

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PSYCHODYNAMICS AND OTHER
RELATED FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENT UNREST IN
THE YEARS 1977 AND 1982 IN UTKAL UNIVERSITY,
ORISSA.

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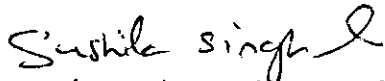



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DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled,
"A Comparative Study of Psychodynamics and Other
Related Factors Concerning Student Unrest in the
Years 1977 and 1982 in Utkal University, ORISSA",
submitted by Sudhir Kumar Samantaray is in partial
fulfilment of eight credits for the degree of
Master of Philosophy of this University. This
dissertation has not been submitted for any other
degree of this University, or any other University,
and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be
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(SUDHIR KUMAR SAMANTARAY)

ABSTRACT

The main objectives of this present research were : First, to ascertain if there had been any change in regard to causes, nature, and consequences of student unrest in the years 1977 and 1982; second, to ascertain if there was any difference amongst the three groups in Utkal University viz. teachers, students, and administrators in regard to their perception of causes, nature and consequences of student unrest in 1977 as well as in 1982.

In line with the above objectives six hypotheses were formulated and tested with a comparative paradigm. The setting chosen to conduct the study was the Utkal University and the reason for choosing the same for the research are given in detail in the methodology chapter. The sample consisted of a total of twenty-eight teachers, twenty-two students, and twenty administrators who had all witnessed the 1977 and 1982 unrest and were still continuing to serve in one capacity or the other in the same university. To ascertain the differences in the nature, causes and consequences of student unrest in the two periods, an open ended and a structured questionnaire covering the three areas were prepared and administered to the three groups.

The following results emerged: (1) Between 1977 and 1982, there was significant difference in the causes that led to student unrest. For instance, while in 1977 the causes were faulty university administration, poor teacher-taught relationship, poor administrator-student relationship, lack of adequate curricular and recreational activities; in 1982 the causes that led to the onset of unrest were

excessive politicization in the campus, political grouping within the campus, political interference and lack of employment opportunities in the future. (2) The teachers, students, and administrators were unanimous in their opinion that religion, language and caste played no significant role in the onset of student unrest in both the years. They however differed amongst themselves in regard to the causes, viz. faulty university administration, poor teacher-taught relationship, lack of adequate academic and recreational facilities, and poor administrator-student relationship. For instance, while students and teachers attributed the onset of 1977 unrest to faulty university administration, the administrators did not agree with the above view. While administrators felt that the lack of adequate curricular activities was the cause of student unrest in 1977, the students denied the same. Thus there was significant difference in the perception of three groups in regard to the causes that led to student unrest. (3) The nature of student unrest varied between the two periods, with 1977 being relatively more psychological/ⁱⁿnature, slightly more disciplined, better organised, with lesser involvement of politicians from outside. On the contrary the 1982 unrest was considered to be more political in nature, somewhat poorly disciplined, poorly organised, and with greater involvement of politicians from outside. (4) As for the consequences all the three groups were unanimous in stating that there were damaging consequences as a result of the student unrest in both the years. The above findings were discussed in the light of other researches in the field.

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CHAPTER-I
INTRODUCTION

Mahatma wrote in 1931, "I must... hope to the last breath that India will make non-violence her creed, preserve the dignity of man, and prevent him from reverting to the type from which he is supposed to have raised himself."

Yet after independence in 1947, India has been experiencing varied types of aggressive acts such as violence, arson, looting, riots and mob attacks including damage of properties. Such acts of violence have not led to either preserving the dignity of man as Gandhiji wished or it led to instilling and maintaining harmony amongst different groups. It has been noted by many (e.g. Altbach, 1968; Sinha, 1975; Sinha and Dass, 1975, Majumdar, 1981) that India is under the strong grip of aggression and violence which gets all the more strengthened in magnitude.

Termed varyingly as student movement, student violence, etc., student unrest has been causing considerable concern to the nation, specially to the educational and administrative authorities in the country. As is well known, student unrest has dominated the contemporary scene in almost all societies during the last few decades, and in India, to an extent has contributed to the manifold social problems in the society. Further more, in India scarcely a day passes without some report in the news regarding campus indiscipline, student unrest, student movement, mob violence, student agitation

aggression etc. These are variedly described using terms such as student activism, agitation, boycott, clash, conflict, demonstration, discontent, disruption, dissatisfaction, dissent, disturbances, gherao, goondaism, indiscipline, movement, politics, power protest, rowdyism, stir, strike, tension, unrest, uprising, walkout, violence etc. Generally there are some of the terms compendiously used to denote all disruptive activities of student violence and aggression. Sinha and Dass (1975) view that "violence is the extreme form of aggressive behaviour". Lorenz (1966) explains aggressive behaviour in terms of a "fighting instinct" in man. Harrison (1980) defines aggression as one referring to behaviour that are "intended to inflict injury on some one or something". As a major aspect of life, it has been of interest to psychologists. According to Berkowitz (1970) aggression is any activity either physical and verbal, that has a goal of inflicting harm and damage to someone and something. Generally student unrest is one form of manifestation of aggression.

