

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Student activism has now a century old root in India. Student organizations existed even before the Indian National Congress was founded (Ghosh, 1969). Since then, the students contributed a lot to the freedom struggle of the country and their contributions were recognized, appreciated and encouraged. Till the achievement of the independence, activism was not considered to be a problem concerning the Indian people and society. But after the independence was achieved, continuance of activism among students caused some concern to the leaders as well as the national government. They wanted to see it checked because it had ceased to serve any useful purpose. About 1950, thinking started on the line of finding causes and remedies of student unrest. Presently, a good deal of general literature and some research studies on student activism in Indian situations are available. This chapter shall be devoted to the

review of such literature with greater emphasis on researches. Some foreign researches are also discussed.

### Classification of the Literature

Literature on student activism can be classified as (i) general and popular literature, (ii) committee, commission and conference reports and (iii) research studies. A good deal of general and popular literature is available in the form of articles, essays, and papers written on the basis of personal knowledge, experiences, thinking and speculations. The contributors to such literature are a combination of educationists, sociologists, political leaders, journalists, and government officers. Their contribution is valuable in the sense that they have provided ground for further studies based on scientific methods. Recently, a bibliography (Jafar, 1977) listing 1,415 titles has appeared. The articles in this book cover various aspects of the problem such as - history, causes, remedies, etc. This bibliography can be very helpful for future researchers in the area to build-up conceptual framework.

Two books are written- one by Prabodh Chandra (1938) and the other by Reddy (1947), during pre-independence period, present the history and development of student movement in India. Reddy, employing historical and descriptive methods, has traced the rise, consolidation and decentralization of student movement during the pre-independence period. The book throws light on many facts on the then student movement such as - student participation in active politics, formation of All India Student Federation (AISF), dependence of student movement on

national movement, and decentralization of student movement due to formation of various political parties during the later period of freedom struggle. This book presents not only the history but some such facts which can be helpful in explaining the present day student activism also. On the basis of what has been presented by Reddy the following conclusions, regarding the characteristics of preindependence student activism, can be derived.

1. Student activism was political in nature.
2. It was more prominent in north India in comparison to south India.
3. The student movement was almost dependent on national movement.
4. Till 1940, it was guided mainly by the Indian National Congress - but later on other political parties such as Congress Socialist, Communist, Marxist, Forward Block, etc. started capturing student forces.

Student movement of preindependence era is often explained in terms of struggle for freedom. But Prabodh Chandra in his book has drawn the attention about two glaring factors of authoritarianism and 'economic anxiety' causing unrest among the students, in thirties. He emphasized that 'unemployment of educated people was a burning topic' during those days and was responsible for strikes and movement among the students (Feuer, 1969).

After Kabir (1954) published his study identifying some causes of student indiscipline wherein he has suggested some remedial measures to check it, about a dozen of Conferences and Seminars were held during late fifties and sixties. A list of

such Committees and Conferences is given in Singhvi's Book (1972) and has been reproduced in appendix H. The participants in these meetings were mostly vice-chancellors, representatives of youth organizations and eminent persons of the society. These conferences discussed students' conditions, physical facilities, student-teacher and student-authority relations. According to them, these conditions were causing indiscipline among students, so from time to time they made some recommendations to improve physical facilities and inter-personal relationship between students on the one hand, teachers and authorities on the other. They, in their recommendations, emphasized more on student welfare and administrative and managerial aspects of the problem. It may not be out of point to observe that neither they proceeded on the scientific line of investigation, nor were they supported by such investigations. They did not accept a broad concept of student activism. They adopted a pragmatic course of action, but socio-economic constraints would not allow them to go beyond their limited thinking.

#### Analysis of the Researches

The general literature and reports of conferences have great relevance and utility because they provide a base on which scientific investigations would start. Before the researches are reviewed, a few points need clarification.

1. Researches related to the area of student activism are available using various terminologies often synonymously and inter-changeably. A list of such terms is given in appendix G. The investigator has attempted to analyse them in chapter 3.
2. The problem of student activism has greater relevance to the centres of higher learning, consequently the students of universities, their affiliated colleges and deemed universities have been taken into consideration for such studies. This does not mean that secondary schools are free from such problems. But their activities have not drawn much attention of the society, as they are not so effective. However, a few studies conducted at secondary school level have also been reviewed.
3. Researches conducted in the area are available in the form of Ph.D. theses and projects. Some M.Ed. dissertations have also been included. Since the area of student activism is related to the disciplines of social and behavioural sciences, the investigator has given due consideration to the works available from all such disciplines.

