Since the end of World War II various efforts are being made to promote international understanding and the harmony attendant on it. Programmes of cross-cultural education are regarded as one of the strategies to go a long way in this direction. However, mere exchange of students and teachers between different countries is not an end in itself, for the exchanged personnel, brought up in a different cultural tradition and social structure, are likely to encounter various unexpected problems which might militate against international understanding. It is in this context that various social scientists in the world, particularly those in the United States, have been focussing their attention on the problems encountered by the exchanged personnel and as a result several articles and books have appeared under such captions as "Cross-Cultural Education," "Educational Travel," "Cross-Cultural Studies," "Changing Images of America," etc. The efforts made by these social scientists should be appreciated for two reasons. For one thing, the suggestions made by them are based on the findings of their research which if implemented, would help achieve the goal of programmes of cross-cultural education. Secondly, they contribute to the
development of various social sciences. A brief review of some of the earlier studies seems to be worthwhile to understand theoretical and methodological implications.

Earlier Studies:

Cross-cultural education is defined, "at the individual level as the reciprocal process of learning and adjustment that occurs when individuals sojourn for educational purposes in a society that is culturally foreign to them, normally returning to their own society after a limited period. At the societal level, there is a process of cultural diffusion and change involving temporary 'exchange of persons' for training and experience." It is also defined as "... an encounter, of fixed duration, between persons extracted from different cultural backgrounds, with the explicit aim of transferring (or jointly gaining) scientific insight, experience and/or knowledge." Both the foregoing definitions rightly take into consideration the different cultural tradition of the persons, their temporary participation and the manifest aim of the

programmes of cross-cultural education viz., imparting knowledge, skill and technical mastery. However, what seems to be missing is the latest aim of the programmes viz., promotion of understanding and friendly relations between the countries involved.

A student going from one country to another must, of course, come to terms with the new environment in order to survive and achieve his goals. This coming to terms is often described as "adjustment" which seems to be "tricky."

Furthermore, most of the researchers focussed their attention on the adjustment of the foreign students to the community life in the host country, which is only one half of the problem. The other half of the problem viz., adjustment to the academic life in the host country still needs to be given its due share of attention before the total problem can be said to have been studied. The two halves of the problem viz., adjustment to the community life and adjustment to the academic life are extremely relevant and intertwined. This is what Lysgaard calls adjustment to

"personal-social" and "professional educational" matters.\footnote{4} It is often taken for granted that if one is adjusted to the community life, one is also adjusted to the academic life, which is not always true. Hence much of the research has been aimed at the adjustment to the community life. It is quite probable that one might immediately establish modus operandi in the community life and fail to do so in the academic life or vise versa. Cross-cultural education obviously involves the problems of dynamic process of migration plus the problems stemming from the differences between educational standards, syllabi, etc. Therefore, a student of cross-cultural education should be interested not only in the problems of migration but also in the problems of education caused by crossing into a different culture. One might go a step further and say that the emphasis should be on the education component rather than on the cross-cultural component of the concept. It is cross-cultural education rather than cross-cultural education. The motives of a student going to a different country are more specific than those of a general immigrant. 

Many of the researchers, however, overemphasized the cross-cultural component probably because of the invisible political importance attached to the educational exchange programmes.

One of the hallmarks of the existing literature is the variety of variables that have been emphasized in studying the problems of a foreign student. In most of the studies the dependent variable is attitudes or adjustment which is assessed or measured by the independent variables such as length of sojourn, intensity of social relations, social class of the students, cultural similarity or difference, etc. It is not always realized that there are inadequacies and forces at work within the foreign student himself, as well as in his new environment that produce considerable stress.

One of the important findings is the relation between attitudes of the students toward the host country and their length of sojourn. In his classic study of Indian students in the United States, Coelho says, "There is a strong tendency for the visitor's attitudes to be most favourable immediately after arrival in the new country and to become successively less favourable during the first nine months of his foreign educational experience. If the foreign student's stay is extended beyond this time, however, there is a considerable measure of recovery of
sympathy."5 Thus Coelho reported a U-shaped curve of Indian students' changing images of America over time. The U-shaped curve, as reported by others, is likely to transform into a V-curve according to the cultural difference or similarity between the exchanged personnel and the new country. The Gullahorns, who studied the experiences of American students and lecturers in France, say: "In looking at the total exchange experience, therefore, we may speak of a V-curve rather than U-shaped curve to characterize the temporal patterning in individual reactions to foreign settings and subsequently to their home cultures."6 What is common in both the reported curves is that the level of gratification of students or teachers at the time of entrance into and at the time of exit from a foreign country has been essentially the same. Singh has studied changes in the attitudes of Indian students in Britain against two strategic variables viz., length of sojourn and social class of the students. He observes, "first, a