At the psychological level the student unrest may be understood in terms of the state of mind of an individual. As reported by Sarkar (1960) and Srichandra (1966) student unrest may be an expression of student dissatisfaction and emotional imbalance which they cannot directly express due to various social control and pressure in the society. These repressed emotions do not also get channelised towards a definite goal and thus may manifest intself in

terms of unrest, indiscipline etc. or in certain typical behaviours like lack of interest in academics, regression and tension.

STUDENT UNREST: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

As Philip H. Altbach (1968) observed " student movement has not only been a contemporary phenomenon but has important historical roots." Activism reached a high point in the late 1960s, when student political movements assumed world wide importance. Students had become a political force in a number of western nations, and they continued to play a key role in many third world nations. In India, students had played a crucial role in the political atmosphere during independence struggle and later they had dominated in every sphere of political and academic life of the country and thus it may be said that student unrest in India has had a long and continuous history.

It is worth noting that one of the earliest organisations was the Calcutta Student Association(CSA) founded in 1875 by A.M. Bose through which Surendranath Banerjee appealed for the rise of a youth movement. Tripathy (1972) noted that in 1920 the first All India College Students conference was held at Nagpur along with the Congress Session and thenceforth student conferences became a regular feature of the Indian National Congress Sessions. During Simon Commission's visit to India in 1928, the students organised a series of demonstrations on a national level, demanding freedom for India. The All Bengal Students' Association (1928) organised by

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, actively participated in the Satyagraha movement of 1930 and again in the quit India movement in 1942. During the struggle for Independence, students involved themselves in militant activities against the British rule. The All India Student Federation (AISF) was formed during this period which helped to unite the student movement for several years to come. Other organisations like the All India Muslim Students Federation, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), the Hindu Student Federation etc. played a significant role in the great freedom struggle.

In the post Independence period, students continued to play a vital role in the day to day affairs of India, particularly in politics. Students through different kind of organisations, like Indian Youth Congress (IYC), All India Youth Federation (AIYF), Naga National Council, Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYF), Mizo National Front, Nikhil Tripura Sanyukta Upajati Parishad (NTSUF), All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) etc., actively participated in the national as well as international affairs of India. Saraswathi (1988) opines that major political parties at both national and regional levels have organised their youth wings and many of them have also separate students wings in clear recognition of the immense power of the youth as a force in politics. Also Altbach (1982) viewed that historically, student movement sometimes manifested itself in cultural rather than political terms in the third world. Generally, activist movements throughout the world have been concerned with broader political issues than with University issues and reform.

It is true that the unrest of one country differs from that of another in its orientation, due to difference in social structure and value systems. Also it has been observed that societies, with different tradition, custom & religious practices and linguistic groups, influence the specific features of the student unrest. Regional differences and the typical characteristics of Indian life have been mirrored in the patterns of student political activism in India. As reported by Altbach (1968) while in Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Bihar, students had been deeply involved in politically toned activities, students in Maharashtra and South India appear to have been relatively more peaceful, except for 1964-65 agitation. Similarly while West Bengal experienced more militant political activities, Kerala appeared to have experienced little unrest for the same period. The "Hindi Heart Land" of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh while had been affected by student activism, the state of Rajasthan appears to have remained relatively more quiet. Apart from the general varying trend of student unrest in different states it has also been observed that in India, the character of student unrest also varied from region to region and from University to University. For instance, while the unrest of Banaras Hindu University and Allahabad University were campus oriented, in Orissa and Madras, the unrest was socially oriented. That is, the latter agitations were directed at issues related to some broad social problems.

Sometimes student unrest may be sparked off by certain immediate factors such as the unhelpful or uncooperative attitude of teachers and administrators or the lack of adequate facilities within the college (classroom, game field) etc. As pointed out by Altbach(1963) inadequate facilities, substandard educational preparation as well as the fear of unemployment after graduation might render students rather open to anxiety and frustration which in turn may take the form of student indiscipline and unrest. Such indiscipline may result in violent demonstrations.

