CHAPTER VII

THE IMPACT OF SOJOURN

As has been pointed out by Shilla in his Foreword, the researchers on "cross-cultural education" should also throw sufficient light on the changes that take place in the adaptive capacity, intellectual interest, rational outlook, etc., of the newcomer, instead of merely confining to the problems that arise after his return from a different environment. This provocative remark, coupled with the rich data, prompted us to devote a separate chapter for the impact of sojourn on the newcomer. It has often been said that some changes in attitudes, behaviour and outlook of the person involved in any relationship are prone to occur during the interaction. The interaction of a student in a new environment is a case in point. The studies on "Foreign Students" do not seem to have focussed much attention on this particular aspect. Our main interest in the present chapter is in the changes that take place in the personality of the migrated student during his educational sojourn in a different state within the country.

Manifest changes:

There are apparently manifest and latent changes that take place in any student during his sojourn in a new environment. The manifest changes obviously refer to the increase in cognitive learning of knowledge, information, skill and technical mastery. The following excerpt from the data can well illustrate the point: "Don't you think that I came here as a raw student and now I am an engineer in the making?" questioned a student of engineering. Similarly, a student of medicine goes to the new environment without any knowledge of medicine, but he acquires the knowledge of medicine during his sojourn in the new environment. Thus a student goes as a raw material to the new environment and returns as a finished product. Besides these frames of reference associated with academic knowledge and technical mastery, an increase in the knowledge of languages, particularly in the language of medium of instruction and the local language, also takes place. A large number of students in the present study could improve their knowledge of English, the medium of instruction, which would not have been possible had they remained in their own state. Some of the excerpts are as follows: "I have improved my knowledge of English ...", "I have improved my English speaking power ...", "Knowledge of English is much better". Besides improving their knowledge of English, some
students could also learn Marathi, the local language, and other languages such as Hindi, French and German for which teaching facilities are available. The following table shows the number of students and the languages learnt by them.

**Table 1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French/German</td>
<td>18</td>
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It can be seen from Table 1 that out of 504 students, 51 could learn to speak Marathi, the local language, of which 31 students could also learn to read and write. Similarly, 22 students could learn to speak Hindi, of which 20 students could also learn to read and write. Finally, 22 students could learn to read and write French/German, of which 18 students could also learn to speak. We will have occasion later in this chapter to discuss the functions of knowledge of different languages. We may thus conclude that the manifest changes such as acquisition of
knowledge, skill and technical mastery, that take place in the new comer help prepare for adult occupational role and this in itself can be regarded as a major change. But with this manifest change goes internalization of various norms, standards and values, and assimilation of factual information about the nation at large which result in a thorough overhauling of the personality structure of the newcomer. It is in these latent changes that we are more interested. But before we classify the changes mentioned by the students, something may be said about the students who did not undergo any latent changes.

**Superficial changes:**

Out of 504 students, 82 mentioned that "no worth mentioning" changes took place except some "superficial" changes such as in pattern of dress, food habits, etc. Of these 82 students the length of sojourn of 61 was less than a year and 13 students had already lived away from their homes and States. Some of the remarks of the former were as follows: "My stay in Poona is too short for changes to take place", "No important changes so far", "Changes have yet to take place", and the like. But the responses of the students who had already lived away from their homes/States were quite different. A student who had already lived away from his home and State for two
years prior to going to Poona said, "This is not a new experience for me to have changes taken place in me". It may, therefore, be said that changes occur particularly in those students who go out of their home and State for the first time and over a length of sojourn in the new environment.

