In the previous chapter the results of the present study have been reported. The present chapter aims at interpretation of the inferences drawn from the empirical study. Comparisons will be made with other relevant studies in order to present an all India picture of the problem. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section deals with political factors accounting for the restive behaviour of the students. The second section highlights the economic factors which effect the student community in a number of ways. The third section is devoted to the sociological background of the students, the ways such background fashions their perceptions, beliefs and value patterns, and its contribution in generating tensions among them. The fourth section considers problems associated with academic and residential life of the students.

1. Political factors

Studies referred to in chapter 1 demonstrate that the involvement of students in political affairs of the country is becoming a world-wide phenomenon. The intensity of involvement, however, varies from country to country. Students in many developing countries have succeeded in
toppling governments and in affecting significant social and political changes. Reference was also made to the part student community had played in the Indian freedom movement under the guidance of political leaders. Review of previous studies reveals that, after independence, the political parties continued to have link with student unions, and in some places bitter rivalry exists among political parties to secure hold on student unions. Various studies on student and politics in the Indian context has helped in the formulation of several hypotheses, which we now propose to examine.

Numerous studies and articles in recent years place blame on political parties and politicians for growing unrest among students. We explore the validity of the hypothesis that the interference of political parties is a major factor in student unrest.

The political parties have worked to politicise a number of universities in India and have been quite successful as in the case of Benaras Hindu University. Eakin (1972) observes that this politicisation has undoubtedly been a factor in student unrest at that university. Mehta (1975) blames the Swatan Sevak Dal and Vidyarthi Parishad for creating communal tensions and violent demonstrations at
In an analysis of the Banaras Hindu University crisis of 1971, Srivastava (1974) maintains that the bipolarization of political forces has assumed rigid dimensions. "With the Congress and C.P.I. on the one hand, and opposition parties of the Grand Alliance on the other, the campus conflict has become the battle ground of competing ideologies". With the re-emergence of Muslim political organizations in Northern India, the minority character of the Aligarh Muslim University became a live issue. Mehta (1975) has noted the role of the Muslim Majlis and Muslim League in creating tensions and demonstrations by students on the minority status issue. The issue has far reaching effect of politicisation of Muslim community in India.

The issue of the character of the University has rendered the AMU as the hot bed of politics at the national level. Political parties having an eye on block votes of Muslims have made promises in their election manifestos in the last several elections. Bargains, appeasement, antagonism, and riots have been the product of the whole issue.

At the campus, successive generations of student leaders have been able to muster whole-hearted support for any strike, protest, march or demonstration which was connected
with the 'minority status' of the A.M.U. Resentment has been shown both by students and teachers against the Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Act of 1972 which they claim has distorted many features of the A.M.U. The issue of restoration of 'minority status' continues to bewilder the students at the A.M.U. When asked to express their views regarding the causes of student unrest at the A.M.U., an overwhelming majority (70.4) of the sample (N=518) believed that dissatisfaction with the 1972 Act was the main cause of the recent strikes. Surprisingly only 17.4 of the sample thought that involvement of politicians has led the students to strikes. This discussion leads us to conclude that extreme interference by politicians or other vested interests has the capacity to disturb the campus peace.

Numerous research studies have shown that only a small group of students like political involvement, while others loathe not only the politics but also the politicians. These considerations led us to test the hypothesis that "involvement in party politics by the students is not a factor affecting the present malaise of student unrest." The data of the present study supports this hypothesis. Both the restive and non-restive students in large numbers did not favour political involvement in university affairs and the union matters. They strongly disfavoured political
interference. The result of the present survey falls in line with numerous other studies done in India and elsewhere. Eakin (1972) maintains that most students "are not politically oriented, specially towards the most overt form of participation such as involvement in political clubs and parties and in student radicalism." Dawson and Prewitt (1969) maintain that popular picture of a whole student body participating in riots and demonstrations is a distorted one for the college and university population of developing countries as well as those of the more developed nations. They comment that "the students politics nowhere does it involve more than a minority of the student body." Lipset (1965), in summarizing the survey of students' attitude in many universities of Latin America and Asia, concludes that most of them do not support radical politics. Altbach (1968) observes that the widespread publicity given to student indiscipline may obscure the statistical fact that most Indian colleges have not been plagued by student unrest and are tranquil. He notes in the present unrest the absence of general support to issues which was characteristics of the student agitations prior to 1947. Altbach, in another study, comments that student indiscipline often centres in certain areas of India and
radicalism is no longer ideologically oriented but centres more on local immediate issues. Eakin (1972) refers to an unpublished Ph.D. thesis based on the Bombay data where it was observed that active interest including participation in politics is almost entirely absent in the student community of Bombay colleges. Eakin's own study discloses a small percentage of students being involved with political parties.

The studies in other parts of the country, for example Sharma (1971) on the Raipur data, Ross (1963) on the Bangalore sample, and studies on Delhi and Benaras students, demonstrate that only a minority of the students in those universities were involved in politics. The Khurao study at the Delhi University points out that 31.8% of the students in the sample were party sympathisers, but only 1.4% were party members. Gaudino (1965) remarks that Indian situation that "student indiscipline though sensational in a few cases is not as widespread as it is dramatic". He concludes that Indian students are not violent, rebellious, irascible, angry, demanding, uncompromising, and resentful. They are more indolent and careless than rowdy and unsavourable. But they are capable of being provoked into extreme attitude.
The present study in conjunction with other surveys leads us to conclude that students are not, by and large, politicised. However, one has to be cautious in interpreting the role of politics and politicians in the analysis of student unrest. It has to be understood in the context of a particular institution and a particular region.

**Politisation of student unions**

Student unions represent an important avenue for student participation in the university life outside the classroom. Properly organised, they help in self government and are healthy outlet of student energies through extra-curricular programmes. The constitutions of some of the student unions enumerate the aims and objectives as: to promote the social, cultural and intellectual development of the students; to inculcate democratic traditions among them and to prepare them for responsible citizens.

The picture which emerges from the various studies is that student unions have considerably deviated from their essential functions and in many universities have more active in "political activities". Student groups and organisations have always been active in student unions. Mehta (1979) maintains that in a number of volatile Indian universities like Aligarh, Banaras, Calcutta and Delhi,
student unions have been politically important. Most of the unions have controlled all agitations which stem from local issues. But in some cases, student unions are controlled by ideological political factions, attempting to use the unions as a base of operations against an opposition political group within or outside the university.