Thus, student unrest appears not only to manifest in varied types of behaviour such as demonstration, protest, strike, dharna, boycott of classes and even violent mob type behaviours, but also appears to vary in the underlying psychodynamic factors which spark off such unrest. Further more, one also finds that student unrest appears to vary in their typical features and characteristics in different periods of time, obviously due to the changing political and social environment within a country.

While studies on student unrest have focussed attention to an/ extent on the nature and causes, there have been practically no study which has attempted to ascertain if the student unrest has been undergoing a changing trend in its nature, causes and consequences over a period of time. Also, no research has highlighted the typical varying psychodynamics underlying student unrest in two different periods. Such a comparison is essential to understand the changing trends in student

unrest which in turn might help take measures to prevent such unrest from arising, as it causes untold harm to students by depriving them of good teaching-learning opportunities in the field of higher education and later in the field of employment.

With the above in view, the present research has undertaken to study student unrest in two different periods of time (1977 and 1982) at Utkal University where, in both the times student unrest ended in loss of many teaching days, closure of university, postponement of examinations and subsequent loss of one academic year for the students.

It is hoped that the comparison of the nature-causes and consequences of student unrest in the two different periods will throw light on the changing trends, the underlying psychodynamics of such a change as well as demonstrate in what ways the three major groups in a university perceive these changes.

The next chapter presents the review of literature on student unrest.

CHAPTER-II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In order to avoid the duplication of work by other scholars and learn from their errors, an exhaustive survey of literature on the relevant topic needs to be undertaken.

Here in this area many studies and research projects have been conducted in various parts of our country by some eminent scholars. Student unrest has been examined by many experts in the field of education, political science, psychology, sociology, criminology etc. These studies have shown considerable variations in the causes, nature and consequences of student unrest and these variations appear to be changing over the years. It is well known that historically students have always been involved in many mass movements for a cause in all the countries, such as for example : the intense involvement of students in the French Revolution and in India in the freedom movement. If one examines the kind of unrest that had taken place, one could also delineate certain changes in the nature, causes and consequences within the unrest. Partly these may be due to the typical political and social ethos that had existed in that particular period of time. Hence one may expect also a change between two different periods of time in the nature causes and consequences. With these aspects in view, an attempt has been made in this chapter to present the available studies and literature on student unrest.

A : EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND STUDENT UNREST

Most studies conducted in this area, suggest that educational system has been a major cause for student protest behaviour. It has been observed that students have been agitated over lack of adequate educational and curricular facilities, lack of library and laboratory facilities, defective system of examination, lack of competent teachers and other aspect of current educational system. Thus it appears that irrelevance of educational system has played a crucial role in the onset of student unrest. Ross (1969) in this context showed that out of 96 demonstrations, 71 were caused by faulty educational system. In a similar study, Altbach (1968) had, earlier reported that out of 280 student unrests in India, 100 were stimulated by demands relating to examinations and administration of educational institutions; 60 were protest against the police and other Government agencies and the remaining 20 were due to miscellaneous reasons.

In an analytical study of the various demonstrations by Indian students, Gupta (1968) pointed out that the reasons for student demonstrations were : absence of sufficient and proper academic facilities, insufficient and inaccessible professors, inept and autocratic administrators, lack of facilities for extracurricular activities and increasingly limited prospects for jobs after graduation. Lopez (1974) had given greater importance to the influence of bureaucratic universities in the student unrest. Factors related to academic institutions like substandard facilities, unemployment problems,

autocratic university administration etc. have also been reported by Sree Chandra (1966); Gagne (1968); George & Mathew (1969); Sinha and Krishna (1970); Sharma (1970); Sandhu (1972); Daftuar (1972); and Vidyarthi (1976).

B : ECONOMIC FACTORS AND STUDENT UNREST

Many studies (for example Lauterbach, 1975, Commen 1975, Mishra 1975, etc.) have focused attention on the relationship between unemployment, the worsening economic conditions and student violence. These studies have indicated that unemployment, cost of education, rising cost of living and such other economic factors were very important source of student unrest. Lauterbach (1977) showed that lack of employment tended to result in feelings of frustration and alienation amongst students from the society. He advocated that the condition of unemployment may affect an individual's mind and personality to such an extent that it would lead to loss of self confidence, feeling of being unwanted and useless, rebellion alternating with apathy and in extreme cases permanent harm to the personality structure which may lead to aggressive behaviour.