**Latent changes**

We may now proceed to classify systematically the latent changes reported by the migrated students under study. A content analysis of the responses revealed the following changes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of change</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increase in deportment</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in adaptive capacity</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalistic orientations</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural differentiation</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in autonomy</td>
<td>254</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wider identifications</td>
<td>242</td>
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<tr>
<td>Formation of rational attitudes</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterning of aggression</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dysfunctional impact</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 shows that multiple changes took place in the students. There was an increase in the "departure" of 324 students, in the "adaptive" capacity of 212 students and 276 students tended to be more universalistic and achievement oriented. About 125 students could realise the process of structural differentiation. There was an increase in the capacity for autonomy among about 254 students. Formation of wider and more independent identifications were reported by about 252 students. Similarly, 246 students reported the formation of rational and egalitarian attitudes. There were changes in controlling and patterning of aggression among 170 students. About 245 students mentioned changes toward integration. The data also revealed dysfunctional impact resulting in socially disapproved behaviour among about 16 students.

1. Increase in departure:

The sojourn in a different environment would encourage what may be called "departure". The newcomer needs acceptance, recognition and esteem. The very fact that he is a stranger makes him realize that his behaviour is always watched and unless he conforms both to the formal and informal norms and takes initiative in many matters, he would not gain acceptance, recognition and esteem. In his bid to gain these, the stranger becomes conscious of
his dress, manners, morals, etc. In his own interest, he shows an increased reverence to his teachers, willingly cooperates with his fellow-students, moves socially with students of both sex, regularly attends the classes, punctually keeps the appointments and so on. He cultivates good work habits and becomes regular in his studies. He takes initiative in various situations, gives up shyness and becomes smart and time conscious. In short, it may be said that the sojourn in a different State within the country would develop a true and overall citizenship in the students with regard to school community in particular. The following excerpts from our data illustrate all the qualities just mentioned: "I have become more social", "I have become more sociable", "I am becoming more friendly and social", "In habits of dress and other things became smarter ... improved in manners and etiquette", "I have become more cosmopolitan and time conscious", "I have become much more bold, fought shyness, became a mixing type", "I have become more frank with girls which was not possible before and I have become more cultured and civilized", "More regular in my studies ...", "More regularity in daily routin ... More punctual", "I have overcome shyness while conversing with others especially with ladies", "I have become more free and frank with boys ...", "I am more regular. Shyness is reduced
after coming to Poona. I can talk to girls and to my professors and to other staff members", "Started respecting teachers ... Learnt to talk to elders", "In short I have become a disciplined student".

2. Increase in adaptive capacity:

The sojourn in a new environment tends to increase the adaptive capacity of the student. When a student is at home, he derives his instrumental and emotional support primarily from his family members. But his transplantation in a different environment 'emancipates' the students from his earlier attachment with parents, siblings, relatives and friends. In the new environment, a student has to learn to structure his relations with various people which could be transformed into adaptive relations. In all his relations with his teachers, class mates, friends, et. al. he puts premium on instrumental interest. He tends to hinge on certain personal and social sorts of relations with the people he comes into contact. He tries to transform negative cathexis to positive cathexis or affective neutrality. He also tries to transform specific relations into diffuse ones. The following excerpts indicate that the sojourn in a different environment tends to increase the adaptive capacity of the students: "... I do not mind to stay with any type of neighbours which was not possible
before", "I have acquired capacity to adopt myself to any
type of environment", "I have become more social and learnt
to become more adaptable ...", "I have learnt more about
people and I have learnt to adjust myself to any type of
surroundings", "I can now live in big cities and face the
difficulties boldly ...", "I now know how to move about
with people and now I feel that I can put myself in any
part of the country for my profession. Now I am confident
I can come out successful".

3. Universalistic orientations:

A close comparison between one's own and a different
social structure reveals the fact that value orientations
such as particularism, ascription and functional diffuseness
are dominant in the former, while universalism, achievement
and functional specificity are dominant in the latter².
This shift in dominance is inadvertently a source of strain,
especially in the incipient stages, but in the long run it
inevitably leads to a thorough organization of the
personality structure of the newcomer. This becomes clear
as we proceed further.