Many of the student unions have become more and more politicised, in the narrow sense of the term, in that they bear direct link with political parties. Most of the major all India organisations of students are actually students' wings of national political parties. Thus the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad represents the Jan Sangh, the National Students' Union of India (I) the Congress(I), the N.S.U.I.(U) the Congress (II), the Yuva Janta, the Janta or the Lok Dal, the All India Students Federation the C.P.I. and the student federation of India the C.P.M. The Muslim League has its student wing in Kerala as the Muslim Students' Federation. A report of the election results of 1979 of the student unions of the universities of Allahabad, Calcutta, Delhi, J.N.U., Kerala, Madras (six colleges) Osmania and Punjab, vividly describes the power game of various political parties at these universities.

This trend appears to make the threat of political manipulation of student unions a real one. Some of the
recent agitations in India were caused by such manipulation. Although outside political interference does exist, yet local grievances and frustrations more commonly lead student unions to undertake militant action against the university administration or state government.

The trend in many universities indicates that the whole process of campaign, elections, and representation in student unions is just a farce, an elaborate show designed to give prominence to some "political" types, and that student politicians are those who have nothing to do with academics, and whose only activity is to stop classes on some pretext. These considerations led us to test the hypothesis that "union activities do not encourage student unrest." Our sample does bear out this hypothesis. It should be remarked that the student union at the A.M.U. is not completely politicised as is the case with some other universities. This view is supported by the fact that there is a conspicuous lack of student wings of any political party at the A.M.U. union. However, in Althech's terminology, the A.M.U. union is a "volatile" union as is indicated by its capacity to vanguard agitations connected with the minority status of the university.
2. Economic factors

Economic factors contributing to student unrest will be examined in this section at two levels: first, to discover the extent of unrest among economically poor students, and second, linking the unemployment and poor life chances with unrestful behaviour.

The general economic conditions of the country impinge upon a student's family. In a distressed family, the student feels the teeth of economic deprivations more. The economic struggle in which the family is involved often lasts throughout a student's career. It is sometimes argued that students from economically poor families find it difficult to devote fully their energies to their studies. Because they remain continuously in a state of agitation and restlessness they are prone to indulge in all types of anti-social and destructive activities as a strong reaction to the society which has hitherto neglected them. Altbach (1968) maintains that economic pressure during student life helps to determine the scope and intensity of student action. The underlying assumption is that economic deprivations develop stresses of which unrest is but the symptom.

These considerations made us test the hypothesis that "the economic status of a student's family is not a contributing factor to the student unrest". In view of the above
discussion, we almost hoped this hypothesis will be rejected. But, the empirical evidence from our sample supports the hypothesis. The inference that can thus be drawn is that unrestful behaviour is no monopoly of any particular economic class. The problem of student unrest is not simple. This was also noted by Di Bona, who remarks that the theory of deprivation lacks applicability to this phenomenon.

Another way to explain the relation of economic factors to the present student unrest is to link it with the unemployment, future prospects, and ambitions. The intensity of economic struggle is enhanced by a permanent feeling of financial insecurity. The prospect that await the students at the end of their studies are dark and gloomy. The situation becomes even worse when the expectations raised by university education remain unfulfilled. This generates frustrations among the youths. Kabir (1958), summing up this situation observes: "Combined with the disrespect for the existing system of education which its constant and sweeping condemnation engenders in them, their lack of purpose, and the hiatus between expectation and actuality, induce in the minds of the younger generation a sense of frustration which threatens to corrode their character and destroy the very basis of society."
The general unemployment in the country is thus a factor to reckon with in regard to the students' future prospects and ambitions. Uncertainty about future is conducive to tensions and anxieties. The alarming rate of increase in unemployed graduates, and even professionals, make the students restless. On the live Register of Employment Exchange Offices, the number of educated job seeker were 20.53 lakhs in June 1971 which went up to 35.25 lakhs in June 1973.

Of Majumdar's sample of Lucknow degree holders, 45 are unemployed five years after graduation. Rao finds 60 – 70% of Delhi's poorest graduates (those with only pass degree) employed eight years after graduation as minor clerks, a job designed to accommodate high school graduates. Khan's 1967 Employment Survey of Aligarh Alumni reveals about 49.4 unemployed and 7% self-employed. These unemployed alumni came from all faculties: Arts, Commerce, Law, Education, Science and Engineering. Surprisingly, a substantial number of unemployed individuals held degrees in Education, Science and Engineering, though for majority of them unemployment was short-lived. Approximately one fourth of the total unemployed alumni remained without a job for a period beyond one year. About 16% of the
unemployed alumni had obtained the first division and about 57.4% had passed in the second division. A dis- 49 tressing feature of the report is that for twenty-nine position holders even their position and merit did not seem to help them. This relentless devaluation of degree mirrors the sluggish Indian economy and contributes to frustration.

It is in the light of this evidence that we planned to test the hypothesis "the fulfilment of a student's aspirations by his present education does not affect his restive behaviour". On the basis of our sample we found the hypothesis highly significant. Thus non-fulfilment of a student's aspirations by his current education may lead to his restive behaviour. This finding is in line with similar studies at other Indian universities.

In a Bombay study, 65% of the students were worried or were particularly anxious about their future prospects, their careers, and the prospects of employment. Fluctuating employment opportunities for university graduates influence the direction and orientation of student movement. Inse- sertainty, resulting from poor employment prospects, can be a stimulus to student unrest.
Thus, the students questioning the relevance of the present educational system have serious doubts about fulfilment of their ambitions through education. Even in career-oriented courses whenever job opportunities decrease, there are repercussions on the student body. Uncertainty about future often operates throughout the student career, and the resulting frustrations may find an expression in an agitation which may not have been in connection with the employment opportunities.

3. Social factors

Besides political and economic factors there is a concatenation of other social factors which combine together to produce conditions conducive to student unrest. Students constitute a vital segment of our society. Their attitude and behaviour are in fact the reflection of general attitude that pervades our society. In a sense the student problem is the problem of Indian society as a whole. The forces and pressures to which various social institutions and social situations are subjected also impinge upon the life of the student directly or indirectly. In this perspective the sociological background of the student body becomes extremely relevant. Therefore, the importance of such
factors as caste and community distinctions, religious belief and practices, family setup and its environment cannot be ignored in comprehending the problem of student unrest. Changes occurring in these social institutions and social processes have affected not only the lifestyle of the older members of the society but also the youth who seems to be caught in a crisis of conflict. We have formulated a number of hypotheses which we propose to test in the hope of explaining the differential effect of the sociological background on the student behaviour. This section discusses these hypotheses in the light of relevant theoretical assumptions referred to in Chapter 2.