5. George V. Coelho, Changing Images of America: a study of Indian student's perceptions, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1959, p. 83.
greater percentage of both upper and middle class students had more favourable attitudes to the English and Westernization during the later part of their stay in this country."7

Singh further distinguished between the attitudes of the students from upper and middle class families when he says, "Second, there was a drop after three years in attitudes to the English for the middle class students, but not for the upper class students."8

Selltis et al. focused their attention on other variables which influence the foreign student's attitudes and adjustment to the host country. It is a unique study in the sense that they endeavoured to study (i) the effects of different kinds of educational instructions on social relations of the foreign students with Americans, (ii) the effects of different cultural backgrounds of students coming from different countries in establishing social relations with Americans, (iii) the effects of an orientation programme in structuring social relations between foreign students and Americans, and finally (iv) the effects of these social relations of foreign students on their

8. Ibid., pp. 89-90
attitudes and adjustment. First, they say, "students at small colleges were most likely to be in situations that provided considerable opportunity for extended and intimate association in living quarters and elsewhere with Americans; those of metropolitan universities were least likely to be in such situations." Secondly, as regards the cultural differences, they say, "European students interact with Americans more easily than do non-Europeans." This is obviously due to the similarity between European and American cultures. Thirdly, the orientation programme "... was of distinct help to Asian students in entering into social activities both with Americans and with people from other countries, but made little or no difference to European students." This once again confirms the importance of cultural similarity or difference. Finally, regarding the effects of social relations on adjustment to both university and community life, they say, "... students who had more extensive and more intimate social relations with Americans seemed to


10. Ibid., p. 119.

11. Ibid., p. 120.
adjust more easily and to enjoy their stay more.\textsuperscript{12} This clearly shows that intimate relations are likely to provide opportunities to understand and appreciate each other.

Thus most of the researchers emphasized the inadequacies of the foreign student. The crux of the problem lies not only in the inadequacies of the foreign student but also in the forces that are present in the new environment and these inadequacies and forces are reduced to a minimum over time by the communication between the student and the new environment. However, it should also be remembered that the inadequacies differ from person to person and the forces from environment to environment. That is, different individuals are likely to have different motives, goals, interests, values, capacities, etc. and different environments are likely to have different conditions, demands, values, etc. Therefore, the problem demands a complete analysis of both foreign student and the new environment.

\textbf{Education in a Cross-Cultural Setting:}

A careful observation of the definitions and the employment of such concepts as "attitudes," "perceptions," "images," etc. reveals that most of the researchers attacked

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 158.
the problem, keeping in view the educational exchange programmes between different countries and that their approach may be said to be psychological or social psychological in nature. The external migration of students dominates much of the literature and thinking for obvious reasons which we need not go into detail. It is not usually realized that internal migration of students is more frequent and less legally regulated and that a student crossing regional boundaries within the country, where different social and cultural sub-systems abound, is also subject to much the same process of learning, orientation and adaptation as that of a student crossing national boundaries. There may be some difference in degree but not in kind. As the Gullahorns say, "much the same process seems to occur whenever one relocates geographically even within the United States if one encounters emotionally salient differences in social systems." This is not only true of the United States but also, perhaps much more, of India which is divided into different water-tight compartments of linguistic states and which has often been described as a "show-piece of unity in diversity," "an ethnological museum," "an epitome of the world," and so on.

Our point of departure is to treat education in a cross-cultural setting as a social process and social fact. Viewed from this angle, education in a cross-cultural setting may be redefined as a temporary process of social interaction of one or more individuals belonging to a social system or subsystem in a different social system or subsystem whose influence on the interacting individual or individuals is immense. Since the interaction is temporary or unstable and takes place in an unstructured social system or subsystem in which the nouveaux arrivés do not have knowledge about the structure of the object world, the problems involved in human interaction are further complicated.