Classifying 165 research studies on higher education, Joshi (1978) calculates that 35 belong to the area of 'condition and status' of university college teachers and students, out of which only about a dozen are Ph.D. theses. His data were based on Buch's (1979) 'Second Survey of Research in Education'. This indicates the dearth of Ph.D. theses related to student problems and activism. Taking these into consideration, the investigator has also included projects in the review.

As already pointed out, two types of researches, projects and Ph.D. theses, are available but the number of projects is greater than those of theses. The reasons for this state of affairs may be, as Joshi (1978) puts them, availability of greater human and financial resources to the projects and their being free from 'rituals and cumbersome procedures' which a Ph.D. thesis has to undergo.

The initiative in this direction was given by foreign scholars like Cormack (1961), Spencer (1967), Altbach (1968,1968a), Shaw (1968), Ross (1969), Eakin (1972) and DiBona (1973). The available Ph.D. theses (some of them published as books) were actually undertaken as studies in the departments of Psychology (Sarkar<sup>1</sup>-1974 and Sharma<sup>R.N.</sup>-1976); Education (Reddy-1974, Singh-1974 and Upadhyaya-1975); and Sociology (Aikara<sup>2</sup>-1977, Mishra-1974 and Pathak-1975).

Methods used for the researches were generally historical, descriptive and survey approaches. Questionnaires, interviews, group interviews, office records and documents, and newspapers were the main sources for data collection. Construction of standardised tools has been uncommon, yet mention can be made of Pratibha Deo (1969-70), who constructed an inventory, Reddy (1974)-an activism scale, Upadhyaya (1975) - a standardized questionnaire, and Mishra (1975) - an activism scale. Two attitude scales by Shah (1966) and Sodhi (1979) were also developed for secondary school students.

Samples for these studies were often university and college students. Teachers, guardians and administrators also formed the sample in the studies of Sarkar (1974), Upadhyaya (1975), Vidyanthi (1976) and Singhal (1977). Generally, male students were selected except in a few studies like that of Ross (1969), Vidyanthi (1976) and Aikara (1977). Data for these were collected

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1 Thesis submitted in 1964.

2 Thesis submitted in 1972.

from individual universities as in the studies of shaw (1968), Singh (1968), and DiBona (1973); from geographical regions as in the studies of Sarkar (1974), Upadhyaya (1975) and Vidyardhi (1976) as well as on national level like those of Parkar (1976). Srivastava (1974) and Ray (1977) made a historical descriptive approach of studying three specific instances of student agitation in the Banaras Hindu University. Ross (1969) and Dasgupta (1972), each also studied specific events of student activism. Parkar (1976), for his study, depended on events/incidents occurring during certain period.

On the basis of their findings and conclusions, these studies may reflect some trends of activism which are being discussed hereunder.

### Involvement of Students

Here involvement means students' participation in political or protest type activities relating to educational or social problems at large. This raises two basic issues- (1) whether students should involve themselves in active politics, and if so, (2) what has been the number or percentage of such students who did involve from time to time. Some findings of surveys which sought the opinions of students in this connection are being briefly dealt with.

These are the opinions of students regarding their own participation. A survey of living conditions of Kerala University students (Government of India, 1961) reported that 35 percent of

the sample agreed for the students participation in politics, 51 percent were against it, while 14 percent could not decide. A similar survey of Lucknow University Students (Kaliprasad, 1959) disclosed that 30 percent favoured participation in politics, while 57 percent expressed negative opinion. Reasons advanced for participation were recognition among students and country's need for experienced politicians. Sirsikar (1963) in Poona University found 22 percent favouring participation, 61 percent against participation, while remaining 17 percent, indifferent. In a sample survey of college students of Surat (Apex Publication, 1965), 31 percent students favoured demonstration, strikes and fasts for redress of their grievances, while 69 percent considered negotiations as proper method.

The other approach in this connection was made to assess actual participation by the common students. World Brotherhood (1960) reported that 41.8 percent of the sample agreed to take part in politics and joined political meetings. Eakin (1972) in his study of student politics in Bombay found that 17 percent had participated in or out of campus demonstrations while 4 percent replied that they would start participating in future for changing an unjust college rule, if need arises.

In a national survey in U.S.A. (Kahn, 1972), the data indicated that 20 percent of the respondents had participated in protest demonstrations though they were not full time movement organisers. Investigating into the discontent of Wisconsin graduates in U.S.A. Graham (1972) reported that during 1966-67

over-all 22.5 percent students were dissatisfied. The percentage of the students among Humanities and Social Sciences was higher in comparison to that in Education, Science and Engineering.

