

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

Introduction

The data available from the sample of the 520 students through the questionnaire, the activism scale and the interview schedule have been analysed, tabulated and presented in the following pages. As mentioned in the previous Chapter, this Chapter has been divided into three sections - A, B and C. Section A deals with students' participation in political and protest type activities. This part of the analysis may help in finding out the general trend of students' participation in political and protest activities and further it may be used in interpreting student activism in Section B. Section B analyses

and interprets student activism, and is followed by Section C which deals with significance of high student activists (HSAs) and low student activists (LSAs).

Before the analysis of the data is presented, a few clarifications pertaining to the data are mentioned here under :

1. Because of the similarities in characteristics, the students of Arts and Social Sciences Faculties have been put together and here after may be referred to as Arts-Soc.Sc. students/faculties.
2. Male and female students of only Arts-Soc.Sc. Faculties have been compared, as female students in the faculties of Law and Technology were not available.
3. In Section A, combined percentages of Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science Faculties have been given at the bottom of the table with a view to comparing the opinions of male and female students of those faculties.

Faculty-wise and sex-wise break up of the data is presented in Table 4.1 .

Table 4.1: Faculti-wise and Sex-wise Break up
of the 520 Sample Students

Sex	Faculty	Arts-Soc.Sc.	Science	Technology	Law	Total
Male		179	112	80	43	414
Female		61	45	-	-	106
Total		240	157	80	43	520

SECTION A

TREND OF STUDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN

POLITICAL AND PROTEST ACTIVITIES

In this section have been analysed the data available from questions 17 to 27 of the questionnaire (Appendix A). This section deals with students' participation in political activities as well as in protest activities. Political activities have been discussed first and protest activities later. Various aspects of students' participation in political activities discussed in the following pages are students' interest in politics, their opinion with respect to participation in active politics, their association with political parties, levels of association with political parties and their association with youth organisations.

Interest in Politics

Table 4.2 presents the responses of the students with respect to their interest in politics. It can be inferred from the table that the percentage (22 percent) of male students, who take interest in politics 'frequently', is smaller than that of those (24 percent) who never take interest. But, there is a large number of male students (54 percent) who 'sometimes' take interest in politics. The percentages in this category vary from faculty to faculty. If the responses under the two

Table 4.2: Opinions of Male and Female Students with Respect to Their interest in Politics

Faculty	Male Percentages				Female Percentages			
	Never participated	Some times	Freq- uently	Total	Never participated	Some times	Freq- uently	Total
Arts-Soc.Sc.	21	55	24	79	30	64	6	70
Science	25	56	19	75	33	65	2	67
Technology	35	46	19	65				
Law	12	65	23	88				
Total Percent	24	54	22	76	31	64	5	69
Arts-Soc.Sc.and Science	23	55	22	77	31	64	5	69

categories - 'sometimes' and 'frequently' are combined, it is found that majority of students (76 percent boys and 69 percent girls) show interest in politics.

The above finding, that the majority of students 'sometimes' take interest in politics, supports Altbach's (1970) observation that the students in developing countries have 'latent interest' in politics, which on different occasions explodes and paralyses the established system. Interest provides some sort of intrinsic motive for taking part in certain types of activities. In the case of political activities when such motives are accompanied with extrinsic ones, like - genuine demands and grievances, sentimental issues, political slogans etc., students, in large number, participate in demonstration and strikes, and make them outwardly very impressive. Further, this interest can be intensified by political instability and adult politics of the society in developing countries (Bowling, 1976).

Opinions Regarding Participation in Active Politics

Students' opinions with respect to participation in active politics have been obtained and presented in Table 4.3. It is obvious from the table that percentages of male students of various faculties, who favour participation in active politics, are larger than those of the students who do not, except in the faculty of Technology. In Technology Faculty, 44 percent of students do not want to participate in active politics. Fifty-three percent of the students of the Law Faculty

Table 4.3: Opinions of Male and Female Students with Respect to Their Participation in Active Politics

Faculty	MALE %			FEMALE %		
	Dis-agree	Un-decided	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-decided	Agree
Arts-Soc.Sc.	23	31	46	23	30	47
Science	34	29	37	35	11	54
Technology	44	20	26			
Law	19	18	53			
Total Percent	31	27	42	28	22	50
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	27	30	43	28	22	50

are in favour of participation; while only 26 percent of the Technology students are in the favour . Since the Law Faculty consists of the students of general education and Law itself is a liberal profession, students of this faculty have greater keenness towards socio-political issues .

In case of female students, the percentage of those, who favour participation, is larger than that of those who do not. Interestingly enough, more girls (50 percent) in Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science faculties are in favour of participation than their male counterparts (43 percent) in the same faculties.

It seems that because of socio-cultural reasons girls get less opportunities of actively participating in politics, therefore, they have enthusiastically expressed their opinions in favour of political participation. Moreover, keenness among U.P. girls regarding their participation in politics was also reported by Govil (1967) and Mehta (1974).

Overall, the study indicates that those who support active participation are larger in number than those who do not. The results arrived at in the present study are different from the results reported by previous studies, i.e. 30 percent by Kaliprasad (1959), 35 percent by Government of India (1961), and 22 percent by Sirsikar (1963) conducted in different parts of India. It seems that during the last fifteen years (1963 being base year), the number of supporters of active participation has increased. This change in the trend among the students can be attributed to the consciousness developed in them by their environment, mass media, political parties, elections, students' union in general and expansion of education in particular. The background of the university itself can be considered as one of the major factors influencing the views of the students.

Active Participation in Politics

Earlier, opinions with respect to students' participation in active politics have been studied. Now, Table 4.4 presents the

responses of the students regarding their actual participation in politics. It is evident from the pattern of responses that

Table 4.4: Actual Participation in Active Politics
by Male and Female Students

Faculty	MALE %				FEMALE %			
	Never participated	Some times	Freq- uently	Total	Never participated	Some times	Freq- uently	Total
Arts-Soc.Sc.	36	50	14	64	71	21	8	29
Science	60	33	7	40	61	29	2	31
Technology	67	28	5	33				
Law	35	49	16	65				
Total Percent	48	41	11	52	70	24	6	30
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	45	44	11	55	70	24	6	30

the percentage of boys and girls, who 'frequently' participate in active politics, is very small (boys 11 percent and girls 6 percent). But, the combined percentage of those, who participate 'frequently' and 'sometimes', is 52 among boys and 30 among girls. Faculty-wise active participation in politics, among boys, varies from 33 percent in the Technology to 65 percent in the Law.

If the figures in Table 4.3 are compared with those of the present one, a shift in the pattern of actual participation

is noticed. The shift is this, while the percentage of actual participation in case of girls has gone down (30 percent) in comparison to that of those of mere supporters of participation (50 percent), the same has gone up in case of boys from 42 to 52. It means that girls have shown inclination towards participation in politics, but when the actual occasion of participation arises, for fear of damaging their image in the society, they do not come out in the streets; whereas it seems, that there are certain boys in the university who do not favour participation in politics, but on occasions they do actively participate because of their sentimental attachment to the issues, persuasion and pressure, interest, fun and even for pleasure sake (the fact will be clear from Table 4.14a) and last but not the least influenced by the mob mentality.

Association with Political Parties

Responses to the question related with the students' association with different political parties have been presented in Table 4.5a. Since, the data were collected in the years 1978-79, the Janata Party stands for the then undivided Janata. The table reveals that 51 percent male students and 47 percent female students have association with the political parties. When compared with the figure (26 percent) mentioned by

Table 4.5a: Association of Male and Female Students with Political Parties

Faculty	M A L E %					F E M A L E %								
	Associated Students					Associated Students								
	Janta	Congress (I)	CPI (M)	Others	Total	Janta	Congress (I)	CPI (M)	Others	Total				
Arts-Soc.Sc.	38	3	16	2	2	1	62	38	23	25	-	-	48	52
Science	18	3	12	1	6	1	41	59	34	13	-	-	47	53
Technology	15	4	10	-	5	-	34	66						
Law	56	2	5	-	2	-	65	35						
Total Percent	30	3	13	1	4	-	51	49	27	20	-	-	47	53
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	30	3	15	2	3	1	54	46	27	20	-	-	47	53

Sirsikar (1963) informing about students' association with political parties in Poona University, the figures of the present study show an increase in the trend.

According to the above table, the Janata and the Congress (I) are the two most popular political parties in the campus. Thirty percent boys and 27 percent girls have shown their association with the Janata Party while 13 percent boys and 20 percent girls have shown association with the Congress (I). The highest percentage (65) of association with political parties has been found in Law faculty, whereas the lowest (34) in the Technology. The male students have expressed their choices for other political parties besides the Janata and the Congress (I), but the girls have shown their association with the aforesaid two parties only. Apart from these two, the CPI (M), having 4 percent of students associated with it, occupies third position in popularity.

The popularity of the Janata Party might have been due to its gaining support from two students' organisations, i.e. Vidyarthi Parishad¹ and Samajvadi Yuvajan Sabha². Another reason for its popularity seems to be its being in power at the

1. Student wing of the erstwhile Jan Sangh.

2. Student wing of the erstwhile Socialist Party.

centre and in the state at the time of the collection of the data.

Caste-wise Association with Political Parties

The data regarding association with political parties have been analysed caste-wise and is presented in Table 4.5b. It is evident from the table that political association is high among Kurmi-Koiri (69 percent) and Yadav (67 percent), moderate among Brahman (55 percent), Kshatriya (51 percent) and

Table 4.5b: Caste-wise Association of Male and Female Students with Political Parties (in %)

Political Parties Castes	Janta	Congress	Congress (I)	Communists	Total	Non-associated
Brahman	24	2	26	3	55	45
Kshatriya	33	4	8	6	51	49
Kayastha-Vaishya	17	3	5	3	28	72
Yadav	61	-	3	3	67	33
Kurmi-Koiri	49	6	8	6	69	31
Scheduled	21	5	8	13	47	53

Scheduled Castes (47 percent) and low among the Kayastha-Vaishya (28 percent). Association with the Janta Party is higher among

Yadav (61 percent) and Kurmi-Koiri (49 percent) students and lower among Kshatriya (33 percent), Brahman (24 percent), Scheduled Castes (21 percent) and Kayastha-Vaishya (17 percent) students. Twenty-six percent of the Brahmans and 13 percent of Scheduled Castes have accepted association with Congress (I) and the Communist parties respectively, while very low percentage of students of the other Castes have association with these two political parties.

Students' association with political parties on the basis of Castes was pointed out by some students during the interviews also. Their division was as follows: Brahman students are inclined towards Congress (I) and Jan Sangh group of the Janta, Kshatriyas to Jansangh group of the Janta and Bhumihaar, Yadav and Kurmi-Koiri students to Charansingh faction of the Janta. Only Scheduled Caste students are inclined towards the Communist Parties.

It appears from the available data that students' association with political parties is very much influenced by caste groups to which they belong. It also seems that ideology and programmes are not important criteria for students in making their choices for political parties. The findings of this study support the observation made by Sinha (1975) that Casteism and petty politics prevail in the University of Bihar.

Levels of Association with Political Parties

According to table 4.5a, fifty one percent boys and 47 percent girls are in some way associated with various political parties. In order to know the stages of their association with political parties, the data have been further analysed and presented in Table 4.5c. Sympathy, support, membership and holding party positions are considered as the indicators of different levels of association.

The table reveals that 39 percent boys (18+21) and 34 percent girls (18+16) are at the level of sympathy and support, while 8 percent boys (7+1) and 5 percent girls are at the level of membership and holding some position in the parties. The highest percentage of party members and office bearers together (16 percent), among the male students, is in the Law faculty, while the lowest, (one percent) in the Technology. Among the girls, percentage of membership is higher in Arts-Soc+Sc. faculties in comparison to that of those in the Science faculty.

Overall, it can be said that the majority of students associated with political parties belong to the initial level of association, i.e. sympathy and support. Only a very small minority rises to the next higher level of association, i.e.

Table 4.5c: Levels of Association of Male and Female Students with Political Parties

Faculty	M A L E %				F E M A L E %							
	Associated		Non-associated		Associated		Non-associated					
	Sympathizers	Office bearers	Total	Non-associated	Sympathizers	Office bearers	Total	Non-associated				
Arts-Soc.Sc.	22	21	9	1	53	47	21	5	7	-	33	67
Science	13	23	4	-	40	60	14	31	2	-	47	53
Technology	16	15	1	-	32	68						
Law	19	28	14	2	63	37						
Total Percent	18	21	7	1	47	53	18	16	5	-	39	61
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	18	22	7	1	48	52	18	16	5	-	39	61

membership and party position. If the figures of table 4.5b i.e. Caste-wise association with political parties are considered along with the figures of the present table, the conclusion is that perhaps students are more sentimentally attached with the political parties at the initial level rather than rationally. They seem to be less governed by political awareness, while more by political excitement, based on caste.

Association with Youth Organization

The students were asked to respond to a question whether they are associated with any youth organization. Girls' responses in this respect were very low (below 2 percent), so they have not been presented in tabular form. Responses pertaining to boys have been presented in Table 4.6. The table reveals that

Table 4.6: Association of Male Students with Youth Organization

Faculty	Associated %			Total	Non-associated %
	Cultural	Social	Political		
Arts-Soc.Sc.	3	7	3	13	87
Science	3	1	-	4	96
Technology	5	-	-	5	95
Law	5	7	2	14	86
Total Percent	4	4	2	10	90
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	3	5	2	10	90

10 percent boys are associated with some socio-cultural and political youth organizations. The percentages of responses vary faculty-wise. They are higher in Law (14 percent) and Arts-Soc.Sc. (13 percent), while lower in Science (4 percent), and Technology (5 percent). It is further noted that 8 percent (4+4) boys are associated with socio-cultural organizations, while only 2 percent with political ones.

