The present chapter proposes to throw some light on the reference group behaviour of the migrated students. Reference Group Theory is of particular use in understanding cathetic and evaluative orientations of any newcomer. Before anything could be said about the behaviour and evaluations of the migrated students under study, it would be useful to recapitulate briefly certain important features of the Theory.

It has long been established that one's own group provides social frame of reference for one's behaviour and evaluations. However, it is only recently that the impact of an out-group on one's behaviour, attitudes, opinions and beliefs has been brought into light. Although Reference Group Theory accounts for both the orientations, its special concern rests with the orientations of individuals to groups other than their own.¹

Reference groups, either one's own groups or out-groups, can influence an individual's behaviour in two ways.

On the one hand, reference groups motivate an individual to internalize their norms, to identify himself with them, and to strive to become a member of these groups if he does not already belong to them. But, on the other hand, reference groups also motivate an individual to deviate from their norms, to refuse to identify himself with them and to relinquish his membership if he is already a member of them. The former are called positive reference groups and the latter negative reference groups. Thus an individual may aspire to embrace the membership of a positive reference group, if he is not already a member, and identify himself with it. Or, an individual may aspire to relinquish the membership of a negative reference group, whether or not he is already a member, and refuse to identify himself with it. "Such identifications and aspirations influence his behaviour, his attitudes towards other people, and his evaluations of himself, and his own role and positions as well as those of others."

We may now proceed to examine the behaviour and

2. For an excellent distinction between positive and negative reference groups, see Ibid., p. 300.

evaluations of the migrated students in terms of Reference Group Theory.

It is fairly obvious that interaction in a different social system or group would exert the strongest influence on the mind and behaviour of the newcomer. In the process of interaction, the reactions of the residents to the newcomer inculcate a sense of the self in relation to the residents. This is what Cooley calls "looking glass self." That is, it provides an opportunity to evaluate himself as well as others. This evaluation by the newcomer guides and controls his behaviour and orientations in the existing environment. Therefore, the migrated student's experiences in the existing environment can be said to be the most important determinants of the frame of reference through which he perceives, interprets and evaluates. It would, therefore, be of interest to know whether or not the educational sojourn in a different linguistic state within the country evokes or fosters a true national spirit: a desire to understand each other in a proper perspective that should transcend provincial boundaries. The newcomer, through his participation in the existing group, becomes aware of the prevailing norms and values, which is the necessary condition of reference group behaviour. His awareness or perception of the new

group, its members, values and norms depend upon the channels of communication. The attitudes of migrated students along the provincial-national continuum seem to give us a clue to find out the fostering of national spirit. Reference Group Theory acts as a handy tool to study the impact of educational sojourn in a different state on the mind and behaviour of a student.

From the very beginning of his arrival, a migrated student interacts face-to-face with a set of new people, including some coming from his own linguistic region, who act in different roles in the new environment. In this face-to-face interaction, which is more effective than a distant interaction, he builds up a set of roles of his own response to his treatment acted out by the new people. While there is no denying the fact that interaction of an individual in a different group evokes greater harmonious and friendly attitudes, accommodation and integration, there is no reason to believe that it would not develop indifferent, negative and even hostile attitudes towards one another. The expected cooperation may not be forthcoming while there may actually be conflict. The outcome of the interaction in a different group again depends not only upon the demands and conditions of the existing group but also upon the personal traits such as the attitudes, motives, and complexes of the newcomer.
That is, not only the character structure of the newcomer - his cognition, expectations and the selection he makes from different aspects of the new situation - that influences his response but also "... the situation as a set of opportunities for different expressive or instrumental gratification and of possible threats of deprivation must be regarded as a co-determinant of behaviour in the here and now." It may also be pointed out that when an individual interacts in a different group, he is much more influenced by the new group than vice-versa for the newcomer perceives the existing group as an organised whole. He comes into close contact with the attitudes and patterns of behaviour of the members of the new group and its social norms and values. But it is very different for the resident to evaluate his own group vis-a-vis that of the newcomer for he finds only a handful of individual members of a linguistic or regional group and not an organised group as such. Further, the individual migrated students cannot be regarded as a proper cross-section of a particular region for the simple reason that they represent only a social category vis-a-vis, students. We are, therefore,

concerned with the influence of interaction of a student in a different state on the student. Before we proceed further the structure of the situation in which the migrated student finds himself may briefly be discussed even at the risk of repetition.