Estimation regarding students' indulgence in the Banaras Hindu University varies on the three occasions of student agitations. Ray (1977) assessed 'that the number of agitators in the 1958 and the 1968 agitations did not exceed 20 percent of the total number of B.H.U. students. In 1965, agitation the involvement was greater.' According to Siršakar (1963), 26 percent of the respondents of the Poona University said that they had associations with political parties while those who took part in protest activities constituted 16 percent. Vidyarthi (1976) reported a comparatively higher percentage. He found that almost 50 percent of students in Chhota-Nagpur, either under the union decision or under factional, leadership had taken part in 'strikes processions or other types of demonstrations'. Similar percentages were reported by Aikara (1977) in his study of Kerala students. Out of his sample, 70.54 percent male and 19.73 percent female were found to be activists.

Analysing some data collected in the years 1952, 1961 and 1963 by various sources, Spencer (1970) concluded that though they claimed of greater participation, actually, Indian students' 'participation in routine partisan actions' was not so. Students' participation was compared with non-student Indian samples and student sample of Chile, Pakistan and Israel. Indian students were found to have low sense of political efficacy. Similar

conclusions were arrived at by Eakin (1972) in his study of Bombay students, but no comparison with non-students or foreign student sample was attempted.

Bowling (1976) in U.S.A. studied relationship between student activism and societal development in 25 countries. He reported that larger number of students with more violent methods participated in developing countries rather than in developed countries, during the period from 1964 to 1974.

Whatever be the percentage of students' opinion regarding participation, or actual participation, the above studies lead to the following conclusions :

1. Students' participation in protest activities has shown a trend of progressive increase during the period of a decade and a half.
2. Because of the long history of student movement in India, students have a 'latent tendency' for activism. This tendency may sprout when and if there is any occasional or popular discontent, and such situations in a country like India are not infrequent.

#### Causes and Factors

Though student activism in India emerged towards the end of the last century and intensified during the period from the boycott of government educational institutions in 1920 to Quit India movement of 1942, yet it was never viewed as a problem by the people and national leaders till the independence was achieved. Perhaps, this was so because of the following two reasons :

1. The students were supporting the national movement which was then the immediate issue before the people and as a strategy the student-community was rather encouraged.
2. Since the economic and political systems were controlled by a foreign rule, perhaps, their destructions were little cared by the natives. As a war strategy it could have been in favour of the national movement. Its far reaching effects were neither visualized nor calculated.

No serious attempts were made to understand the underlying factors, perhaps due to the wishful thinking of the people and the government that activism would subside and disappear as a result of the achievement of the independence (Tripathi, 1978<sup>a</sup>). It was viewed as a problem by the people and national government when the leaders engaged themselves in solving socio-economic problems and various issues, demands and grievances were raised by students at local, regional and national levels. As a result what was deemed to be patriotic during the national struggle, became indiscipline in the post-independence period. Attitudes of the people as well as the national government started changing and student activism was considered as a law and order problem (Altbach, 1968).

Other dimensions i.e. economic, particularly educated unemployment towards which Prabodh Chandra (Feuer, 1969) drew attention to as early as in 1938, were not even thought of. Kabir (1954) made an attempt to identify the causes and discovered that loss of leadership by teachers, economic difficulties, defective educational system and loss of idealism were the causes responsible for student unrest.

Jafar (1977) in his bibliography has listed 526 titles dealing with the causes and remedies of the student activism. These articles have been put under different heads like education system, examination, semester system, psychological, generation gap, economic, management, teachers and guardians, student unions and police, indicating that these are the major factors responsible for student activism. But the above studies made a part of general literature. Only a few of them are based on empirical researches. But for this reason their importance can not be undermined, because they are very helpful in enhancing researches, particularly for formulating hypotheses.

Like general literature on student activism, emphasis was laid in researches on finding causes and listing factors responsible for activism. Generally, two methods were adopted for the purpose, (i) historical and (ii) survey. In the first, researchers attempted to arrive at conclusions through description of the facts and logical analysis. Altbach (1968), Srivastava (1974) and Ray (1977) come under this category. In the other, causes were identified surveying the opinions of students, teachers, guardians and administrators. This includes Sharma (1971), Sarkar (1974) and Upadhyaya (1975). There are others who considered students' total environment influencing their activist behaviour and made attempts to study them. Shaw (1968), Singh (1968), Ross (1969), Aikara (1977) and Singhal (1977) fall under this category.