2. See S.N. Eisenstadt, Essays on Sociological Aspects of
Political and Economic Development. The Hague:
It is fairly obvious that when in the original environment, the migrated student might have enjoyed particularistic treatment by different people playing different roles. But these privileges are likely to be denied to him in the new environment. As has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, a vast majority of the students felt that their performances in the examinations were evaluated on the universalistic criterion of achievement. Thus the new environment encourages the internalization of universalistic and achievement norms in the migrated students. Further, when in the original environment, the student might have been exposed to a relatively limited number of persons and might have internalized particularistic norms governing the relationship between him and his teachers, friends, et. al., as personalities. But in the new environment he comes to internalize universalistic norms governing the relationship between him and others as role-incumbents. This is an important change from the internalization of particularistic universalistic norms.

The change from narrower identifications to wider ones, which will be discussed in the following pages, may also be regarded as a shift from particularistic to universalistic orientations.

Institutions such as family, kinship, caste, etc., ascribe status to individuals in their social structure.
Again, within the institutions, nonachievement bases such as age and sex and generation ascribe status to individuals. But migration to a different environment involves coming out of these institutions. The discipline and reward system in the new environment considerably differ from the ones prevailing in the original environment. There is, of course, possibility of the development of newer ascriptive and particularistic bases - for example, the performance of a migrated student in the examinations may be evaluated liberally simply for being a newcomer or students belonging to a particular region or speaking a particular language may go out of the way to help students belonging to their region or speaking the same language. All the same, the ascriptive and particularistic criteria of the migrated students such as socio-economic conditions of the family, age, sex, etc., are seldom taken into consideration by the residents. That is, the differentiation in the new environment often takes place mainly on the single axis of achievement. Hence the student is compelled to achieve his status by performing different tasks set for him in the new environment. Thus the process of differentiation that occurs during their sojourn in the new environment would motivate the students for individualistic achievement complex.

The following are only some of the excerpts from our data:

"I am more serious about my studies here", "I keep late
hours to study because unless I give a good account of myself I will not be appreciated by my professors”, "I have become more serious about my studies”, "I have started studying more ...”, All these excerpts go to prove an increase in the achievement motivation and a rise in the aspirational level of the migrated students.

The sojourn in a new environment results in considerable reduction in the emotional and instrumental support from parents, siblings, relatives and old friends. The newcomer would be required to do an increasing range of things on his or her own. He has to assume greater responsibility to make his own decisions in coping with new and different situations. His level of achievement capacity also tends to increase during his sojourn in the new environment. It may thus be surmised that the sojourn encourages not only achievement motivation but also qualitative types of achievement. In the new environment, he perceives a keen competition in the cognitive learning of knowledge, skill and technical mastery. In this competition, he tries to emulate others and thus increases his level of achievement capacity. For example, as many as 62 students considered their topping the list in the examinations as the best experience in the new environment, while 36 students considered their failure in the examinations as their worst experience. Many students who were
supposed to be mediocre in their original environment raised in their intellectual capacity and academic standards. To quote some of the excerpts: "In fact I came to Poona with the intention of doing my B.Sc. But I did not only B.Sc. and also M.Sc. and now I am doing my Ph.D.", says a research student in Botany. Another student in Political Science says, "After coming over here I have decided to do my Ph.D. So I have to get at least high second class in M.A. examination. Otherwise I cannot get admission to Ph.D." There were several similar remarks which indicated an increase in the aspirational level and goal-furtherance.

Besides an increase in the intellectual capacity, the sojourn in a new environment also promotes general conformative behaviour. Many a time, the academic performance of the students is evaluated in a diffusely general terms. In the new environment, the student is exposed to various stereotypes and to a wider range of statuses than in the original environment. He finds students from various regions of the country in the new environment. So the student is motivated to achieve prestige and good