Caste and community composition

Caste principle has always been a dominant factor in the Indian social system. It has performed an integrative role in strengthening the traditional joint family system and proselytizing Hinduism. But there has also been repulsion or feeling of antipathy between members of different castes and more particularly between high castes and Sudras. In an egalitarian society of modern India, caste feeling, prejudice, and biases are an anathema. Yet we hear so much about castaism in our public life. Caste feelings have permeated every social institution, and education is no exception. With reference to educational institutions, Sarkar comments, “Caste still remains a troublesome inhibiting factor.”
Kapadia (1954) in a study of graduate teachers in the Bombay state finds that 42% of the group displayed fairly intense caste feeling. D'Bona (1966), working with the Allahabad University data, notes a division of the faculty along caste lines. Srivastava (1974), in his study of the campus violence at the Banaras Hindu University, finds group formation among teachers and students on caste basis. He observes that caste dynamism determined the student union elections and incidence of violence and alliance among them. He comments that the big bosses of the university are ex-tempore leaders of their caste community. "Vishwa Yuvak Kendras' study also shows that disturbances in educational institutions have taken place on the basis of caste composition of the teachers and students of the colleges.

At the Aligarh Muslim University, the caste element is replaced by community composition. Muslim students constitute a majority at the campus. Being in minority, non-Muslim students do not generally get involved in student union's politics. They rarely contest for union posts. Student leadership at the A.M.U. is composed of Muslim students. They have been in the vanguard of agitations connected with the 'minority' status of the university.
behind this issue are the real anxieties and fears of the Muslim community about preservation of their distinct identity in pluralistic India. Politicisation of the issue has been made possible due to this mass Muslim psychology. A preliminary survey indicated whole-hearted support of the Muslim students to agitations on this issue.

Ross (1969) in her study finds that caste and religious background does not appear to be a variable that has much effect on indiscipline, yet it is significant in increasing the anxieties of the students in regard to their education and career. This observation led us to test the null hypothesis that "a student's restive behaviour is independent of his religious/linguistic identities." Our data yielded significant results. An explanation for the rejection of the null hypothesis could be the isolation these groups feel on account of non-identification with the issues and the lack of faith in the causes. This could also be the reason why the non-Muslim and those Muslim students who belonged to a far off state and constituted distinct linguistic group did not take active part in agitations. Identification with a particular cause may break even linguistic barriers as is evident from the support the Muslim students gave to the 'minority status' issue.

Religion

Religious beliefs and their accompanying practices and rituals control or modify human behaviour in ways and
to a degree which cannot be regarded by a student of sociology. Religion thus is a regulating force which plays a unifying role and maintains solidarity among people. For centuries, religion has played a very important role in the lives of Indians. About religious belief and observance in contemporary India, there is, however, little precise information. Nevertheless, the impact of Western education and concept of individualism have fostered questioning attitude among young people. This has made them more liberal in their attitude; unlike older generation, the values and beliefs of youngsters are in a state of flux.

Breaking away from religious beliefs and practices may change a student's traditional control over his behaviour. We, therefore, set out to test the hypothesis that, "Regular observance of religious duties and practices by students do not affect their agitational behaviour". We hoped that observance of religious duties and practices would diminish the intensity of restiveness among the youth. Contrary to our expectation the null hypothesis is rejected by our sample. We conclude that religious observance and practices do not play a dominant role in conditioning their restive behaviour. Hence the intensity of their wayward behaviour cannot be explained in terms of their deviation from traditional beliefs and practices.
Often a student is caught in a conflict between traditional religious values and the freedom of the campus life. This conflict may produce a frustrating experience which he may exhibit in unproductive activities. Therefore, we were interested in testing the hypothesis that, "students coming from home with a strict religious atmosphere do not get involved in agitations". This hypothesis is rejected by our sample and hence we infer that the students coming from homes with a strict religious atmosphere may get involved in agitations.

**Family**

In sociological literature, family is described as the primary unit of social organization, the cradle of personality and the basis of social life. Kephart (1961) calls it the most remarkable of all man's social institutions. Family is one of the most important agencies of socialization. It determines the attitude and life pattern of a child. The concept of personal duties and responsibilities towards family and kin is deeply rooted in Indian culture and society. But the industrial civilization has shattered many of the old foundations of the family life. The old size of the family and the scope of the economic security it could provide, have almost vanished. Large families have become, in most cases, an economic liability.
Kapadia (1958), discussing recent trends affecting the joint-family, notes that the British rule introduced a new economic order, ideology and administrative system which began to transform Indian culture.

The authoritative concept of joint family has been responsible for its solidarity in the past. Representing the traditional values in the society the family may influence the students towards social conformity and adherence to traditional social and religious ideas.

With the decreasing hold and control of the parents, and the new idea of equality of man and woman, and under the economic pressures, the old concept of family has weakened and crumbled. A system of bilateral obligations typical of the modern Western family gradually seems to be developing in India. Large families are gradually replaced by nuclear and extended families. The role and responsibilities of various members of such families are also undergoing tremendous pressures of the present day social and economic institutions.

Breaking up of the family system may generate anxieties and tensions among the young generation leading to unrestful behaviour. We were interested in testing the hypothesis that "whether a student comes from a single
family or not has no effect on student unrest". Our sample supports the hypothesis. Thus there is no significant relation between a student's agitational behaviour and the type of the family from which he comes.

Erosion of parental authority, and generational conflict, particularly among the neoliterates and the rural youths, may, however, have relevance to student unrest. Structural changes are occurring in the families, and the traditional authoritarian families are dwindling and are being replaced by smaller families with more freedom and equality among the members. However, these structural changes are transient. There are families where authoritarian atmosphere still prevails. On the other hand, there are families where more congenial and free atmosphere is noticeable. In an authoritarian family, conformity to traditional values is a rule. But in many families children have greater say in the family affairs and independent thinking is encouraged. We therefore formulated the null hypothesis as: "Participation in family decision-making by students does not effect student unrest". Our data rejected this hypothesis. We conclude that participation in family decision-making by a student does effect his restive behaviour. That is probably why the children from authoritarian families find it difficult to assimilate in
their personality structure the traditional value
system which they find conflicting with their student
life. Sharp differences in values and attitudes exists
between students and their parents. Cormack (1961) ex-
plains these attitudinal differences in terms of gene-
rational conflict which she regards a product of social
change. According to her, students have been caught
in a whirlwind of social change.

Students have more progressive attitudes than
their parents regarding style of life, friendship with
the opposite sex, mode of dress, recreation, etc. Thus
intergenerational conflict is latent at family level.
In a study on generation gap, dealing with the Delhi
University students and their parents, it was found that
there are several crucial areas where conflict between
generations is latent. For example, relationship with
the opposite sex is one of the crucial areas of conflict.

The conflict between traditional value system and
modernity affects student attitudes. They feel closer/to their
peer groups than to their family. The diversification of
interests among the family members is another reason for
youths to seek friendships outside the family circle.
This tends to strengthen their relations with their peers
and to draw them away from their families. It is the
friendship group which is receiving considerable importance both in and outside the campus and has played a major role in rendering the campus unquiet.