In U.S.A. Karsten (1972) in his study classified the 'interpretations of the causes of campus unrest' in 1970 into

eight categories. Some of the categories were related to - problems and difficulties, psychological situations, egalitarian ideals, political motivations etc.

Upadhyaya (1975) studied student unrest in eastern U.P. and discovered ten most important causes on the basis of opinions expressed by the students, teachers, guardians and administrators. Further, he categorised them into four areas - academic, administrative, political and socio-economic. Out of the ten most important causes, three belong to academic, two to administrative, three to political and remaining two fall in socio-economic area, through statistical approach he attempted to examine the intensity of the above mentioned four areas. All the four categories of his sample are in full agreement so far as political and socio-economic factors are concerned, but they differ with respect to the academic and administrative causes. Regarding these two areas, academic and administrative, variations lie between the students and the guardians on the one hand, and the teachers and the administrators on the other.

#### Political

Political factors responsible for student activism have often been emphasized by scholars. It is not to be forgotten that unrest entered the educational institutions through political movements, the role of politics cannot be overlooked. In post-independent India, politics has become a means for achieving and protecting various interests. Thus, politics may be reflected at various levels i.e. state, faculty and students.

After visiting ten Indian universities, Chanchal Sarkar (Cormack, 1961) in his journalistic approach considered the universities as a place where 'power politics' and 'professional immorality' flourished, and the 'demoralized' taught the 'disgruntled'. To Cormack the whole Indian problem was that of social change- a situation when in a democracy the role of man and education becomes very important in reshaping his culture. So, the popular Indian discontent required a dynamic leadership to provide direction to society in general and youth in particular.

Explaining the causes of student indiscipline in Allahabad university, DiBona (1967) concluded that teacher politics and indulgence of outside political organizations were very effective in the campus. Shaw (1968) has unveiled a different dimension of this factor. He made a study of student politics in Osmania University at Hyderabad. Analysing the data on several incidents which occurred in a period of five years, he found that because of the government and university relationship the ruling party started 'manipulating' university policy, while opposition parties created conflicting situations involving the students. The conflict between the state government and the university was due to the lack of understanding of mutual relationship as the state interfered through its directives, while the university tried to maintain its autonomy. Surveying the changing social attitudes of P.G. students in U.P. Govil (1967) reported, the students admitted that they were being used by the political parties as tools.

The influences of teacher politicians have also been emphasized by Sarkar (1974) and Upadhyaya (1975). Upadhyaya further added that abuse of student union and its powers was also one of the most important causes. Others who supported such findings are Sharma (1971) and Mookherjee (1977). After analysing the press reports relating to student unrest for a period of five months and statements of students and educationists, Mookherjee concluded that deteriorating socio-political conditions and interference by political parties were creating disturbances in the campuses.

In Chhota-Nagpur region of Bihar, Vidyarthi (1972) collected his data from students, teachers, guardians and officers and discovered that student unrest in the colleges of the region was caused mainly by disintegration of values and 'destudentization' of a few students hailing from perverted and politically oriented middle and lower middle class families. These students were directly or indirectly helped by teacher politicians, tactless university administration and visible or invisible outside politicians.

Sri Chandra (1971) in a study of college students of Lucknow district in U.P. also found a significantly large percentage of his two category sample feeling that political parties took undue advantage of students, and government frequently and unduly interfered into student affairs.

Dasgupta (1972) studied the 'great gherao' of 1969 in the university of Calcutta. He collected his data from

various sources such as newspapers, records of actual events, interviews of student leaders, teachers, party leaders and so on. He discovered that events occurred due to the conflict between the rival student leaders adhering to different ideologies and programmes. The confrontation between the 'warring' student leaders was intended to help their respective political party and to establish it at the seat of government. It was a battle of ideologies for gaining more power.

On the basis of his study of student activism in 25 countries in relation to their societal development, Bowling (1976) of the Florida State University in U.S.A. concluded that activism in developing countries was closer to adult politics. Political instability and students' elite status created conducive environment for violent protest.

Analysing the events of 1972 and 73 occurring in Delhi University, Majumdar (1974) found intense political interest in the campus. He further discovered that the police and the governmental interference was responsible for violating the rules and neglecting the code of conduct. Gopalkrishnayya (1974) emphasized political interference and caste system among the environmental factors.

In his study of Kerala students, Aikara (1977) found 'ideological orientation' among the students. The study concluded that student activism in Kerala was meaningful because it was based on ideology and organizational support. It also found that all the student activists were not ideologically oriented but

only a few.