3. There is no reason to believe that migration of students would result in the fall of educational standards as feared by some of the earlier educationists. See S.R. Dongerkery, Universities and Their Problems, Bombay: Hind Kitchens Limited, 1948, p. 165.
reputation not only for himself but also for the collectivity, in this case the region, of which he is a member by being a hard working student as well as by conforming to the general institutionalized values and norms. That is, he also works for what may be called "collective reputation" by acting as an "unofficial spokesman" of his region. This general conformative behaviour, which is independent of academic achievement, is valued as an achievement not only by the residents but also by the students themselves. The general conformative behaviour in the new environment is in itself a kind of valued achievement. Many students who mentioned that they would encourage students of their State to go to Poona for higher education also mentioned that they would advise them to maintain the reputation of their State. Considerations of this kind compel us to conclude that the sojourn in a new environment would motivate the students to individualistic achievement complex and an increase in the level of capacity for achievement both in cognitive and moral spheres.

4. For example, when some students belonging to a particular region started behaving in an indecent manner, both within and outside the college campus, the rest of the students belonging to the same region boycotted them because it was felt that such kind of behaviour was a threat to the prestige and reputation of their region. Similarly when a student belonging to one of the minority religions behaved in an indecent way, some of the students belonging to the same religion excommunicated him because they felt that such kind of behaviour was detrimental to the reputation and security of all the students belonging to that religion.
The sojourn in a new environment provides opportunities to perceive different roles played by different people. This perception would have its impact on the mind of the student and may lead to what Parsons prefers to call a "process of structural differentiation." A large number of students mentioned that they came across women who were gainfully employed in the new setting. One student remarked, "I like women here for most of them work in offices like men. I think all educated women should work without wasting their talent." Another woman student observed, "I have been seeing many Maharashtrian women working here and I also feel that I should work after completing my education." The feminine role in India is more confined to the familial context than that of her Western counterpart. So the students cannot but appreciate when they see women taking to the so-called masculine occupational role outside the home. Similarly, many other students were impressed by the freedom granted to the

5. By a process of structural differentiation Parsons means "... the same category of persons is permitted and even expected to engage in a more complex set of role-functions than before." See Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society," in Social Structure and Personality, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1964, p. 143.

4. Structural differentiation:
girls in the selection of higher and professional education. "I am surprised to find so many girls in the colleges here. It is a good sign", said one student. Another student said, "This is the first time I have seen girls in an engineering college and I think there is nothing wrong if we send girls to engineering". Until very recently, higher education, particularly professional education such as engineering and agriculture, was not preferred for women although the situation is even now far from satisfactory.

There is a good measure of truth in the following words of Gaudino: "Many students do not approve of the professional courses for girls. They prefer the more domestic subjects as preparation for marriage and family. They fear that with too much education, the girl may not be able to make a good match." Yet some other students were impressed by the local students, both male and female, taking part in various extracurricular activities of which part-time job was an important one. One student remarked, "I very much like the girls here taking part in various activities such as dramas, debates and sports instead of merely confining to the books". Another student said, "I am greatly impressed by the practical training given to the school kids in traffic control in the city. This is how we can prepare

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good and responsible citizens". Similarly, some students were impressed by those who were learning and earning simultaneously. In fact, some of the migrated students took to part-time jobs and some more were prepared to take in order to help ease the financial strain on their parents. Unlike in Western countries, only few students in India earn and learn simultaneously.

5. Increase in autonomy:

The data also revealed a change from dependence to sudden autonomy in the newcomer. It may be surmised that the success or failure of the newcomer in the existing environment, to a great extent, depends upon his capacity to cope with new and unfamiliar situations. But in India, students prefer to live in their parental household for they are highly dependent, both emotionally and instrumentally, on their parents and older siblings. When once they go out of their parental household, it becomes compulsory for them to be on their own. That is, the student ought to be self-sufficient in respect of guidance and protection; he ought to increase his capacity to assume responsibility and to make his decisions in coping
with spontaneous and varying situations. This living away from parental protection provides opportunities for exercising independence in various matters. It is also probable that extremists go far beyond independence, as a result of which they embark on deviant patterns. We will have occasion to discuss this aspect of the impact of sojourn at the end of this chapter. During his sojourn in the new environment, the student tries to minimise his insecurity by deriving emotional and instrumental support from his newly formed associations. He tries to take everything in his stride. Thus the new environment becomes a laboratory where the student can test his higher-order responsibilities and for structuring his relations with appropriate people without any guidance and supervision by his parents and siblings. Gradually the student becomes self-reliant and gathers courage to face any eventuality. We may thus conclude that sojourn in a different environment