When an individual is all of a sudden projected, either temporarily or permanently, from one group into another, he feels estranged, insecure, alienated and disconnected from his family, caste, kinship and community. He feels extremely anxious and cries before he is hurt. He is deprived of his accustomed amenities and warmth in the new group. The norms of the new group become less "visible". He feels that he is in a state of dysphoria. He lacks the knowledge of the local language and various other local patterns of behaviour and as a result he not only hesitates to structure his relations with new and appropriate persons but also withdraws from his expressive and instrumental involvement in the new group. He depends, especially in the incipient stages, on a set of people speaking the same language, having the same patterns of behaviour and facing the same kinds of problems as he does. He finds some sort of refuge among the people of his kind. One should not hasten, with this much proof on hand, to draw a conclusion that the host group has become a negative reference group to the newcomer. Because of the complexity
involved in the new situation, the individual finds it difficult to sort out his priority goals. "The different goals become discrete, and to some extent disorganised." The newcomer sometimes perceives, either rightly or wrongly, threats of deprivation. He feels that he is deprived in the allocation of roles, facilities and rewards which he is entitled to. This feeling of deprivation again tempts him to withdraw from real involvement in the new group. People facing the same threat of deprivation come to form a clique or collectivity. In the extreme case, the new group may become a negative reference group to such a clique or collectivity.

Care should also be taken regarding the initiation of and temporary identification with the interests and patterns of behaviour of the residents by the newcomer in order to evoke favourable responses of the residents and to manipulate the reward system. It has been observed that migrated students imitate the local patterns of life and identify themselves with the local people in their bid to manipulate the attitudes of the residents and the allocation of facilities, roles and rewards. Through his initiation and temporary identification, the newcomer tries to change the motivational orientations of the

residents. Furthermore, a great deal of insulation, an important mechanism of social control, has been observed among the migrated students. That is, the negative, at times hostile, attitudes towards the residents are sealed off so that their consequences are reduced to the minimum. What is intended to say is that care should be taken to distinguish between temporary or more or less permanent reference group behaviour of any newcomer.

How the problem is how to find out the attitudes and reference orientations of the migrated students? We propose to find out the attitudes and orientations of the migrated students on the basis of (a) their initial disposition to the new environment or group, (b) their choice of associates in various situations and on various occasions in the new group and (c) their attitudes toward being migrated to the new group.

A. Initial Disposition: It would be of interest to know the initial disposition of the migrated students to the new environment in order to evaluate their attitudes, behaviour and reference orientations. The information with regard

to the initial disposition was obtained by the responses of the students to the query: What was your immediate reaction after coming to Poona? Table A-1 shows the division of students according to their initial disposition to the new environment. It further shows that a large majority of the students (65.9 per cent) were favourably disposed to the new environment in contrast to 13.4 per cent of the students who were not favourably disposed. Seven students did not respond to the query, while 9.3 per cent of the students were rather indifferent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Disposition</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very happy</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither happy nor unhappy</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unhappy</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-response</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>504</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may now be seen, by juxtaposing, whether the "push" and "pull" factors have any association with the initial disposition of the students to the new environment. Table A-2 shows the initial disposition of the students
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Push&quot; Factors</th>
<th>Initial Disposition</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very happy: Happy: Neither: Unhappy: Very unhappy:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could not gain admission</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject was not taught</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanted a 'change'</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer of parents</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple reasons</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
according to different "push" factors. First, it may be observed from Table A-2 that out of 504 students, 122 (24.2 per cent) could not gain admission into the colleges or universities in their own state; the subject which 64 (12.7 per cent) students wanted to pursue was not taught in any of the universities in their own state; 115 (22.8 per cent) students wanted a 'change'; the parents of 36 (7.1 per cent) students were transferred from their original places; 151 (30.9 per cent) students left their states for more than one reason and 16 (3.2 per cent) students did not respond to the query.