Another consequence of the conflict between tradition and modernity is development of an anti-authority attitude. Frustrations and tensions to which a student is subjected on account of the conflict in values helps to develop an anti-authority attitude. Cormack (1968) points out that the family remains largely sacrosanct at the conscious level, though authority clashes within some families are now visible and admitted. The irrational anti-authority feelings are therefore directed principally towards other authorities—school and university officials, and of late, the police and disliked government officials. 78

In Ross (1969), conflict with parents was also noted to be a factor in student unrest. Such conflict, she maintains, builds up tensions that may be released in other ways. She concludes that the Indian student is still a part of somewhat authoritarian and usually a large family. The pent-up feelings which a student develops in trying to secure independence are released in campus demonstrations rather than in challenging his family. 80
With a view to test the validity of the above assumptions two null hypotheses were formulated: "Conflicts with parents do not contribute to a students' restless behaviour" and "Docile behaviour in the family does not take an aggressive form in the institutional setting". Both these hypotheses are rejected on the basis of our sample. Furthermore, conflict with the parents does not become an open revolt by the youth. He does not object to parental decisions even if they are not to his liking. He meekly submits to the authority of the older members of the family. The reason why a student does not generally defy the authority of the family, in words of Shils (1961) is that "he is not a total nihilist of all traditional values". There is much vacillation between tradition and modernity among the students. Another possible reason for absence of open defiance against family is the fear of consequences and the students' economic dependence on parents. The suppressed feeling finds expression in defiance of authority in an objective situation where the consequences are not strictly personal.

Another family condition having bearing on the student unrest is the level of education of the family, particularly of the parents. Traditionally the students
who came to universities and colleges belonged to a privileged class which had a tradition and respect for education. Now students from every strata of a heterogeneous society (urban, rural, and tribal) come to the universities. Many new entrants to the college life are children of illiterate or poorly educated parents. The gap between these students and their parents is quite wide.

Parsons and Eisenstadt have emphasized the need to look at the magnitude of the differences between the values of the adult and youth generations in varying types of societies. They remark that generational conflict is caused, at least in part, by sharp value differences among generations, and that such cleavages, particularly between the better educated (younger on the average) and uneducated (older), are great in modernizing societies.

Srinivas (1968) hypothesizes that the first generation learners, whose number is tremendously increasing, find it difficult to adjust to the new demands and values of the society unlike those who had advantage of generations of education.

In this context we proposed to test the null hypothesis that "parents' education is not a factor contributing to student unrest". The hypothesis is rejected
on the basis of our sample. One reason for validity of this hypothesis may be that the neoliterates have to face unbridgeable gap between their home culture and the university culture.

As most of the universities are located in towns, university life is the first exposé of the rural students to the urban life. The rural back-ground of a student becomes an obstacle to over-come in the urban ethos of academic life. At the campus "he is alienated from the politics of the faculty the dead weight of curriculum, the official rhetoric of obedience and restraint." Often he has no sympathy for or understanding of the elaborate administrative forms which are designed to protect the individual, award merits and insure justice for all. Problems of adjustment produce conditions conducive to restive behaviour. We therefore sought a quantitative validity of this assumption and tested the hypothesis that, "A student's rural background is not a factor in student unrest". Our data does not support this hypothesis. Several explanations may be given for the high degree of significance of this result. One of the possible explanations could be 'alienation'. The student's, living in hostels and acquiring new knowledge and ways of behaviour, feel a distance from their families.
This distance is particularly great when their parents are illiterate or they are living in villages. This separation and as yet, other unknown factors, contribute to their feeling of insecurity and to the uncertainty of their roles in society. These students are deeply alienated from the old Indian culture, custom and traditions. Intellectual trends often push the students further from traditional culture and social patterns. As a result of these factors the students feel alienated from and superior to their families and the society at large, but at the same time, they feel guilty because of their rejection of the "true" values of their culture. In colleges and universities, the common feelings of alienation amongst the students unite them against the teacher, the administration and the authorities. They regard the university administrators, teachers, and the police as the symbols of old culture and establishment. However, in a study of three universities at Varanasi, Lal (1973) concludes that alienation is not so rampant as is generally supposed to be.  

Besides alienation, other reasons for higher degree of unrest among students from rural areas may be found in the conflict of cultural norm of rural and urban societies,
acute competition with students from established and educated families, poor educational background and previous segregation of sexes among the rural students.

The superior attitude and social distinction of fellow urban students and the literal lack of means to take full advantage of education, make it difficult for the rural student to obtain fulfilment of intellectual personalities. The resulting bewilderment may account for their restive behaviour.

4. Educational setting

Proceeding sections of the present chapter have revealed a collection of political, social and economic factors that impinge upon the student behaviour, his outlook, values and ambitions. Often the troubled sociological background structurally conducive to tensions operates as a barrier to a student's assimilation into the corporate life of the university. The situation aggravates when the campus environment instead of lessening their difficulties further complicates their problems. Educationists, sociologists and thinkers have found fault with the education system and have held the view that the foremost cause of the student unrest is our ailing education system itself. Mrs. Gandhi, in one of her convocation
addresses in 1973 remarked that "one of the biggest mistakes we made when we gained independence, was not to have overhauled thoroughly our educational system and structure. We are paying for it now".  

The present section of this chapter is devoted to consideration of some of the most crucial areas of the campus environment bearing on the student behaviour. Hypotheses on issues as dynamics of teacher-student relation, inadequacies of examination system together with the method of evaluation of a student's academic worth, the living conditions of students at the campus, and the desire of self-assertion and participation in university administration have been formulated and tested in the light of our sample.

**Teacher-student gap**

According to Kabir (1958), the first and foremost cause of the present state of unrest among the students is to be found in the roles the teachers play. There appears to be a loss of leadership by the teacher. Traditionally relations among teachers and students are expected to be cordial and of mutual understanding and affection. A teacher is a father-figure showing concern for the welfare of his pupil, considerate, affectionate and exercising benevolent discipline. But today unfortunately these qualities of a
good teacher are conspicuous by their absence. The
teachers do not command the respect and affection of
their pupils as they did in the past. The charismatic
"guru" has long since lost his significance as a force
in Indian higher education.

There appears to be a social and academic gap bet­
ween the teachers and the students. Concern is voiced
against this gap particularly in institutions of higher
education. Aiyer (1963) notes absence of close relation
between teachers and students even in the residential uni­
versities of India. In the Raipur Survey, Sharma (1971)
requested the respondents to list the causes of unrest.
The dynamics of teacher-taught relation secured third rank
after defective examination system and unemployment.
Bajrangilal (1973) in his study of the three universities
of Varanasi finds a growing conflict between students and
teachers. He observed that "the mutual cordility of rela­
tionship and concern which had far reaching influence on
the attitudes, values and behaviour of the taught, is
almost a thing of the by gone days.