Socio-cultural organizations, generally, emphasize upon literary activities, dramatics, games and sports and other cultural aspects. They are rather oriented to maintenance of the system, while political organizations emphasize on discussion and debates on controversial matters and burning issues related to socio-political changes, launch programmes and hold camps for the propagation of their ideologies. Here the students get greater opportunities for understanding the theories and principles explaining social relations. The small percentage (2) of students, associated with political youth organizations, indicates that students are less inclined towards the theoretical aspect of politics which may provide deeper insight and understanding of the existing system and motivate them to strive for a change.

So far, analysis and interpretation of students' participation in political activities have been made. Students

participation in public protest type activities (PPTA) with its various aspects like, efficacy of PPTA, perception of the efficacy, opinions regarding participation in PPTA, actual participation in PPTA, frequency and extent of participation, participation in different types of agitations, and reasons for participation in PPTA have been dealt with hereafter.

Efficacy of Public Protest Type Activities (PPTA)

Activities like - demonstrations, strikes, gheraos, dharanas, etc., used in support of demands, redress of grievances etc., are considered as public protest type activities (PPTA). Generally, students resort to these methods for communicating their feelings, expressing their disagreements, fulfilment of their demands and/or opposing administrative policies.

Students' responses pertaining to their perception of efficacy of PPTA as a method of protest have been presented in Table 4.7. It is obvious from the figures in the Table that the overwhelming majority of boys (88%) and girls (89 percent) consider strikes, demonstration, dharnas etc. as the effective means for redress of their grievances and fulfilment of their demands. Surprisingly enough, more girls than boys have perceived these methods to be effective in producing desired results. Similarly, more Technology male students than their

Table 4.7: Male and Female Students' Perception of Efficacy of PPTA

Faculty	M A L E %				F E M A L E %			
	Never perce- ived	Some times	Frequ- ently	Total	Never perce- ived	Some times	Frequ- ently	Total
Arts-Soc.Sc.	12	55	33	88	18	69	13	82
Science	16	61	23	84	2	73	25	98
Technology	10	71	19	90				
Law	9	54	37	91				
Total Percent	12	60	28	88	11	71	18	89
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	14	57	29	86	11	71	18	89

male counterparts in Arts-Soc.Sc. have expressed similar views. Among boys as well as among girls, those who have frequently found PPTA to be effective, are higher in percentage than those who have not.

The study indicates that the majority of students seems to be convinced of the effectiveness of PPTA in achieving their goal, whether they have used these methods or not. Their responses, however, indicate that those, who adopt them, have succeeded. The findings of this study support Raghuyulu's (1967) observation that grievances are better heard when represented by a group of students. Perhaps this may be one of the reasons, as informed during the interviews, ^{that} even a small group of students can start agitation in the campus relating to minor issues. Such 'micro-activism' starts due to 'on the spot reasons'. The idea and force underlying such 'micro activism' seem to have been gathered by students' perception of effectiveness of PPTA. In this regard, students seem to have been influenced by outside movements, especially when they find people from different walks of life resorting to protest methods for the purpose of ventilating their grievances.

Perception of Efficacy of PPTA on Different Occasions

As found out earlier, 88 percent boys and 89 percent girls (Table 4.7) said that they had seen students succeed by

Table 4.8: Male and Female Students' Perception of Efficacy of PPTA on Different Occasions

Occasions	M A L E %			F E M A L E %		
	Arts- Soc. Sc.	Techno- ence logy	Law Total	Arts- Soc. Sc. & Science	Sci- ence nology	Law Total
Admission	51	41	46	48	45	46
Postponement of Examinations	42	54	52	46	80	76
Opposing Police Entry in the Examination Hall	31	30	31	31	14	19
Residential Facilities	35	30	41	33	25	21
Union Elections	52	37	46	46	36	53
Others	-	7	10	1	2	4
None of the above Occasions	11	11	-	11	5	2

the use of protest methods. In order to know the occasions as to when such successes were achieved by use of these methods, a list of five occasions (Appendix A) was provided to the students and they were asked to respond accordingly. The results of such responses are given in Table 4.8. Since, the students were free to respond to more than one occasions, column-wise totals of percentages have gone beyond hundred.

It is evident from the table that postponement of examinations has been one of the occasions when the majority of students (51 percent boys and 76 percent girls) have perceived the use of PPTA effective. The other occasions, which follow the above, are union elections, admission and residential facilities when PPTA have also been effective. Faculty-wise and issue-wise analysis of the data has indicated some pattern regarding perception of success of PPTA in case of boys. Greater percentage of Technology and Science students than the Arts-Soc.Sc. and Law students have found that protest methods produce desired results in getting examinations postponed. Generally, Law and Arts-Soc.Sc. students are more concerned with admission and union elections. Students of these two faculties have been continuously demanding the policy of open admission. They are also known for devoting more time to union elections in comparison to the students of other faculties. Hence, perhaps,

more students of these faculties have perceived PPTA to be effective in connection with students' admission and union elections. On the other hand, because of heavy academic engagements and continuous assessment process, the Technology students might have been more concerned with tests and examinations, than with other activities. So, the majority of students in this faculty has perceived that success could be achieved through PPTA for the postponement of examinations.

The majority (76 percent) of girls has also perceived that the examinations are postponed as a result of protest activities. The girls also seem to be more concerned with their success in the examinations than the boys.

In view of the above discussions, it can be concluded that the majority of students perceives PPTA as the effective means for getting the examinations postponed. Students' perception of efficacy of PPTA is closely related with those occasions which help to serve their own interests.

Opinions Regarding Participation in PPTA

In order to assess students' opinions in connection with their participation in PPTA, a statement, (appendix A) that students should participate in PPTA for realizing their

just demands, was given to them. Reactions to the above statement are presented in Table 4.9. It is evident from the table that more than half of the boys from the faculties of Law (65 percent), Arts-Soc.Sc. (57 percent) and Science (56 percent) have supported participation in PPTA. The

Table 4.9: Opinions of Male and Female Students Regarding Their Participation in PPTA

Faculty	MALE %			FEMALE %		
	Dis- agree	Un- decided	Agree	Dis- agree	Un- decided	Agree
Arts-Soc.Sc.	27	16	57	38	29	33
Science	30	14	56	33	9	58
Technology	39	13	48			
Law	23	12	65			
Total Percent	30	15	55	36	21	43
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	28	15	57	36	21	43

percentage of these students in the Technology also, who support participation, is greater than those who do not. On the whole, 55 percent boys and 43 percent girls favoured students' participation in PPTA to get their just demands fulfilled. The number of boys and girls, who favour participation in PPTA, is larger than those who do not.

Perhaps, this is one of the reasons why student leaders while organizing movements, include such demands and grievances as can either catch sentiments of the students or can provide them some benefits or both the types, so that in large numbers, they may be attracted to join the agitation. Sometimes it so happens that certain demands have no relevance to the occasion or are hardly acceptable, yet they are included in the charter of demands simply in order to mobilize massive support from the student community (Raj, 1970).

Participation in PPTA

Responses of the students to a question (Appendix A), whether they participate in PPTA, have been presented in table 4.10. The table reveals that the majority (59 percent) of boys participates in PPTA. This includes both the types of participation, i.e. 'sometimes' and 'frequently'. The percentage of boys who participate frequently in such activities is very low (8 percent) in most of the faculties, whereas it is nil in case of the Technology. Of course, owing to their faculty's status, nature of courses and curriculum, goal orientation etc., the Technology students can not be expected to come to streets frequently. But, as much as 45 percent of them do participate in PPTA sometimes. The number of girls

Table 4.10 : Actual Participation by Male and Female Students in PPTA

Faculty	MALE %				FEMALE %			
	Never participated	Some times	Freq- uently	Total	Never participated	Some times	Freq- uently	Total
Arts-Soc.Sc.	32	56	12	68	66	31	3	34
Science	48	46	6	52	78	22	-	22
Technology	55	45	-	45				
Law	37	54	9	63				
Total Percent	41	51	8	59	71	27	2	29
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	38	52	10	62	71	27	2	29

participating in PPTA comes to 29 percent, while the number of those who frequently participate is very insignificant, i.e. only 2 percent.

The minority of 8 percent of boys who frequently participate in protest activities may be real agitation oriented students. But, the percent of boys, i.e. 51 percent and of girls, i.e. 27 percent, who sometimes participate in PPTA, is noteworthy, in the sense that success of any movement may very often depend on this fluctuating section of the student population. When they feel like supporting

the movement, it may be effective and successful, but when they feel otherwise, it may be difficult to sustain a student movement. The phenomenon may be considered similar to the mass-support to a social movement.

The emergence of such a group is one of the important factors responsible for creating frequent disturbances in a university. Such a group emerges out of a student population after a tradition of long and continuous involvement in student agitations. The Banaras Hindu University has passed through various such stages, like - national movement, local and regional issues, student problems, negligence of student welfare on the part of administration. Hence, perhaps, a trade-union mentality, involvement in agitations if there are chances of some gain, might have grown among a section of students.

Ray (1977) estimated that in the agitation of 1965 in B.H.U., more than 20 percent students of the university had taken part. The figures of the present study may not be exactly comparable with Ray's estimation, because of certain limitations, this study with its 59 percent boys and 29 percent girls at the campus, who participate in PPTA, indicates a rising trend of participation among the students.

Frequency of Participation in PPTA

Table 4.11 presents responses of students regarding frequency of their participation in PPTA. It can be inferred from the table that 57 percent male students and 23 percent female students have participated once or more than once in protest activities after they were admitted to this university. Faculty-wise frequency of participation among boys is highest (84 percent) in Law faculty, moderate in Science (63 percent) and Arts-Soc.Sc. (53 percent) and lowest in the Technology (40 percent), whereas it is 31 percent among Arts-Soc.Sc. girls and 12 percent among Science girls.

In general, the table reveals that 29 percent Science students and 24 percent Technology students have participated once in PPTA, while 11 percent Arts-Soc.Sc. students and 8 percent Law students have done so. It is further revealed that 8 percent Law students and 7 percent Arts-Soc.Sc. students have participated more than 5 times in protest type activities, whereas only 2 percent each Science and Technology students have followed this trend. It indicates that more Law and Arts-Soc.Sc. students participate in protest activities more frequently in comparison to Science and Technology students. Of all the faculties, more Law students have participated in

Table 4.11: Frequency of Participation by Male and Female Students in PPTA

Faculty	Male					Female					Total		
	Once	Twice	Three times	Four times	Five Above five times	Once	Twice	Three times	Four times	Five Above five times			
Arts-Soc.Sc.	11	20	7	6	2	7	53	47	20	6	3	31	69
Science	29	15	12	3	2	2	63	37	8	4	-	12	88
Technology	24	2	6	2	4	2	40	60					
Law	8	24	20	16	8	8	84	16					
Total Percent	18	16	9	6	3	5	57	43	14	5	2	23	77
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	18	18	9	5	2	5	57	43	14	5	2	23	77

PPTA for two times or more. This may be partly due to their possessing the general characteristics of Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science students who generally feed this faculty, and partly due to their 'will to lead' (Table 4.14a) resulting in greater participation in union election (Table 4.13). In all, the majority of male students has participated in protest activities in varying frequencies, while only about one fourth of girls have done so.

Extent of Participation in PPTA

Students' responses to questions 26 Ka and 27 of the questionnaire (Appendix A) were identical, so they have been analysed together and presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Extent of Participation by Male and Female Students in PPTA

Faculty	Male %				Female %					
	To a little extent	To some extent	Average	To great extent To an end	To a little extent	To some extent	Average	To great extent To an end		
Arts-Soc.Sc.	32	23	38	6	1	74	15	9	2	-
Science	45	24	26	3	2	74	14	12	-	-
Technology	69	16	11	2	2					
Law	28	30	27	9	6					
Total Percent	42	22	29	5	2	74	15	10	1	-
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	37	24	33	5	1	74	15	10	1	-

It is evident from the table that 42 percent boys and 74 percent girls have participated in protest activities to a little extent. This may be treated as negligible participation, but the participation by the remaining 58 percent boys and 26 percent girls, which varies from 'to some extent' to 'an end', is important. It means that they do not leave any matter on the spot but pursue it in varying degrees. These kinds of participations i.e. from 'to some extent' to 'an end' are high in case of Law (72 percent) and Arts-Soc.Sc. (68 percent) students, average in case of Science (55 percent) students and low in case of Technology (31 percent) students. It is further revealed that the participation of only 7 percent male students and one percent of female students is beyond average. It means that a small minority of students can pursue any matter, if taken by it, 'to a great extent'. This minority can be considered as the hard core which can hold up a movement for a longer period.

In the light of the above, one can conclude that the majority of boys and one fourth of girls are involved in PPTA in some effective manner, whereas a small minority of boys can support and sustain agitations to any extent. Girls in this respect are quite negligible.