Generally unemployment has been found to affect the behaviour of students, particularly when they are in the colleges, universities, wherein they perceive almost a bleak future after the end of their educational career. Such perception generates a sense of insecurity and tension in the youth which may manifest in the form of student

unrest and other kinds of disturbances. In this context, the ICSSR report of 1981 suggested that "the irrelevance of educational system, lack of proper norms and values of public life, lack of rapport with the University authorities and teachers tend to produce a sense of isolation". Both urban and rural students have been equally affected by poor economic conditions and wide spread unemployment, which appear to have alienated them from the main stream of socio-political life, as a result of which they seem to have developed a sense of isolation. Such sense of isolation and feelings of alienation invariably manifest.

C : SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND SOCIETAL VALUES AND STUDENT UNREST

Many research findings also suggest that the increasing erosion of values on the campus and outside of it have also to an extent led to a sense of meaninglessness amongst them (Abhimanyou, 1976).

Analysing the socio-economic profile of student activists Mishra (1975) found that of those engaged in non-political, social and cultural activities most had come from uppermiddle class homes, whereas of those active in direct political action most appeared to have come from lower and lower middle class homes. Oommen (1975) analysing the socio-economic and academic background of students of Delhi University who had participated in student unrest, showed that the leaders came from their respective college unions and majority of them were urban based and belonged to business families of high income groups. In their

academic background most of them were academically average students. As for the student activists, Oommen (1975) observed that they were conscious about the political situation in the country and were of more than average intellectual calibre. The above findings of Oommen and Mishra contradicted those of Aron (1974) who observed that social background had very little direct effect on activism. Aron was also of the view that while social background to an extent influenced the variation in the political attitudes and beliefs of students, but it could not explain the political activism.

D : CAUSES OF STUDENT UNREST

Ministry of Education in 1954 identified the causes of student unrest to be mainly the destruction of old values and the failure of the society to a new set of values. These views were supported by Kabir (1961) and Jamuar (1969). Snyder (1970) suggested that the major causes of campus conflict was the overwhelming non-productive mass of unstated academic and social norms.

The Education Commission of 1964-66 identified a number of causes behind student agitation like the uncertain future facing educated youngmen leading to a sense of frustration which breeds irresponsibility, mechanical and unsatisfactory nature of many curricular programmes, totally inadequate facilities for teaching and learning in the large bulk of institutions, poor student teacher contact, inefficiency and lack of scholarship on the part of teachers, prevalence of teacher

politics, falling standards of discipline among the adults and the weakening of civic consciousness and integrity.

Dasgupta and colleagues (1970) identified the causes of indiscipline in the university of Calcutta, such as clash with the government and revolt against organisations and institutions; conflict between rival student leaders adhering to different ideologies and programmes; battle of ideologies for gaining power. Sinha (1971) viewed that the causes of unrest were of four types : lack of poor academic atmosphere, absence of respect for authority, ideological frustrations and political interference; local issues; poverty and corruption. Again in Bihar Sarkar (1974) identified some other causes which were responsible for the student agitation - these included the lack of home discipline, teacher-taught contact, role of student unions, political groupings and casteism, socio-economic conditions, over crowding etc. According to Majumdar (1981) the causes of student unrest were intense political interest in the campus; government interference; violation of rules and neglect of code of conduct; economic insecurity; teacher-taught relationship; attitude of teachers; inadequacy of teachers for the profession. These factors were also supported by Singhal (1977); Kumar (1976); Jacob (1974); Shah (1966); and Ross (1969).

Sinha (1975) noted that the traditional moral values have been infected by the new philosophy of hippism on the one hand and hypocrisy on the other. Consequently, he pointed out that the youth of today was behaving in a completely uninhibited manner, ready to flare up

at the slightest provocation. Also Sinha (1975) in another study analysed the campus unrest under three headings viz (1) the campus unrest as determined by the prevailing restrictive exclusive and adolescent definition of the academic world; (2) the demands and pace of the contemporary life which out strip the university curriculum; and (3) the lack of an ideology and code of conduct which could harmonize the basic values and archetypes with the prevailing environment created by the advances in the field of science and technology.

Mehta (1977) and Sinha (1978) found that the student agitations were lacking in clearcut objectives and thus tended to spring up spontaneously on trivial issues and non issues. Furthering this argument, Sinha (1980) added that the students had become so anti-academic and concerned with many worthless issues that "there existed no Youth in revolt in India", but only some tendencies to hooliganism, sporadic and often senseless, purposeless and nonideological student movement. He categorically opined that "in recent years the pattern has changed entirely. Agitations can erupt and violence can occur on the campuses almost anytime during the year and any issue, however trivial it may be , can generate it".