Ross (1969) ascribes this lack of relationship
to overcrowding in classes. As a result of mass education
the contact between teachers and students has "diminished."
The only contact of a student with his teacher is in
the classroom where he finds himself submerged in the vast ocean of his classmates, a fact which makes the principle of individual attention a myth. Kirk (1966) effectively puts it when he remarks "students proclaim that they are little more than units in an anonymous mass, numbers on a computer tape and to the professor faceless beings in a lecture hall. They insist that they have no opportunity to develop meaningful personal relationship with professors who are indifferent to their needs and problems". This gap breeds the germs of restlessness. The neglected students in their efforts at self-assertion force the attention through indisciplined behaviour.

Besides a depersonalised atmosphere of classroom teaching, a number of other factors are responsible for growing gap between the teachers and students. Ross (1969) focuses attention on students from rural areas, low income and non-Brah in homes coming to universities in large proportions. Among such students traditional attitude of respect for guru is absent. Gasfield (1968) places blame on teachers. He observes that the teachers do not shed their family, caste and regional identifications in subordination to those of national intellectual culture and thus fail in inducting the students to the culture of the
cosmopolitan world. He further observes that caste, kinship, local origin, and religion all are involved in a teacher's career. To maintain his authority over the students is essential for the Indian teacher and to keep his social distance is vital. Another factor which is responsible for the gap, as Spencer (1967) points out, is indiscipline among the teachers themselves; coming late, leaving the classes before scheduled time, going back home immediately after classes, and not being available to students needing help or advice, are but a few instances of irresponsible behaviour on the part of some of the teachers. Such a conduct has a pervasive influence on a student's behaviour.

The pervasiveness of the teacher-student gap as a factor leading to unrestful behaviour necessitated the formulation of the null hypothesis. "The distance between students and teachers as perceived by students does not lead to discontent and unrest". This hypothesis is accepted in the light of the data from our sample. We can infer that the relation between students and teachers at the A.M.U. are rather cordial. This inference is strengthened by the fact that only 13.4% of the total sample (N=518) reported lack of rapport between them and their teachers while 40.6%
claimed close rapport between them. Two possible explanations can be that the classes are not as over-crowded at the A.M., as at other universities, and the residential character of the university provides greater opportunities to the students to mix socially with their teachers. Another social reason for this close rapport could be the community affinity, a factor which takes the form of caste affinities elsewhere.

An other factor bearing on teacher-student relation, it is said, is that teachers are not responsive to the needs and problem of the students. To investigate whether the teachers take interest in the students as individuals, the opinion of the respondents of our sample was sought. Only 11.2% of the total sample (N=518) answered in affirmative while 20.6% responded in negative. Despite this result the students are by and large satisfied with the teacher. Only 28 percent were totally dissatisfied with the teaching while 27% were fully satisfied.

Examinations and evaluations

The traditional system of examination has been described as the most pervasive in the Indian education by Altbach (1969). He maintains that examinations have been one of the main causes of student indiscipline throughout the history of Indian higher education. Since the last century students have rioted against difficult
examinations, often forcing authorities to lower standards of rescheduled tests.

The system of annual examinations was first introduced in the older Indian universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras which were patterned after the London University. These three were examining universities conducting examinations for students of colleges under their jurisdiction. External impersonal examiners were part of this system. Even when teaching universities were established at Benaras and Aligarh they could not dispense with the external examiners and continued to follow the examination procedure. Under this system energies of the students are not fully utilised throughout the year and students do not generally study until a month or so before the examinations. According to Kabir (1955), the students naturally seek an outlet of such energies in various kinds of activities some of which are anti-social. The final examination becomes a test of memory rather than understanding or judgment. The whole examination structure helps the students to develop a mental orientation which Patil calls as “quasi-nihilist attitude towards the institution.”

The examination system is made worse for both teachers and students by the fact that it is sometimes inefficiently run, and that rumours often circulate about
uneven grading. The situation is aggravated by large scale practice of unfair means prevalent in India. It has now come to be accepted as a fairly general laspe. Assault on invigilators, and supervisions of examination centres by police are not uncommon. Interesting though it may sound, yet it is a fact that the Calcutta High Court was obliged to issue specific orders on how the final law examination was to be conducted and supervised. Leakage of question papers are also not uncommon. In fact it is said to be quite rampant in the Calcutta and Lucknow universities. Teachers and university officials are said to be involved in an organized racket of leaking out papers.

Many of the evils of the examination system are the by-product of the students anxieties to secure success by all means. They attach considerable importance to the grades because it has value to them in seeking jobs as well as for receiving and retaining scholarships. Anxieties and tensions thus inherent in the examination system determine the attitudes of the students towards the teachers as well as the university.

The above situation obtaining in India led us to formulate the hypothesis that the current academic evaluations including examinations are factors not effecting student unrest. This hypothesis is rejected on the basis
of our sample, and we conclude that student unrest is
effected by current evaluations and examinations. We
can draw the inference that the students have least faith
in present examinations and evaluations. They seem to
be unsatisfied with the system of assessment which gene-
rates tensions and anxieties among them. This hypothesis
empirically strengthens the commonly held belief that
examination system is one of the important causes dis-
turbing the peace of the campus.

In order to reform the examination system, sugges-
tions have been made to replace it with periodic assessment
system round the year by internal examiners. In some
universities this system operates but instead of solving
the problems it has put the teachers in many difficulties.
Singh (1971), reporting about the new system operating
in some Agriculture universities, observes that it operates
as a cause of friction between the teacher and student
rather than of unity among them. He remarks that to be
a friend and a judge at the same time is not an easy task,
particularly in our country where by and large relation-
ship tends to be based on mistrust. We are interested
in checking the hypothesis that "total internal assessment
of examinations would not contribute to student activism".
Our sample rejects this hypothesis and we infer that total
internal academic assessment may give rise to student activism. In the context of the social conditions under which teachers have not been able to completely shed away their caste, community and political affinities, the chances of bias and favouritism are considerably high. The student appears to be fully aware of this social situation.

**Semester system**

To involve students in their studies round the year, the Aligarh Muslim University introduced the semester system in 1967. Under this system the single annual examination was replaced by two six-monthly examinations. In addition to this, a system of sessional work carrying marks to be awarded by the teachers on the basis of various tests and sessional assignments was also introduced.