Table A-2 further shows that the initial disposition of the students to the new environment varied considerably according to different "push" factors. For instance, 15.7 per cent of the students who wanted a 'change' as compared with 8.3 per cent of the students whose parents were transferred from their original places, were "very happy" immediately after their arrival. Similarly, 61.6 per cent of the students who wanted a 'change', as compared with 42.6 per cent of the students who could not gain admission into the colleges or universities in their own states, were "happy" immediately after their arrival. On the whole it may be said that students who left their home states voluntarily were relatively well disposed than the students who had to
leave because of lack of opportunities in their home states and the students who had to leave for multiple reasons.

If a student intends to go out of his state, for one reason or another, he is at liberty to go to any state in the country. But he goes to a particular university in a particular state for various factors which are called "pull" factors. His disposition in the new environment is to a large extent governed by these "pull" factors or expectations. It is, therefore, meaningful if we juxtapose the initial disposition of the students with the "pull" factors.

Table A-3 shows the initial disposition of the students according to different "pull" factors. It is obvious from Table A-3 as well as from Table A-2 that a large majority of the students were initially well disposed. It may first be observed that out of 194 students, 65 (12.9 per cent) came to Foona for reason of easy and liberal admissions into the colleges and university, 31 (6.2 per cent) for the reason that their friends/relatives were already in Foona; the reputation of some individual professors and colleges in Foona attracted 50 (9.9 per cent) students; proximity prompted 14 (2.8 per cent) students to come to Foona. 34 (6.7 per cent) students of the Armed Forces Medical College mentioned that they were left with
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Full&quot; Factors</th>
<th>Initial Disposition</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very happy</td>
<td>Happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy admissions</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends/relatives</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reputation of Professors/Colleges</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No other go</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than one reason</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
no alternative as the college - the only institute of its kind - was located in Poona; 76 (5.2 per cent) students were pulled by the salubrious climate of Poona; 235 (52.0 percent) mentioned multiple reasons and 19 (3.8 per cent) students did not respond.

As can be seen from Table A-3, the initial disposition of the students varied according to different "pull" factors. For example, 44.3 per cent of the students who were pulled by the Poona climate, as compared with 7.1 per cent of the students who came for proximity reasons, were initially "very happy". Similarly, 18.0 per cent of the students who were attracted by the reputation of some individual professors and colleges in Poona, as compared with 10.8 per cent of the students who came for reasons of easy and liberal admissions into colleges, were initially "very happy." On the whole it may be said that the initial disposition of the students who came for reasons of climate, reputation of the professors and colleges, and that of the students whose friends/relatives were already in Poona was better than that of the students who came for reasons of easy admissions into the colleges, close proximity, etc.

F. Choice of Associates: Geographical mobility typically poses various problems including the dilemma of choice of one's associates. As has been aptly pointed out by
Blau, "entering and maintaining interpersonal relations involves decision making and choosing between alternatives." The migrated student also encounters the problem of evaluating and choosing his associates for various situations and occasions from the available individuals or groups of individuals. "When people meet, each one classifies the other, evaluates him and his significance for himself, and decides whether to associate with him further." The choice of one's associates is undoubtedly an index of one's reference groups and the direction of social adjustment.

"Every member of a collectivity looks up to some of his fellows more than to others, decides to ask some rather than others for help, bestows his affection upon a select few, and singles out some, but not all as social companions." Hence a word of caution is in order. In a multi-lingual society like our own, common language plays an important role in the process of communication and in the choice of one's associates. Lack of knowledge

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
of the local language is bound to militate against the choice of one's associates from the residents. Differently put, one tends to choose associates from the same linguistic group to which one belongs. Although many university students in India speak English with an appreciable fluency, they prefer to live their personal lives in terms of their vernacular languages. It has often been observed that the students speaking the same language weld into a close knit group in the new environment. A student, when asked why he always moved with the students of his state, said, "you know, we speak in our mother tongue without fear or hesitation. Whenever we come together and speak in our mother tongue we feel at home." However, language is not the only common criterion for bringing the students of a particular linguistic state together. There are various other factors too. For example, when the students belonging to the same state get together they discuss various economic, employment, food and political problems pertaining to their state. Furthermore, the confinement of the newcomer to his own linguistic group in respect of choice of associates has indeed a utilitarian aspect. One student said, "I can count on them (students belonging to his state) whenever I need anything." There are, of course, common problems in the new environment.