### Socio-Economic

As already mentioned, Prabodh Chandra observed 'economic anxiety', among students, causing unrest even in pre-independence period. Socio-economic factors, affecting student unrest are very vast and wide, socio-economic conditions of a country, state and region in general may contribute a lot to disturbing events. Teachers and students make only a part of it.

Shaw (1968) in Osmania University found that conflicts between 'democratic ideals' and limited economic resources were creating problems in the institution. As a result, there were confrontations between the students and administrators because 'particularistic demands' of the former were not met.

After examining the socio-political factors operating in Ranchi University of Bihar, Singh (1968) concluded that as a changing agent university education was set to modernize and awaken the masses. As a result, the number of aspirants continued to be larger in comparison to the absorbing capacity of the society. The established elites of the society were trying to contain only a few of these aspirants by providing them jobs leaving out the rest. So, he suggested that a broad based liberal policy be adopted to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of neoeeducated.

Collecting data from 250 male and female students of colleges in Bangalore, Ross (1969) found that changing environmental conditions were upsetting the students while economic problems and political crises were responsible for further

motivating them to resort to collective actions. He observed that whereas the backward caste youths face competitions for jobs at the outset, the upper caste are handicapped by restrictions from reaching higher position jobs. As a result both the categories pass through strain and stress. He further reported that through participation into agitational activities, students got recognition in colleges and expected to be provided opportunities by the politicians to further their political career.

Sixty one student activists of Sharma's (1971) study ranked insecure future and poor teacher taught relationship as second and third in order of importance, respectively, as the causes of activism among students.

Vishwa Yuvak Kendra (1973) emphasized the point that as a sub-system of the larger social system student community has its own dynamics of agitational 'growth and decay'. The study further observed that authoritarian attitudes of the Indian family is extended ~~and~~ to other social institutions which creates troubles. Agitations are also caused due to disputes over status issues relating to academics, pressure, institutions and social groups.

According to Sarkar (1974) and Upadhyaya (1975) all their samples representing different categories from Bihar and east U.P. respectively, agreed on the importance of socio-economic causes creating unrest among students. In this connection, Upadhyaya found that dark future after completion of education and inadequate parent teacher contact were the two most important

causes. Similar findings were reported by Gopalkrishnayya (1974) in addition to the absence of idealism among students. General worsening economic conditions were found responsible for causing activism according to Mookherjee (1977).

Rao (Karatkar, 1978) reported that general law and order situation in the country, and low morale among teachers were found causing indiscipline.

Thus, the researches under review revealed that inadequate financial resources of the institutions, insecure future of the students, reservations as well as restrictions for jobs, increasing number of aspirants in the society, issues relating to the position of a particular individual or group were responsible for causing student activism in different parts of India.

#### Academic

Educational factors constitute an other major area associated with student activism. This covers a wide range relating to inadequate educational facilities, irrelevance of education to the present need of the society in general and the students in particular, lack of professional interest on the part of teachers, inadequacy of teaching capability and evaluating techniques, and above all attitudes and interest of students in academic pursuit.

In his study of Allahabad University DiBona (1967) observed that irrelevant curriculum failed to create an interest for intellectual pursuit among students who already had no  
attitude for such education.

attitude for such education.

Sarkar (1974) found poor academic environment in Bihar colleges, falling standard of examinations and poor teaching ability of most of the university/college teachers associated with activism among students. On the basis of his pilot study of academic leadership and student unrest in Delhi University, Majumdar (1974) reported that, neither did the existing academic programmes fulfill the students' psychological needs, nor was there a proper preparation for teaching on the part of 56 percent of the teachers. Lack of communication between teacher and taught was one of the four most important causes discovered by Gopalkrishnayya (1974).

Upadhyaya (1975) reported that inadequate teacher-taught relation, ineffective teaching methods and educational system irrelevant to Indian conditions were the most important causes in academic area.

Analysing the 'events and incidents' of student activism in various states of the country, Parkar (1976) reported that issues were systematically distributed across the states, while educational issues predominated in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu. Examination were central point in West Bengal and language in Tamil Nadu.

Mookherjee (1977) pointed out that students' disinterest in studies and lack of co-curricular activities and library facilities were responsible for causing indiscipline among students. Rao (Koratkar, 1978) also reported similar findings

regarding outdated syllabus, defective examination system, irrelevance of present education and poor teacher taught relationship.

#### Administrative

This covers internal (university) as well as external (general) aspects. When the agitation is related to the off-campus issues, it is the general administration which more often than not comes prominently into picture.