7. In this connection it may be mentioned that one post-graduate student sent the following telegram to his parents on the eve of his examinations: "Preparation for examination not satisfactory, advise to appear or not". He received the following reply telegram from his father, "You are the best judge under the circumstances". The student took the decision in favour of appearing for the examinations and secured a high second class.
makes a student autonomous. To quote only some of the excerpts from the data: "I have become a shrewd girl and can lead my life independently ...", "Became self-reliant, self-sufficient ... More independent", "I can now stand on my own legs in the face of many odds", "... I can live independently", "... Learnt to be more vigilant when others are trying to pull my legs", "I can think and act independently ... More worldly wise now", "Now I can handle any queer situations independently", "Now I can confidently live alone away from family and relatives which was not possible before", "I have realised the sense of responsibility and the hardships of life which I would never have realized had I stayed at home all my life", "I have learnt how to live alone", "I have become more confident of myself ... capacity of self determination increased", "I have become a more responsible person and self dependable".

6. wider identifications:

The sojourn in a different environment would encourage the formation of new identifications in favour of more independent and wider ones in the newcomer. Let us take an analogy: Consider a Bengali Brahmin student living in the parental household in Bengal. The student's primary identifications would invariably be with the parents
who are senior to him by a generation. "But an immense part of the individual's adult role performance will have to be in association with status-equals or near-equals". But the sojourn in a new environment that necessitates the student to go out of his family exposes him more systematically to status-equals and near-equals and provides opportunities for association with them. This association results in the reduction of hierarchical and generational differences. Some of the other identifications of the student mentioned in the above analogy would probably with a "Brahmin", "Bengali", son or daughter of "Barkerji" and so on. These are doubtless narrower and ascriptive identifications. But when the student goes out of his region and family and when he becomes a "lost object", to put in Freudian terms, more independent and wider identifications are built up. The differentiated status the student comes to occupy in the new environment no longer encourages his original identifications. But it demands wider identifications such as with an "Indian" and more independent identities such as a "good student", "good athlete", etc. Thus the sojourn in a new environment encourages wider and more independent identifications.

The following excerpts from our data bear testimony to this:

\[8. \text{Parsons, op.cit., p.}\]
One Brahmin student said, "... I have come to a firm faith in no-casteism, secularism and equality of human beings (giving no consideration for race, caste, State and religion)". Another student said, "I am no longer a Gujarati but an Indian". Yet a third student said, "Now I don't believe in my region or your region. But I believe in our country". Thus the sojourn in a different State fosters a sense of national integration and such other higher-order values into the minds of the students. A girl student said, "I'm afraid I'm gradually detaching myself from my parents ...". Another boy said, "... I have developed a kind of hatred towards egocentric elders". Yet two other boys said, "I have friends from various places and I am inspired by them", "I am being more and more attracted by my friends than my own parents". These excerpts clearly indicate association with status-equals and near-equals which facilitates effective adult role performance in the near future.