Participation in Different Types of Agitation

During their period of study, students come across many occasions when they participate in agitational activities. A list of such types of agitations was provided to the students, and they were asked to tick the types in which they had participated. Students' responses in this connection have been presented in Table 4.13. It is evident from the table that 71 percent boys and 37 percent girls have participated in one or more types of agitations mentioned in the list. The table shows that 35 percent boys and 9 percent girls took part in 'opposing corruption in the university'; 24 percent boys and one percent girl, in 'opposing police excesses'; 23 percent boys and 25 percent girls, in 'union elections; and 20 percent boys and 9 percent girls participated in agitations related to 'reservation of seats in education and job'. It is further revealed that faculty-wise and issue-wise highest percentage of participation by the male students is as given below :

<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Types of Agitations</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Arts-Soc.Sc.	to oppose corruption	52
Law	union election	47
Technology	to oppose police excesses	31
Science	seat reservation	29

Reasons for such a pattern of responses may be specific as well

Table 4.13: Participation by Male and Female Students
in Different Types of Agitations

Types of Agitations	Male		Female		Total		Law		Total	
	Arts- Soc. Sc.	Sci- ence nology								
Boycott of Examinations	12	2	8	14	9	3	-	-	-	2
Seat Reservation, in Education and Job	20	29	9	16	20	10	7	-	-	9
To Protect Civil Rights	18	17	9	26	17	2	-	-	-	1
To oppose Police Excesses	20	20	31	33	24	2	-	-	-	1
Union Elections	29	10	14	47	23	30	20	-	-	25
Admission in the University	25	13	3	14	16	8	2	-	-	6
Financial Help	26	12	6	12	17	8	2	-	-	6
To Oppose Price Rise	18	14	3	7	13	3	-	-	-	2
To Oppose Corruption in the University	52	25	14	33	35	12	5	-	-	9
To Support Your Political Belief	6	4	3	16	6	-	2	-	-	1
Any Other Occasion	-	9	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Participation in One or More Than One Agitations	76	72	56	84	71	44	26	-	-	37
Non Participation in any of the above	24	28	44	16	29	56	74	-	-	63

as general. Law students are more inclined towards students' union because of their socio-political consciousness, maturity, ~~less~~ ~~strong~~ and their desire to use students' union as a forum and platform for their political activities. In March 1978, there were agitations for reservation of seats for B.H.U. Science students in the Institute of Medical Sciences. Anticipating^a their immediate gain regarding reservation of seats, Science students participated in large numbers. In the same agitation, the Technology students have reported during interview that they had witnessed and faced the brutal behaviour of the police, especially with the hostel residents in the campus. Perhaps, for this reason, the highest percentage of Technology students has been found opposing police excesses. In case of female students, the highest participation (25 percent) has been with regard to union elections (even greater than those of boys) followed by seat reservations. Participation in union matters is, perhaps, safer for the girls.

On the other hand, among the boys 9 percent participated in 'boycott of examinations', 13 percent 'to oppose price rise', and only 6 percent participated in agitations 'to support their political belief'. Participation by girls in such agitations is almost negligible (2 percent or below). The above pattern of responses indicates that students are less interested in those

agitations which do not provide them any direct benefit or are harmful.

If the figures of this table are compared with the figures of tables 4.4, 4.10 and 4.11 with respect to students' participation in protest activities and agitations, they bring out two points. First, that more than half of the students participated in political and protest activities and secondly, ~~that~~ their number varies from 52 percent to 72 percent in different agitations. When this investigator asked some students during interview reasons for negatively responding to the questions pertaining to participation in PPTA, while positively responding to question pertaining to 'types of agitations' they have participated in, the students replied in terms of their 'sentimental attachment' with some of the issues raised under 'types of agitations'. It indicates that students are sensitive to the problems and issues to which they are related functionally as well as mentally. In an overwhelming majority they seem to be with the agitations.

Participation on the part of students in different types of agitations reflects the stage of socio-political awakening among the people of a society. In a democracy, people are granted certain rights by the state and they are free to hold different political ideas. Not only that they can choose

agitational courses whenever they feel their rights are in danger. It was observed by Altbach (1968a) that because of certain characteristics, they possess, the students are more inclined towards pure politics. But, the evidence of this study does not fully support the above observation. By and large students of B.H.U. seem to be interested in such activities as seem to be gainful to them rather than in principles. Such participation can be called as 'trade union type' in which the participants are motivated by their individual gains.

Reasons for Participating or not Participating in PPTA

A question was put to the students asking reasons which motivate them to participate or not to participate in PPTA. Four reasons in each of the above two categories were provided by the investigator. There were provisions for the respondents to mention other reasons also, if any. The responses of the students have been presented in tables 4.14a and 4.14b.

It can be inferred from table 4.14a that 4 percent male students participate in PPTA with the purpose of becoming office bearers of student union, 6 percent for the sake of fun and pleasure, one percent to exercise their influence and

Table 4.14a: Reasons for Actively Participating in PPTA

Reasons	M A L E			%			F E M A L E			%		
	Arts- Soc.Sc.	Science	Tech- nology	Arts- Soc.Sc.	Law	Total	Arts- Soc.Sc.	Science	Tech- nology	Arts- Soc.Sc.	Law	Total
For becoming office bearer of student union	5	4	3	5	4	4	3	-	-	-	-	2
For the sake of the fun and pleasure	8	2	8	2	6	6	8	4	-	-	-	7
To exercise influence	1	1	-	5	1	1	3	2	-	-	-	3
Will to lead	8	5	3	14	7	7	3	-	-	-	-	2
Others	1	1	1	4	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	1

7 percent, with a desire to become leaders. Eight percent male students in each Arts-Soc.Sc. and Technology faculties participate in PPTA for pleasure and fun sake, while 8 percent Arts-Soc.Sc. and 14 percent Law students participate in PPTA with the purpose of becoming leaders. Among female students, percentage of participation in PPTA is three or below for the reasons specified above, except in case of fun and pleasure wherein 7 percent has participated. It appears from the table that a very very small minority of students participate in PPTA with the purpose of becoming influential student leaders.

On the other hand, table 4.14b reveals that among male students 33 percent do not participate in PPTA 'for lack of time'; 32 percent, 'for not agreeing with prevailing protest methods'; 16 percent, due to 'guardians' fear'; and 45 percent for loss in studies. Among female students also the reasons for not participating in PPTA vary from 26 percent to 52 percent. Forty two percent Arts-Soc.Sc. male students and 35 percent Law male students, while only 28 percent science male students and 8 percent Technology male students do not participate in PPTA due to 'lack of time'. Similarly, 55 percent Arts-Soc.Sc. male students and 37 percent Law male students, 36 percent science male students and 41 percent Technology male students do not participate in PPTA for fear of loss in studies. Female students'

Table 4.14b: Reasons for not Actively Participating in PPTA

Reasons	M A L E %		F E M A L E %		Total
	Arts- Soc.Sc.	Science Technology	Arts- Soc.Sc.	Science Technology	
Lack of Time	42	8	35	33	32
Not to Agree with Such Methods	28	32	42	32	38
Guardians' Fear	24	11	5	16	26
Loss of Study	55	36	41	45	52
Others	1	1	5	2	1

responses for not participating in PPTA can be analysed as follows: 32 percent, 'for lack of time'; 38 percent, 'for not agreeing with such methods of protests'; 26 percent, due to 'guardians fear'; and 52 percent, 'for fear of loss in studies'. Since, Law and Arts-Soc.Sc. students' participation in PPTA is generally greater (Tables 4.10, 12, 13), they are rather more conscious of the negative effects of such activities on their studies. It seems that only a very very small minority of students aspire for union offices and leadership, while about half the students are inclined to participate in PPTA though they are convinced of loss in their studies due to participation. It means they are attracted by catching slogans pertaining to short-term gains regarding admission, examinations, re-evaluation, reservation of seats etc., and are less committed to ideology (Table 4.13), which can also mean that for some more years to come, students' protest activities, will mainly be dominated by the spirit of short term gains without having any solid ideological base.

Participation in Movements at Secondary Level

As discussed earlier, student movements are noticeable even at the school level. Before entering the university, students get opportunities of organizing movements when they are in schools. Study of students participation in movements at the

secondary level will be helpful in understanding the trend of participation in protest activities in the university. Keeping this view in mind, a question to this effect was put to them and the results thereof have been presented in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Participation by Male and Female Students in Movements at Secondary Level

Faculty	MALE %				FEMALE %			
	Never participated	Some times	Freq- uently	Total Participated	Never participated	Some times	Freq- uently	Total Participated
Arts-Soc.Sc.	68	26	6	32	88	11	-	11
Science	80	15	5	20	98	2	-	2
Technology	82	14	4	18				
Law	70	25	5	30				
Total Percent	74	21	5	26	93	7	-	7
Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	72	22	6	28	93	7	-	7

The table reveals that 26 percent boys and 7 percent girls have participated in movements during their stay at schools. No girl has frequently participated in movements during her school days but 5 percent boys have done so. Figures regarding boys' participation suggest that about one fourth of the respondents have experiences of participation in movements. For

them, movement is not a novel phenomenon. As a result, whenever they come across an explosive situation in the university, they can hardly resist from participating.

If the figures of this table are compared with the figures of tables 4.10, 4.11 and 4.13, it is found that the percentages of participants have increased more than two times in case of boys and more than four times in case of girls after they have entered the university. Both the sexes seem to have been influenced by the political environment of the university, consciousness of their rights, outside political movements and their greater contact with leaders of political parties, idea, thoughts and books. But, it appears that these factors have shown comparatively greater influence upon the girls. In schools, generally, girls are kept under strict watch, but when they are in a free environment in the university their interest and participation in political and protest activities goes up.

Students' Purposes for Joining the University

A list consisting of five purposes (Appendix-A), which generally motivate students to enter a university, was provided to the respondents and they were asked to tick them according to their choices. Their responses in this.

Table 4.16: Male and Female Students' Purposes for Joining the University

Faculty	M A L E			F E M A L E			% Total			
	Arts- Soc.Sc.	Science Technology	Law Total	Arts- Soc.Sc.	Science Technology	Law Total				
To keep occupied in some work	35	18	9	28	25	29	7	9	-	8
To gain knowledge	56	48	50	40	51	53	90	69	-	81
For good marriage and dowry	6	3	20	5	8	5	7	7	-	7
For bright career	35	68	79	61	55	48	35	65	-	47
Will to further study	48	42	38	19	41	46	48	40	-	44
None of the above	1	1	1	9	2	1	-	2	-	1

connection have been presented in Table 4.16. It can be inferred from the table that 25 percent boys and 8 percent girls come to university because they do not have any other occupation, whereas 55 percent boys and 47 percent girls enter the university with the hope of a bright career. Forty-one percent boys and 44 percent girls express their desire to continue their studies further. It is further revealed that 35 percent Arts-Soc.Sc. students and 28 percent Law students joined the university because they did not get any other occupation. Both of the above percentages are much higher than the corresponding percentages of Science and Technology faculties. Sixty percent Law students expect bright career, while only 35 percent Arts-Soc.Sc. students do so. Forty-eight percent Arts-Soc.Sc. students wish to continue their studies in future.

It appears from the above analysis that due to lack of job opportunities more and more students are compelled to continue their studies even in absence of any inclination for them. Percentage of such students who joined the university for want of a job is higher in Arts-Soc.Sc. and Law faculties in comparison to remaining two faculties. There is a fair percentage of such students in Science faculty also. There seems to be a cycle order,

like unemployment causing overstay in the university resulting in more disturbances which would further lead to more unemployment and so on and so forth. The existing socio-economic conditions seem to be such that the above trend continues and encompasses in its fold still great proportion of students.

SECTION-B

INTENSITY OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

As stated in the objectives, intensity of student activism has been studied with respect to six groups of variables, viz. personal, sociological, socio-economic, institutional, students' perception of guardians' political activities and political variables related to students. Data with respect to these six groups of variables were collected by the questionnaire and used for the purpose along with the data available from the activism scale. The statistical techniques used for analysing the data in this section, have been mean, SD, analysis of variance, t-test and correlation. The level of significance set for testing the difference has

been .05. Most of the data related to this section have been computerized.

Personal Variables and Student Activism

Three types of personal variables i.e. sex, age and birth order have been considered as follows :

Sex

As already mentioned, activism scores of only Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science students have been analysed for finding difference in intensity of student activism between boys and girls. Significance of difference between the two group-means have been tested by 't' technique and the results have been presented in Table 4.17. The above table shows that the

Table 4.17: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Male and Female Students with Respect to Intensity of Student Activism

Group	N	M	SD	SEM	df	t	Level of Significance
Male	291	76.04	13.63	.80	395	7.05	.01
Female	106	65.24	13.15	1.28			

mean score of activism with respect to male students is significantly greater (at .01 level) than the mean score of activism with respect to female students. It indicates that intensity of student activism is significantly higher among boys than that among girls.

This may be due to socio-cultural milieu in which the girls grow up. Indian society is a patriarchal one, in which almost everywhere males are found dominating. Social norms under which the children grow, are different for boys and girls. For boys, it is more open and free but for girls it is rather controlled and restricted. This difference is maintained not only in the family, but is extended to school, community and society also. In such an environment, there may develop opposite traits in boys and girls. As a result, girls are rather submissive, tolerant, sociable and less resentful. According to Saraswat (1964), 'the boys tend to be more aggressive and girls more timid in social situation'.