Shaw (1968) in his study of Osmania University pointed out the lack of responsiveness and proneness to bargaining tactics on the part of administration as the main cause for activism.

Students in Sarkar's (1974) study gave equal importance to university and general administration. According to Upadhyaya (1975) authority's indifference to student problems and recognition given to indisciplined rather than disciplined students were the most important defects on the part of administrators.

Majumdar (1974) revealed that significant relationship existed between intellectual climate and student activism and over-all the organizational climate affected student unrest.

Parkar (1974, 1976) examined the administrative responses to student protest in four states of India. He found that there were only very few attempts made for discussing and negotiating the differences. Authorities accepted students' demands

after the latter resorted to major and violent actions. Such tendency on the part of the administration was 'teaching' students to adopt violent course of action.

### Psychological

In the year 1966 Altbach (Jafar, 1977) published his paper on students and politics and opined that student participation in politics was due to various motives and some of them could be explained through psychological examinations. Thereafter, some researches appeared studying some variables in this area as given below.

Surveying opinions of two hundred boys and girls Banerjee (Jafar, 1977) concluded that no single factor was responsible for indisciplined behaviour among students and it could be attributed to personality characteristics.

Spencer (1967) made a study of professional students, scientific students, and all students in general, with a high intellectual ability in India and <sup>reported that highly politicized leftist students</sup> were emotionally unstable and authoritarian. They were oriented to values, non-religious and mistrustful.

Studying the personality traits of leaders and non-leaders, Singh (1974) found that the former were more warm and sociable, emotionally mature and stable and had stronger superego. Both were similar in their general mental ability.

In her study of academic leadership and student unrest, Singhal (1977) revealed that due to non-fulfilment of psychological

needs at three levels, cognitive, conative and affective, a student unrest was significantly instigated. She further added that students' indulgence in 'violence and vandilism' was due to 'psychological threats' among students. During the period of agitations psychological 'impotence and despair experiene ced by the mob' resulted in intense frustration causing intense psychological pressures on authorities.

#### Characteristics of Leaders/Activists

In addition to causes and factors, studies have also attempted to investigate into the characteristics of student activists. Some of the sociological, socio-economic and educational variables have been considered. These studies have reported contradictory findings regarding SES, faculties and educational commitment in developed and developing countries. Even in Indian condition findings of the studies have differed. Such studies have been reviewed in some details in the following paragraphs.

In her study, Spencer (1967) reported a decreasing order of politicization and leftist orientation in the students of humanities, social sciences, science and engineering respectively. Keeness towards participation in politics by women was reported by Govil (1967) who surveyed the changing attitudes of post-graduate students in Uttar Pradesh. Further, regarding partisan students in India, Spencer (1970) found that politicized students were rural males with low socio-economic

level and higher age, and had been living in isolation during their college life.

Sharma (Mehta, 1971) studied the social backgrounds of student activists and reported that they were generally mediocre, irregular in their home study, hailing from high SES with urban bias. They had low political consciousness and favoured modified caste system.

Block (1972) reported of a study conducted in Michigan University of U.S.A. in mid sixties which had compared activist and non-activist students of his sub-sample on a number of characteristics - socio-economic class, religion, sex, type of college attended, etc.

In a survey conducted on Bombay college seniors, Eakin (1972) reported very little difference in the political behaviour patterns of male and female or arts and science students. Rather science students showed slightly higher levels of participation in political or politically related activities.

Studying the dynamics of student agitation, Vishwa Yuvak Kendra (1973) rejected the popular belief that arts college student participated more in agitations than their counterparts in science and engineering.

Reddy (1974) in his study of male and female students of Osmania University reported significant positive relationship between student activism and SES. He further found that students of humanities and social sciences did not show higher degree of

activism than their counterparts in natural-physical sciences or professional courses.

Studying leaders and non-leaders of Cuttack College in Orissa, Pathak (1974) found that students in general were dissatisfied with education and examination systems, but dissatisfaction was greater in case of leaders. Singh (1974) also made a similar study of student leaders and non-leaders and found that leaders were generally from higher SES of agricultural families belonging to upper castes. They had lower academic achievements and higher political awareness. Leaders generally were of higher age group.

Discriminating high student activist leaders on the basis of their orientation to social reforms and changes, Mishra (1975) reported that 'intelligence and academic achievement of high activists was higher than those of low activists', which he observed to be a forceful and significant factor. On the other hand he did not find any significant relationship between high activism on the one hand and SES, attitude towards authority and political awareness and affiliation on the other.