7. **Formation of rational attitudes**:

The sojourn in a different environment would also encourage the formation of rational and egalitarian attitudes as against traditional attitudes⁹. We have seen in an earlier

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chapter that the selection of associates by the migrated students differed from one situation to another. That is, the selection of associates for various situations was not consistent. If it were to be consistent i.e. independent of varying situations, we would have labelled the students as traditional. But the selection differed according to the pragmatic exigencies of the situation. Hence we say that the new environment provides occasions and situations in which some rational judgement is necessary. The following excerpts further indicate the formation of rational attitudes in the new comer: "Now I am very careful in making friendship with people around me", "I have become worldly wise in the sense that I contact people on appropriate time", "I have come to know the importance of various people on various occasions". The sojourn in a new environment also breeds egalitarian attitudes in the student. It may be remembered where the egalitarian attitudes in the minds of the leaders of the various nationalist movements were formed. "The leaders of the nationalist movements of Pakistan and India have, mainly, been formed in London. The leaders of the Indonesian nationalist movement have, for the major part, been trained in Leiden. And one need not discuss in this connection the North African leaders and where they graduated."

Similarly, the sojourn in a different State within the country provides an opportunity to turn the original dominance of parents, relatives, friends and teachers into egalitarian components. The student also overcomes the superior or inferior complex, as the case may be, of himself and of his region, religion, caste, etc., and assumes a more egalitarian and useful role. A Brahmin student said, "I have come to a firm faith in no casteism, secularism and equality of human beings". Another student emphasized, "... My views against caste system are crystallized". Yet a woman student from Kerala said, "... the 'husband-wife' relationship seems to be more of equals than in Kerala in general". The same relationship was observed by a male student as follows: "Wife is more dominant than husband in Maharashtra". Another student said, "Here teachers treat the students as almost equals which is not true in our State ...". All these observations made by the newcomers account for the formation of egalitarian attitudes. Thus the sojourn in a new environment encourages the formation of rational and egalitarian attitudes.

8. Patterning of aggression:

Another conspicuous impact of sojourn on the newcomer is that he learns to be accommodative and whenever
aggression is expressed it is properly patterned and channeled. Aggression is a disposition to hit back when attacked or under certain conditions that elicit strain, frustration and disappointment. This disposition gets patterned and channeled when one is exposed to a series of attacks or strains, frustrations and disappointments. When an Indian child is in the parental household, every care is taken by the parents and other family members to avoid even slightest strain or frustration or disappointment to the child. That is, there is little or no chance for channeled aggression by the Indian children.  

"When aggression is aroused (under pressure of economic and political stress) in Indian adults, then, it may burst out in primitive chaotic ways exactly because of the lack of the long slow experiences of patterning that we know. It may be mentioned here that whenever there are strikes, picketings, etc., by the students or trade unions or political parties in India, the demonstrators often resort to arson and looting and to destroying the private and public property worth lakhs of rupees. This is definitely


12. Ibid., p. 52.
due to lack of patterning of aggression. However, when a student lives away from parental protection in a new environment, he is often exposed to strain, frustration and disappointment. Since there is no parental umbrella to protect from the consequences of undue aggression, the newcomer is forced to be accommodative or to channelize his aggression. That is, the newcomer either continues to maintain cathected relationship or at the most, may withdraw from active interaction in order to avoid the object which he considers to be noxious. Thus the sojourn in a new environment encourages accommodative nature, and patterning and channelizing of aggression in the students. Some of the following excerpts from the data go to prove this: 
"I was once very hot tempered, intolerant and impatient person. Today I am more tolerant, have got more patience than before", "I have become more patient...", "I've learnt to be more patient, more tolerant - talk less and do more - ", "I control my temper better whenever I get irritated here ...", "My idea of leading a notorious life has changed and I want to lead a decent life now ...", "... Forbearance increased".