But it seems that activism among female students may increase at a rapid rate in days to come. Increasing consciousness due to expansion of education may make them more aware of their rights and privileges. Today, in India more women have assumed high positions in the society. They have

taken up high administrative jobs and have assumed political and social leadership. ~~Girls~~ were found having highly favourable attitudes toward politics (Mehta, 1974). This study has also found more girls favouring students participation in active politics in comparison to boys (Table 4.3), and more girls perceiving efficacy of protest activities in comparison to boys (Table 4.7). Moreover, increasing professionalism among women, formation of separate trade unions for women workers and often heard of processions and demonstrations of house-wives may help and encourage them to develop still more modernized outlook. During the interviews, girls often favoured the demands made and methods utilized by the students in general, except those which are violent and destructive.

Because of significant difference found in the intensity of student activism between the male students and female students, hereafter, the analysis of the data related to both the sexes ~~has~~ been presented separately assuming that relationship with the variables under study may also differ.

Age

Keeping in view the earlier contentions, correlation coefficients between scores on age and student activism with respect to the male and the female students have been calculated and presented separately in Table 4.18. The table

Table 4.18: Correlation Coefficients Between Age and Student Activism Scores

Groups	Aspects of Student Activism						Student df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU	
Male	-.00	.05	-.01	.06	.13**	-.03	.04 412
Female	-.26**	-.13	-.20*	-.21*	-.19	-.20*	-.24* 104

* Significant at .05 level.

** Significant at .01 level.

reveals that the correlation between the age and the student activism scores with respect to boys is not significant. It means male students of any age at the university level are inclined towards activism. Further, positive and significant correlation (.13) between socio-political aspect of student activism and age indicates that male students of higher age tend to involve significantly in matters of socio-political importance. This supports Spencer's (1970) observation that

politicized students are of older age. The remaining five aspects of student activism have not shown any significant relationship with the age.

On the other hand, girls have shown negative and significant correlation ($-.24$) between age and activism scores. Further, four of the six aspects of student activism, i.e. academic, police clash, student amenities and students' union have also shown negative and significant relationship with age. It means, girls of lower age have greater intensity of student activism than the girls of higher age. The girls of lower age group seem to be more inclined towards academic matters, student welfare and other non-academic ones. In their late adolescent period, these girls seem to be more guided by sentiments and ideals. moreover, when they enter the university, they get more open and free environment than they had earlier in schools. Perhaps, the comparatively freer environment and late adolescence incite them to involve in activism intensively at the initial stage of their university entrance, but this mental state does not hold as they advance in age and experience.

Ordinal Position

To find out whether intensity of student activism differs among students according to their birth order in

the family, the students have been classified in four categories on the basis of information received from them, in this respect. These categories are - the eldest, the middle, the youngest and the only sons of the parents.

Table 4.19a: Mean Scores of Student Activism for Four Groups of Ordinal Position Among Male Students

Groups	Eldest	Middle	Youngest	Only Child
M	75.16	75.74	75.63	72.54
N	140	180	83	11

Table 4.19b: Analysis of Variance for Finding Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Four Groups

Sources of Variation	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	3	122.93	40.98	13.49
Within	410	74,664.94	182.11	
Total	413	74,787.87		

$$F = \frac{40.98}{182.11} = .22 \text{ not significant.}$$

The middle category consists of those students who are neither the eldest, nor the youngest, nor even the only sons of their parents. To find out significance of difference among the four group-means, analysis of variance has been applied. The results are presented in Table 4.19B. It is evident from the table that the obtained 't' value of .22 is not significant, which means that the above four categories on the basis of ordinal position do not differ significantly with respect to intensity of student activism. It indicates that the ordinal position of the child is not directly associated for inducing activism among students. Singh (1974) also did not find significant relationship between ordinal position and leadership among students. However, the trend indicates that the middle and subsequent born male students are more inclined towards activism than the only and the first born ones. This may be due to greater care, protection and attention given to the only and the eldest sons in Indian families that they are less in the habit of running a risk. The analysis of the data pertaining to girls has been dropped.

Sociological Variables and Student Activism

The role of sociological variables has often been emphasized in connection with student activism. Caste,

residence, marital status, family type, rural-urban background and region have been considered under this sub-head. The analysis of the data with respect to religion has been dropped, because the available data were neither usable for the study nor suitable for its technique.

Caste

Caste is felt and perceived to be a major factor affecting socio-political life in various parts of India. Studies related to student activism reported conflicting results in this regard. To examine the influence of caste on student activism, the investigator, on the basis of interview, has identified six major caste categories among the students. They are - scheduled castes, Kurmi-Koeri, Yadav, Kayastha-Vaishya, Kshatriya (Thakur) and Brahman. For the purpose of this study, Brahman, Kshatriya and Kayastha-Vaishya have been considered as higher castes, castes except the higher and the scheduled are grouped in middle castes. They include three major sub-castes, like - Yadav or Ahir, Kurmi and Koeri in U.P. and Bihar. Because of developing socio-political consciousness among the Yadavs, the investigator has put them under a separate category.

For testing overall significance of difference between mean activism scores of the six caste groups among the male students and four caste groups among the female students, analysis of variance has been applied. The results in this connection have been presented separately for male students in table 4.20b and for female students in table 4.20d. The obtained F-values (.42) for male students and (1.21) for female students are not significant. It means, caste is not significantly responsible for inciting activism

Table 4.20a: Mean Scores of Student Activism for Six Caste Groups Among Male Students

Caste Groups	Brahman-Kshatriya	Kayastha-Vaishya	Yadav	Kurmi-Koeri	Scheduled
M	75.79	75.68	74.05	75.90	76.18
N	107	85	76	30	38

among the students. A student from higher castes may be as a high or low activist as a student from middle castes and/or scheduled castes. Thus the evidences of this study contradict the observations made by Shaw (1968), Singh (1974) and Srivastava (1974) that the students of higher and dominating castes are more inclined towards activism. The present

Table 4.20b: Analysis of Variance for Finding Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Six Caste Groups

Sources of Variation	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	5	380.39	76.09	13.51
Within	392	71,497.65	182.39	
Total	397	71,879.04		

$$F = \frac{76.09}{182.39} = .42, \text{ not significant}$$

Table 4.20c: Mean Scores of Student Activism for Four Caste-Groups Among Female Students

Caste Groups	Brahman	Kshatriya	Kayastha-Vaishya	Yadav, Kurmi-Koeri and Scheduled
M	61.95	66.46	64.82	73.50
N	29	31	33	6

situation may be due to the percentage of students belonging to middle and lower castes has risen in the higher education. Rather the study agrees with the observation of Ross (1969) that the higher caste students as well as the middle caste

students are equally involved in activism, the former may be for maintaining their position while the latter for gaining it.

Table 4.20d: Analysis of Variance for Finding Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Four Caste Groups

Sources of Variation	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	3	677.13	225.71	13.63
Within	95	17,661.55	185.91	
Total	98	18,338.68		

$$F = \frac{225.71}{185.91} = 1.21 \text{ .not significant.}$$

The Indian society is vertically stratified mainly on the basis of various castes. The higher caste people have greater control over the economy in comparison to the middle castes and the scheduled castes. Thus, from the socio-economic and educational point of view, the higher castes have set their status and have mostly occupied the profitable situations in the existing social system, while the middle and the scheduled castes are deprived not only

in terms of economic and educational gain but in terms of status also. But, due to consciousness they developed through education and other means, they wish to gain a status in the society. For that, they adopt the popular means of activism often practised in the university campuses. Table 4.5b indicates that the percentages of students associated with political parties are higher among the middle castes than the higher castes. Whenever the students from middle castes have an opportunity, they would revolt for a change in the system with a view to having their own hold on it or to adjust in it suitably. On the other hand, higher caste students, would also adopt the same course of action to maintain their status.

This trend has been largely noticeable after 1967 general elections (Srivastava, 1976). When the Janta Party came to power in 1977, it was observed that certain caste groups in Hindi belt of north India were very enthusiastic. This was also noticed during the years 1978 and 1979, when movements in U.P. and Bihar were organized for and against the reservation policy in Government services. All these trends were reflected in many of the educational institutions of U.P. and Bihar. Perhaps for the first time in the history

of the Banaras Hindu University students' union, a girl belonging to middle castes was elected for the post of general secretary in the session 1978-79.

Since legislature is the most effective means of bringing changes in the Indian society, whenever middle and scheduled caste groups get any political opportunity they try to utilize it for their benefits. Emergence of M.P.s, M.L.A.s and ministers from these castes would not only encourage competitive spirit, but to some extent, it may inject the sense of rivalry also. The statement given by a Kurmi student leader supports the above observation. He was of the opinion of forming a 'sangh' (union) of at least three elite groups (Yadav, Kurmi and Koeri) of middle castes to compete with the upper castes. The leader further proposed to strengthen the 'sangh' through marriage relations among these castes.

It has generally been observed that the scheduled castes and the middle castes have some bitter feeling of having been suppressed by the upper castes. In the changing circumstances, the middle castes are not in a mental state to be passive observers (Singh, 1968). Their changing mood has been reflected in the university campuses also.

Activism in the university may further increase if the population of students from these caste groups rises.

Residence

It is a popular belief that students at the university level enjoy greater freedom because they stay away from the parents in the hostels and in independent rented houses. So, they avail, rather, greater opportunities of involving into activism. To examine the above belief regarding intensity of student activism associated with types of residence, four types of student groups have been identified. Analysis of variance with respect to male students has been applied to test the significant of difference between four group means. The results are presented in table 4.21b. It is evident from the table that the obtained F-value (.87) with respect to male students is not significant. It means, boys living in four types of residences, viz. with their parents, with relations, in hostels and in independent rented houses do not significantly differ in their intensity of student activism. The evidences obtained with respect to boys do not agree with the view that those boys who stay away from their parents tend to be high activists. The results of this study do not conform to the

Table 4.21a: Mean Scores of Student Activism
for Four Residence-Groups Among
Male Students

Residence Groups	With Parents	With Relations	In Hostels	In Rented Houses
M	73.95	76.29	75.82	77.30
N	114	41	210	47

popular view that stay with parents may affect or restrain students' participation in protest activities. A boy residing with parents may be as high/low activist as another residing in the hostel or in a rented house. This indicates that if the familial hold on boys goes on relaxing, chances for which seem to be greater in future, the student activism may widen.

As regards the female students, t-test has been employed for finding out significance of difference between the two groups of hostel residents and those staying with the family. The obtained t-value (2.63) has been found to be significant at .01 level (Table 4.21c), which means female students staying in the hostels show significantly higher intensity of student activism in comparison to those staying with their parents. For the girls who stay in the hostels,

Table 4.21b: Analysis of Variance for Finding Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Four Residence-Groups

Sources of Variation	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	3	473.75	157.92	13.44
Within	408	73,739.13	180.73	
Total	411	74,212.88		

$$F = \frac{157.92}{180.73} = .87, \text{ not significant.}$$

formal control and supervision of university authorities, hostel wardens have little meaning. Since they are out of direct control, and day by day supervision of their guardians, they get more freedom in comparison to those who stay with the family. Hostel girls find greater opportunities of mixing with peer-groups in the informal environment of the university. Moreover, they have less opportunities of sharing some of the family responsibilities as well as burdens, which normally Indian girls do in the homes. Considering all these, it seems that the hostel

Table 4.21c: Significance of Difference Between
Mean Student Activism Scores for Two
Residence Groups Among Female Students

Groups	N	M	SD	SEM	df	t	Level of Significance
With Parents	81	64.04	13.01	1.44	94	2.63	.01
In Hostels	15	73.53	11.95	3.09			

environment is more conducive in fomenting their dormant rebellious spirit which so long has been under control.

Marital Status

It is generally observed that because of greater sense of responsibility, married people behave in a more socially approved manner. More or less, the same is thought of students also. Accordingly, it is supposed that married students will be more law abiding and less risk taking. On the other hand, unmarried students, being free from responsibilities, do not hesitate from involving themselves in activism. With this view, married and unmarried students have been compared on the basis of mean activism scores. The significance of difference has been found out by t-test and results are presented in Tables 4.22a and 4.22b for boys

and girls respectively.

Table 4.22a: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Activism for Married and Unmarried Male Students

Ggroups	N	M	SD	SEM	df	t	Level of Significance
Married	118	77.25	14.06	1.29	411	1.80	Not sig.
Unmarried	295	74.63	13.10	.76			

The table reveals that the obtained t-values of 1.80 with respect to boys and .81 with respect to girls are not significant. It means married and unmarried students do not differ significantly with respect to intensity of student activism. Thus, the evidences of this study have not supported the popular view that unmarried students tend to be high activists.

It seems that sense of responsibility in modifying human behaviour is very much associated with the situation

Table 4.22b: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Married and Unmarried Female Students

Groups	N	M	SD	SEM	df	t	Level of Significance
Married	7	69.14	7.20	2.75	104	.81	Not significant
Unmarried	99	64.97	13.45	1.35			

in which the responsibility is carried on. The sense of responsibility may incite socially unapproved behaviour when the individual is overpowered by the feeling of economic insecurity. Not getting a job and being compelled to continue one's study against one's wishes, may create tension and stress in one's mind. It was found by Govil (1967) that for their expenses most of the students, generally, depend on their guardians. Under the situation, married students have not to depend on guardians for their study expenses alone, but for their 'own family' expenses also. Economic dependence on others may not allow them to discharge many of 'their family' responsibilities according to their likings. Such situation may further aggravate their tension. In view of the above, it appears that in the existing situation married students are more dissatisfied than their unmarried counterparts. With more responsibilities, it seems, in a society of scarcity one is more perturbed.