Some psychologists view that certain students get pleasure from agitation and particularly from vandalism. Bhambhri and Mathur (1972) and Aikara (1974) advocated that agitations were a source of recreational pleasure for the youth. The absense of proper coiurricular and

recreational activities on and outside the campuses, appear to deprive the youth of certain legitimate source of fun and pleasure and hence they appear to indulge in hooliganism and vandalism.

Further more, the Indian Society as a whole has been undergoing changes. Younger generation, particularly the students, appear to be more directly influenced by these changes, which in turn erode their own values and norms, creating thereby considerable tension and conflicts. In this context, research findings have shown students to perceive lack of responsibility, a tendency to agitate for irrelevant issues, indulge in rowdy behaviour and a tendency not to adhere to democratic values and norms etc. amongst the political leaders, which they tend to imitate leading to unrest. Ross (1969) had experimentally shown that such changes in values and norms, particularly those relating to sex mores, were important source of tension amongst the youth; such tension appear to get further aggravated by authoritarian attitudes of parents at home. Sinha and Gangrade (1971) studied the intergenerational conflict between students and their parents. They found that there was a significant difference in the perception of students and parents in regard to the educational aspirations and career planning. While the parents had a more favourable attitude towards the system of education, the students had a negative feeling about the same. Similarly in a number of issues there were considerable conflict between the two generations, and the authors concluded that such conflicts led to high degree of frustration amongst the students.

Pandey (1984) studied the sociological aspects related to student protest and showed the students rebellious postures, as a style of behaviour of the youths. In a similar study Lakshminarayana (1985) showed that the present day youth was seeking a new place in a new kind of world which appeared to be in many ways alien and unfamiliar to the older generation. All these finally result in a growing sense of despair and waves of indisciplined behaviour amongst the students, at times leading to violent outburst.

B : THE INVOLVEMENT OF POLITICIANS AND STUDENT UNREST

The Government of India (1958) inquiring into the case of student unrest in Banaras Hindu University noted that the influence of teacher politicians in student agitation was very high. A similar situation was also observed in the University of Allahabad. Many psychologists have studied student unrest under the heading of "Crisis ridden political environment". It is experimentally shown that the wider socio-political environment has often emerged as an important stimulant for student unrest. Patel (1972) found struggling political parties and disgruntled non-academic external element who interfere and exploit the students, to be responsible for the unrest. Norr (1972) found that political activity was positively associated with protest and also the more institutionalized or established are the political activities present on a campus, the more likely the campus would experience protest.

Sinha (1980) analysed the nature of student unrest in emergency and post emergency phases. Citing the unrest in Bihar in 1977 and the

influence of Jayapraksh Narayan, he pointed out that students were more politically motivated and influenced by ideology of political parties. Many studies in the post independence era (Altbach, 1968 ; Sinha 1975; Swarup, 1970) had all emphasized the "non-ideological, anti-academic and local character leading to the lowering of academic norms. Supported and financed by the opposition parties, led by "Professional students' who have no stakes in the academic life of the universities, and having close associations with antisocial elements, these agitations have left the universities and educational institutions in Shambles".

Bhatt (1972) advocated that student's active participation in political demonstrations and agitations, as indeed their exploitation by political parties can be a source of pointless unrest. Srivastava (1967); Dvidvedi (1968); George & Mathew (1969); Dunlop (1970); Singh and Krishna (1970); Wadia (1972); and Sandhu (1972) pointed out the improper political interference in educational institutions.

Contrary to the above findings Mehta (1969), on the basis of his study of student unrest, found that economic factors were the major reasons for indiscipline, and next to it were the educational and administrative reasons for the causes of unrest. He gave relatively lower importance to the role of political parties. Sudha Rani (1971) supported Mehta's findings and showed that material and social deprivation and not political interference were the principle factors in a study of the unrest situation in the university of Patna.

F : PERSONAL VARIABLES AND STUDENT UNREST

A number of research findings had focussed on the personal aspects of the students such as the level of satisfaction of social needs and student unrest. Altbach (1970) posited that frustration was the real cause underlying the indiscipline of students and thereof society. Ganguly (1969) pointed that repeated outbursts and persistence of student unrest were the result of their perceived dissatisfaction.

