As has already been pointed out, the migrated student interacts not in vacuo but in a social system which is not the locus of his socialization. Obviously, only a handful of individual students, who constitute a social category from a social system and not the social system per se, migrate to and interact in a different social system. When a stranger and a local person interact, it is the former who is dependent upon the latter, who is in the driver's seat, for his adaptation and adjustment to the new environment. It may, therefore, be remembered that it is the migrated student who has to encounter a variety of problems by his exposure to the influence and enlightenment of the new social system. Hence our main concern in the present chapter is to study the problems of a migrated student caused by his exposure to a different social system.

Before we proceed to study the problems of a migrated student, some knowledge about the sources and causes of such problems appears to be warranted. While the new environment has its own conditions and demands which facilitate or impede his goals, a migrated student has his own social background which makes or mars his adaptation.
and adjustment to the new environment. As students of sociology, are, however, interested in the social background of a migrated student in so far as it is regarded as socializing agency or agencies in the past. The case of a feral man, which has attracted the attention of students of sociology, should best serve as the proof of social interaction in the development of individual personality. Hence we treat a migrated student as a member of different groups in the past. It is, therefore, interesting to see how well or how badly the groups, of which the migrated students were members, socialized to interact in and adapt to a different social system.

A look at the different agencies of socialization and the social structure in India unfolds the truth of providing shelter and thus fostering dependency into the minds of individuals, of ascribing status to individuals irrespective of their accomplishments, of curbing individuals' motivation for new skills and mastery, etc. Institutions such as caste, family, kinship, school, etc. have implications for the processes of socialization, individuation and identity formation\(^1\). We may perhaps best

\[\text{\footnotesize \begin{tabular}{c}
1. For the rule of various institutions in the processes of socialization, individuation and identity formation, see Y.B. Damle, College Youth in Poona: A Study of Elite in the Making, Poona: Deccan College, 1966. 
\end{tabular}}\]
start by analysing such agencies of socialization which enable us to know the capacity of a migrated student to cope with new and different situations.

Caste:

Caste is an all pervading institution in India. One's status, values, attitudes, overt behaviour, aspirations and ambitions are influenced by the caste into which one is born. Another important function of caste system is the maintenance of a definite social distance and of avoidance between people of different castes. Thus the caste of an individual limits and controls his interaction with and exposure to individuals of different castes.

"The caste system serves definite functions, maintains definite opportunities for solidarity and mutual support, and at the same time as a status system interfering in some ways with the development of the egalitarian spirit in Indian life."

When one goes out of this solidary and status giving caste constellation, one is prone to cry out for approval, acceptance, esteem, recognition, security and status. That is why the choice of life partners seldom transcends one's caste and geographical region. Hence Murphy is essentially correct when he says,

2. Gardner Murphy, In the Minds of Men, New York: Basic Book, 1953, pp. 35-36
"One does not go and find a job. One does not make a brilliant original contribution. One does not carry out a pioneering investigation nor exploratory function in some other part of the land."

**Family:**

The authoritarian structure of the family and the system of age-grades in India control and limit the interaction, aspirations, values, orientations and goals of young men and women. Every member of the family is an obedient and faithful servant on whom the child can count for care and comfort. The child in an Indian family is rarely allowed to learn and exercise new knowledge, skills and patterns of behaviour. The child is seldom allowed even to eat and walk independently outside the home. He is every time fed by some one or another and is everywhere carried on the shoulders or in the arms of his father, uncle and older brothers and in the waist of his mother, aunt and older sisters. Writing about the development of child in an Indian family, Mrs. Murphy says, "They (children) are carried easily, first in craddled arms who do not grasp them possessively, do not poke, inspect, tease or in other ways manipulate them; later they straddle a hip of sister or brother, father or mother, balancing

3. Ibid., p. 37 emphasis added.
comfortably, and following the movements of the parent's or sibling's body as the carrier goes about her way or about her work." The child in an Indian family is seldom allowed to interact with people other than his parents, siblings and other family members. The family provides even his play-mates". This constant togetherness and participation may mean that the small child is rarely exposed to new experiences without the support of a trusted person; it also provides an experience of kinesthetic and empathic richness." Since the family provides a basis of all the socio-psychological security, "... there is no place for the kind of stimulation and motor activity which our babies commonly experience." What is intended to say is that the family in India would help decrease the capacity for achievement, spirit of adventure, adaptive skill and responsibility of the child by providing undue care, shelter and comfort. Hence an individual cannot feel at home when he goes out of his family.