Family Type

Generally, two family types, nuclear and joint, exist in India. It has been generally observed that environment in the joint families puts greater restraint on males and females which is not congenial for the outlet of their emotions and sentiments. When the boys and girls of joint families enter the university they have greater freedom. To examine whether student activism differs with respect to

~~the~~ types of families from which the students hail, the means of both the groups have been tested by t-technique. The results are presented in tables 4.23a and 4.23b for male and female students respectively.

Table 4.23a: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Male Students of two Family Types

Family Types	N	M	SD	SEM	df	t	Level of Significance
Nuclear Family	243	74.73	14.02	.86	411	1.74	Not significant
Joint Family	170	75.33	12.57	1.01			

It can be inferred from the tables that the obtained 't' values of 1.74 and 1.86 for male and female students respectively are not significant. It indicates that the two groups hailing from the nuclear and the joint families among the male and female students do not differ significantly with respect to intensity of student activism.

The following table 4.23b shows the significance of difference between mean scores of student activism for female students of two family types, i.e. nuclear family and joint family.

Table 4.23b: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Female Students of Two Family Types

Family Types	N	M	SD	SEM	df	t	Level of Significance
Nuclear Family	79	63.87	13.22	1.49	104	1.86	Not significant
Joint Family	27	69.27	12.31	2.37			

Rural- Urban Background

Increasing educational opportunities are attracting more boys and girls for higher education. Rural boys and girls are also coming for it. Since higher education develops some sort of socio-political consciousness, it is generally observed that leadership in certain fields particularly in politics has been shifting towards the country side. The university campuses also seem to be influenced by such trend.

As mentioned earlier, rural and urban groups among the students have been identified on the basis of their responses to the question (Appendix A) put for this purpose. Further mean activism scores of these two groups have been tested by 't' technique for their significance of difference.

The results have been presented in tables 4.24a and 4.24b for boys' and girls respectively.

Table 4.24a: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Rural and Urban Male Students

Groups	N	M	SD	SEM	df	t	Level of Significance
Rural	275	76.98	13.78	.83	396	3.38	.01
Urban	123	72.15	11.78	1.06			

Table 4.24a reveals that the mean student activism score of rural male students is significantly greater at .01 level than the mean score of urban male students. This supports Spencer's (1970) observation that highly politicized students often hail from villages. It seems that the above difference is due to dissimilarity between the customary norms controlling the behaviour of rural and urban youth. The urban society is heterogeneous and composed of people unrelated with one another, hence an individual has to exercise greater self restraint in order to be considered a man with the good behaviour; whereas in rural society there are various external and informal agencies, like caste,

kin, community, mutual relations, religion etc. which control the behaviour of their youth. In the absence of such

Table 4.24b: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Rural and Urban Female Students

Groups	N	M	SD	SEM	df	t	Level of Significance
Rural	17	69.47	11.80	2.86	102	1.55	Not significant
Urban	87	64.15	13.20	1.41			

institutions in the urban area, the rural youth finds himself in a vacuum and tries to identify with similar institutions like associations, unions, forums, etc., which make it possible for him to behave and at the same time provide him opportunities to develop informal relations.

Though the difference between the rural and the urban groups of female students has not been found to be significant (Table 4.24b) with respect to student activism, the trend of intensity of activism is similar to that of male students.

Region

The Mudaliar (1958) and the Gajendragadkar (1969) enquiry committees observed that unrest in the Banaras Hindu University was caused by the students hailing from the districts of Eastern U.P. To examine the above observation, the investigator made four categories of students according to the regions they hail from. They are Eastern U.P., non-Eastern U.P., Bihar and other States of India. Eastern U.P. comprises of fifteen districts.¹ The remaining districts, other than these fifteen, come under non-Eastern U.P. Thus, U.P. itself is divided into two categories to see whether these two regions differ significantly with respect to activism. The third region covers the adjoining state of Bihar, and all the remaining parts of India other than U.P. and Bihar are termed as 'other states of India'.

To find overall difference among the four group means of student activism, analysis of variance has been applied. The results have been presented in Table 4.25b. It is evident from the table that the obtained F-value of 4.49

1 These districts are: 1.Banaras, 2.Mirzapur, 3.Ballia, 4.Jaunpur, 5.Ghazipur, 6.Azamgarh, 7.Gorakhpur, 8.Deoria, 9.Basti, 10.Allahabad, 11.Pratapgarh, 12.Faizabad, 13.Gonde, 14.Bahraich and 15.Sultanpur, (Upadhyaya, 1975).

is significant at .01 level. So for further analysis i.e. to find significant differences between six combinations of

Table 4.25a: Mean Scores of Student Activism for Four Region-Groups Among Male Students

Region Groups	Eastern U.P.	Non-Eastern U.P.	Bihar	Other Indian States
M	76.36	76.04	75.25	68.36
N	312	22	36	40

groups, t-values have been obtained (Table 4.25c). The table reveals that t-values, between Eastern U.P., non-Eastern U.P. and Bihar on the one hand and other Indian States on the other, differ significantly. It means that male students of Eastern U.P., non-Eastern U.P. and Bihar tend to show significantly

Table 4.25b: Analysis of Variance for Finding Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Four Region-Groups

Sources of Variation	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	3	2,375.33	791.78	13.27
Within	405	71,350.46	176.17	
Total	408	73,725.79		

$$F = \frac{791.78}{176.17} = 4.49, \text{ significant at } .01 \text{ level.}$$

greater intensity of activism in comparison to their male counterparts, hailing from the 'other Indian states'. Further examinations of the table reveals that students of Eastern U.P., non-Eastern U.P. and Bihar have not been found to differ significantly with respect to student activism.

Table 4.25c: 't' Values for Six Combinations of Region-Groups of Male Students

S.No.	Combinations of Region-Groups	df	't' Values	Level of Significance
1	Eastern U.P. and other Indian States	350	3.61	.01
2	Non-Eastern U.P. and other Indian States	60	2.20	.05
3	Bihar and other Indian States	74	2.34	.05
4	Eastern U.P. and Non-Eastern U.P.	332	.11	Not sig.
5	Eastern U.P. and Bihar	346	.47	Not sig.
6	Non-Eastern U.P. and Bihar	56	.22	Not significant

In a developing country, educational institutions do not reflect only hopes and aspirations of the society but problems and issues also. Alongwith the national problems, regional problems may also be reflected in the universities more frequently because of their geographical location^m that

region. Under the situation, students of that particular region in which the university is situated may involve themselves more deeply in the regional problems because of their greater concern with the region. Perhaps, this may be one of the reasons why the students of Eastern U.P. participate more intensively in activism in BHU. Moreover, because of their contacts with the leaders and the influential citizens of the region, they have greater confidence of not getting only support but protection also, which may rarely be available to a student coming from far off places. There had been some occasions when some section of the local people also got involved in the affairs of the university in sympathy and support of the students. Srivastava (1974) reported that local leaders often exercise influence in BHU. It means, perhaps, BHU students make frequent use of opportunities of their contact with influential political leaders of the region, as a result some of them may be tempted to adopt leadership as a career.

The students of non-Eastern U.P. and Bihar have many cultural and social affinities similar to the students of Eastern U.P. In this case also more or less the above reasons may hold good. Moreover, they are related to the

people of the region by family or marriage ties.

Since, the available data regarding female students were not usable, their analysis has been dropped.

Socio-Economic Variables and Student Activism

Two variables, socio-economic status (SES) and occupation of the guardians have been considered under this subhead.

Socio-Economic Status

Increased educational opportunities have provided facilities of higher education to the boys and girls of lower socio-economic strata also. Since they lack educational background and have less favourable attitude towards education, they are not able to adjust in the unfamiliar environment of the university. As mentioned earlier, coefficients of correlation between SES and student activism scores alongwith their two components and six aspects respectively have been computed. They have been presented in Table 4.26a for male students and 4.26b for female students. Table 4.26a gives a general impression of

negative relationship between the above sets of variables for male students. Correlation (-.05) between the scores of parents educational status and student activism has not been found to be significant. It indicates that parents educational status has no significant association with student activism in general. Out of six aspects of student activism, one, i.e. students' union shows negative and significant relationship (-.11) with parents educational status. It means that male students from less educated families are more inclined towards students' union. Perhaps, they hope that through their association with the union they will be able to realize their demands, so actively participate in the union activities.

Table 4.26a: Correlation Coefficients Between Parents' SES and Student Activism Scores for Male Students

Components of Parents' SES	Aspects of Student Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Parents' Educational Status	.06	-.03	-.04	.03	-.08	-.11*	-.05	412
Parents' Economic Status	.00	-.05	-.07	.02	-.11*	-.11*	-.08	412
Parents' SES	.04	-.04	-.06	.03	-.10*	-.12*	-.07	412

* Significant at .05 level

Scores of parents economic status are also not found to be significantly ($-.08$) related to student activism scores. While two aspects of student activism i.e. socio-political and students' union show negative and significant relationship ($-.11$) with parents' economic status. It means students with weaker economic background tend to show significantly greater involvement in socio-political and union matters. Since these students are conscious of the fact that facilities can be had through legislative process by their greater participation in socio-political issues, they wish to show their strength to influence the process.

On the whole, parents' SES has not been found to be significantly related to student activism in respect of boys. Only two aspects of student activism, viz., socio-political and student union have shown negative and significant relationship with SES. The remaining four aspects have not been found significantly associated with student activism. It means parents' SES has no significant relationship with student activism. It seems, as mentioned earlier, that ~~participate~~ male students from all the strata of SES participate in activism. Those from higher SES with the purpose to maintain their status and also to get further facilities, while those

from lower SES for getting some status and facilities which have been denied to them so far.

On the contrary, Table 4.26b reveals that SES and its two components on the one hand, and student activism with its six aspects on the other, are positively associated in

Table 4.26b: Correlation Coefficients Between Parents' SES and Student Activism Scores for Female Students

Components of Parents' SES	Aspects of Student Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Parents' Educational Status	.29**	.20*	.23*	.17	.27**	.28**	.29**	104
Parents' Economic Status	.10	.10	.09	.11	.21*	.17	.16	104
Parents' SES	.25*	.20*	.21*	.20*	.32**	.29**	.30**	104

* Significant at .05 level. ** Significant at .01 level.

respect of female students. An examination of the table further indicates that correlation (.29) between parents' educational status and student activism is significant, while correlation between economic status and student activism is

not significant (.16). It means that daughters of those parents who have high educational status are more inclined towards activism in comparison to the daughters of those parents who have high economic status. All the aspects of student activism, except one, i.e., student amenities are positively and significantly associated with parents' educational status. It means, girls coming from highly educated families are more inclined towards student activism in comparison to the girls from less educated families. It seems that congenial environment of educated families makes the girls assertive. Later, this tendency is transferred to university environment where they start taking direct actions also for redress of their grievances.

Parents' economic status has not been found to be significantly related with student activism. Only its one aspect, i.e., socio-political is positively and significantly related with parents' economic status, which indicates that girls from higher economic status are more prone to be involved in socio-political issues. Perhaps, because of their background they feel it to be the most important of all the aspects, and hope that only through participation in socio-political matters other problems can also be tackled.

Parents' SES and student activism, overall, have been found to be positively and significantly associated with all their components and aspects with respect to girls. It indicates that girls from higher SES tend to be high activists in all aspects in comparison to the girls from lower SES. Comparatively higher correlation coefficients between SES on the one hand, and socio-political (.32), students' union (.29) and academic (.25) on the other, and lower, between SES on the one hand, and administrative (.20), police clash (.21) and student amenities (.20) on the other, indicate that girls with strong SES of their parents are more interested in socio-political, union and academic matters and less in administrative and student welfare. In Indian society women do not enjoy equal status in the family. In such a category the elite group is more conscious of its rights and privileges. Perhaps, this may be the reason that female students of higher SES involve more intensively in activism with the aim of having equal opportunities and status with those of males.

In view of the above evidences, it can be concluded that there is no significant relationship between parents' SES and student activism in case of boys, while girls of higher SES tend to be high activists. With its dissonant

findings, the study supports Aikara (1977), Mishra (1975) and Spencer (1970) in case of boys and Reddy (1974) in case of girls.

Occupation

Di Bona (1967) in his study of Allahabad university observed that students coming from agricultural families have less respect for the rules of law. Due to different socio-cultural norms, youths from agricultural background adopt a different pattern of behaviour. Thus, four categories of occupational groups, i.e. agriculture, service, business and professionals have been identified to verify dependence of student activism on the occupation of the father. For finding significance of difference among the above group means, analysis of variance has been applied, which has shown a significant F-value of 2.69, as presented in Table 4.27b with respect to the boys. Further significant difference

Table 4.27a: Mean Scores of Student Activism for Four Occupation-Groups Among Male Students

Occupation- Groups	Agriculture	Service	Business	Professionals
M	77.54	73.95	74.91	71.59
N	179	170	45	17

between six combinations of occupation groups has been ascertained by t-test. Results in this respect have been presented in Table 4.27c. The table reveals that out of six combinations only one, i.e. agriculture and service has been found to differ significantly. It means that students from agricultural families are more inclined towards activism in comparison to the students from service class families. The remaining five combinations do not differ significantly.

