case he would be regarded as a deviant. There is also the problem of allocation of limited time, energy, and skill at his disposal. Any over-conformity or under-conformity would thwart the accomplishment of his goal. He is a member of various formal, semi-formal and informal associations in the new environment, which might expect him to perform diverse and conflicting tasks. Mention must also be made here of his continued membership in various associations in his original environment. A conflict is likely to arise between the expectations of the associations in his original environment and those in the new environment. For example, kinship puts a student under obligation to be present on the occasion of the wedding of a close relative that takes place hundreds of miles away from the place where he stays. Unfortunately, if the wedding takes place just before or at the time of his examinations, he cannot be physically present at both the places, not to
The role of a newcomer is not an easy one as he has to carefully allocate his time, energy, skill and money.

Secondly, the role strain stemming from within the newcomer is exacerbated by the existing environment. Every individual is called upon to play multiple roles at the same time and so is the newcomer. There may be different and inconsistent, if not contradictory, norms that define these roles. For example, the training in the N.C.C. (National Cadet Corps analogous to military training) was compulsory for the students in one of the colleges and it was very much resented by the students studied from that college. The student role is defined by the newcomer as having top priority. The roles in other semi-formal associations such as the N.C.C. are of peripheral concern to the newcomer. Thus a strain was created between the norms of quantity and quality, academic excellence and extracurricular activities, immediate and long range gratification. There is also the problem of "role-set" for the newcomer. The problem of multiple roles should not be confused with that of role-set. According to Merton, role-set means "... complement of role relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular social status". Since the particular status of

The newcomer under study is that of a student, it involves not only the role of a student vis-a-vis fellow students, but also a host of other roles such as principal, teachers, library and administrative personnel of the college to whom he is related in several ways as also landlord and neighbours. If the different role incumbents make different demands, the newcomer is compelled to use some social mechanisms, in order to minimize conflict and articulate the role-set. The migrated student is, therefore, likely to face diverse and sometimes conflicting array of role-expectations.

A look at the position accorded to the newcomer in the existing social structure gives a further understanding of the strain faced by him. It hardly needs to be said that unless he minimizes his own inadequacies and the environmental exigencies, he cannot play his role effectively. His educational practice typically involves interaction between two or more individual or collective actors. Furthermore, this interaction takes place within a different social system that spells out the different roles of the participants, prescribes the kinds of behaviour relevant to each of these roles and provides the appropriate sets of values. When the roles are not acted out properly according to the rules laid down by

3. For the mechanisms which serve to articulate the expectations of those in the role-set, see Ibid, pp. 113-117.
the new social structure, the student is subject to strain, and social and cognitive disorganization. The inconsistencies in the expectations of a stranger often exert some pressure on him. The treatment meted out to a stranger can best be explained by the following quotation: "The stranger, while he is welcome, is felt to be a guest, a receiver of hospitality; and his right to be where he is depends on his host's consent. If he stays beyond his welcome, he is looked upon as an intruder, an invader. Thus the newcomer is accorded a uniquely different role in the existing social system. "The conformant behaviour of the stranger, however, is governed by somewhat different dynamics than that of an indigenous individual. This is perhaps due to the fact that the newcomer was not a member of the existing social system and also is not going to be a member as he is most certain to go back. However, the role of a student in a different social system also differs from that of a fleeting tourist who stays for a day or two. The role of a foreign or migrated student is neither permanent nor evanescent. While


in some situations, the newcomer may be given an element of extra permissiveness in adopting his own values, norms, attitudes, etc., in other situations he is expected to conform to the existing values, norms, behavioural patterns, etc. because, however short his sojourn may be, he is treated, for the time being, as a member of the existing social system. Hence the social position and role of the newcomer are moved back and forth and the consequent indefiniteness and inconsistency of expectations present him with the problem of making his role system into a meaningful one. Discussing the position accorded to a stranger, Simmel observes: "Only we do not know how to designate the peculiar unity of this position other than by saying that it is composed of certain measures of nearness and distance." That is, the existing social structure is not consistent and the social pressure on the stranger operates in the contrary directions. Thus the stranger faces what the Wilsons call "muddled opposition". By muddled opposition the Wilsons mean, "... conflicting laws, contradictory concepts and disharmonious conversions are supported by the same people." There are also ordinary


oppositions that occur independently in different relations of the newcomer such as competition in the examinations, games, sports and quarrels between groups of students. These ordinary oppositions are in a way reinforced by the underlying muddled (or radical) oppositions such as religion, caste, region, etc.