Eisen (1970) analysed the importance of intangible experiences in the genesis of adolescent violence, including (a) mutual friction and dissatisfaction between mother and child, (b) lack of modification of natural aggressive impulses of the infant, because of defect in or unavailability of sufficient libidinal drives, (c) norms for discharging sadistic impulses, (d) external dangers and threats within the family and neighbourhood; and (e) encouragement by overtly permissive parents to strive aggressively for perfection and success. The memories of childhood trauma and disturbed relationship cause, the youth to act out through excessive activity either antisocially or within social limits. He has no sense of disharmony in his personality but finds the environment and other persons awkward and disturbing.

Sinha (1975) reported that through their active, hostile and passive condemnation of the teachers and university authorities, the students only gave vent to their hurting sense of frustration. In the process they establish their moral superiority over the authorities.

Bhattacharya (1972) concluded that student unrest was a result of confusion and led to frustration because of emotional deprivation and lack of direction.

G : OTHER FACTORS RELATED TO STUDENT UNREST

Other research findings in this field of student unrest suggest that the causes, nature and consequences of unrest vary a great deal. For example, Sinha and Dass (1975) suggested that the enormous size of the university as being responsible for the occurrence of violence and disruption in the academic life. Cormack (1962) held that the vacuum in the sex life of the students was responsible for unrest. Ferdon (1971) reviewing many relevant research findings concluded that certain physical characteristics which seem to be closely correlated with the presence of an extra 'Y' Chromosome many elicit negative responses from the individuals peers in childhood, compelling him either to a withdrawal or aggressive behaviour.

Krishna, Jha & Sinha (1972) using Gordon Personal profile found that disciplined students scored higher on responsibility. They had patience to stick to any job assigned to them. Indisciplined students had a higher score on insecurity and suffered from feelings of rejections, threat, and danger, self determination etc. relating more than the disciplined groups. In addition, indisciplined students were also found to be self assured and assertive in relationship with others.

Bhalla (1975) opined that indisciplined students tended to admit negative characteristics more often than disciplined students. They described themselves as violent and aggressive and some of them even displayed a highly negative and antisocial self. While they were full of energy and drive and possessed plenty of personal and social grace they also displayed low self-regard which was attributable more to non-conformity than to maladjustment. He found disciplined students to be withdrawn and introverted.

Banerjee (1968) studying 200 boys and 200 girls, found rationalizing tendency, passivity, difficulty, immaturity, low frustration, tolerance, escape mechanism, imitation need etc. among the various causes of unrest. Cannon (1969) found activists to be more reflective, less vigorous and impulsive than non-activists. Austin (1971) found that activist students differed significantly from random college students on several personality dimensions including need achievement, dominance, autonomy, exhibition, self confidence, and aggression.

A recent study by Sharma (1987) showed significant differences between activists and alienated students. His study was to find out the components of the activist behaviour of students, to identify the ingredients of the alienated behaviour of students, to assess and examine some psychological variables of activist and alienated students in terms of (a) Personality- needs, (b) educational aspirations and (c) personal values. His research findings indicated significant differences between activist and alienated students on exhibitionistic

tendency, autonomy, affiliation, abasement and endurance needs. No significant difference was found between the two groups on achievement, order, heterosexuality and aggression needs. Singhal (1977) in a different context studied the relationship of student characteristics, organizational factors etc. with student unrest and found that academic leadership played a vital role in student unrest.

Report of the committee to enquire into the working of the Central Universities (1984) indicated a certain degree of similarities in the nature of unrest and modusoperandi used by the students all over the country in different periods of time. It pointed out that walkout from classroom and examination halls, ticketless travel, clashes with the police, burning buses and cinema halls and sometimes even manhandling of teachers and university authorities were all source of the methods used by students in the past as well as at present. In this context Pandey (1984) showed ^{that} in different universities and colleges, students boycotted classes, conducted protest marches, gheraoed the officials, used lethal weapons and threw bombs against the police and captured the faculty buildings. He also pointed out that at times student agitations took a violent turn particularly where the students were inclined to resort to violent methods like destroying buses, damaging buildings, trains, and other public properties or resorting to stone throwing and gheraoing the authorities etc.

Further Altbach (1982) made differentiation between different class backgrounds and its influence on student unrest. He viewed that students from middle-class background tended to be more active politi-



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cally than those coming from working class or peasant families. Middle class students were found to have strong political traditions and so had less to fear from political involvement. He also pointed out that students in the Social Sciences and humanities tended to be more active than those from natural sciences and especially professional fields.