Table 4.27b: Analysis of Variance for Finding
Significance of Difference Between
Mean Scores of Student Activism
for Four Occupation-Groups

Sources of Variations	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	3	1,441.33	480.44	13.37
Within	407	72,810.42	179.89	
Total	410	74,250.75		

$$F = \frac{480.44}{179.89} = 2.69, \text{ significant at } .05 \text{ level.}$$

Students of agricultural families generally hail from rural areas. As per results presented in Table 4.24a,

rural boys have been found to be high activists. Thus, it is clear that since students from agricultural families hail from rural areas they tend to be high activists.

Table 4.27c: 't' Values for Six Combinations of Occupation-Group

S.No.	Occupation-Groups	df	't'Values	Level of Significance
1	Agriculture and Service	347	2.51	.05
2	Agriculture and Business	222	1.27	Not sig.
3	Agriculture and Professionals	194	1.75	Not sig.
4	Business and Service	213	.34	Not sig.
5	Business and Professionals	61	.82	Not sig.
6	Service and Professionals	185	.69	Not sig.

Present finding confirms the previous finding of this study with respect to rural background and student activism.

Partly economic dependence on services and partly more career orientation may make a youth, coming from service class families, less prone towards activism.

Table 4.27d: Mean Scores of Student Activism for
Four Occupation-Groups Among Female
Students

Occupation Groups	Agriculture	Service	Business	Professionals
M	68.75	65.97	60.32	67.30
N	8	69	19	10

Table 4.27e: Analysis of Variance for Finding
Significance of Difference Between
Mean Scores of Student Activism for
Four Occupation-Groups

Sources of Variation	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	3	638.29	212.76	13.04
Within	102	17,363.65	170.23	
Total	105	18,001.94		

$$F = \frac{212.76}{170.23} = 1.25, \text{ Not significant.}$$

In case of girls, the F-ratio of 1.25 (Table 4.27e) has not been found to be significant. However, the results

follow the trend reflected in the behaviour of the male students. The female students from the agricultural group should be more tradition bound and as such should show lower intensity of student activism in comparison to the other groups. However, the study shows contrary results. This is, particularly, because of the influences of other factors, namely, hostel and SES. More than 50 percent of the girls from agricultural families live in hostel and hail from the higher SES, where they enjoy more liberty.

Institutional Variables and Student Activism

Here institutional variables means variables related to the educational institutions. The variables are educational commitment, faculties, level and duration of stay.

Educational Commitment

In India there is a popular belief that those students who are good at study and are interested in it are less prone to student activism. But contrary to this view in the U.S.A., positive and significant relationship were reported (Kahn, 1972) between educational

commitment and student activism scores. Educational commitment comprises of three components i.e., educational attainment, educational pursuit and interest in study. The scores of these components have been combined to obtain the scores on educational commitment. Correlation coefficients between educational commitment and its three components on the one hand, and student activism along with its six aspects on the other, have been calculated and presented in Tables 4.28a and 4.28b for the male students and female students respectively.

Table 4.28a: Correlation Coefficients Between Educational Commitment and Student Activism Scores for Male Students

Components of Educational Commitment	Aspects of Students Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Educational Attainment	-.12*	-.10*	-.06	.03	-.06	-.10*	-.11*	412
Educational Pursuit	-.04	-.07	-.03	-.09	-.00	-.08	-.05	412
Interest in Study	-.08	-.12*	-.00	-.09	-.07	-.10*	-.10*	412
Educational Commitment	-.17**	-.22**	-.12*	-.12*	-.14**	-.21**	-.21**	412

* Significant at .05 level.

** Significant at .01 level.

In table 4.28a, all the coefficients of correlations, except one (between student amenities and educational attainment), show negative direction which indicates that male students, who have weaker educational commitment, are more prone towards activism. It is evident from the table that out of the three components of educational commitment two, i.e. educational attainment and interest in study have negative and significant relationship (-.11 and -.10) with respect to student activism. It means that students, who have low educational attainment and are less interested in their studies, are more inclined towards student activism. Educational pursuit has not shown any significant relationship. Further, two aspects of student activism, i.e. administration and students' union on the one hand and two components of educational commitment, i.e. educational attainment and interest in study show negative and significant relationship. It indicates that students who achieve low and are less interested in studies have greater tendency to participating in administrative and union issues, whereas low achievers have greater tendency of involving in matters related to academic activism. The remaining aspects of activism are not significantly associated with educational attainment

and interest in study. Educational pursuit has neither shown significant correlation with student activism nor with any of its aspects. It means, educational pursuit is not significantly related with student activism.

The table further reveals that correlation (-.21) found between student activism and educational commitment is negative and significant. All the six aspects of student activism show negative and significant correlation with educational commitment. It means that those male students, who have low educational commitment, are more inclined towards activism. Comparatively, higher correlation coefficients between educational commitment and two aspects of student activism, i.e. administration (-.22) and students' union (-.21) and lower with the remaining four aspects indicate that male students are more active in administrative and union matters and less in academic, student welfare and socio-political.

Correlation coefficient between the said variables are presented in Table 4.28b for female students. All the correlation coefficients, except two, tend to be positive. However, only two of them are of significant value. They are

Table 4.28b: Correlation Coefficients Between Educational Commitment and Students Activism Scores for Female Students

Components of Educational Commitment	Aspects of Student Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Educational Attainment	.11	.08	.05	.21*	.08	.24*	.13	104
Educational Pursuit	.03	.04	.19	.10	.11	.05	.10	104
Interest in Study	-.06	-.01	.11	.00	.16	.00	.04	104
Educational Commitment	.06	.06	.19	.17	.13	.13	.14	104

* Significant at .05 level.

between educational attainment and student amenities, and educational attainment (.21) and students' union (.24). It means that the girls having higher educational attainment are more prone to the matters related to facilities for students and students' union. It is natural that those who achieve high must insist for more facilities, and that too through unions so that attention can be drawn. The remaining correlations ^{coefficients} are not significant. On the whole, educational

commitment in case of female students is not significantly related with student activism.

In view of the above findings, the study supports the popular belief that those male students, who are less committed to academic activities, are more prone to activism, whereas female students do not show any significant relationship between educational commitment and student activism.

Faculties

As mentioned earlier, the respondents of this study belong to five faculties. Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences (Arts-Soc.Sc.) have been considered together and the remaining three are Law, Science and Technology. Thus, four faculty-groups have been formed. The mean scores (Table 4.29a) of the faculty-groups support Spencer's (1967) observation that social science and humanity students are more politicized than science students, and the science students, in turn, are more politicized than the students joining for professional courses (Technology). Further, the mean activism scores of these faculty-groups have been compared to find out significance of difference by analysis

Table 4.29a: Mean Scores of Student Activism for
Four Faculty-Groups Among Male Students

Faculty-Groups	Arts-Soc.Sc.	Science	Technology	Law
M	77.20	74.19	70.91	79.77
N	179	112	80	43

of variance in case of male students. The obtained F-ratio of 6.06 (Table 4.29b) is significant at .01 level. To assess significance of difference between six combinations of faculty-groups, t-values have been obtained and presented in Table 4.29c.

Table 4.29c reveals that Law male students are significantly inclined towards activism in comparison to

Table 4.29b: Analysis of Variance for Finding
Significance of Difference Between
Mean Scores of Student Activism
for Four Faculty-Groups

Sources of Variations	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	3	3,175.98	1,058.66	13.22
Within	410	71,611.88	174.66	
Total	413	74,787.86		

$$F = \frac{1058.66}{174.66} = 6.06, \text{ significant at } .01 \text{ level.}$$

Science and Technology male students, while Arts-Soc.Sc. male students have significantly greater tendency of activism than Technology students only. However, there is no significant difference between Law and Arts-Soc.Sc. students, Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science students and Science and Technology students. (Reddy (1974) in his study found that Arts, Science and Technology students do not differ significantly with respect to activism. Present study supports Reddy's findings in case of Arts and Science students, while contradicts them in the case of Arts and Technology students.

Table 4.29c: 't' Values for Six Combinations of Faculty-Groups of Male Students

S.No.	Combinations of Faculty-Groups	df	't' Values	Level of Significance
1	Law and Arts-Soc.Sc.	220	1.15	Not sig.
2	Law and Science	153	2.35	.05
3	Law and Technology	121	3.54	.01
4	Arts-Soc.Sc. and Technology	257	3.53	.01
5	Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science	289	1.89	Not sig.
6	Science and Technology	190	1.70	Not sig.

Unemployment seems to be a major factor influencing

student activism in the university in general. Thirty-five percent Arts-Soc.Sc., 28 percent Law and 18 percent Science students (Table 4.16) joined the university because they did not find any other occupation. Moreover, Law students in general are supposed to be more socially conscious. The study of Law also makes them more aware of constitutional rights and privileges. All these may incite them more to activism. Dim prospects of job opportunities in case of Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science male students give rise to activist tendencies. More left orientation has been observed (Table 4.5a) in Science students in comparison to other faculties. Moreover, generally bright students join Science courses (Shah, 1975). Dissatisfaction and frustration among intelligent youths may be more harmful for them as well as for the society. If in future, job conditions are not improved, there is a likelihood that activism will also increase among science students rapidly. Less social concern, bright job prospects, more facilities and competitive admission procedure, in case of Technology students, make them mild and less prone to activism.

Since there are only two groups in case of female students, t-test has been applied to find out significance

of difference between the mean activism scores of Arts-Soc. Sc. and Science students. The obtained t-value of 1.99 (Table 4.29d) is significant at .05 level. It means that Science girls tend to be high activists, while Arts-Soc.Sc.

Table 4.29d: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Arts and Science Female Students

Groups	N	M	SD	SEM	df	t	Level of Significance
Arts-Soc.Sc.	45	63.17	14.11	2.13	104	1.99	.05
Science	61	68.04	11.09	1.43			

girls tend to be low activists. Parents' SES and student activism have shown positive and significant relationship (Table 4.26b) in case of female students. It was found by Shah (1975) that students of high and middle SES select Science courses. Perhaps, higher SES in case of Science female students is responsible for their higher tendency towards activism.

Level

To find out whether intensity of student activism differs with respect to students' level of study, the

respondents have been classified into two groups of postgraduate (PG) and undergraduate (UG) levels. For the purpose, as mentioned earlier, only Arts-Soc.Sc., Science and Technology students have been taken into consideration. The existing pattern of PG and UG levels in Arts-Soc.Sc. and Science faculties has been accepted as such, while taking age of students into account the responses of first to third year Technology students have been grouped with UG, and fourth and fifth year, with PG. Mean activism scores of the PG and the UG groups have been compared by t-test to find significance of differences. The results have been presented in Tables 4.30a and 4.30b for male and female students respectively.

Table 4.30a: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for UG and PG Male Students

Groups	N	M	SD	SEM	df	't'	Level of Significance
UG	245	74.73	14.02	.90	369	.41	Not significant
PG	126	75.33	12.57	1.12			

It is evident from the Table (4.30a) that the obtained t-value of .41 in case of male students is not

significant. It means that level is not a variable which influences student activism significantly. Male students of both the levels involve in activism without any significant difference.

In Table 4.30b are presented the results pertaining to female students. The obtained t-value (2.25) in case of female students is significant at .05 level. It means, mean activism

Table 4.30b: Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for UG and PG Female Students

Groups	N	M	SD	SEM	df	't'	Level of Significance
UG	66	67.44	12.97	1.60	104	2.25	.05
PG	40	61.52	12.79	2.02			

score (67.44) of UG female students is significantly higher than the mean activism score (61.52) of PG female students. It indicates that female students of undergraduate level tend to be high activists, while female students of postgraduate level tend to be low activists. This confirms, to some extent, the previous finding that female students

of lower age are more inclined towards activism than the female students of higher age.

Duration of Stay

It is generally supposed that those students, who stay longer in the university, tend to have greater inclination towards activism. This observation has been verified by finding coefficients of correlation (Table 4.31) between two sets of scores i.e., student activism and duration of stay.

Table 4.31: Correlation Coefficients Between Duration of Stay and Student Activism Scores for Male and Female Students

Groups	Aspects of Student Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Male	-.04	-.00	-.03	.04	.02	-.07	-.03	412
Female	-.01	-.03	.02	.08	.05	.05	.03	104

It is evident from the Table that coefficients of correlation between the two variables have been found to be -.03 in case of male students and .03 in case of female students. None of the above are significant. It is further revealed that none of the six aspects of student activism is significantly associated with duration of stay either in

case of male students or in case of female students. It means that students' duration of stay and student activism with its six aspects are not associated significantly. It, further, seems that students' duration of stay in the university has nothing to do with student activism in case of student community in general. The notion may, however, be true in case of those student-leaders who aspire for leadership as their career.

Students' Perception of Guardians' Political Activities and Student Activism

Family environment plays an important role in influencing the life and activities of boys and girls. It depends on as to how students perceive political activities of their guardians. For the purpose, the investigator has identified two components of guardians' political activities, i.e. students' perception of guardians' reactions to protest activities and guardians' actual participation in politics. The summation of the scores of these two components form the scores on guardians' political activities. The correlation coefficients of these scores with the scores of student activism have been calculated

and the results have been presented in Table 4.32a for male students and Table 4.32b for female students.