4. Lois Barclay Murphy, "Roots of tolerance and tensions in Indian child development", in Ibid., p. 49
5. Ibid., p. 50
6. Ibid., p. 51
Kinship:

It is a marked characteristic of kin group in India to serve as a basis for one's status in the society. Kin group moreover provides security to its members may restrict autonomy development. It also restricts what could be called "cultural infiltration" of its members by providing its own values and ideologies. One's peer group and friendship are often limited to kin group. Hence when an individual goes out of kin group, he is bound to encounter various problems of adjustment with regard to behaviour and social relationships. As is well known, an individual in India acquires status by reason of birth into a given family, kinship, caste and such other particularistic and nonvoluntary groups. Whatever may be our exposure to western values and ideologies, the emphasis upon quality rather than upon performance still remains. However, one's performances are prone to be systematically evaluated if, for some reason or another, one's particularistic criteria remained unknown. The sudden shift from particularistic to universalistic treatment and from ascription to achievement causes stresses and strains to the individual and demands adjustment.

School:

The school in India, as everywhere else, plays an important role in the socialization of children. as
children come to the school, they bring with them the backlog of ascriptive criteria such as age, sex, caste, neighbourhood, region and so on. One finds in an Indian school various inhibiting and informal groups based on religious, regional, linguistic, caste, kinship and neighbourhood differences. The students belonging to such groups not only dress, behave and think alike but also refrain themselves from exposing to students of other subcultures by restricting their social interaction to their own group. These groups zealously maintain their boundary by applying various sanctions to members who interact with members of a different group. This kind of snobbery definitely creates problems of interaction especially when a student crosses regional boundaries. The formal organization of the school also does not provide any mechanisms to bring the members of all such groups together. "None of the schools I visited gave an opportunity for groups to think together, solving problems, planning work or entertainment."

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There exist and interact in India two diverse sets of values and orientations - the broad national one and the narrow parochial one. The nation as a boundary maintenance system, of course, provides a structure for loyalties, values, norms, beliefs, attitudes, overt behaviour, aspirations and goals. However, it is one thing for an Indian student to talk about nationalism and national integration, an entirely different thing for the same student to uphold the particularistic loyalties, cultural ethos and values for the linguistic region to which he belongs. In this context, the concept of boundary is of crucial importance. The upholding of national or regional values, however, differs from one situation to another. Two individuals belonging to two different regions may well fight over the issues such as the distribution of river water, location of a steel plant or over a piece of territory. In this situation, the boundary of the nation is latent or temporarily inoperative. Hence they are not to be misconstrued as antinational elements.

The same two individuals can easily forget their regional differences, forego some of their luxuries and bear the brunt of national defence efforts when the "freedom of the country is in peril". All the same, the water-tight compartments of linguistic states seem to have tended people to sectarian and segmental thinking and orientations. Thus region as a factor makes for particularistic loyalties and the consequent conflicts and tensions between people of different regions in India. Added to these inadequacies of the individual migrated student are the exigencies of the new social system in which he finds himself. Since we are concerned with the migration of students, and the problems attendant on it, from one region to another, our next step should naturally be the analysis of region. That is, how one region differs from another?

It may be recalled that India is thirteen times the size of the United Kingdom or as large as Europe excluding Russia. India is divided into several linguistic regions. "The region", Radhakamal Mukerji has said, "is a common and coordinate set of stimuli, eliciting similarity of responses, habits and feelings which are reinforced by gregariousness and which are moulded and stabilised into a characteristic mental type and pattern of living." There are various

conceptions of regions and all these manifestly reinforce the regions in India. To some, the region is a geographical area defined by physical and natural characteristics such as rivers and mountains and such as rain-fall and length of season. The regions in India have their physical boundaries and one finds in India almost all the climatic conditions that are found in the whole world. To others, the region is a geographical area defined by cultural characteristics such as language, dialect and patterns of behaviour. There are 24 recognised regional languages and as many as 225 dialects in India. Each region has its own tradition, history, customs, manners, values, norms, standards of behaviour and so on. Thus each region in India is, to borrow a concept from anthropologists, a different culture area. Besides, there are many institutionalised barriers such as trade, commerce, employment, exchange, etc., which inhibit exposure of one regional people to another and confine the activities of a given region and isolate it from others10. Thus each region in India has its own physical, cultural and social as well as political contours.