The data revealed that different associates were
chosen by the migrated students for different situations and occasions. As has already been pointed out, from the very beginning of his arrival, a migrated student counts upon the students from his state as instrumentality for the fulfillment of his needs. Immediately after their arrival, out of 504 students, 65 stayed with students from their states, 12 with the local students, 4 with other than home state and resident students, 25 with relatives and the rest stayed either in private lodges or college hostels. In respect of admission into the colleges, 63 students were helped by the home state students, 18 by the host state students, 7 by other than home and host state students and the rest were helped by themselves or by their relatives or secured admission before coming. In securing accommodation, 82 students turned to the home state students, 33 to the host state students, 8 to other than home and host state students and the rest either secured admission into the hostels prior to coming or they found for themselves. In respect of day-to-day facilities such as laundry, barber, post-office, etc., 92 students were guided by the home state students, 67 by the host state students, 9 by other than home and host state students and the rest by different people. A close observation reveals that although a large number of students turned, especially in the beginning, to the home state students on
various occasions, there was a steady increase in the number of students turning to the host state students, which fact may be noted.

We may now turn to the migrated students' choice of associates for definite activity or situation. One of the important indications of their liking or disliking certain groups of people may be found by the choice of their room-mates. Ninety two students were sharing the room with the home state students, 113 with the host state students, 18 with both, 92 with other than home and host state students, 156 with "all" and 21 did not share the room. It may be pointed out that many students did not choose their room-mates because in the college hostels students are not consulted in the distribution of students to different rooms. Therefore, the students were further asked to indicate their preference as to whom (on the basis of linguistic region) they wanted as room-mates. The preferred choice differed from that of the existing pattern. While 92 students were actually sharing the room with the home state students, 121 preferred to share with them. Thus there was an increase in the number of students who preferred to share the room with home state students. While 113 students were actually sharing the room with the host state students, 83 preferred to share with them. Thus there was a decrease in the number
of students who preferred to share the room with the host state students. While 92 students were sharing the room with other than host and home state students, only 51 preferred them. This decrease clearly shows that they preferred either home state or host state students to others. While 156 students were sharing the room with "all", 136 were prepared to share with all. Finally, while 21 students were not sharing the room, 25 did not want to share. What can be inferred from this? First, there was an increase in the number of students who preferred home state students as room-mates. But that was by no means the largest number. The largest number was that of the students who were actually sharing the room with "all" as well as who preferred all. Although there was some decrease in the number of students who preferred the host state students as room-mates, it was the third largest number. This is significant in itself. Thus there was an order of preference viz., all (national), home state and host state students.

We may now proceed to another situation in which the migrated students were at liberty to choose associates. While going to college or library or laboratory, students usually go with their friends or at least with those whom they like. Out of 524 students, 96 were going mostly with the home state students, 68 with the host state students,
42 with other than home and host state students, 15 with both, 238 with all and 53 students were going mostly alone. Here again there was a clear pattern of choice viz., national, home state and host state.

Men have preferences for certain people even in respect of leisure time activities. In the leisure time activities such as while going to a movie or for a stroll, 148 students were usually going with home state students, 67 students with host state students, 16 with both, 36 with other than home and host state students, 194 with all and 28 were going mostly alone. Although there was a significant preference for the home state students in the leisure time activities, the order of preference remained the same.