On the whole, there seemed to arise four distinctive problems in the articulation of the role system of the newcomer. First, there is the problem of his value orientation to migrate to a different region for higher education and to accept the values and norms of the new social system or subsystem. Second, there is the problem of his membership role in the formal organization of the college and in the wider community. Third, there is the problem of primary role-satisfaction and performance in his academic sphere. Finally, there is the problem of his actively manipulating the available resources and mastering the new environment in order to achieve his goals and interests.

We have so far seen that there are various types and sources of strain to a foreign or migrated student. The question that arises now is: How does he make his role

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8. For the concepts of ordinary and muddled or radical oppositions, see Ibid., pp. 125-135.
system into a meaningful and integrated whole? In answering this question an attempt will be made to analyze the role of the newcomer as a system in the light of the Parsonian Pattern Variables, examining their utility as operational model. Although role is usually regarded as the fundamental and basic unit of a social system, it would be analyzed as a system by itself applying the same systemic concepts with appropriate modifications whenever necessary and possible. As Parsons and others rightly warn, "the distinction between unit and system is, of course, relative. What is a unit in terms of one point of reference may always be treated as a system from another; this view of macroscopic-relationships is fundamental to our whole treatment of action." We may now proceed to understand briefly the Parsonian Model.

The Parsonian Model:

Parsons classifies the components of action system with his conceptual schemes of pattern variables and the

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system problems. First, he classifies the components of
the actor's relation to a situation into two categories, viz.,
orientations to objects and modalities of objects. He
conceptualizes orientations by two pairs of pattern variables
viz., diffuseness-specificity and affectivity-neutrality and
modalities by two other pairs of pattern variables viz.,
quality-performance and universalism-particularism. At this
point, he warns that the pattern variables cannot entirely
account for an action system. So he says that the relation
between orientations and modalities "cannot be random" and
that the actor and the object should share norms in order to
maintain the stability of the system. He further says, "in
analyzing the components of any particular action system,
one must also consider the larger system within which that
action system is embedded. That is, the situation of
the acting unit is related to its surrounding environment
and this relation is mediated through the adaptive subsystem.
Parsons thus presents the action system in a tabular form
(rep indicted in the next page) by dividing it into four
analytically independent subsystems, viz., pattern-maintenance,
goal attainment, integration and adaptation. As can be
seen, the table is divided into four clusters each representing

11. Talcott Parsons, "Pattern Variables Revisited: a
### Table 1

The Components of Action Systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adaptation</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Combinatory</th>
<th>Goal Attainment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adaptive exigencies represented by 'symbolic' meanings of objects</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perf</td>
<td>Part</td>
<td>Modalities of Objects</td>
<td>Particularistic</td>
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<td>Neut</td>
<td>Spec</td>
<td>Objects of Utility</td>
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<tr>
<td>COGNITIVE SYMBALIZATION</td>
<td>EXPRESSIVE SYMBALIZATION</td>
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<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Universalistic</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIV</td>
<td>QUAL</td>
<td>Objects of CATHARSIS</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DIFF</td>
<td>AFF</td>
<td>Integrative Standards for Orientation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXISTENTIAL INTERPRETATION</td>
<td>MORAL-EVALUATIVE SYMBALIZATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Combinatory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral to objects</td>
<td>Affectivity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEUTRALITY</td>
<td>CONSUMMATION NEEDS</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>INTEREST IN INSTRUMENTAL UTILIZATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>Specificity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEEDS FOR COMMITMENT</td>
<td>NEEDS FOR AFFILIATION</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIFFUSENESS</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Pattern Maintenance)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

a subsystem. We may now briefly discuss the cluster taking one after another.

**Pattern-Maintenance**

This subsystem is represented by Cluster-L in which Parsons accommodates "attitudinal" variables of diffuseness-specificity and affectivity-neutrality in terms of which he defines the actor's orientations to objects. The actor may orient to objects because of either "consummatory" interest or "instrumental" interest. The two orientations are mutually exclusive in the sense that both "cannot be maximized at the same time". The fact that orientation of an actor is based either on "need" for such a relationship or on "need" for help reveals "... whether the primary reference is to the relation of the acting system to its environment or its own internal properties and equilibrium."

When the primary reference is to the internal needs of the acting system, the orientations are coloured by diffuseness. When the primary reference is to the relation of the acting system, the orientations are coloured by specificity. When the two pairs of orientational pattern-variables are cross-cut, we get four types of orientations to objects, viz., "consummatory needs", "needs for affiliation", "interest in instrumental utilization", and "needs for commitment".