10. For different points of view of a region, see Merrill Jensen (ed.), Regionalism in America, Wisconsin : University of Wisconsin Press, 1952.
One last word about the polyglot characteristic of India: As has been pointed out earlier, there are various languages and dialects in India. "They have their own folklore and literature, and these have great value for those who share them." The polyglot characteristic of India not only disrupts free intercommunication but also inhibits the exposure of people belonging to one region to the people belonging to another. Lack of intercommunication and of exposure to one another breeds isolation and, at times, suspicion in the minds of the people. For example, the non-Hindi speaking people seem to be in constant suspicion of the Hindi speaking people. The former think of themselves as separated in cultural respects from and dominated by the latter. Early in 1965 when Hindi constitutionally became the official language of India, Madras, a southern and non-Hindi speaking region, was the scene of self immolations and of a corrosive strife between the people at large and the Government. Thus when a student with built-in prejudices against a different region, language and culture migrates, he is bound to encounter various problems in his interaction with the residents.

When one is in a different linguistic region, one often feels

11. Abid Hussain, "Urban Culture in India: during the last 1,000 Years", in Traditional Cultures in South East Asia, UNESCO, 1958, p. 185.
that one is almost in a different country and some times feels worse than that when it is not possible to communicate through the local language. As a result, one tends to inhibit oneself from effective interaction and intercommunication. When there is no effective interaction and intercommunication, the chances of suspicion and of negative and even hostile attitudes are galore.

We have discussed the social background of the migrated student in general and the regional structures. The problems that emanate from the interplay of the inadequacies of the migrated student and the demands and conditions of the new environment may now be examined.

(i) Loneliness and Home-sickness:

The migration of a student obviously involves at least geographical farness from his original social system. This geographical farness brings about changes in the system of his relationships with different social, physical and cultural objects in the original social system and these changes in turn make some deprivations inevitable, especially until he becomes nearer to their counterparts in the new social system. We may experience home-sickness not only when we are separated from the loved members of our own group but also when we are far from familiar
scenes that have become dear to us through association." One can go a step further and say that we may experience when we are separated from our cultural objects too. Thus the migrated student, many a time, feels estranged, alienated and disconnected from various social, physical and cultural objects in his original social system. Another result of migration is the lack of intimate and informal relationships and a feeling of strangeness and isolation in the new social system. Hence the migrated student feels constantly nostalgic.

Out of 504 students in the present study, 183 were exposed to homesickness and loneliness in the new social system. This emotional shock looms larger in the incipient stages than in the later ones. Of the 183 students who experienced homesickness and loneliness, the sojourn of as many as 131 students was less than 6 months. Thirty-six students experienced constantly and 16 students when they fell ill. The data further revealed that this kind of emotional shock was more poignant among the young, women and married students and among the students who left their home and/or state for the first time. A young student who left his home and state for the first time said, "The

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memory of home many times haunts me while sitting to study". Another woman student said, "Absence of mummy, the home atmosphere, not getting letters regularly, etc." as the chief impediment for her studies. A married male student said, "I am terribly homesick. I did not see my wife and children for three months. I am just waiting for the terminal holidays to go home."

(ii) Loss in original status:

The migrated student feels that he is neglected, ignored and unwanted. He feels that he is, more often than not, relegated to an inferior status from his original status. Hence he is subject to a feeling of loss in his social and ritual status. This is perhaps due to the fact that his performances are systematically evaluated without caring for his ascriptive and particularistic criteria such as age, sex, family, caste, kinship, etc. He, therefore, finds it necessary to strive for acceptance, recognition and his original status. The feeling of loss in status was experienced by 64 students. Students who left home and/or state for the first time, students belonging to higher castes and students hailing from rural and countryside were more often than others subject to the feeling of loss in status. This can be exemplified by the following statement of a Brahmin and rural student who left his home
and state for the first time: "I was surprised to find for myself that nobody cares for me here and I feel that I am nobody here whereas I was somebody in my place."