Selecting a sample of leaders, potential leaders and non-leaders, Sharma (1976) reported that leaders were found to be more 'manipulative and exploitative' than potential leaders and non-leaders. Further, he found that leaders came from high SES families than did the potential leaders and non-leaders. He found 'the profiles of student leaders strikingly similar to the one that could be generally seen in our political arena.'

Researches in this regard have been conducted in U.S.A. (Kahn, 1972) for testing the following four major hypotheses in connection with the most active students in movement at Berkeley and Chicago. These hypotheses were tested and confirmed in the late sixties. They are :

1. that active students come from high status families,
2. that these students have strong academic commitment,
3. that most belong to the faculties of humanities and social sciences and
4. that most have strong intellectual orientation.

Besides these four variables affecting student activism, Kahn found that other things remaining the same, the students going to quality schools were greater activists than those going to ordinary schools.

Here, a reference may be made to Mishra (1975) whose observation to some extent was similar to that of Kahn's finding relating to 'quality of school'. During the course of his study Mishra found positive relationship between the degree of activism and good working of college. Quality and good working of colleges may not be same but might have some common characteristics.

As already pointed out, contradictory findings relating to sociological, economic and educational variables have been reported. This variation may be due to the differing socio-economic situations in different parts of the country or may be the result of varying methodological approaches also. However, sufficient number of such studies have not been conducted to develop the

theory of student activism in Indian conditions.

### Attitudes and Political Socialization

A few researches have been conducted on secondary school students to study their attitudes towards discipline and their political socialization. Since these institutions are the feeders for universities and colleges, the studies done on their students may be of some help to understand student activism in universities and colleges. Hence, in brief, they are reviewed as under.

Shah (1966) conducted an investigation into ~~study~~ the problem of indiscipline in relation to pupils' attitudes in secondary schools of Gujarat. The attitudes of disciplined and undisciplined pupils were measured in six sub-areas- education and educational programmes, school, teachers, home, politics and social life in the schools. It was found that disciplined students had developed more favourable attitudes towards all the above components except politics. Regarding politics, it was found that disciplined students preferred discussing the politics while undisciplined students liked participating in it.

Another study of attitudes of high school students towards discipline was conducted by Sodhi (1979) in Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. He found that urban school environment was more congenial for developing positive attitudes towards discipline than the rural schools' environment. But, interestingly, he discovered that male students were more

favourably inclined towards discipline rather than female students.

Gupta (1975) studied political socialization of secondary school students in U.P. He concluded that with the increase in age and education, political awareness also increases. He discovered high positive correlation between socio-economic status and various indicators of political involvement. But the relationship between family and political socialization was much lower and the students were found to be socialized by political parties and schools.

#### Banaras Hindu University

In his book, 'Student Unrest in India', Jafar (1977) compiled 29 titles relating to activism in the Banaras Hindu University. These make a part of general literature. Here under, two enquiry reports, one individual project, one Ph.D. thesis conducted abroad (now published in book form) and a few M.Ed. dissertations have been considered for review.

Because of continuously increasing disturbances in B.H.U., two enquiry committees were appointed in the post-independence period. The first, popularly known as Mudaliar Committee, was appointed in the year 1958 and the other known as Gajendragadkar Committee, in the year 1969. The terms of reference of these committees were to enquire into the causes which led to the indiscipline and unrest in the university and also to recommend appropriate remedial measures for improvement.

Actually, these committees had administrative leanings in their proceedings but the findings which they arrived at through the analyses of various memoranda and interviews and are important in comprehending the causes of the then unrest in the university.

The 1958 committee found that indiscipline in the university was caused mainly due to the teacher politicians hailing from the eastern U.P. who never hesitated in utilizing students for their vested interests. However, the committee also took notice of the difficulties and grievances of the students.

The Gajendragadkar Committee (1969) also supported the view regarding presence of the teacher politicians siding one group of students or the other. Further, it pointed towards the increasing awareness of student power among the student leaders. Due to conflict between the two rival groups of students- one supporting the administration and the other opposing it - political parties like C.P.I. and S.S.P. on the one hand and Jansangh on the other entered the university campuses. Thus, the politicization of the university students started. This, later, became one of the major factors for creating unrest among the students fighting for their supremacy.