9. Integration :

The sojourn in a new environment encourages integration or solidarity. When a student goes out of his
family and State, he can no longer interact face-to-face with his parents, relatives and friends. It becomes functionally imperative for him to form new friendships and various other informal associations. Moreover, a student in the new environment is immediately and systematically exposed to various unfamiliar persons. The new environment provides ample opportunities for new friends and other informal associates because it is, more often than not, larger than their original environment drawing students and other persons from a wider geographical area. Hence the student comes into contact with various persons whom he may not have seen and met in his original environment. His extent of interaction with various people of the same and opposite sex, speaking different languages, belonging to various regions, religions and castes results in a strongly reinforced belongingness and oneness. To quote some of the excerpts from our data: "I have become more friendly with all ...", "In a way Poona had done me good in securing good friends ...", "... I feel I have developed a still broader mind towards fellow-countrymen". A Punjabi student said, "... I formed a larger circle of friends especially meeting non-Punjabees ...". "I have made friends from various places ...", "I have made friendship with many girls ...", "I have a good boy-friend here ...". These excerpts clearly indicate integration or
solidarity. Further, as has been pointed out earlier in this chapter, the student learns various languages, in the new environment, which facilitate understanding of each other's point of view. Then he learns to appreciate, approve and recognize others. The following excerpt may be regarded as a representative of many such excerpts which go to prove solidarity cutting across languages: "... Moving with different students who speak other languages unknown to me was first difficult for me. I consider my whole stay at Poona as a good experience in my life". Moreover, the sojourn in a new environment offers a free choice of associates and friends as the parents cannot have any supervision and control on their wards. So the student is at liberty to select his friends and associates without any regard for their region, religion, caste, class and family background. The new environment is, therefore, likely to bring students of different regions, religions, castes and social strata and make them close and life-long friends. The following are only some of the excerpts which support the argument: "I have made friends from various parts of the country irrespective caste, creed, region, religion, etc." , "I have only one real friend here and he is a Muslim", said a Hindu woman student. Some students did not even know the caste to which their friends belonged. Some
others reacted very angrily to reveal the caste and State to which their friends belonged. "I never bothered to find out the caste of my friends ...". "My friends are all Indians ..."). "Your curiosity to know the caste and State of my friends is really irritating me", said a student. All these excerpts clearly indicate that a student in a different State is more conscious of nationalism or national integration and relinquishes provincialism. We have already seen that the educational sojourn in a different State commits the student to common values. This commitment to common values itself is an important integrative mechanism. We have also seen that the valuation of achievement provides the appropriate values for internalization by the students. This internalization of appropriate values also performs an important integrative function from the point of view of social system. The internalization of common values helps a student to accept the differentiation on the basis of achievement. Thus the student who fails to get through the examinations because of his own inadequacies can still be an admirer of the new environment, without projecting his own failure on to the residents, if he has internalized the appropriate values. Thus the sojourn of a student in a different State within the nation promotes national integration.
While no claim is being made that all the above mentioned changes took place in all the students under study, many of the changes took place in a majority of the students. As one student put it: "When I came here 3 years ago, and as I am to-day, there are many changes—changes in my knowledge, make up of mind, health, behaviour—in almost all spheres of life. But no unnatural changes nor any change in the bad direction". Thus the sojourn in the different State within the country brings many changes in the students.

We have so far been analyzing the functional aspects of the impact of sojourn on the student. However, it should be remembered the situations of functional significance are also the situations of dysfunctional significance. The sojourn in a new environment may also breed delinquency, withdrawal and other forms of socially disapproved behaviour. As has been mentioned earlier, the sojourn in a new environment provides ample opportunities for exercising independence in various matters. Some extremists are likely to go far beyond in exercising newly found independence. Then the new environment becomes a seed bed from which these extremists go over to socially disapproved behaviour. About 16 students showed a tendency for deviant behaviour as a result of the impact of sojourn.
At the outset it may be pointed out that as many as 76 students mentioned that they started eating meat or smoking cigarettes or seeing more 'pictures' (movies), etc. after coming to Poona. Besides these deviant patterns, if they may be regarded so, the new environment also had its functional impact on the students. To quote some of the excerpts: "I have become more serious about my studies... I have started eating meat and smoking cigarettes". "I have become more studious but started seeing more pictures". However, a careful analysis of the data revealed that 16 students, of which 14 were boys and 2 girls, embarked on really deviant patterns. This finding is not altogether new for several studies have confirmed a close relation between immigration and crime which also a kind of deviant behaviour.¹³