Another important finding in the present study is that migration to a different environment also involves gain in original status. Thus 16 students mentioned such a gain in their social status. This was particularly true in the case of the students whose social and ritual status in the original social system was relatively low. A student belonging to an untouchable caste remarked: "I like this place very much. Nobody asks you to which caste you belong and how much property you own. You are judged entirely according to what you do. I feel I am given more respect here than in my place." This clearly shows that migration involves a shift from particularistic to universalistic criteria and from quality to performance. This shift, in turn, results in the loss of status to those students who enjoyed a higher status and in the gain of status to those students who suffered a lower status in their original social system. It may, however, be mentioned that the percentage of the students who felt a loss in social status was greater than those who felt a gain in the same.
Another important factor resulting from the exposure to a different social system is a reduction in the intensity of interaction and in the number of roles the migrated students used to play in their original social system. This becomes clear when we look at the extracurricular activities of the students both within and outside the college. Out of 504 students, 124 were in N.C.C. of which 86 belonged to the Armed Forces Medical College where N.C.C. training was compulsory for all the able bodied students. Then again, only 6 students claimed to be the members of athletic associations, 3 of debating associations, 2 of literary associations, 7 of social service associations and 30 students claimed to be the members of various other voluntary organisations of the colleges. Their participation in the voluntary organisations outside the colleges was still less. Only 21 students claimed to be the active members of organisations such as clubs, music circles, etc. The students were aware of the reduction in their range of interaction. "I used to take part", one woman said, "in many voluntary organisations in my previous college, but not here". Sixty-seven students claimed to be sparing some

time for social work in the new social system. But further analysis of the data revealed that of the 67 students, 52 belonged to the Armed Forces Medical College, to whom going through the wards of the hospital attached to the college, which was expected of every medical student, was social work indeed. The leisure time activities of the migrated students further bear testimony to our conclusion of a reduction in the intensity of interaction and in the number of original roles. In their leisure time most of the students took to 'light' reading — such as magazines, novels, etc. — 'outings', 'cinemas', 'gossipping', 'sleeping', and such other activities which do not really demand a membership role.

The reasons for lack of real involvement are not difficult to guess. Here again, both the migrated student and the new social system are responsible for lack of real involvement on the part of the former. One post-graduate student remarked, "I was taking part in dramas, debates, etc., in my college when I was in B.A. and now I am not interested in anything except my studies." Thus the behaviour of the migrated student was purposeful. They put emphasis on role-specificity by strictly confining themselves only to the studies. The emphasis on role-specificity was perhaps due to the fear that overindulgence in the new social system would thwart the accomplishment of
their manifest academic goal. The residents also seemed to have accepted, to an appreciable extent, the role-specificity of the migrated students. One student mentioned, "You are not liked by the Maharashtrians if you try to become popular by participating in extra curricular activities. Many times you are not given a chance even." There seemed to be a lack of correspondence between the migrated student's perception of the situation and that of the residents. The newcomer with full of zeal, nationalism and idealism, perhaps in his own interest, tries to be accommodative to gain acceptance into the new social system. He tries to become one among them by imitating and identifying the habits, attitudes and culture patterns of the residents. But the residents seem to maintain a certain "social distance" and expect the newcomer to conform only to the structural courtesy rather than to the sum total of their culture. One possible explanation to this kind of reaction on the part of the residents is that the interaction of the migrated students is not only unstable i.e. purely temporary but also that they seem to pose a threat to the existing status system and represent competition in various situations.

(iv) Problem of communication:

Lack of knowledge of the local language on the part...
of the migrated student also militates against the real involvement. In any interaction process effective communication is of crucial importance and language is undoubtedly the chief instrument of communication. It was observed that many new comers refrained from effective interaction mainly because of lack of proficiency in English or any other common language. Lack of proficiency in language would result in misexpression by the new comer or misunderstanding by the residents. One student, in the course of conversation said, "The best way not to invite trouble is not to move out". Thus there was a severe "communication gap" between the residents and the migrated students, especially the students coming from South India who did not know either Marathi (local language) or Hindi. The language hurdle was more severe when the interaction took place between the migrated students and illiterate local persons such as washerman, barbers, small shopkeepers, etc. 14

Thus "... language is important not only in terms of explicit denotations, but because of the subtleties, nuances, and connotations implicitly expressed, and the images and sentiments therewith called forth in the acts". 15

14. I happened to observe a migrated student from a Southern State knocking on a white wall and pointing out his shirt in his bid to explain to his washerman to get the clothes washed as clean and white as the wall.