To test whether the semester system contributes to the unrest among students, we hypothesised that "the semester system is not one of the factors for unrest among the students". This hypothesis is accepted on the basis of our sample. One explanation is that there are a number of positive advantages to the students under the semester system. The courses are short, compartmentalised and fragmented and the preparation for examination is less strenuous, with the added facility that a student can re-appear for a paper not passed.
Residential life

Residential life is the distinctive feature of the Aligarh Muslim University. Over the years when other universities like Banaras and Allahabad have lost their residential character, the A.M.U. is probably one of the several residential universities which has jealously maintained its residential character. Residential arrangement is significant because it creates one single student community instead of many smaller communities scattered in several affiliated colleges within and without the university town. Shaw (1968) maintains that the environment of the residential pattern may give rise to an atmosphere conducive to academic pursuits, but it also helps the mobilization of large numbers of students for other purposes. The studies of Lipset, Emmerson, and Meyerson in many countries have demonstrated that students residing in university housing or rented room may often be more politically involved than living at home.

The reason for intense activism may be found in several factors. Availability of a large number of students, living under same conditions and sharing same problems help in developing collective behaviour, a situation immediately suitable for collective action. The residential character of the university has helped the student union to
become powerful and more volatile. The student union has been in the vanguard of activism at the campus.

Residential life has a profound influence on the students. The first entry in the hostel may be a unique experience for a student as he is for the first time away from the protective atmosphere of his home. The hostel setting is also attended with stresses and strains where the student is on his own and must make his own decisions. It is in this environment that he is gradually alienated from his family and gets absorbed more and more in the dynamics of peer groups.

We therefore hypothesised that "satisfaction with hostel life is not a factor in a student's restive behaviour." This hypothesis is rejected in the light of our data. We can draw the inference that the hostel life presents certain structurally conducive conditions for student unrest. It is in the hostel environment that new identities are developed, and new beliefs and attitudes emerge. The whole process is in itself full of strains and tensions. The sudden and new found freedom renders the students often go a little wild. This is more particularly true about students from rural areas who cannot adjust to the sudden freedom from family and social restrictions. We
observe on the basis of our sample that unrest is more visible among the residential students.

With the increase in enrolment and heavy pressure on hostel accommodation, the existing amenities and student services have considerably been reduced. Even in the existing facilities deterioration is visible. Poor quality of the food and bad living conditions have important bearing on a student's attitude. Some of strikes at the A.M.U. and to other places were related dissatisfaction with the hostel amenities. We, therefore, tested the hypothesis that "satisfaction with hostel amenities is not a factor in student activism". The hypothesis is accepted on the basis of our data. This assertion falls in line with the observation of Altbach (1968) that declining standards and dissatisfaction with campus conditions are necessary but not sufficient conditions for student unrest in India. However there are exceptions to this generalisation. We see that sometimes even in exceptionally high quality institutions where excellent facilities exist, strikes are not uncommon. Singh (1958) refers to the example of the Birla Institute of Technology which has good material conditions yet has been one of the most indisciplined colleges under the Ranchi University. Good facilities are no guarantee for absence of indiscipline in a residential institution as one observes a recent strike in the Birla Institute at Pilani.
Despite authoritative structure of the university, the atmosphere prevailing in our universities is becoming less authoritative. The commanding tone of the university authorities and the hostel administrators is least tolerated. We were interested in exploring the reactions of our sample respondents towards the university authoritarian atmosphere. Our sample respondents predominantly reported the university environment less authoritative than their 137 homes. We tested the hypothesis that "Authoritarian attitude of hostel and university administration is not a factor in student unrest; this hypothesis is accepted on the 138 basis of our sample. We infer that there is a growing realisation among university administrators that to dictate students means creating more problems. This attitude of the university authorities has led to adhoc compromises on several academic issues leading to deterioration in academic standards.

**Student and self-assertion**

Within any educational system there are several methods of self assertion, both legitimate and illegitimate. A student may find several avenues within the educational milieu to assert himself and thereby to establish his distinct identity. Ideally one of the legitimate methods is to prove one's worth by academic attainments and actualisation of his aspirations. This implies that he has to
spend more time in studies and overcome impediments to success. He would find less time for activities unconnected with his academic pursuits. We therefore hypothesized that "Regular study habits do not affect student activism". Our sample does not support this hypothesis.

A commonly-held view is that the students of arts and law show a greater degree of unrest as compared to the students of sciences, and that the art colleges have been more restive than the professional colleges like medicine and engineering. We tested the hypothesis that "discipline (sciences and non-sciences) is not a factor in student unrest". The hypothesis is accepted on the basis of our sample. We therefore infer that unrest is not the monopoly of the students of arts alone. The model of strike as an expression of self-assertion which once was limited to students of arts and law seems to have pervaded other disciplines and even institutions of eminence like the Birla institute at Pilani.

The age factor in student agitation has much relevance. Coming of age in all societies has been recognized as a period of stresses and strain. As youths grow up from childhood to adolescence, they go through physiological changes and psychological strains due to emotional developments. The desire to assert oneself is more prominent among the adolescent group. An adolescent wants others to recognize him. When legitimate avenues are not available, he
expresses himself through an irrational antisocial attitude. In this context we tested the null hypothesis that "adolescence does not affect student activism." Our sample rejects this hypothesis.

This hypothesis is further strengthened by yet another hypothesis which asserts that "students with average duration of stay in universities are not prone to participate in agitations." The latter hypothesis is also not supported by our sample. Students of average seniority in our sample were mostly in the adolescent group; these students constitute a majority of the student body. It is but natural that the largest number of activists would come from this group. The personality make-up of these students is in such a formative stage that they find the routine work so boring that their desire of self-assertion and their urge of pleasure-seeking easily bring them to agitations and strikes. Ross (1969) maintains that such agitations not only keep them to overcome the boredom but give them enough fun and excitement. Rioux (1969) regards the unrest among the adolescent as refusal to accept the adult role. Senior students who are closer to the adult roles would not generally like to participate in strikes.

As to the sex factor, we note absence of unrestful activities among female students in our sample. This observation is in accord with other reported studies that
female students are usually less politically active than male students. Ross (1969) reports lesser participation of female students in strikes.

Student participation in university administration

The students' demand to participate in university affairs is gaining importance. According to Rao (1969), participation (of students) in the affairs of educational institutions involves a feeling of identification with and commitment to the institution and the academic life it offers including its policies, programmes, and activities.

The increasing student unrest and the agitational methods to gain participation in decision-making processes have compelled the people connected with higher educational institutions, the government, the University Grants Commission and the vice-chancellors to realise that students have to be admitted as co-partners along with teachers and administrators in the management of the university.