It can be inferred from Table 4.32a that students' perception of guardians reaction has positive and significant relationship (.30) with student activism. All the six aspects

Table 4.32a: Correlation Coefficients Between Students' Perception of Guardians' Political Activities and Student Activism Scores for Male Students

Components of Guardians' Political Activities	Aspects of Student Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Guardians' Reaction to Student Activism	.20**	.29**	.15**	.16**	.27**	.25**	.30**	412
Guardians' Participation in Politics	.07	.19**	.10*	.09	.11*	.20**	.17**	412
Guardians' Participation in Political Activities	.18**	.30**	.16**	.17**	.25**	.28**	.30**	412

* Significant at .05 level.

** Significant at .01 level.

of student activism have shown similar pattern of association with students' perception of guardians' reactions. It means students'

perception of guardians' reactions is positively and significantly related to student activism. It indicates that if male students perceive their guardians' reaction towards student activism encouraging, the former would likely be more inclined towards activism. The table further reveals that three aspects of student activism, i.e. administrative (.29), socio-political (.27) and students' union (.25) have shown higher degree of association with students' perception of guardians' reaction in comparison to academic (.20), student amenities (.16) and police clash (.15). It seems that students, who perceive their guardians' reactions towards student activism encouraging, express greater concern with non-academic issues rather than issues related to studies and student welfare.

Students' perception of guardians' participation in politics has also been found associated positively and significantly (.17) with student activism. Out of the six aspects of student activism four, viz., students' union (.20), administration (.19), socio-political (.11) and police clash (.10) have shown positive and significant relationship, while remaining two i.e., academic (.07) and student amenities (.09) have not shown significant relationship with students' perception of guardians' participation in politics. It

indicates that those male students who perceive their guardians participation in politics to be high, tend to express significant concern over non-academic issues like socio-political and even police clash, but non-significant over issues related to studies and student welfare.

On the whole, students' perception of guardians' political activities has been found to be positively and significantly related (.30) to student activism. Three aspects of student activism i.e. administration (.30), students' union (.28) and socio-political (.25) have shown higher trend of relationship with students' perception of guardians' political activities, while the rest three aspects, i.e. academic (.18), student amenities (.17) and police clash (.16) have shown lower trend of relationship with students' perception of guardians' political activities. Considering all these, it seems that closer relationship exists between students' perception of guardians' political activities and student activism concerned with non-academic matters on the one hand, and less close relationship between students' perception of guardians' political activities and matters related to academics and student welfare. This may be a reflection of guardians' general and popular tendency to pay more attention on their wards' result and degree

rather than latters' genuine educational progress and provisions for amenities.

In table 4.32b are presented the coefficients of correlation between the above variables in case of female students. The above table reveals that students' perception of guardians' reaction and student activism have not shown any significant relationship. All the six aspects of student activism have also not shown any significant relationship. It means girls' perception of their guardians' reaction is not significantly related to student activism. It indicates that female students are not at all influenced by their guardians' reaction to student activism. It seems that most of the guardians, in case of their daughters are more concerned with their education and marriage rather than with their general awakening and consciousness.

Female students' perception of guardians' participation in politics has been found to be positively and significantly (.28) associated. Out of six aspects of student activism five, i.e. socio-political (.29), academic (.26), administrative (.24), student amenities (.21) and students' union (.21) have shown positive and significant

Table 4.32b: Correlation Coefficients Between Students' Perception of Guardians' Political Activities and Student Activism Scores for Female Students

Components of Guardians' Political Activities	Aspects of Student Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Guardians' Reaction to Student Activism	.12	.18	.07	.02	.15	.08	.14	104
Guardians' Participation in Politics	.26**	.24**	.17	.21*	.29**	.21*	.28**	104
Guardians' Participation in Political Activities	.21*	.24**	.13	.12	.25**	.16	.24**	104

* Significant at .05 level,

** Significant at .01 level.

association with students' perception of guardians' participation in politics, while the remaining one, i.e. police clash is not significantly associated with the same. It indicates that girls, who perceive their guardians' participation in politics to be high, tend to be high activists. It is further revealed that such girls show greater concern with some of the non-academic matters like socio-political and administrative as well as academic and student welfare activities.

Thus, the female students' perception of their guardians' political activities has been found to be positively and significantly (.24) associated with student activism. Three aspects of student activism, i.e. socio-political (.25), administrative (.24) and academic (.21) are positively and significantly related, while remaining three, i.e. students' union (.16), police clash (.13) and student amenities (.12) are not significantly related. It means that those girls, who perceive their guardians' political activities high, tend to express concern with some non-academic as well as academic matters. Expression of greater concern with academic matters may be the reflection of the popular opinion that girls are mostly committed to their study.

On the basis of what has been discussed above, it can be concluded that students' perception of guardians' political activities is positively and significantly related to student activism in case of male as well as female students. Male students with higher perceptions of their guardians' political activities are significantly inclined to all the aspects of student activism, while a higher trend is shown to non-academic issues and lower to academic ones. The female

students tend to be inclined towards a few non-academic issues as well as academic issues significantly. Male students' perception of their guardians' reaction seems to be encouraging while female students' perception of their guardians' reaction seems to be neutral. Perhaps, guardians, in case of their female wards, are more traditional and conservative. Positive and significant relationship between guardians' political activities and student activism may, perhaps, be due to following two reasons :

1. Guardians' participation generally covers social and other problems rather than educational ones.
2. Because of their limited education, generally, guardians are little aware of the present educational problems, so they do not participate in resolving them.

Political Variables and Student Activism

Under this sub-heading, three variables have been considered. They are students' association with political parties, participation in movements at secondary level and

participation in political and protest type activities.

Students' Association with Political Parties

Quite a good number of students in the university have their choice of some association with one political party or the other (Table 4.5b). It is a popular observation that student activists (high activists) are generally politics oriented students. To verify the above belief, on the basis of information received from the students, the responses have been classified in two broad categories, namely - associated and non-associated. Those students who have not admitted their association with any of the political parties mentioned in the question (Appendix A) have been considered as non-associated. Further, on the basis of their association with different political parties, associated students have been classified into four categories. Thus, on the whole, five groups, namely - Janta, Congress, Congress (I), Communists and non-associated have been identified. Significance of difference between mean student activism scores of these five groups, in case of boys, have been tested by analysis of variance (Table 4.33b). The obtained F-value of 10.95 has been found to be significant at .01 level. For finding further

Table 4.33a: Mean Scores of Student Activism for
Five Party-Groups Among Male Students

Party-Groups	Janta	Congress	Congress(I)	Communists	Non-associated
M	79.29	75.79	76.63	86.37	71.57
N	124	14	52	19	203

significant difference in ten combinations of the above five groups t-values have been obtained (Table 4.33c).

It can be inferred from the above table that out of ten t-values, six are significant. Students' association with

Table 4.33b: Analysis of Variance for Finding Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Five Party-Groups

Sources of Variations	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	4	7,226.31	1,806.58	12.82
Within	407	66,938.24	164.47	
Total	411	74,164.55		

$$F = \frac{1806.58}{164.47} = 10.98, \text{ Significant at } .01 \text{ level.}$$

three of the parties, i.e., Janta, Congress(I) and Communists show significantly higher mean student activism scores in comparison to the students who are not associated with any party.

Table 4.33c: 't' Values for Ten Combinations of Party-Groups Among Male Students

S.No.	Combinations of Party Groups	df	't' Values	Level of Significance
1	Janta and Non-Associated	325	5.29	.01
2	Congress and Non-Associated	215	1.19	Not sig.
3	Congress(I) and Non-Associated	253	2.54	.05
4	Communists and Non-Associated	220	4.80	.01
5	Janta and Congress	136	.97	Not sig.
6	Janta and Congress (I)	174	1.25	Not sig.
7	Communists and Janta	141	2.24	.05
8	Congress(I) and Congress	64	.22	Not sig.
9	Communists and Congress	31	2.34	.05
10	Communists and Congress (I)	69	2.83	.01

The table further reveals that students associated with communist parties have shown significantly higher mean student activism scores than the students associated with

Janta, Congress and Congress(I). No significant differences have been found between non-associated group and Congress group and also among Janta, Congress and Congress(I) groups.

On the basis of what has been discussed above, it can be concluded that students associated with Janta, Congress (I) and Communist parties show significantly greater tendency of student activism than those students who are not associated with any political party. Further, students associated with communist parties tend to show still greater intensity of student activism than the students associated with political parties, like Janta, Congress and Congress(I).

It seems that student activism is not associated with political parties alone. The above pattern of difference among the associated groups may depend on ideology, tempo or self-confidence, position etc. of the party. Students associated with the Communist parties have shown highest degree of intensity of student activism only because of their orientation to leftist ideology which is less possessed by any other political party, though the tempo of the communist parties in that region is not so high. On the other hand, the congress party being in power

for the last three decades hardly adopted the politics of resistance, hence students associated with it have shown lowest degree of activism among the associated groups. Students' association with Janta party, which then was in power and Congress (I) which then was aspiring for power, have shown activism in between the above two.

Table 4.33d: Mean Scores of Student Activism for Three Party-Groups among Female Students

Party-Groups	Janta	Congress (I)	Non-Associated
M	70.11	66.18	62.91
N	28	22	55

In table 4.33e are presented the results of three female groups, i.e. non-associated, Janta party and Congress (I) obtained by analysis of variance. Though the F-value of 2.90 has not been found to be significant, its trend follows the results obtained in case of male students.

Table 4.33e: Analysis of Variance for Finding Significance of Difference Between Mean Scores of Student Activism for Three Party-Groups

Sources of Variations	df	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares	SD
Between	2	973.73	486.87	12.97
Within	102	17,156.50	168.20	
Total	104	18,130.23		

$$F = \frac{486.87}{168.20} = 2.90, \quad \text{Not significant.}$$

R

Participation at Secondary Level

To find out relationship between students' participation in movements at secondary level and student activism, coefficients^{of} correlation have been obtained between two sets of scores on the above two variables. These correlation coefficients are presented in Table 4.34 for the male as well as for the female students. It is evident from the table that correlation (.28) between students' participation in movements at secondary level and student

Table 4.34: Correlation Coefficients between Participation in Movements at Secondary Level and Student Activism Scores

Groups	Aspects of Student Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Male	.20**	.23**	.24**	.12**	.22**	.27**	.28**	412
Female	.17	.17	.10	.10	.13	.08	.16	104

* Significant at .05 level. ** Significant at .01 level.

activism at the university level is positive and significant in case of male students. Further, all the aspects of student activism also show positive and significant correlation with students' participation in movements at secondary level. It means that those male students, who participate in movements at secondary level, tend to show higher degree of activism at the university level also. It indicates that tendency of activism in male students starts before they enter the university campus. It seems that this tendency further enhances and strengthens at the university level in case of male students.

In case of female students, correlation between students' participation in movement at secondary level and

student activism at the university level is not significant (.16). The similar pattern of relationship is shown between different aspects of student activism and students' participation in movements at secondary level. It indicates that the above two variables do not show any significant relationship in case of female students, but the pattern followed by them is similar to the results shown by the male students.

Students' Participation in Political and Protest Type Activities

As discussed in Chapter three, students' responses relating to their participation in political and protest type activities have also been quantified. In this section the correlation coefficients between participation in political and protest type activities and student activism scores have ^{been} computed and presented in Tables 4.35a and 4.35b for male students and female students respectively.

It is evident from table 4.35a that correlation coefficient between students' participation in political activities and student activism with respect to male students is .52 and students' participation in protest type

Table 4.35a: Correlation Coefficients Between Students' Political and Protest Type Activities and Student Activism for Male Students

Political and Protest Activities	Aspects of Student Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Participation in Political Activities	.37	.47	.32	.28	.39	.48	.52	412
Participation in Protest Activities	.36	.46	.33	.25	.40	.46	.50	412
Political and Protest Activities	.41	.52	.38	.31	.45	.53	.58	412

All correlation coefficients are significant at .01 level.

activities and student activities is .50. The table further reveals that correlation between students' participation in political and protest type activities and student activism is .58. All the three correlation coefficients are positive and significant at .01 level. They all can be said to be substantial. It means that students' participation in political and protest type activities is highly associated with student activism. This indicates that male students who have greater interest in politics and often favour participation in protest type activities will tend to be high activists. All the aspects of student activism have

shown positive and significant relationship with students' participation in political and protest type activities. Similar is the trend of relationship between all the six aspects of student activism on the one hand, ^{and} two components of students' participation in PPTA on the other. It is further revealed that correlation between three aspects of student activism, i.e. student union (.53), administration (.52) and socio-political (.45) on the one hand, and students' participation in PPTA on the other tends to be higher in comparison to the correlation between the rest three aspects of student activism, i.e. academic (.41), police clash (.38) and student amenities (.31) on the one hand, and students' participation in PPTA on the other. It means male students, who are highly inclined towards participation in PPTA, tend to have greater concern with non-academic issues rather than academic issues and issues related to students' welfare. It indicates a trend that, perhaps, more politicized male students are more inclined towards non-academic matters while less towards academic and student facilities.