Due to lack of knowledge of Marathi, 37 students experienced difficulty within the college, especially while speaking to non-teaching staff. As many as 114 students experienced difficulty outside the college, especially with business men, washermen, barbers, bus conductors, etc. And 62 students experienced difficulty both within and outside the college. As many as 102 students felt knowledge of Marathi as "very essential", 94 students as "essential", 245 students as "desirable" and 50 students as "undesirable" for effective communication in the new environment. Some of the students who felt knowledge of Marathi as "undesirable" suggested knowledge of Hindi as a substitute.

(v) Problem of food and accommodation:

The migrated student experiences the onset of his problems right from the time he sets his foot in the new environment. Soon after his arrival, the new comer needs somebody to define the situation for him. A vast majority of the students in the present study sought help from others in locating the college immediately upon their arrival and in securing admission into it, in securing accommodation and in finding out day-to-day essentials such as post office, laundry, barber, etc. The students were also faced with acute problems of living conditions in the new social system. "Unpalatable food", "lack of accommodation", "overcrowding
of students in the hostels", "souring rents in the lodges", "physical dislocation and inadequate transport facilities", "irregular water supply" and "frequent failures of power supply" were said to be the main problems regarding the living conditions of the new comers. An Indian student who is accustomed to a particular type of food cooked in a particular way at home is prone to be partially starved when he goes out of the home. In India there are various types of food cooked in numerous ways which differ from family to family, caste to caste and region to region. For example, while people in the South eat mostly rice, those in the West and the North eat mostly wheat. Hence the migrated student is, to be sure, faced with the problem of adjusting to the new and different food habits. To quote some of the expressions of the students regarding the food available: "I feel awfully hungry after every meal". "It is very difficult to pull on with 'chapatties'". "I have lost my appetite because of the unpalatable food available here". "Even dogs do not eat the food we are getting", etc. The type of food the students were getting was "very satisfactory" for only 47 students, just "satisfactory" for 223 students, "not satisfactory" for 120 students and "very unsatisfactory" for 64 students. Another dissatisfaction often expressed by the migrated students was regarding accommodation. Out of 554 students, 333 were staying in the college hostels, 45 in private hostels, 17 in community
hostels, 32 in private lodges, 39 with friends or relatives and 27 in local families. In the case of the Armed Forces Medical College where it was binding for every student to stay in the college hostel and which was in the incipient stages, 40 to 50 students were accommodated in a single barrack. Most of the students naturally complained against the "barrack system" which was not congenial for studies. The students staying in private lodges were required to pay exorbitant rents. One student staying in a lodge said, "I did not imagine that I will be required to pay Rs. 45/- per month per cot". Furthermore the students staying in lodges had to share the room with the fleeting patrons of the lodge. Another student, also staying in a lodge, humorously said, "I have to stand on the street if any fellow who stays with me in the hotel walks out with all my things during my absence". As many as 63 students could not get admission into the college hostels. Most of the students preferred to stay in the college hostels for they are not only "convenient for studies" but also for "student atmosphere". Most of the students had necessary furniture such as cot, chair, table and book-shelf in their rooms. Only 12 students had personal radios and none had a personal telephone. Small wonder that 3 students were living in unelectrified rooms. The migrated students were scattered all over the city of Poona. The distance between the
students' residences and their colleges varied from "a stone's throw" to "six miles". Public bus was the chief means of transport for most of the students. Some of the students who were staying far away from their colleges reported that much of their time was wasted in waiting for the public bus while going from or to their colleges. Frequent failures of water and of power supply were also voiced by a majority of the students. The one thing appreciated by almost all the students was the salubrious climate of Poona. The Poona weather was "very fine" for 152 students, "fine" for 261 students, "normal" for 50 students and "bad" for only 7 students. None of the students reported the Poona weather as "very bad". Thus the living conditions such as the type of food, type of accommodation, physical dislocation, etc., may be said to interfere with the attainment of the goals of the migrated students and demand adjustment on their part. In the present study, out of 504 students 368 reported that under the existing living conditions they could proceed with their studies satisfactorily, but 112 students reported that they could not. As a report on the living conditions of students rightly concludes, "for the best student nothing would be beneficial than the best conditions".  