12. Ibid., p. 471.
Goal Attainment:

This subsystem is represented by Cluster-6 in which the "modality" set of pattern variables, viz., particularism-universalism and performance quality are accommodated. These pattern variables delineate the relationship of the actor to the object. According to the action system, the relationship between the actor and the object may be either "particularistic" or "universalistic" by nature. Similarly, in a given situation, the relationship between the actor and the object may be based either on its "performance" or "quality". That is, the meaning the object may be based either on what it is or on what it does. When these two pattern variables are cross-cut, we get four types of objects, viz., "objects of cathexis", "objects of utility", "objects of identification", and "objects of generalized respect".

Integration:

The integrative subsystem demands stability in an action system. When the paramount functional problem is adaptive, stability depends upon universalism and specificity. If goal-attainment is the paramount problem of an action system, stability depends upon performance and affective neutrality. If the paramount problem of an action system is integration, stability depends upon universalism and diffuseness. Finally, if pattern maintenance is the paramount
problem of an action system, stability depends upon quality and affectivity. Thus combination of pattern variables define the appropriate norms for the interaction of units in the system.

Adaptation:

As has been pointed out earlier, adaptation subsystem refers to the wider system within which an action system is inherent. The adaptive significance of objects is symbolized by categorizing them in terms of their performance and affective neutrality. This pattern Parsons prefers to call "cognitive symbolization". While symbolizing and categorizing objects, specificity and universalism are to be taken into consideration. This he prefers to call "expressive symbolization". While symbolizing and categorizing norms external to the system, quality and affectivity are to be taken into consideration. This he prefers to call "moral-evaluative categorization". Finally, while symbolizing and categorizing the significance of "sources of normative authority", universalism and diffuseness are to be taken into consideration. This he prefers to call "existential interpretation". However, Parsons emphasizes "symbolization" in adaptive and goal-attainment categories and "categorization" in integrative and pattern-maintenance categories.
It is obvious from the foregoing Model that Parsons gives the functional problems of an action system at a highly generalized level by utilizing the concepts such as “needs”, “identification”, “cathexis”, etc. It is, therefore, necessary to modify some of the concepts that would be applicable to our level of analysis, i.e., role as a system.

The Modified Model:

As has already been pointed out, the functional problems are essentially the same both at the macroscopic and microscopic level. Therefore, an attempt to analyze the role of a newcomer by shifting the level of analysis seems to be right. Although we shift the level of analysis, the logical analysis will be kept as intact as possible. First, take Cluster-I representing the pattern-maintenance subsystem. In this cluster Parsons utilizes the concept “need” which has a generalized connotation. We may replace it by “need-disposition” so that its reference is confined to the level of individual personality of the migrated student. Similarly, in the Cluster-I representing integration subsystem, Parsons utilizes the highly generalized terms of “adaptation”, “goal-

attainment", "integration" and "pattern maintenance". Since our focus is on the individual, we may affix "expectations" to the Parsons' terminology so that we will have "adaptive expectations", "goal-attainment expectations", "integrative expectations" and "pattern-maintenance expectations". In the Cluster-6 representing goal-attainment subsystem, Parsons utilises the concepts like objects of utility, of cathexis, of identification and of utility which again indicate the highly generalized scheme. We may replace "objects of utility" by "learning and performance" and "objects of cathexis" by "rewards and attitudes", and "objects of identification" by "incentives" and lastly "objects of generalized respect" by "commitment for the existing system process". Finally, in the Cluster-4 representing adaptive subsystem we may take the concepts utilized by Parsons as they are. We may thus present the modified model in a tabular form (See Table-2) and explicate the four clusters representing four subsystems.

It may be remembered that the two bottom clusters viz., Cluster-I and Cluster-I refer to the structural components of action. Cluster-I formulates the value-component towards commitment. Cluster-I formulates the relative primacy of expectations and arranges their orderly performance. The two top clusters viz., Cluster-G and Cluster-A refer to the procedural aspect of action. Cluster-G formulates action as oriented to rewards. Cluster-A formulates the system as adapted to the environment.
### TABLE-2

**Role System of the New-comer**

*(Based on the Parsonian Model)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cognitive Symbolization</strong></td>
<td><strong>Expressive Interpretation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Learning and Performance</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rewards and Attitudes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Existential Interpretation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Moral Evaluative Categorization</strong></td>
<td><strong>Commitment for the Existing System Process</strong></td>
<td><strong>Incentives</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cognitive Need-dispositions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Catalectic Need-dispositions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Adaptive Expectations</strong></td>
<td><strong>Goal-Attainment Expectations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commitment Need-dispositions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Evaluative Need-dispositions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pattern Maintenance Expectations</strong></td>
<td><strong>Integrative Expectations</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen from Table-2 each cluster is divided into four cells and while explaining, the order L-I-G-A will be followed both with respect to clusters and cells.