Though many researches have been conducted in India to study the nature, magnitude and consequences of unrests. No study was attempted to delineate the changed or changing trends in the student unrest over a period of time. Many noted Psychologists have felt that the change in the ideology and motives of students behind their participation in the unrest, vary from time to time. Altbach (1982) suggested that the variation could perhaps be due to the changes in the external political realities. For instance, student activist movements were primarily stimulated by societal politics rather than internal university - based matter, therefore where there are changes in politics, naturally it could have a key impact on the student movement. Also historically, student movements sometimes had manifested themselves in cultural rather than political terms in the Third World, due to the typical political atmosphere thereof. Going in line with the Altbach's view point stated above, Sinha (1980) pointed out that there has been a change in the pattern of student unrest. In the sense that while in the past there was definitely certain ideology and commitment in resorting to unrest, in the present day one finds students resorting to unrest on any trivial issues.

It is felt that over the years students unrest has been undergoing changes with regard to the nature, form as well as psychodynamics. As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, the student unrest of 19th century was more geared towards breaking the chain of extreme conservatism as well as victorian attitude. The latter decades have been witnessing student unrest more in terms of agitating against a particular political system or the university administration. Still further down in the time ladder one finds student unrest against the prevalent social system (the gap between the generation with regards to the attitude, values, belief etc.). In the 60s and 70s one came across student unrest taking the form of alienated students struggling to find and identify for themselves. While the earlier unrest were based on some sort of ideology etc., the latter part of 70s and 80s witnessed a great improper influence by the political parties on the student campus life and outside. Many of the unrests were highly politically tinged. However these changes though appear to have taken place in the nature of student unrest, no study so far has focussed on these typical changes in the nature or psychodynamics and consequences underlying student unrest.

Considering the various political and social changes that had occurred in India in the last few decades and the various changes that have been brought about in the educational institutions, particularly at the higher educational level one may expect considerable changes in the nature and characteristic features of student unrest. Thus the present research has its prime aim to study and ^{to} compare student unrest

in two different periods with regard to the nature, causes and consequences as perceived by teachers, students and administrators in utkal university, Orissa.

The next chapter presents the methodology used in studying the above stated problems.

CHAPTER-III

METHODOLOGY

Having discussed the available literature in this field, it would now be in order to present the methodology, used in this research. As stated elsewhere the main aim of the study was to ascertain whether there was a difference in the nature causes and consequences of student unrest between 1977 and 1982.

For this purpose the following specific objectives were laid down.

1. To ascertain if there had been any change in regard to causes, nature and consequences of student unrest in the years 1977 and 1982.
2. To ascertain if there was any differences amongst the three groups viz. teachers, students and administrators in regard to their perception of causes, nature and consequences of student unrest in 1977 and 1982.

HYPOTHESIS

Based on the above mentioned objectives, the following hypothesis have been formulated.

1. There will be no difference between the two years 1977 and 1982, in regard to causes of student unrest.
2. There will be no difference between the two years 1977 and 1982 in regard to the nature of student unrest.
3. There will be no difference between the two years 1977 and 1982 in regard to the consequences of student unrest.
4. The causes as perceived leading to student unrest in the year 1977 and 1982 will not vary across the three groups viz. teachers, students and administrators.

5. There will be no difference in the perception of these three groups viz. teachers, students and administrators regarding the nature of student unrest which occurred in 1977 and 1982.
6. There will be no difference in the perception of these three groups viz. teachers, students and administrators regarding the consequences of student unrest in the years 1977 and 1982.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Since this study has attempted to find out the differences in the perception of nature, causes and consequences of student unrest between the two years viz. 1977 and 1982, and also has attempted to ascertain the magnitude as well as the direction of these differences, the most suitable design appeared to be the ex post facto research design with the application of non-parametric test- Wilcoxon matched pairs signed rank Test. Thus the research design is as follows :

Group	Perception in 1977	Perception in 1982	Change (differences magnitude & Directions)
Teachers			
Students			
Administrators			

Throughout the study, a comparative perspective has been utilised to understand the differences amongst the three groups in regard to the variables being studied in the student unrest and

also the two years are being continuously compared for all the variables considered, related to the student unrest.

SAMPLE

Utkal University, Orissa, was selected for the study of student unrest. The two periods covered are the years 1977 and 1982, when the student unrest led to the postponement of certain day to day activities and closure of the University for a certain period of time. According to the records of the Directorate of student welfare and University news reports, two events, one in 1977 and the other in 1982, were considered the most important and significant unrest of the 70s and 80s, respectively.