II

In this section certain important concepts borrowed from Parsonian and Mertonian frames of reference will be examined in the context of problems encountered by a student in a cross-cultural setting with special reference to a student crossing regional boundaries within India. In Parsonian frame of reference the action systems are assumed to have certain functional imperatives. It also promises an analysis of exigencies between old and new members of a social system, the socialization process of the new members and the motivational tensions stemming from strains
in the new social system. Mertonian frame of reference is eminently suited to analyse the behaviour, attitudes and reference orientations of a student in a cross-cultural setting.

**Action and Interaction:**

Human behaviour is technically called action if it satisfies the following four conditions: (i) it should be goal-oriented, (ii) it should take place in a situation, (iii) it should be normatively regulated and (iv) it should involve motivation of the actor. Needless to say that the behaviour of a student in a cross-cultural setting satisfies all the four necessary conditions. Hence the behaviour of a foreign student can be called action.

A foreign student interacts not *in vacuo* but in a social situation which is composed of physical, cultural and social objects of which he has not yet had experience. The immediate problem for him is, therefore, to define the situation which involves decision making and evaluation of different classes of objects and different attributes of each object according to their potentialities for gratification or deprivation of his immediate and/or future needs. His orientation of action to these new objects depends upon his capacity to distinguish, to test and to choose between various alternatives and objects. Parsons
has been emphasizing the study of personality as a system, culture as a system and social system which constitute a completely concerted system of social action. We may now examine briefly how well or how badly the capacity to choose between various alternatives and objects, to adapt to the new environment, etc. is fostered into an individual by the Indian social structure in the light of the three systems of action.

**Personality as a System:** Personality affects and in turn gets affected both by culture and social system. But in the context of India, personality gets affected more by culture and social system than vice versa. The social structural features are largely held responsible for this state of affairs. Family, which is regarded as a factory to produce personalities, stands as a stumbling block for the development of individualism and individualistic achievement complex. As Damle says, "there is the least amount of opportunity for individuation or development of personality according to one's predilections, liking, aptitude, etc." One's education, occupation and life partner are supposed to be chosen according to one's own interest, intellectual potentiality and liking. But in

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Hindu society "... his education, vocational choice and later career would be decided for him, after more or less liberal discussions, yet ultimately nevertheless by others.¹⁵ The nature of authority is based not on achievement criteria but on ascertainment criteria such as age-grades, caste hierarchy, etc. Further, one's volition is completely suppressed and one is made a dependent upon others. As Carstairs says, "He (father) is all powerful, and must be approached in an attitude of complete submission; and it is in relations to him that one learns the imperative social duty of suppressing one's appetites, and desires, and every demonstration of emotion."¹⁶ It is, therefore, but natural that a student is prone to feel like a fish out of water when he goes out of his family, kinship, region, etc. with built-in dependency.

Culture as a System:

Let us venture to discuss, keeping in view a student moving from one linguistic region to another, the


co-existence of a plurality of sub-cultures within the general pattern of the national culture. As Damle says, "... the reorganization of states in India in 1950 was primarily guided by the major theories of equation between language, region and culture." Thus each region has its own language and culture. Indian society is example par excellence of pluralistic and complex society. Carstairs observes: "Hindu society is vast and widely differentiated: there are great differences of customs and of social organization in different parts of that country, which must be reflected in modifications of the social character." Various cultures or subcultures that exist in India differ in customary adaptations to a new environment and exploitative aspects of new resources.

More important to us are the co-existence of cultural values which are diverse and sometimes conflicting. This is an age of both nationalism and regionalism. One finds in India a craving for nationalism and at the same time a regional chauvinism. Closely associated with regionalism is linguism and the doctrine of dominance of

one language over the others. Similarly, there are various religions resulting in an attitude of supremacy of one religion over another. Then again there are rural values which are informal and simple as against urban values which are formal and complex. There are also various occupational subcultures of which the primary one viz., agriculture makes one relatively non-mobile. Last but not least, the education system in India is far from uniform. There is apparently a considerable difference in the courses, standards, syllabi, medium of instruction in different states in India. Therefore, when a student goes from one linguistic region to another, he is subject to various stresses and strains.