Men are everywhere interdependent. This is particularly true of students. They often are required to exchange books, notes, views, etc. Here again students show preference to friends, close associate, etc. which would reflect their group preferences. Out of 504 students, 75 were exchanging books, notes, views, etc. mostly with home state students. Thus there was a decrease in the number of students who preferred home state students in this situation. Seventy students were exchanging mostly with host state students, 43 with both, 68 with other than home and host state students, 216 with all and 35 students
were not exchanging. In this activity also, the order of preference remained unbroken.

Let us pass on to another activity of borrowing or lending money which again shows group preferences. One hundred forty five students were borrowing from or lending to the home state students. But only 52 were doing so with host state students, 19 with both, 28 with other than home and host state students and 165 with all such as "whoever lends", or "whoever asks for". Of the remainder, 31 were borrowing mostly from relatives and the rest were "not in the habit of borrowing", "no need to borrow", etc. Here again the order of preference remained intact.

When the students are particularly away from parents or guardians they need someone to suggest and advise them in various matters. Hence they are prone to look to certain people for suggestions and advices which again shows their preference for group affiliation. There was, however, no clear pattern in this situation. As many as 116 students preferred to seek suggestions and advices from their parents or guardians even though they were far away from them; 105 students preferred home state students, 71 preferred their teachers who were mostly the local people; 35 preferred host state students; 32 preferred other than host and home state students and
the rest preferred "close friends", "boy friend", "girl friend", "relatives", "elders", and such other persons for advice and suggestion. Although none of the students mentioned that they seek suggestions and advices from all, the number of students who preferred the host state teachers and students is quite large.

We have so far discussed the choice of associates by the migrated students in specific situations. We may also have a look at the choice of associates for diffuse relations viz., friendship. In India peer group and friendship relations often seem to be limited to family, caste, kin and community. But when the students are away from these groups, it becomes inevitable for them to carefully choose their friends in the new environment which again gives a clue to their preference groups. Out of 504 students, 88 had friends from home state students, 68 from host state students, 33 from both, 42 from other than home and host state students and 119 from all the states. Among the remainder, 135 students clearly mentioned that they did not have friends in the new environment, probably because they were in the incipient stages of their sojourn and 19 students did not respond. Of the 88 students who had friends from home state students, 26 already knew some or all prior to coming. The important places for friendship formation were the hostels, class-
rooms and colleges in that order. Thus far all choice of friends was among the same sex. The cross-sex friendship was not as prevalent as that of the same sex. Fifty five students had friends of opposite sex from home state students, 47 from the host state students, 7 from both, 31 from other than home and host state students and 67 students from all states. Of the 55 students who had friends of opposite sex from home state students, 31 already knew some or all prior to coming. The important places for cross-sex friendship formation were the colleges, classrooms, and social and cultural associations - in that order. Even in the choice of friends the order of preference remained the same.

The students were further asked as to whom they would prefer to have as friends on the basis of region or state. There was a shift in the usual order of choice of associates for various situations and occasions. Out of 504 students, 165 preferred home state students. One girl student said: "Although I have no hatred for others, I prefer to have friends from my own state." Ninety-five students preferred host state students, 27 from both, 34 from other than home and host state students and for 120 students region or state was not the criterion in the selection of friends. "You will find black sheep everywhere," "State should not be the basis for friendship," etc.
were the comments made by the students who did not mind having friends from any part of the country. Although there was a change in the order of preference, the number of students who preferred to have friends from the host state students remained the third largest.

C. Attitudes toward being migrated: It would be of use to know how did the students feel about being migrated in general in order to evaluate their attitudes, behaviour and reference orientations. This could be found by the responses of the students to such questions as: How did you feel after having come to Poona for study? Have you ever thought of leaving Poona? If yes, on what occasion? Suppose you have a chance to change the university, would you prefer to go? If yes, to which university? Are you willing to stay here more than what you have expected? Do you encourage or discourage students of your state to come to Poona for study? All these questions were included in the questionnaire.