Cluster-I:

Every role incumbent should have adequate motivational commitment toward role-acceptance. As one of the students puts it one should behave like a Roman when one is in Rome. This motivational commitment does not refer to innate tendencies but to the tendencies acquired through the process of action to orient and act in such a way as to establish cathected relationships to goal objects. So the first cell of the Cluster-I refers to the most generalized value-commitment to migrate to a different State and pursue higher education. At this level the value need-disposition is undifferentiated toward any specific role. It should, however, be remembered that the motivational commitment differs from one student to another. The student may find various alternatives or sources available in the new environment. It is, therefore, up to him to evaluate the differential opportunities according to his need-dispositions system and to accept the relative hierarchy or primacy. Thus one cell in Cluster-I represents the evaluative need-dispositions. Different migrated students may have different goals. However, for the large majority of them educational
achievement was the primary goal. Cathetic need-dispositions are those which motivate the actor to choose a particular goal and to try to achieve maximum satisfaction. The cathetic need-dispositions are represented by a third cell. Finally, there are cognitive need-dispositions which will give a clear cognition or perception of the different possible means objects or alternatives so that the goal attainment would be possible for the actor.

Cluster-I:

This cluster representing integrative subsystem is at the focus of social system reference. The different expectations accommodated in this cluster are those prescribed by the values of the existing social system in which the newcomer finds himself. The "pattern maintenance expectations" cell puts a premium on accepting the relative hierarchy of the system of expectations. Similarly, the "integrative expectations" cell puts premium on the relative primacy of the expectations of the previous in a generalized pattern.

Cluster-C:

All action is goal-oriented. The "commitment for the existing system process" cell refers to the actor's disposition towards goal attainment activity. The existing system as a going concern provides the general activity to
achieve the goal. But the disposition of the actor towards goal attainment depends upon the different incentives available in the system. If there are sufficient incentives, the actor performs his role with greater efficiency. So the "incentives" cell refers to the greater efficiency of the actor. But the efficient performance of the actor should be in conformity with the expectations of alter. That is, the actor's performance revolves around sanctions which are both positive and negative. If the actor fulfills alter's expectations, positive sanctions or rewards are employed on him and negative sanctions or punishments will be imposed if the actor fails to fulfill alter's expectations. Hence the "sanctions" cell refers to the sanctions which are both positive and negative. Thus the actor is compelled to conform to alter's expectations in order to avoid negative sanctions and gain positive ones or rewards. This is possible for the actor by learning and efficient performance. Hence the "learning and performance" cell refers to this fact.

Cluster-A :

The adaptive cluster refers to the mechanisms through which the actor adapts to the new environment in which he interacts. The cognitive task symbolization cell refers to the newcomer's understanding of the objects cognitively. The expressive symbolization cell refers to
the newcomer's goal orientation on the basis of specific and universalistic relations to the objects. In the evaluative task categorization, the newcomer accepts the hierarchy of the externally given object-system. The hierarchy of the object-system and its generalized meaning give the existential task interpretation.

Now that the scheme has been explained, we may proceed to illustrate, wherever possible, with the help of data.

**Pattern Maintenance:**

As has been pointed out earlier, a migrated student or newcomer has to internalize the relevant norms and values of the existing social system. This would be possible through the process of pattern maintenance. There are various mechanisms of socialization such as college, peer groups, regional associations, local families with which the students come into contact that ensure the process of pattern maintenance. A migrated student might feel that studying in a college is purely his personal concern. This is, however, far from truth in reality. There are definite norms regarding college attendance, punctuality, home-work, tutorials, examinations and so on. Even the informal expectation such as how a student should dress would be taken cognizance of by the fellow-students and, at times, by the teachers as well. Another student might be tempted to
indulge in deviant activities due to his assumed anonymity, but various mechanisms of social control exert pressure on him. The students of his own State would reprimand him in order to counteract his deviant tendencies. This happened in the case of a couple of students. The methods applied ranged from joking and ridiculing to excommunicating.