**Social System:**

Any social system can best be understood by the functioning of its different institutions. The relational institutions in India, such as caste and age grades, have been functioning to ascribe status and role to different individuals. The regulative institutions such as kinship and marriage have been functioning to govern and control an individual's private life. Lastly, the cultural institutions such as religions beliefs and rituals have been functioning to equip individuals with different values, thoughts and interpersonal and intergroup relations,
etc. So when a student goes out of his own social system or subsystem to a different one, he is relegated from his original position and released from parenteral supervision and other normative controls that govern his private life. He also finds that his values, beliefs and interpersonal and intergroup relations as different from those in the new environment.

There are, therefore, cogent reasons to believe that a student crossing linguistic regions within India is also subject to more or less the same types of problems as that of a student crossing national boundaries. We may now proceed to diagnose the cross-cultural setting and the problems stemming from it with the help of a set of concepts as developed by Parrone and Bertot.

Need-dispositions:

Soon after his arrival into a new social system, a stranger is confronted with the twin problems of dependency and autonomy. He is inevitably dependent on the new environment for survival and achievement of his interests and goals, while at the same time he is bent upon maintaining his identity vis-a-vis his new environment. He wants recognition, love, approval and esteem and at the same time wishes to be autonomous. It is imperative for the role incumbent to structure his relations with relevant
social objects who control important aspects of the new situation. There is also a powerful need for him to internalize the relevant and important norms and values of the new culture. But at the same time, he needs freedom to think, express and act and tends to maintain the autonomous character of his original cultural standards. Thus there exist at once diverse and conflicting need-dispositions in the personality of the stranger.

**Expectations:**

There always operates a system of expectations in any human interaction. Since the new setting is not the locus of his socialization, to use Tajfel's concept, the novus homo finds it difficult as to what exactly is expected of him by the people in the new setting and as to what exactly he has to expect from them. He is indefinite and uncertain regarding the reaction of the people in the new setting to his action and his reaction to their action. That is, there is a lack of "complementarity of expectations," and of "double contingency" which are the fundamental phenomena of human interaction. Failure of his expectations leads him to strain and frustration and presents him with the problem of adjustment.

**Norms:**

As has just been pointed out, there is a
powerful need for the stranger to internalize the important and relevant normative standards of the new culture. Since his socialization has taken place in a different social system and his social location is in the periphery of the new system, the norms of the new system are less "visible" to him than they are to his indigenous coeval who knows his way around. When the norms are not clearly "visible," the stranger is not aware of the prescriptions, proscriptions and the range of permissible deviations as a result of which he either overconforms or underconforms to them. In either case he would be regarded as a deviant. When the stranger attempts to overconform to the norms, the local persons want him to conform only to the minimum essential norms rather than to the sum total of their cultural norms. At the same time they do not want him to show an increased adherence to the norms of his original culture. What is intended to say is that there should be as much correspondence as possible between what the local people expect the stranger to conform to and what he actually conforms to.

Sanctions:

The reaction patterns of the local people depend upon the stranger's action and those of the stranger on the action of the local people. These reaction patterns known as sanctions have serious consequences more for the stranger because of his dependence upon the new environment. Since the expectations are indefinite and uncertain, the reaction patterns too become "vague". Since both the formal and informal norms are not clearly visible, the formal and informal sanctions also become vague. Adequate communication between the stranger and the local persons is essential for the expectations to be definite, the norms to be visible and the sanctions to be clear. Since the stranger's social location lies in the periphery, adequate communication is not possible. When there is no adequate communication, his performances are also likely to go unnoticed or unrecognized or their recognition might be delayed. The sanctions delayed are the sanctions denied. Thus inadequate communication is likely to rob the stranger of certain sanctions and also of being accepted as a full member.

Facilities:

The facilities are instrumentally important for the newcomer in the fulfillment of his role - expectations.
But he is not aware of the different facilities available in the new environment and of their means of accessibility. There is, however, strong emphasis on the fulfillment of his role-expectations and the achievement of his goals and interests. When there is discrepancy between role-expectations and the facilities for their fulfillment, the stranger is prone to deviate. Some times the right of accessibility to facilities depends upon not on "performance" but on "quality". This is to say that the stranger at times finds the local persons withholding of normal facilities to him simply because he is a "stranger". Thus his unawareness of facilities and their means of accessibility, coupled with his "quality", block his access to the facilities which are instrumentally important for the accomplishment of his various goals and interests, some of which might also serve as substantive goals.

20. This coincides with Merton's hypothesis that
"... deviant behaviour may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of discussion between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realising these aspirations." Itid., p. 134.