Table C-1 shows the division of students according to their attitudes toward being migrated. These were the responses of the students to the enquiry:

Having come to Poona for study you are:
As can be seen from Table C-1 a vast majority of the students (75.6 per cent) expressed positive attitudes toward being migrated in contrast to 19.4 per cent of the students who expressed negative attitudes. While 4.4 per cent of the students were rather indifferent, only 0.6 per cent did not respond. In fact, the number of students (75.6 per cent) whose attitudes toward being migrated is significantly larger than the number of students (65.9 per cent) whose initial disposition was favourable. It may, however, be noted that a large majority of the students were favourably disposed both in the incipient stages and
toward being migrated in general. This clearly shows that there was a strong clustering of responses to evaluations of initial disposition and the attitudes toward being migrated.

We may now turn our attention to two other questions viz., (i) Have the migrated students ever thought of leaving Poona and if so, on what occasion? (ii) If they had a chance to change the university, were they prepared to go and if so, to which university?

Out of 504 students, 62 (12.3 per cent) thought of leaving Poona even at the cost of their education. Further analysis of the data revealed that out of these 62 students, 28 thought of leaving Poona in the beginning of their sojourn and 21 of them left their home and state for the first time; 15 students thought of leaving Poona when they fell ill and 19 students when discriminative treatment was meted out to them at the time of admission into the college hostels, in the evaluation of answer papers and such other occasions. The students were rather hesitant to specify the person or persons from whom they received discriminative treatment. One student from Gujarat thought of leaving Poona "due to ill treatment by some people." However, one student from Orissa frankly remarked: "I wanted to leave Poona when I received partial treatment by my professor and other members of the
teaching staff." It may, therefore, be said that only for about 4.0 per cent of the students the sources of frustration lie in the new group whereas for 8.3 per cent they lie somewhere else. The responses to the second question revealed that as many as 170 (33.7 per cent) were longing to change the university, should a chance arise. Further analysis of the data revealed that out of these 170 students, 95 wanted to go back to their home universities, 67 to the reputed institutions such as All India Institute of Medical sciences at Delhi, Indian Institute of Technology at Bombay, etc. and 18 students to the universities in foreign countries. No wonder that of the 95 students who wanted to go back to their home universities, 76 were those who could not get admission into their home universities. This once again confirms that the students who were not favourably disposed to the new environment were those who had reluctantly left the original setting and probably with an element of frustration.

We may focus our attention on two other strategic questions viz., (i) whether the migrated students were happy or unhappy if their stay in the new environment was extended? (ii) Whether they encourage the students of their state to go to Poona for higher education?

Before evaluating the responses of the students
to the first question, it would be better if we remember that extension of stay in the new environment involves money and time which one can ill afford. One student remarked: "It all depends why my stay will be extended. I don't mind if my stay is extended provided I don't have to spend more money and waste my time." This clearly shows that the new environment as such cannot be held wholly responsible for the unfavourable disposition of the student to the extension of their stay. In spite of the fact just mentioned, 238 (47.2 per cent) were favourably disposed in contrast to 225 (45.6 per cent) students who were not favourably disposed to the extension of their stay in the new environment. The responses to the second question can be divided into three categories. In the first category, there were 216 (42.8 per cent) students who mentioned that they would unconditionally encourage the students of their state to go to Poona for higher education. One student belonging to this category said "It is always better to go out of state for the development of outlook." Another student said, "There is much to learn from Maharashtrians in general and Poonaite in particular." In the second category, there were 203 (40.3 per cent) students who mentioned that they would encourage students of their state to go to Poona if they fail to get admission into their home universities. One
student belonging to this category mentioned: "There is no point to go to a place like Poona where the cost of living is high if one could get admitted to their own universities." In the third category, there were 68 (13.5 per cent) students who mentioned that they would discourage students of their state to go to Poona for higher education. One student from this category remarked: "I will tell them not even to look in this direction." It may, therefore, be said that only a small percentage of the students were positively displeased with the new group.

Discussion: We have so far been examining (i) the initial disposition of the students to the new environment, (ii) their choice of associates for various situations and occasions in the new environment and (iii) their attitudes toward being migrated. This method to determine the reference group behaviour of the newcomer may prima facie appear to be crude. We are conscious that various factors play their part in influencing the initial disposition to the new environment, in choosing associates for various situations and occasions and in influencing the attitudes toward being migrated in general. For example, a student's initial disposition may be unfavourable if he is compelled to leave his original setting. Likewise, a student's own preferences and values may influence his choice of associates. Similarly, a student's failure to
achieve his academic goal, in spite of the necessary
facilities given to him, may still breed negative attitudes
toward being migrated. All the same, the method has
suggested broadly some indications of the reference group
behaviour of the new comer.