Some of the Indian universities following the West have started their efforts to train the students to participate in the decision-making processes. Andhra, Punjab, Baroda and Trivandram universities, and the Government of Bihar and Rajasthan have agreed to give representation to students in the governing bodies. We set out to test the
hypothesis that "student participation in the university affairs is not a factor in student activism". Our sample does not support this hypothesis. We infer that the students have realized their importance as an organized power in the educational system in the sense that they can make themselves heard and thus can influence the educational system.

The foregoing discussion has brought to surface many ramifications of the problem of student unrest. Inferences and conclusions have been drawn on the basis of our data at relevant places. However it would not be out of place to point out several generalizations emerging from the study.

Students are an integral part of any society. What they think and how they behave is a reflection of the prevailing conditions of the society. A society, with politics invading various walks of life, economic instability, caste and community affinities, changing social values and unplanned expansion of higher education not tuned to the needs of society, is bound to generate stresses and strains. The problem and the perspectives of student unrest are, therefore, intimately related to these social conditions.
The influence of politics on student body has been considerable. The extent to which student community is politicised varies from institution to institution and from region to region. However it is generally a small body of students which has connection with political parties and is at places highly politicised. Same is true about student unions which at some places are receiving guidance from their political mentors. Bitter rivalries come to surface particularly at the time of elections of the student unions.

The theory of economic deprivations lacks applicability to the problem of student unrest. The data support the view that student unrest is not limited to any particular economic class. However uncertain future prospects and bleak job opportunities impinge on the behaviour of students. Cultural factors such as caste, religious and linguistic identities are significant in relation to resistive behaviour of students, though their influence varies in inverse ratio from place to place. Data suggest that identification with Muslim psychology to preserve their distinct identity in pluralistic India, is reflected in the behaviour of Muslim students of our sample. Elsewhere, this element of community affiliation is visible in the form of caste affinities.
The view that traditional joint and extended families exert influence on student behaviour is not supported by our data. The theory of generational gap, to some extent, explains the phenomenon of student unrest. Social change, occurring at an accelerated speed since independence, has affected traditional values and social system in a number of ways. The emerging conflict between tradition and modernity has an impact on the student community, although this conflict is often below the surface and is difficult to measure. Religion which has traditionally been regarded as an instrument of social control is gradually losing its significance in the life of students. Strict discipline and religious atmosphere at home is no guarantee to what a student would do in a free and less restrictive milieu of campus life. The data suggest that even observance of religious practices seems to have lost a conditioning effect on student behaviour.

The troubled family background of student impinges on his behaviour. Conflict with parents, lesser say in decisions affecting family, keep the students away from family bonds and bring them closer to peer groups whose importance has increased in recent times. Alienation is more visible among neo-literate. The new found freedom make them go a little wild. The monotony of the academic
schedule sometimes draws them to participating in strikes and demonstrations which provide them enough 'fun and excitement'. Unrest is quite visible among the students with rural background. They find unbearable the weight of curricula and the official rhetoric of obedience and restraint. The cultural difference between rural and urban life increases the problem of adjustment which produces conditions conducive to restive behaviour.

Added to the troubled social background are the irrelevancy and inadequacies of the educational system which precipitate the restive behaviour. The growing gap between teachers and students, though not supported by our data, has, at other places, been a factor to be reckoned with. Faculty, itself involved in petty politics and group rivalries, has a corroding influence on the student behaviour. An awesome tenseness descends on the campuses during examination time. Much of the trouble is linked with examination system. Students are not only questioning the relevancy of existing system of examinations and evaluations but at places have expressed their resentment in a senseless fury against the whole educational system. Despite authoritarian content of educational
system, residential life at the campus is becoming less authoritarian and least onerous. Students seem to enjoy it. Satisfaction with hostel amenities, even they are meagre, as our data suggest, has little significance in determining restive behaviour.

Students are becoming conscious of their status. They are more demanding than ever before. Their desire of self-assertion, more visible among adolescent students, may find expression in irrational and anti-authority behaviour often directed towards impersonal objects like institution, police and state. The pervasiveness of student unrest is considerable. The problem which was restricted to disciplines in Arts and humanities has permeated among the students of all disciplines including science, engineering and medicine, though its extent varies. The students have realised their power and importance and assert that they must have say in the university administration.

The causes of student unrest are, thus, both intricate and complex political, economic, socio-cultural and educational factors interplay in determining the restive behaviour of the student. More researches would be needed before a theory explaining the phenomenon of
student unrest is formulated. In view of regional variations the problem has to be thoroughly analysed and understood before India can begin to solve the pressing problems facing higher education. No piece-meal reform will help but a thorough overhauling of our educational system is needed. The system has to be made socially relevant to the needs and aspiration of emerging generation.
Notes and References

1. See Chapter-1, generally


5. Altbach, P.G., Turmoil & Transition, op. cit.


7. Eakin, T.C., Students and Politics: A Comparative Study (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972) f.n. 82 at p. 145.
8. Mehta, Sushila, in Mansukhani, (ed) Student Power in India, op. cit., p. 11


10. Mehta, Sushila, in Mansukhani, (ed) Student Power in India, op. cit., p. 11

11. New Bill Ensures Wider Base for Aligarh and Broader Scope for Studies; Link, dated June 4, 1972

12. See also the editorial in "The Illustrated Weekly of India" dated 22.4.1973. Where it was observed: "It was abundantly clear that majority opinion in Aligarh is against the Act and most of the faculty and students mean to oppose it. The opposition to the Act is organised, the supporters to the Act are not". Id. at 43
13. The percentage have been worked out on the basis of responses to question No. 8 Part III, Questionnaire (Appendix-I).

14. The percentages have been worked out on the basis of responses to question No. 10, Part III, Questionnaire (Appendix-I).

15. Chapter-4 supra, pp 62-63; see also Appendix-V.1

16. Responses to question No. 1, Part II, Questionnaire (Appendix-I)

17. Eakin T.C., Student and Politics, op. cit., p. 108


20. Altbach, P.G., Turmoil and Transition, op. cit.p. 92
23. Bakin, Students and Politics, op.cit, p. 135
26. Students and Society, and Some Other Papers relating to Recent Student Unrest in Delhi University, (Delhi: University of Delhi, 1970)
31. Ibid.


35. Altbach, P.G., Turmoil and Transition, op.cit, p. 42

36. Chapter 4, supra, p. 63 See also Appendix-V.2

37. Commen, op.cit, reports that some of the leaders of the A.M.U. Student Union maintain contact with politicians. Id. at pp. 33, 34.