There are various regional associations in Poona such as Andhra Association, Karnataka Association, West Bengal Association, etc. formed by the general migrants as well as the students hailing from the respective regions. Of the 514 students, 176 (about 35.0 per cent) were the members of their respective regional associations in Poona. These associations function more or less like clubs. It is mainly in these associations that the students come into contact with the elders of their region. Some of them gradually get acquainted with the families of the general immigrants and address them as "uncle", "aunt", "brother", and the like. For example, of the 514 students, 231 (46.0 per cent) were visiting the families in Poona on festive occasions, holidays or whenever felt bored, etc. Of the 231 students 140 were visiting the families which hailed from their own State, 60 local families, 14 neither local nor host State families and the rest were visiting both local and host State families. In fact, as many as 215 students were addressing the members of the families they visited as "uncle", "aunt" and such other kinship terms although they
were not actually related. This kind of relationship not only reduces their emotional strain but also brings them under the direct parent-like supervision that checks their deviant tendencies. There were also various peer groups in the colleges, classes, hostels, etc., which acted both as agencies of socialization and social control. Although the socialization and social control functions of the student's family and kin in the original environment would be residual, their importance should not be ruled out. However, as mentioned earlier, our interest/in the new environment. We have so far seen the various mechanisms of socialization and social control in the existing social system. But more important are the student's motivational commitment, capacity, earlier socialization and other background factors.

The students under study were, of course, already aware of the nature of the college achievement i.e. the emphasis on performance rather than on quality for all of them had spent several years in school and college. This awareness of emphasis on achievement orientation would help them in successfully performing their student role. When asked whether they would be given any extra favour in the examinations for being newcomers, 99.9 per cent answered in the negative. There are also various factors such as intelligence, perseverance, hard work, work habits, etc., which may be emphasized as basic need-dispositions for
commitment to be a student in a different environment. In the first term, out of 504 students, 53 students were putting in 3 hours of work, 183 students 3-4 hours of work and as many as 248 students over 4 hours of work outside the class hours. In the second term, the students increased the work hours considerably. For example 45 students were putting in 3 hours of work, 68 students 3-4 hours of work and 369 students over 4 hours of work in the second term. This clearly shows their perseverance and hard work. We have seen in the foregoing chapter that students who had already lived away from home/state obtained an optimum of gratification more readily and easily than those who came out of their home and state for the first time. Thus the capacity to cope with new and different situations differed from one student to another. He has to learn to differentiate new and different norms and try to endure when they are incompatible. Earlier socialization, perseverance, hard work, capacity to cope with or endure the new and different situations would help them in achieving cathetic need-dispositions of the educational process. Lastly, out of 504 students, only about 16 students failed to show respect and reverence for the teachers, tolerance, decision-making, consideration and cooperation in relation to fellow students which may be regarded as cognitive need-dispositions.
As has been pointed out earlier, the integration subsystem refers to the formal organization of the college and the wider community. Structurally, a migrated student is one of the students community which includes students from home and host States as well as students from different parts of the country. The composition of the students differed from one college to another which has consequences for the functional problems of the role of a migrated student. Besides students, there are administrative and library personnel and, of course, teachers ranging from tutor and demonstrator to the heads of various departments. A migrated student is expected to maintain his relationships with different role incumbents according to the existing norms. Although students and teachers in a college come and go, the norms that regulate and maintain the relationships are relatively stable. Hence every student, including the migrated student, is expected to maintain the stable pattern of relationships in conformity with the existing norms. In the integrative expectations cell could be subsumed various social relations which promote the process of integration of units and subunits of the system. Of the 594 students, 66 selected their friends from host State students, 66 from home State students, 34 from both the States, 42 from other than home and host States, and 119 from all the States.
Of the 544 students, 47 students had friends of opposite sex from the host State students, 59 from the home State students, 7 from both the States, 31 from other than home and host State students and 67 had from all the States. Personal friendship between different individual students may be regarded as the most significant instrument of integration of different groups of students. A good number of students, no doubt, confined their friendship only to the home state students. It could also be regarded as an index of the process of integration since only 26 of the 88 students who had friends from home State students knew some or all of them prior to coming. It was only in the new environment that they became lasting friends. The goal attainment expectations obviously include curricular and extra-curricular attainments. Of the 544 students, 65 regarded their good performance in the terminal or annual examinations as the best experience in the new environment and 102 regarded their poor performance as worst experience. This means that both the categories of students emphasised curricular attainments. The fact that none of the students regarded extracurricular activity as the best or worst experience indicates little or no emphasis on extracurricular attainments. Of the 504 students, only 7 were members of Athletic Associations, 3 were members of Debating Associations, 4 were members of Dramatic Associations, 2 were members of Literary Associations, 8 were members of social service
League and 26 were members of more than one association in the Colleges. Only 17 were members of clubs outside the college campus. The adaptive expectations include active adjustment to the physical conditions such as climate, food, accommodation. We have seen in an earlier chapter that almost all the students liked the salubrious climate of Poona and some students endured the inconvenience caused by food and accommodation. The migrated students is also expected to cope with new course, syllabus and standards. Hard work and perseverance were the main mechanisms applied by the students. In addition, the students borrowed and exchanged books, notes and views from various students irrespective of their regional affiliation. The contacts thus established have implications for integration.