Goals:

The action of a foreign or migrated student is undoubtedly goal-oriented. His manifest goals and interests are, more often than not, specific and limited which demand adaptive primacy. He has to achieve these goals and interests within a short span of time by establishing just friendly relations and maintaining neutrality during the process of interaction in the new setting. If the student gets overinvolved in the new setting, his latent goals and interests take primacy leading to the breakdown of his manifest goals and interests. This does not, however, mean that the student is expected to remain isolated which would again thwart the accomplishment of his goals. Thus the job of a "foreign" student is akin to that of a man walking on a tight rope.

If a student, whose socialization has taken place in a different social system and whose social location is on the periphery of the new social system, aspires to achieve certain goals and interests, he is confronted with diverse and conflicting need-dispositions, indefiniteness of expectations, invisibility of norms, vagueness of sanctions and inaccessibility to facilities. In course of time, which is severely limited, he has to strike a compromise between different need-dispositions which press for gratification, establish "complementarity
of expectations" and "double contingency" in the interaction process, internalize the important and relevant normative standards, establish adequate communication that enables him to know the system of sanctions for conformity with or deviance from the formal and informal norms and finally he must come to know the various facilities and their means of accessibility and actively manipulate them in order to achieve his goals and interests. This subtle process of learning over time may be called the process of socialization and assimilation.

Pattern Variables:

The pattern variables as developed by Parsons and Shils help us in an analytical understanding of the orientations of students in a cross-cultural setting to social interaction and the problems attendant on it. Generally speaking in pattern variable terms, a student finds a shift in primacy from one variable to the other. That is, he finds a shift in primacy from spontaneous affectivity to neutrality in his relations in the new setting. He finds that the roles in the new setting are more universalistic and self-oriented than particularistic and collectivity-oriented. He also finds that his performances are systematically evaluated and his ascriptive status arising from the social background of his family, kinship, etc. are neglected or ignored. Finally, he finds
that the roles in the new setting are functionally specific rather than diffused.

The orientation set of pattern variables viz., affectivity-neutrality and diffuseness-specificity helps us in understanding the foreign student's shift in his orientations to interaction. A cross-classification of the two pattern variables gives us the four alternative modes of orientations of the foreign student to the social interaction. The modality set of pattern variables viz., quality-performance and universalism-particularism helps us in understanding the attitudes of the local persons toward the foreign student. A cross-classification of these two variables gives us the four types of attitudes of the local persons toward the foreign student. This is only an analytical description of the situation in which a foreign student finds himself.

Reference Group Theory :

Merton's Reference Group Theory is of particular importance in understanding the behaviour, attitudes and orientations of a student in a cross-cultural setting. The movement of a student from one country to another or from one region to another within the country gives him a first-hand knowledge about the new country or new region which can be called an out-group. This means that he obtains a
first-hand knowledge about the norms, values and members of the out-group. This knowledge makes the student compare and contrast the social structural features of his in-group (his own country or region) and the out-group. Thus the new country or region provides a "frame of reference for self-evaluation and attitude-formation." Analytically speaking, the new group serves both as "normative type" and "comparison type" which sets and maintains normative standards for the behaviour and provides a comparative frame of reference for evaluating himself and others.

A foreign student exhibits many, if not more, features of a marginal man because of his peripheral position in the new group. Further, his earlier socialization in and internalization of the norms of his original group accentuates the problem of internalizing the norms of the new group which may be diverse and even conflicting. He cannot altogether shun the values and norms of his original group because he has to go back and fit into it nor can he shun the values and norms of the new group because he has to achieve his goals and interests through participation in it. He becomes a marginal to the extent that the values and norms of the two groups are diverse and conflicting.
The notion of **relative deprivation** can be meaningfully employed in the studies on cross-cultural education. There are, of course, various stresses and strains involved in a cross-cultural setting. Besides, it also provides various frames of reference for feelings of relative deprivation. Even though relative deprivation arises from the experienced discrepancy between a foreign student's lot and that of other students or persons or groups that serve as standards of reference, the host group is likely to become a negative reference group to the extent that a foreign student feels deprived by comparing his lot with that of his hosts.

A modest attempt is made in this thesis to investigate into the problem of education in a cross-cultural setting, in this case the problems of students going from one region to another within India, in the light of the foregoing theoretical formulations.