First, we have noted that the initial disposition
of a large majority of the students to the new environment.
We have further noted that "push" and "pull" factors were
closely related with the initial disposition of the
students. The students who came with specific and
realistic expectations of the new environment were more
favourably disposed than the students who came with vague
and multiple expectations. Even the students who were
compelled to leave their original setting could appreciate
certain aspects of the new group viz., the position of
women in general, educational opportunities, etc. A refer-
ence group need not always be totally relevant to an
individual for "..... certain groups may be more relevant
in one value-area and other groups more relevant in another
value-area." The concept of multiple reference groups
should be viewed in this background. On the whole, it may

11. Ralph H. Turner, "Reference Groups of Future-
Oriented Men," Social Forces, 34 (December, 1955),
p. 131.
be said that the existing group may have become an indifferent or a negative reference group only to those students who were compelled to interact in it. In any case, it was a totally negative reference group to a negligibly small number of students when compared to the number of students to whom it was a positive reference group.

Secondly, we have noted that the choice of associates by the newcomers differed from situation to situation and occasion to occasion. Although the newcomers, in the incipient stages, largely confined to the home state students, a considerable number of students, in the long run, turned to all, including the host state students, for help and guidance irrespective of regional affiliation. There emerged a clear pattern of choice of associates. In almost all the situations, a preponderance of the migrated students selected their associates from the students coming from all over India. The second largest number of migrated students, of course, selected their associates from the host state students for reasons already mentioned. The third largest number of students selected their associates from the host state students. This clearly indicates that there was a clear pattern of reference orientations – more inclusive group i.e. nation, in-group i.e. host state and out-group i.e. host state. The third place gained by the host state
is itself a significant fact. In some situations, however, there was an upward trend in the selection of associates from the home state students e.g. borrowing or lending money. In some other situations, there was an upward trend in the selection of associates from the host state students e.g. exchanging books, notes, views, etc. "Whenever the question of prestige is involved," said one student, "I prefer to go to the students of my state." But whenever it was an instrumentally important situation the students crossed provincial affiliation in the selection of associates. This then is similar to the distinction Homans makes between sentiment and interaction. 13 On the whole, even in the choice of associates for various situations and occasions, the existing group became a positive reference group to a large number of the migrated students.

Thirdly, we have noted that there were more students whose attitudes toward being migrated were favourable than those whose attitudes were unfavourable. Although 62 (12.3 per cent) students thought of leaving the new environment, only few attributed the causes to it. That is, the new

group became a negative reference group only to a small number of students. The same was true of the students who wanted to change the university. Some, especially those who could not gain admission into the home universities, were still longing to go back, others to some of the reputed institutions and some others to overseas. Even in this case one might say that the existing group became a negative reference group only to a small number of the migrated students. Last, while 216 (42.8 per cent) students mentioned that they would encourage the students of their state to come to Poona for higher education, only 66 (13.5 per cent) mentioned that they would discourage. That is, the new group became a positive reference group to a large number of the migrated students and a negative reference group to a small number. The feelings of "relative deprivation" among the migrated students also influence the choice of their reference group. To the extent that the students feel deprived by comparing their lot with that of the host state students, the host state is unlikely to be chosen as a positive reference group.

The concept of "relative deprivation" is further discussed in Excursus I. Even the 203 (40.3 per cent) students who mentioned that they would encourage the students of their state to go to Poona only when they do not get admission into their home universities may be regarded as showing
positive reference orientations because they felt that living away from home is more expensive from which the new group cannot be held responsible.

On the whole it may be concluded that educational sojourn in a different state with the country evokes national spirit that transcends provincial boundaries and the host state becomes a positive reference group next to the home state to a large number of the students.