Goal Attainment:

In the goal attainment subsystem the primary is on instrumental interest. In the case of the migrated student educational attainment, at least in the overtly symbolized grades, may be regarded as the main goal. However, the goal has to be achieved with various other components of the existing social structure and the migrated student has to evolve ways and means whereby the goal can be achieved at any cost. One migrated student may try to evoke favourable attitudes of his teachers, another may try to obtain their
sympathy and yet a third may try to emulate other students in the subject matter by hard work and perseverance. That is, the motivational factors of all students converge at one point, viz., goal attainment.

Under commitment to the existing system process can be discussed the motivation of the migrated student to real involvement. But, as we have already seen, a large number of students refrained from real involvement because of their peripheral social location, their own inadequacies such as the lack of knowledge of the local language and the fear that any over dose of involvement would thwart the accomplishment of their goals and interests. There are various incentives which further the process of goal attainment. A word of praise from teachers for good performance by a student could be an incentive. The grades given to the students on the basis of their performance in the examinations could be incentives. Incentives are interlinked in the sense that success in one situation leads to success in another situation. Impartial evaluation of the students' performance is an incentive. As many as 86.9 per cent of the students regarded the evaluation of their performance by the teachers as impartial. The process of goal attainment is realized by twin processes of learning and performance. There are various facilities such as lectures, seminars, formal and informal discussions to facilitate the process
of learning. There are also several monthly and terminal examinations which further the process of performance of the students so that a student whose performance is poor in one examination may strive to do better in a subsequent examination. Thus the twin processes of learning and performance help the migrated student in the goal attainment.

**Adaptation:**

A probe was also made into the interpersonal and intergroup relationships of the migrated students in the existing environment. The analysis of these relationships revealed a primacy of instrumental interest. As can be seen in detail in the next chapter, a greater percentage of the students exchanged books, notes, views, etc., without regard to their regional affiliation. But a greater percentage of the students preferred the home-state students for such occasions as recreation, borrowing money, etc. In fact, inter-regional relationships among the students increasingly come into existence in this particular subsystem of adaptation. The process of adaptation was made possible for the migrated student by the existing environment by providing various facilities. It was upto the migrated students to manipulate these facilities effectively and master the environment.
In the subsystem of adaptation, a migrated student has to come to terms with the entire existing environment. The success or failure to adapt depends upon various factors. As we have seen already, students with earlier experience of living away from home/state met the situation and controlled their own feeling states more effectively than the students who came out of their home/state for the first time. By and large, the students were aware of the caste hierarchy, the hierarchy of teachers and so on. This we may call their moral-evaluative task categorization. The expressive task orientation demands the migrated student to refrain from discrimination, differentiation, groupism, etc. There may be different groups or factions among the teachers or among the students. He must refrain from taking sides with one group or faction against another. Through cognitive task orientation, a migrated student encourages the residents to know more about him and his region. It is in this cell he acts as an unofficial spokesman of his region. He is eager to say about the development of his own region and its role in the national development at large. We often come across students who boast that important national leaders sprang from their region or that their region produces the maximum quantity of wheat or paddy and thus helps the nation in solving food problem, and so on.
In the foregoing lines an attempt was made to analyze the role of the newcomer as a system. In doing so, we ventured to apply the Parsonian frame-work which delineates different components of action in the role of a migrated student. The four subsystems were both independent and interdependent. They were interdependent in the sense that the stresses and strains produced in one subsystem would considerably affect the functioning of the next subsystem. They were independent in the sense that each subsystem was a boundary maintaining subsystem.

The fact that the Parsonian Model has been elaborated upon does not mean that it has been used in its entirety to analyze and explain the field data. The scheme is, however, worked out here only to provide a context for the analytical approach. It is my intention to pursue this at a later date.