¹³ For example, see Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology, Bombay: The Times of India Press, 1965. Also see Ronald Taft, Criminology, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958, pp.107-121.
The reasons for exhibiting deviant behaviour may be either genuine lack of knowledge about the existing norms, values, standards, etc., or a deliberate motivated tendency to deviate from them. It is the latter that involves the newcomer in socially disapproved behaviour. When the students go out of their family and State, they obtain a sudden release from various agencies of social control such as family, kinship, peer group, etc., which tend to counteract the motivated tendency for deviance. When the students are suddenly released from the 'clutches' of the various agencies of social control they become less restrained, less inhibited and in order to satisfy their alienative need dispositions either to suppressed indulge in such forms of behaviour in which they would not indulge when in their own environment. However, the sudden release from the agencies of social control in the original environment is not the only reason for exhibiting deviant behaviour. Another important factor to be remembered is that the new social structure, like

14. For an excellent analysis of the genesis of deviant behaviour and the mechanisms of social control, see Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1952, especially Chapter VII.
the bureaucratic structure, tends to depersonalize relationships. That is, various agencies of social control in the new environment become ineffective by adopting indifferent and tolerant attitudes toward the newcomer. The newcomer looks upon the existing group as a source for satisfying certain needs without accepting its control. Furthermore, because of his peripheral position and unstable character of his interactive relationships, the newcomer assumes a condition of anonymity and evolves his own individualistic ideology. All these lead to a cumulative motivation of the newcomer to deviate from the established norms. He may gear his alienative orientation against the existing normative patterns and/or against different persons. To quote some of the excerpts:

One girl said, "I have become a free bird after coming to Poona. I have become more dress conscious. I have left my studies completely... I started doing things which I used to hate... Finally I am morally degraded".

A boy who came out of his home and state for the first time said, "I lost my will power... I failed to do many things which I wanted to do here... I stopped reading... started drinks (alcohols), smoking, races, gambling.

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except prostitutes". Another boy said, "I lost half of my self control - More attraction to girls - No money - Sprinkled my career". Yet another student said, "Since nobody is here to check me I started enjoying city life. Turned to be more extravagant and spendthrift ... Left my study completely". Thus the students embarked on deviant patterns of behaviour in the new environment.

There is another important factor which needs to be considered carefully. We have pointed out earlier that the new environment provides opportunities for the formation of new friendship circles and other informal associations. The newcomer's alienative need-dispositions get accentuated if he is drifted into a group of individuals having similar alienative need-dispositions. The teaming up of individuals with alienative need-dispositions provides opportunities for situations of 'de-individuation'.

17. "There occurs sometimes in groups a state of affairs in which the individuals act as if they were 'submerged in the group'. Such a state of affairs may be described as one of de-individuation, that is, individuals are not seen or paid attention to as individuals. The members do not feel that they stand out as individuals." For an elaborate explanation of the concept of 'de-individuation' see Leon Festinger, H. Kerthone and Theodore M. Newcomb, "Some Consequences of De-individuation in a Group", in A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta and Robert F. Bates (eds.), Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, pp. 292-299.
Further analysis of our data revealed that the formation of deviant subgroup prompts individuals to direct their alienative orientation more often against persons than against normative patterns. To quote few excerpts: "I have made some bad associates. I tease girls although I personally do not like to tease them. I do not tease girls when I am alone". Another student said, "I have become a spendthrift after coming to Poona ... My friends often make me involve in indecent things ... This may not be the case in future when the existing conditions are over". Another student said, "We have formed into a group and our aim is to insult girls, teachers and those boys who get good marks in the examinations ..."

Thus the impact of the sojourn in a different state within the country has both functional and dysfunctional consequences for the student - functional for a large majority of the students and dysfunctional for a small number of students. The dysfunctional impact should not be overgeneralized as a result of lack of social control because, we have seen earlier that the new environment also intensified social control in a large majority of the students.