As mentioned earlier, correlation between student activism along with its ^{six} aspects on the one hand, and students' participation in PPTA along with its two components on the

other, in case of female students, is presented in Table 4.35b. All the correlation coefficients shown in

Table 4.35b: Correlation Coefficients Between Students' Political and Protest Type Activities and Student Activism for Female Students

Political and Protest Activities	Aspects of Student Activism						Student Activism	df
	AC	AD	PC	SA	SP	SU		
Participation in Political Activities	.43	.40	.41	.29	.42	.30	.46	104
Participation in Protest Activities	.41	.43	.37	.27	.47	.29	.46	104
Political and Protest Activities	.50	.49	.48	.33	.53	.37	.55	104

All correlation coefficients are significant at .01 level.

the table are positive and significant at .01 level. It means that like male students the female students, who have more interest in politics, favour and participate more in PPTA, are more inclined towards student activism. Like boys, girls have also shown a trend of greater inclination towards non-academic aspects of student activism, like socio-political and administrative while less to student amenities. This agrees with observation made by Soares (1970) that some students treat themselves as citizens, hence they do not keep their activities limited to only curricula and

school but to wider social affairs. Unlike male students, highly politicized female students have shown greater concern to academic aspects and lesser to student union. Greater concern to academic issues on the part of female students may be, as mentioned earlier, due to girls' greater devotion and commitment to their studies. So far as less inclination towards student union is concerned, this may be due dominant role played by the boys in the union.

So far, ~~the~~ students' participation in political and protest type activities, especially their interest in politics, their opinion regarding participation in active politics, their association to political parties and so on and so forth have been studied in section A. In section B, an attempt has been made to find the relationships between student activism and six major variables namely: personal, social, socio-economic, institutional, political and students' participation of guardians' political activities. These considerations have shown some significant trend and positive relationship between some of these variables and student activism. It will, therefore, be very important to make a closer study of the students whose intensity of participation is high and the students whose intensity is

low. This will indicate the ideological base for those who participate on the one hand and their commitment to the student movement in general. This will help in generalizing the future trend of student movement in India. Section C, therefore, deals with the significance of high student activists and low student activists.

SECTION C

SIGNIFICANCE OF HIGH STUDENT ACTIVISTS AND LOW STUDENT ACTIVISTS

As discussed in Chapter One, scholars have hinted at the changing concept of student activism. It is not being considered only as a student problem but as a part of social movements. Along with many negative aspects, it contains some positive ones. In the following paragraphs, the investigator made an attempt to discuss the opinions of students regarding positive and negative aspects of student activism, its achievements, ways of controlling it etc.

For the purpose, it has been thought proper to collect data from HSAs and LSAs through interviews. Interview helps in unfolding the minds of interviewee and in getting the information which is not otherwise available. It was also thought that because of contrast between their approaches, the opinion of HSAs and LSAs would be valuable.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the extreme cases of the HSAs and the LSAs have been selected from amongst the sample on the basis of their scores on the activism scale. Out of such 20 cases, five HSAs and four LSAs have been reported individually. The remaining fall in tune with the general pattern of the analysis and their responses have been helpful in drawing the conclusion.

High Student Activists

Five out of eleven cases of HSAs were selected. Apart from their high scores on the activism scale, their general awareness has also been taken into consideration for selecting them for the purpose.

A: A student of second year Law, 'A' hails from a village in Azamgarh district in Eastern U.P. At the time of interview he was the secretary of 'Chaudhury Vichar Manch', a cultural association. 'A' defined student activism 'as a struggle by students against any injustice'. According to him, since students are idealists, there are greater chances of changes being brought about by them.

He opined that positive gains of student activism were less perceptible, though there were many and most of them were in consonance with country's democratic ideals. Student activism has increased consciousness and boldness among students. It is putting an end to many social evils, like - castism, aristocracy etc. It is also compelling the society to introduce changes in educational system. But, it is difficult to measure them. To get some good results one should be ready for bad ones also.

'A' neither visualises any check on student activism in near future, nor he feels any need to check it. Rather, he suggested that students be encouraged to participate in activism raising significant issues. He favoured constructive struggles to be launched by students.

B: A student of B.A. final 'B' hails from Bihar. She admitted that she started participating in activism for the sake of fun and pleasure. So far she participated on five occasions in protest activities, mainly related to her college.

She perceives students' demands generally to be just. In her opinion, there are positive as well as negative aspects of student movements. Activism enables students to meet any authority fearlessly, but sometimes violent with the result that lathicharge and firing are resorted to by the authorities to quell it and sometimes some has ^{to} lose their lives also.

She is of the opinion that activism among students can only be minimised, if efforts be made, not fully controlled. This should not be controlled through police forces at any cost.

C: A second year Law student 'C' was contesting for the post of general secretary of the student union at the time of data collection. To him, the purpose of student activism is to generate socio-political consciousness among the students. This is more important and essential than

simply redress of grievances. Political consciousness widens the mental horizon of students, but he observes that students are interested in movements for petty gains, like admissions, financial help, examination results etc. He has much hope from student activism. According to him, student movements are pregnant with positive values and student activism has been instrumental in bringing some reforms in the system. He stressed that student activism had been accelerating the speed of social change. Control on arbitrary use of power by the authorities, sense of equality, consciousness of rights, introduction of improvement system in evaluation and changes in education policy are the results of student movements. There are dark aspects also, but he hopes that many of them will be eliminated in course of time.

'C' does not foresee any decrease in student activism. Rather, he is of the view that if unemployment problem is not tackled, student activism may take even more violent turn. He rejected the possibility of its control through police and force. He emphasized the need on the part of teachers, guardians, government and even students of understanding the agonies of students, rather than condemning.

D: A local B.Sc. student 'D' told that he was a member of All India Students' Federation (AISF), but in course of his interview, he revealed that he was inclined towards ultraleft. He visualizes that increasing unemployment situation will accelerate the rate of movements in the society in general and in the universities in particular.

To him, gains of student activism seem to be very slow. Present day student activism encourages bargaining tendency rather than militant spirit among the students, which is more essential. He views the on going student movements as 'demand and grievance' oriented. Students do not seem to be conscious beyond that. He badly feels the need of organizing students in the manner, they would play ~~their~~ their vital role in social development. The more student movement is controlled by repressive measures, the more violent it would erupt. In his opinion, use of student power for the vested interest of student leaders is misdirecting the movement.

E: Hailing from an agricultural family 'E' is a PG Science student. As he told, he was much hopeful of student power and activism, but greater the experiences he gathered, more disgusted, he became with activism. To his

surprise, he found many evils like casteism, role of money and status in it. Thus, he fears that student movement would get corrupted like any other social and political movement. In his opinion, individual incidences of violence in the campus are not at all associated with activism. These are the results of anti-social and gunda ctivities.

For 'E', purpose of student activism is to bringing about changes in the society in general and education system in particular. He complained that lack of unity among students is blocking an organized and effective student movement. He is of the opinion that student movements bring positive as well as negative results. Consciousness, sense of equality and boldness have developed among students but care is to be taken that gundaism, regionalism, casteism etc. do not enter them.

According to him, students generally participate in agitations if there is any gain. At present greater emphasis is laid on minor issues, but a time will come when major issues will be taken. He is of the view that unemployment and corruption encourage activism. 'Only student leaders seem to be corrupt', he remarked, 'not the student community'.

Low Student Activists

Like HSAs nine LSAs were interviewed. Four, out of nine were randomly selected and their view points are given below :

F: 'F' is a B.A. final student. Once he took interest in student activism, then he was influenced by Jan Sangh ideology. But because of increasing violence, he fully withdrew himself. He feels that only students are not to be held responsible for it. Other sections of the society are also responsible for what and how the students are doing.

Because of the existing socio-economic situations and the way student activism is handled, 'F' is not very hopeful that activism can be controlled. In his opinion, authorities and students both are responsible for whatever is happening. He blames the authorities as well as the students for using force against each other.

Student activism can be a method of reforming education, according to 'F', but it is not properly handled. As a result, its negative effects outnumber the positive ones. Chaos, indiscipline, violence, gundaism etc.

in universities are such results. 'F' realizes that students are, sometimes, forced to go for direct actions, yet he does not approve their violent actions. To him, violence is the outcome of mutual distrust.

G: An M.A. final student 'G' had poor opinion of student activism. He admitted that once he had participated in a procession under pressure. He feels that student activism is responsible for bringing down students' status, for deteriorating academic standard and blocking the development of the society at large. He recognizes some positive points also, but emphasizes that negative ones are graver and more serious. He helplessly feels that it can not be checked under the existing situations.

H: A resident of Varanasi City 'H' is a student of B.Sc. final. He is dead against agitations and student activism and fails to find any thing worthwhile achieved through activism. Participation in protest movements, according to him, 'is nonsense and waste of time and energy'. Growth of militant spirit is, of course, a bright aspect of activism, but he asserted, there were many dark aspects also - disruption, chaos, indiscipline, loss of study, loss of students' elite status etc. All these effect our socio-economic growth. He feels it very essential to check the

increasing trend of student activism. For the purpose, he suggested the abolition of student unions, firm steps and stiff actions. He refused to join an agitation even if he was convinced of its benefits. He can only put his signature if there is any signature campaign.

I: A third year Technology student 'I' hails from Bulandshahar in Western U.P. By student activism, he means 'students struggle against establishment'. According to him activism produces positive as well as negative results. He finds it to be the best method of exercising some control over authorities. But the loss of time one suffers due to agitations is irreparable.

He asked two questions, 'why do people expect discipline only from students?. Are politicians and administrators disciplined?' Even then he feels it essential that student activism should be controlled otherwise progress will be blocked. To check activism some non-violent methods are to be discovered.

Since the number of interviewees has been small, the conclusions are not based on statistical treatment. On the basis of commonality in the opinions and views, following trend may be noticed :

It seems that HSAs have formed some picture of student activism and also of role played by student leaders as well as by student community. But between themselves, they differ according to their ideology or political organizations they are associated with. They also differ within their expectations from student leaders and common students.

The HSAs and LSAs feel that activism is associated with existing socio-economic situations and it is rather difficult to control it. LSAs propose its control through peaceful means, while HSAs like to encourage it for bringing about changes in the system. Even LSAs do not seem to be in favour of checking activism through repressive measures.

The LSAs are worried over the negative aspects of student activism but feel helpless. They do not find students alone to be held responsible for the state of affairs, while they realize the urgency for controlling it. However, they also visualize some positive gain as a result of student activism.

The HSAs highlight the positive gains of student activism in their own way and seem to be ignoring the

negative ones as a by-product. Anyway, they also seem to be worried over them.

The Emerging Trend

Section A of the chapter, which deals with the students' participation in political and protest type activities shows that a large majority of students (76 percent male and 69 percent female) take interest in politics. They also favour students' participation in active politics and a significant percentage of them also takes active part in politics. Students belonging to higher caste groups tend to be moderate and support those political parties which they perceive to be moderate, and students from lower caste groups tend to support radical political parties. However, the percentage of students' active participation in different political parties is low among all the caste groups. The fact, that only 8 percent of the male students and 5 percent of the female students are the members of different political parties, suggests that political awakening among the students, who were, at one time, at the fore front of the national independence movement, is very poor. In spite of their low political

awakening, it is surprising that the overwhelming majority of them perceives that protest type methods are effective means of realising students' demands. Lack of political awareness on the one hand, and belief in the effectiveness of protest type methods on the other clearly indicate that student would rally round some immediate gains and not round some definite programmes or in general student movement which has a longer life and more concrete and constructive things to achieve.

Section B deals with the intensity of student activism in the light of six groups of variables namely, (1) personal variables, (2) sociological variables, (3) socio-economic variables, (4) institutional variables, (5) students' perception of guardians' political activities and (6) political variables. In each of these groups, various aspects of the variables are covered. The analysis of the data collected under these variables suggests the following trend.

Personal Variables

Under the personal variables, three aspects are covered i.e. sex, age and ordinal position. It seems that

sex of the student is significantly related to student activism. In case of girls, age too is significantly related with activism. Though the ordinal position does not show any significant relationship, it definitely points to a particular trend in the sense that the youngest in terms of ordinal position in the family are high activists, while the 'elder ones' and the 'only ones' are low activists.

Sociological Variables

Under sociological variables are covered caste, residence, marital status, type of family, rural-urban background and regional background. The evidences show that rural-urban background is significantly associated with student activism; while caste, marital status and family type are not. Regional background, only in case of male students, and residence, only in case of female students, show significant association with student activism.

Socio-Economic Variables

Two aspects are covered under this group, i.e., SES and occupation of parents. The study shows that occupation is significantly related to activism in case of boys, and

even the girls show the similar trend. It is also noteworthy that SES is significantly related to student activism in case of girls but it has not shown any significant relationship in case of boys.

Institutional Variables

Variables covered under this group are educational commitment, faculties, level and duration of stay at the university. Faculties are significantly related to student activism. The educational commitment has shown significant relationship with activism in case of male students. Similarly, level of study is significantly related in case of girls which clearly indicates the influence of traditional Indian cultural norms debarring girls from participating in public life after a particular age.

Students' Perception of Guardians' Political Activities

The study indicates that students' perception of guardians' political activities is significantly associated with student activities.

Political Variables

This covers students' association with political parties, their participation in movements at secondary level and also their participation in political and protest type activities. First two variables of this group, i.e. students' association with political parties and their participation in political and protest type activities are significantly related to student activism in case of both the sexes. Students' participation in movements at secondary level also shows significant association with activism with respect to male students, but not with respect to female students. However, it definitely follows the trend shown in the case of male students.

Section C deals with the HSAs and LSAs. It is important to note that both the groups are equally aware of the fact that activism among students is the product of the present socio-economic conditions and it is worthwhile noting that both feel very sincerely that the situation needs to be controlled. This will enable the students to concentrate on more constructive and meaningful activities. This means that the situation has not gone

totally out of control. Even the high activists are not completely in favour of breaking the system, and this really is a good sign. It suggests that elders, who are at the decision making end, should take a queue and respond positively.