Srivastava (1974) made a socio-historical approach to find the 'genesis of campus violence' in the university. He pointed out that the idea of Hindu revivalism regenerated by the founder of the university grew later in the campus in the form of Rastriya Swayam-Sewak Sangh (R.S.S.) creating its strong base

among teachers as well as among students. For protecting their interests various caste and regional groups also came into existence. In the struggle for internal power-politics in the campus, the R.S.S. has been a major pressure group, organizing and supporting agitations to suit its purpose, the majority of students coming from 'neo-rich peasantry' believed in 'degenerated values' of feudalism', like- caste, linguistic communalism etc. Such student factions supported by the V.C., Administrators and Heads have created a sense of violence in the university reducing it into an 'anti university campus'. During the period of Shrimali, the V.C., (1970 onward) the fighting factions started polarizing with pro R.S.S. forces on the one hand and congress CPI alliance on the other. Srivastava considered it to be a reflection of the national politics.

However, Srivastava concluded that <sup>he</sup> then V.C. (Dr. Shrimali) was fighting boldly against the right reactionary forces of R.S.S. for implementing his 'progressive' policy and keeping the university integrated, with the support of Congress-C.P.I. groups. He further found that frequency of agitational acts led by the Vidyarthi Parishad and other adventaurists was the highest- almost 50 percent of all the reported incidents and campus violences. This helped in creating critical political awareness in the student forces inside the campus.

Ray (1977) undertook to study three major events of student activism occurring in the years 1958, 1965 and 1968 in the Banaras Hindu University. He found that these agitations were

the product of internal and external politics which utilized students, who had some grievances and thus unrest was generated in the campus. The students were used to exert pressure 'on the established authorities - the university and the government'.

Chaturvedi (1980) proceeded with making a case study of six major events of student agitations, in the Banaras Hindu University. His findings and conclusions are still awaited.

Apart from the studies reviewed above, some M.Ed. students of the university have attempted to survey the problems, living conditions and attitudes of the student community of B.H.U. They may prove very useful in understanding general conditions under which students pursue their studies.

Khanna (1970) reported that 25 percent of his sample consisted of dissatisfied students. Highest degree of dissatisfaction was found among the rural students coming from agricultural families. Upadhyaya<sup>(1972)</sup> investigated into the political values of university students and reported that students regarded equality as an important value. They were found to have high regard for democracy, while about 20 percent of the sample, hailing from low SES of rural areas, were found to be inspired by communism. Studying the attitudes of students towards university union Pandey (1974) discovered that students in general had favourable attitudes towards the union. Further he found that hostel residents, student leaders and students of rural areas cherished more favourable attitudes towards student union in comparison to

day scholars, non-leaders and those of urban settings.

Classifying the problems faced by the freshers into eight categories Devi (1976) in her study found that almost half of the students of her sample faced problems regarding admission procedures. Apart from that, difficulties were also faced in connection with allotment of rooms in hostels, getting books from library, and herein, generally, the percentage of rural students was higher in comparison to those of urbanites. Pandey's (1976) survey of students residing in rented houses of the city revealed that about 68 percent of these students hailed from rural areas. They did not even get the general facilities of separate reading room, bathroom, kitchen, electric light etc. About 27 percent of these city dwellers were not getting any financial help from their parents and out of those who got, 88 percent were not getting adequate support.

### Conclusion

The review of related literature points out that student activism in India has attracted the attention of political leaders, government officials, scholars, journalists etc. after independence. Of late, researchers have also been taking interest in this area. Many aspects of the problem have been discussed but all of them have not been covered. No studies on student activism in a university, in a region, or at national level covering all comprehensive aspects, have been undertaken. The Banaras Hindu University, in particular, presents some

special features. Its long and continuous involvement in student activism, since its inception, has been under focus in this regard. The other important feature of the university may be its situation in the heart of the agrarian region, which has been disturbed ever since the last century.

Moreover, some findings of different committees and research projects undertaken from time to time, have their bearings on the present study. Role of a particular geographical region (Mudaliar, 1958), awareness of rising student power (Gajendragadkar, 1969) role of dominant caste groups (Srivastava, 1974) and 'parochialization' and 'politicization' (Ray, 1977) were pointed out to be responsible factors for unrest in Banaras Hindu University, but their focus has not been on the students. As mentioned in chapter one (p. 43 ), 1970 onward, almost every year, except in the emergency period the university authorities have been compelled to close the university since die on account of agitations on the part of students. This seems to be an expression of greater strength and confidence, which the students have been gathering in the course of time and towards which Gajendragadkar pointed out as early as in 1969. Awareness of student power among student leaders is a pointer of increased role on the part of students in activism. Taking all these into considerations, the investigator has concentrated mainly on the students of the Banaras Hindu University.