39. Altbach, P.G., Student Politics in Bombay, op.cit., p. 8

40. Chapter-4, supra; p. 64 see also Appendix-V.3


43. Ibid.
44. Mehta, Sushila in ‘sansukhani, (ed) Student Power in India, op.cit., p. 10


48. Id. at p. 31

49. Id. at p. 32

50. Dibona, J. Supra note (41) p. 306

51. Chester-4 Supra, p. 64; See also Appendix-V.4

52. Report on a Survey of the Attitude, Opinions and Personality Traits of Sample of 1706 students of University of Bombay (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1960)

53. Altebach, P.G., Student Politics in Bombay, op.cit., p. 25

57. DiBona, J. "Indiscipline and Student Leadership in an Indian University," supra note (41) at p. 312-313
58. Srivastava, H.C., Genesis of Campus Violence in Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, op. cit., p. 43
59. Viswa Yuvak Kendra, The Dynamics of Student Agitation (New Delhi: Somaiya Publications, 1973) See specially (Ibid.) page 75 where caste rivalry leading to agitation at Gaya is reported.
60. Common, T.K., Student Unions in India, op. cit., The study covers the student unions of Aligarh, Delhi, Lucknow and Baroda universities. Reporting about Aligarh, Common observes "Usually the contending candidates are Muslim... Hindus generally do not contest the election since they know they cannot easily win." Id. at p. 22
62. Ross, A.D., Student Unrest in India, op. cit., p. 125
63. Chapter 4, *supra*, pp. 65-66; see also Appendix V.3(a), V.3(b)
64. Rouscek, J.S. Social Control (Affiliated East West Press, 1965) p. 171
67. Chapter 4, *supra*, p. 66; see also Appendix V.6
68. Chapter 4, *supra*, pp. 66-67; see also Appendix V.7
71. Altbach, P.G. Student Politics in Bombay, op. cit., p. 8
72. Ross, A.D. Student Unrest in India, op. cit., Chapter 1
73. Chapter 4, *supra* at pp. 67-68; see also Appendix V.8
74. Chapter 4, *supra*, p. 69; see also Appendix V.9


77. Ross, A.D., *Student Unrest in India*, op. cit., p. 230


80. Id. at p. 261

81. Chapter 4, *op. cit.* p. 68, see also Appendix V.10 and V.11

82. Shila, E., "Indian Student: Rather Sadhu than Philistines" *Encounter*, XVII No. 3 (September, 1961) p. 15


85. Chapter 4, *supra* p. 69, see also Appendix V.12(a) and 12(b).
86. Dharma, supra note (41) at p. 317
87. Ibid.
88. Chapter-4, supra, p. 70, see also Appendix-V.13
90. Altbach, P.G., Student Politics in Bombay, op.cit., p. 7
94. Quoted by Mehta, Sushila, "Anatomy of Student Revolt", in Mansukhani (ed) Student Power in India, op.cit., at p.2
96. Ibid.

99. Aiyer, C.P.R., Residential Universities, Illustrated Weekly of India, 96 (3113) 1965, p. 1

100. Sharma, S.L., "Sociological Background and Outlook of Student Activities: Its Bearing on Disquiet Campus", in Mehta, P. (ed.) The Indian Youth, op. cit., p. 74

101. Bajrangilal, "Cultural Alienation Among Student Youth" op. cit., p. 182

102. Ross, A.D., Student Unrest in India, op. cit., at p. 95

103. Mishra, D.C., "The Crisis", 44 Seminar, April 1963, p. 31


105. Ross, A.D., Student Unrest in India, op. cit., p. 95


107. Id. at p. 113
110. Chapter 4, *Aurora*, at p. 71; see also Appendix V.14
111. The percentages have been worked out on the basis of responses of the total sample (N=318) to Question No. 10 of Part II of questionnaire, "Do you have close rapport with your teachers?"
113. See question No. 11, part II of questionnaire, Appendix I (The percentages have been worked out on the basis of responses of the total sample)
114. The percentages have been worked out on the basis of the responses to the question "Are you satisfied with your class room teaching"? (Question No. 12, Part II, Questionnaire, Appendix I)
115. Altbach, P.G., Student Politics and Higher Education in India, in Altbach (ed) Turmoil and Transition, op. cit., p. 61
116. Joshi, A.C., "The Problem and Possible Remedies" in Singhvi (ed) Youth Unrest, op. cit., p. 223


119. Ross, A.D. Student Unrest in India, op.cit.; pp 112-113


121. Banerji, S. "Vandalism in Examination Halls" The Illustrated Weekly, supra note (120) p. 17


123. Chapter-4, supra; at p. 72; See also Appendix-V.15

124. Singh, Y.P. "Student Problems under the changed Education System" in Mehta P. (ed.) The Indian Youth, op.cit., p. 163

125. Chapter-4, supra; p. 72; See also Appendix-V.16

126. Chapter-4, supra; p. 72; See also Appendix-V.17

127. Shaw, R.C., "Student Politics and Student Leadership in an Indian University: The Case of the Osmania," in Altbach (ed) Turmoil & Transition, op.cit., p. 175

128. Kakin, T.C., Students and Politics, op.cit., p. 112 also Id., foot note (74) at, p. 144
129. Chapter-4, supra, p. 73; See also Appendix-V.18


131. There were 72 resident and 2 non-resident students in the category of restive students in our sample.

132. The Dynamics of Student Agitations, op.cit., p.82

133. Chapter-4, supra, pp. 73-74, See also Appendix-V.19

134. Altbach, P.G., Students Politics & Higher Education in India, in Altbach (ed.) Turmoil & Transition, op.cit., p. 59


136. Times of India, New Delhi, April 14, 1980

137. Responses to Question No. 13, part II of questionnaire, Appendix-I

138. Chapter-4, supra, p. 74; See also Appendix-V.20

139. Chapter-4, supra, p. 75, Also Appendix-V.21

140. Altbach, P.G., Student Politics in Bombay, op.cit p.207

Also Mathe Spencer, "Professional-scientific and Intellectual Students in India" in Lipset (ed) Student Politics, p.369 quoted in Zakin, op.cit., foot note 69 at p. 144
141. Singh, Arun Kumar, _supra_ note (135) at 205
142. Chapter-4, _supra_, p. 75; See also Appendix V.22
143. Times of India, New Delhi, April 14, 1980. The students of Pilani agitated against the rise of fees leading to closer of the institution.
144. Chapter-4 _supra_, p. 75. See also Appendix-V.23
145. Chapter-4, _supra_; p. 75; See also Appendix-V.24
146. Ross, A. D., Student Unrest, op.cit., at pp. 17-18
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148. Cormack, M. L., _She who Rides a Peacock_, op.cit., p. 13
149. Ross, A. D., Student Unrest in India, op.cit., pp. 239-240
151. Srivastava, R. C., _Student Participation in Administration_ (Bombay: Sterling Publishers, 1975), p. 3
152. Chapter-4 _supra_, p. 76; See also Appendix-V.25