(vi) **Academic problems**

There has not been adequate attention paid to the academic problems of the "foreign students". In fact, it is with the aim of achieving academic goal and the consequent betterment of life that a student ventures to move from one state to another or from one country to another. If the achievement of the academic goal appears, for some reason or another, uncertain, the student is prone to be disappointed and frustrated.

Understandably, Indian educational system is far from uniform. There is apparently a considerable difference in the courses, syllabi, media of instruction and educational standards of different universities in India. While in one university the medium of instruction is English, in another it is either regional language or Hindi. While one university puts premium on learning of languages, another puts premium on what are called "group subjects" such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, economics, etc. While one university awards first class for an aggregate of 60 per cent marks, another university awards first class for an aggregate of 65 per cent marks. While one university believes in spoon-feeding, another believes in just guiding the students. So when a student goes from one university to another, particularly to a university in a different
linguistic state, he finds that his previous cognitive orientations prove thoroughly inadequate to keep pace with the new syllabi, new course, new medium of instruction, new standards and new methods of teaching. Of the 504 students, 406 reported to have experienced one or more of the above mentioned academic problems. One post-graduate student in mathematics said, "The syllabus we cover in L.A. these people cover in Intermediate. So I find it difficult to follow the teacher in the class and I have to do a lot of home-work in order to catch up with other students. Otherwise I always used to stand first or second in the class without much effort". Another post-graduate student in Agriculture commented, "Most of the professors find it easy to explain in Marathi than in English. Many times they conveniently forget that there are also non-Marathi knowing students in the class and resort to explain in Marathi. It is really a loss to students like me who cannot follow Marathi". Many students expressed difficulty regarding the medium of instruction. One of the most disputed questions in India is: what language should be the medium of instruction at the university level? Out of 504 students, 424 wanted English, perhaps in their own interest, to be the medium of instruction. In fact, there were some emphatic answers such as "only English", "English and English alone" and the like. Forty-two
students wanted regional language, 21 wanted Hindi and only 5 students wanted Sanskrit as the medium of instruction at the university level. There were, however, 7 students who wanted English as the medium of instruction for science and technology students and regional language for others. Another post-graduate student remarked, "It is very difficult to get first class in Poona University because one has to get 65 per cent". The students also experienced that the methods and practices of teaching and the facilities in the colleges were different from those to which they were oriented. One student from Orissa commented "here professors teach in an unintelligible manner and what is to be done in the laboratory is being explained on the black-board in the class-room." Another student from Madras complained, "neither there is adequate staff nor are there adequate number of teaching hours. Most of the lecturers work in more than one college. The part-time lecturers take no interest in the students and they are not bothered whether we understand the subject or not. They leave everything on to us". It is perhaps due to the fact that in some universities particularly in the South spoon-feeding is emphasised even at the post-graduate level and most of the students depend either on the notes dictated by the teacher in the class-room or on concised "guides" or "keys" for their examinations. Hence
such students are prone to find it difficult to stand on
their own in a new university. Another important academic
problem for the migrated students was lack of library,
laboratory and such other facilities. The library and
laboratory facilities were "very satisfactory" for 65
students, "satisfactory" for 208 students, "not satis-
factory" for 85 students and "very unsatisfactory" for as
many as 143 students. Here again the students who
expressed dissatisfaction regarding library facilities were
mostly from the Armed Forces Medical College. An under-
graduate woman student from West Bengal said, "The library
simply does not exist". Another Rajasthan student from
the same college commented, "There is no library as such
for us". Similar views were expressed by the students
of the Engineering College regarding laboratory facilities.
One post-graduate student from Mysore has said, "You know
this is a very old Engineering College and the old
equipment in the labs should be replaced as early as
possible". Another undergraduate student from Goa commented,
"The college has only good reputation and nothing else".
It seemed he was very much dissatisfied with the laboratories,
teaching skill of the teachers and with the behaviour of
the fellow students. Thus there were many problems faced
by the migrated students within the educational institutions.
Financial problem:

We now pass on to the pecuniary problem of the migrated students. As Dongerkery, an eminent educationist, says, "The majority of students in the Indian Universities come from families which are unable to maintain them at a college or a university or to provide them at a college or a university or to provide them with the facilities for study except at a great sacrifice from their meagre income." Shila also makes a similar observation when he says, "The poverty of India is no less present in the colleges than elsewhere. Many of the students live in a state of anxiety-ridden poverty, unable to pay the modest charges for their hostel rooms or digs, unable, regularly to raise the price of simple meals. This is particularly true of the migrated students who stay away from their homes in a city like Poona where cost of living is considerably high. In the present study, 124 students mentioned that they were faced with acute financial problem. The education of 332 students was financed by their parents, that of 46 by the students themselves through scholarships and/or part-time jobs and that of an equal


number of students by more than one person. The parents of as many as 51 students had to borrow money in the form of loans to support their education. There was a deep sense of gratitude among some of the migrated students to their parents on whose meagre income they were able to study. One research student in one of the social sciences said, "I am still sucking the blood of my parents. I do not know when I will be able to pay back my debt to my parents". Another post-graduate student in Education said, "I do not have any worry here except getting just sufficient money from home. You cannot press your parents to send money when you know the situation well". This is mainly due to the fact that higher education in India continues to be a costly affair and still costlier for a migrated student. There was a strong feeling among the migrated students that the cost of living in Poona was very high. There was, however, a considerable difference in the annual expenditure of the students. A student hailing from Delhi could afford to spend Rs. 3,620/- per annum and say that the cost of living in Poona was "very low". A student from Gujarat could afford to spend only Rs. 545/- per annum and say that the cost of living in Poona was "very high". Thus there existed different opinions among the migrated students about the cost of living in Poona. Out of 594 students, 151 students felt the cost of living
in Poona as "very high", 262 students as "high", 49 students as "normal", 23 students as "low" and only 4 students as "very low". The students who felt the cost of living in Poona as "very high" were the children of farmers, of ordinary administrative personnel such as clerks, cashiers, teachers, etc. The financial strain was reduced in the case of some of the students by awarding scholarships. As many as 84 students were receiving Union Government Scholarships and 67 of them belonged to the Armed Forces Medical College, where almost every student received a scholarship and 22 were post-graduate and research students. Only 7 students were receiving State Government Scholarships. As many as 23 students were receiving college and university scholarships and 3 were receiving community scholarships.

Another important source of income to supplement or to substitute the support from their parents was part-time or full-time job. There was not a single student who was a full-time employee among the migrated students under study. Twenty-two students were doing part-time jobs to meet a part of their expenditure. Although 173 students were prepared to take up part-time or full-time jobs to help ease the financial strain on their parents, employment opportunities were scarce. However, the rest of the students felt that either there was no need to earn while learning or that it would interfere with their academic performance.
Unlike in the West, students in India seldom earn while learning and depend entirely on their parents and guardians for support. The main reason is, of course, paucity of employment opportunities.

(viii) Anxiety about future:

There was a pronounced anxiety about future career among 3.7 of the 504 students. Anxiety about future career is, of course, a common problem of the students at large. All the same, there was more anxiety about future among the migrated students probably because they had to undergo more changes and encounter more problems than the non-migrated students. The rationale for encountering numerous problems mentioned earlier and for undergoing various changes, was to obtain higher education and occupy an adult occupational role and the consequent status and prestige in the society. It may be recalled that this was the main motive for migrating to a different social system. The anxiety about employment was not only due to financial necessity but also due to the quest for status and prestige in the society. This can be exemplified by the following excerpt from the data: A post-graduate student in one of the social sciences said, "People in my village have already started asking me what kind of job I will get after completing my studies in Poona. I do not know what to tell
them because I am not sure of it. They have really made it a prestige issue for me. I am more worried about a good job although I do not need one. Otherwise people will laugh at me". The anxiety was more piquant among the students of Humanities and social sciences. Another disadvantage in getting a suitable employment in their original states was reported by 84 students. The reports inferred that generally a student with home university degree stands better chances for State Government employment than a student with the same degree from a university in a different state within India. Some universities, especially those in the South, seem to regard the educational standards of Northern universities as inferior and some discrimination is shown against the students graduating from them. As many as 94 students mentioned that in practice Poona University degree is regarded as "inferior" to that of their home university. The migrated students have a disadvantage with regard to employment in the new state also. By and large for purposes of employment a local student with knowledge of local language is preferred to a migrated student who does not know the local language. Thus the marginal position of the migrated students causes more anxiety about future career. However, this does not hold good in the case of the students who have a "pull" and in the case of the technical and professional students who
have a great demand at present.

(ix) Social relational problem:

We then pass on to the last and important problem which might be called social relational problem. A change of environment obviously involves changes in the system of social relationships and the primordial problem for the migrated student is his learning of orientations to the new people of whom he has not experienced. From the beginning of his arrival, he interacts with a set of new people who act in different roles in the new environment. In this interaction he has to build up a set of roles of his own response to his treatment by the local people. The structuring of his relations toward different people depends upon his perception of their potentialities for gratification or deprivation of his immediate and future needs. The data revealed that the migrated students in the present study confined their interaction almost entirely to their educational institutions and only few could actively participate in the wider social system. Hence their social relational problem was confined mostly to the campus.

Although many students felt that many of their teachers teach in a less organized fashion, they were very much satisfied with the teacher-student relations in the
new environment. As many as 102 students felt that their teachers were "very easily" accessible, 279 students felt that they were "easily" accessible, 10 students felt that they were "normally" accessible, 73 and 26 students respectively felt that their teachers were accessible with "difficulty" and "great difficulty". One student coming from Madras said, "Here a student can have access not only to the Head of the Department but also to the Vice Chancellor without any difficulty. The relations between teachers and students are quite informal. That is one good thing". The contacts between teachers and students were said to be "very social" by 79 students, "social" by 293 students, "normal" by 15 students, "not social" by 86 students and "very unsocial" by only 15 students. The same student from Madras said, "Here you can invite your teacher for a cup of tea or for a dinner which you cannot imagine in our universities". There was a considerable difference between the students coming from the North and those coming from the South in their opinions regarding teacher-student relations in the new environment. The latter had more appreciation than the former for the existing teacher-student relations. This difference seems to reveal deferential and submissive attitudes of students toward elders in general and teachers in particular, which, in turn, reveal the more rigid and traditional nature of social structure
in the South. Seventy-five students from the North (total number of students from the North = 226), as compared with 24 students from the South (total number of students from the South = 265), mentioned that their teachers were accessible with either "great difficulty" or "difficulty". Similarly, 84 students from the North, as compared with 19 students from the South, mentioned that the contacts between teachers and students were "not social" or "unsocial". However, the problem of adjustment to the teacher image in the new environment was more or less the same for all because it differed from that of the one familiar to them. Out of 504 students, 62 students felt that their teachers were "partial" and 19 students felt that they were "very partial".

A change in environment not only creates doubts and suspicions but also makes one feel insecure. One sometimes cries before one is hurt. To illustrate, as many as 65 students mentioned that they may not be given higher grades even if they do well in their examinations simply for being "non-Maharashtrians". But only five students mentioned that they would be shown some extra favour by their professors for being "new comers". As many as 84 students mentioned that they were already given a differential treatment by their professors and students and local people at large. One student said, "while Poona
University collects only Rs. 2/- as eligibility fee from the students coming from other universities within Maharashtra, it collects Rs. 20/- from students coming from outside Maharashtra. Do not you think this is discrimination?" Thus some students were minutely critical regarding differential treatment.

Many of the migrated students reported that they were disturbed by the fellow students. Seventy students mentioned that they were disturbed by the behaviour of the local students, 46 by the students coming from all parts of the country and 17 by the students coming from their own state.

Many migrated students under study were disappointed by the "type" of friendship in the new environment. They were asked to mention if they found any difference in friendship in the new environment. We know that friendship is universally recognised as diffuse and particularistic relationship. While only 12 students appreciated the sincerity and genuineness of friendship in the new environment, 161 students characterised it as "hypocritical", "superficial", "opportunist", "perfunctory", etc. The cross-sex friendship was more severely criticised than the intrasex friendship. The data revealed three clear cut patterns in the formation of friendships. In the case of
Intrasex friendship 114 students had friends among the students coming from all parts of the country, 86 students among the students coming from their own region and 66 students from the new environment. In the case of cross-sex friendship, 65 students had friends among the students coming from all parts of the country, 53 students among the students coming from their own region and 45 students among the students from the new environment. The first three important places for the formation of intrasex friendship were hostels, class-rooms and social and cultural associations - in that order. But in the case of formation of cross-sex friendship, the first three important places were class-rooms, social and cultural associations and colleges - in that order.

Thus there were different problems for the migrated students caused by their exposure to the different social system. In the next chapter an attempt will be made to find out whether differences in the social background of the migrated students make for differences in the more comprehensive problem of optimization of gratification.