Since the two periods covered were 1977 and 1982, only those teachers, students and administrators constituted the sample who had been in the university in 1977 and continued to be in 1982 and presently (1988) also in the university. The study intended to cover all the departments of the university and all the teachers and administrators who had witnessed the event of 1977 and 1982 and also presently continuing in the university.

As for the student sample, those who had been in 1977 and 1982 as well as presently continuing their Ph.d. programmes or higher researches or continuing as research associates, were selected as sample.

As per the conditions laid down above for selecting the sample, only 28 teachers, 22 students and 20 administrators were available who fulfilled the above conditions. Thus, there were 28

teachers, 22 students and 20 administrators who constituted the sample for the present study.

VARIABLES

The variables included in this study, may be enumerated as below :

In the present study, student unrest has been treated as the dependent variable and for the purpose of this research, student unrest has been defined as "indicated by the strike, organised by the students of Utkal University, and recognised as a strike call by the University authority, resulting in disruption of the classes, day to day activities of that university, postponement of certain important activities etc. and leading to the closure of the university for a certain period of time."

Since, such an event occurred, as defined above in 1977 and again in 1982, the present study has focussed on these two events for comparing the various aspects of student unrest.

TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION

For testing the various hypotheses, mentioned in this chapter, two types of questionnaires were used; one structured based on five point scale and the other open ended in nature. These questionnaires were specifically designed for the study of student unrest in Utkal University.

1. The structured questionnaire covering the causes of student unrest included.
 - a. the lack of understanding between the teachers and the students,
 - b. the contradiction in the expectations, between the students and administrators,
 - c. difference in various castes,
 - d. difference in various religions and
 - e. different linguistic group.

A similar questionnaire covering the nature of student unrest included;

- a. the level of involvement of political parties,
- b. the level of involvement of the student community,
- c. the spontaneity of involvement of the students,
- d. behaviour of the student,
- e. organisation of the unrest,
- f. discipline in the unrest, and finally,
- g. genuineness of student demands.

The questionnaire covering the consequences of student unrest included

- a. continuity of the unrest,
- b. management of the unrests and
- c. fulfillment of student demands.

2. An open ended questionnaire was devised to ascertain the respondents uninhibited and free responses and reaction on the nature, and consequences of student unrest in the two years viz. 1977 and 1982.

SCORING PROCEDURE :-

Arbitrary weights were assigned to each response and each question was based on a five point scale ranging from 1 to 5. The highest possible score was 5 and the lowest possible score was 1, wherein 1 represented 'highly disagreed', 2 represented 'disagreed', 3 represented 'neutral', 4 represented 'agreed' and finally 5 represented 'highly agreed'.

Each question was coded and analysed separately for each answer given by the teachers, students and administrators respectively. As for open-ended questions only percentages were calculated.

PILOT STUDY :-

Before embarking on the final study of this research/^{a pilot} study was undertaken to test the adequacy of the tools of data collection as well as to test the proposed research design. For this purpose Jawaharlal Nehru University was chosen as a setting to conduct the pilot study. A total number of 30 subjects consisting of ten each of teachers, students and administrators constituted the sample.

A questionnaire was prepared covering the socio-demographic profile of the subjects and other aspects related to student unrest for two different periods, namely 1970s and 1980s (Two decades). As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, various structured and unstructured questions were included assigning appropriate weights to the responses depending upon the type of questions asked.

These questionnaires were then administered to the three

groups of respondents and their responses were noted in the respective columns either by the researcher or in certain cases by the respondent themselves.

The results of the Pilot Study were the following:

1. The teachers, students and administrators were of the view that the causes of 1970s unrest were related to differences in language and economic conditions of the students as well as poor academic facilities such as substandard reading and library facilities, poor accommodation facilities etc. in the university. In 1980s however, the influence of political parties, lack of good relationship between administrators and students were indentified as the causes of unrest.
2. The teachers, students and administrators varied in regard to their perception of causes as contributing to student unrest in the two decades. While teachers felt that excessive politicization was the cause of unrest in both periods, the students and administrators did not agree with the same. Further, while the teachers and administrators, felt that lack of cultural cordiality in the campus was the cause of unrest, the students totally denied this cause. Finally it was observed that while in the 1980s, both students and teachers felt that the aspect of unemployment played a key role in determining the student unrest, the administrators did not agree with this view point.
3. In regard to the nature of student's unrest, it was observed that the unrest of 1980s was more political with greater involvement of political parties, more disorganised and indisciplined than that

of 1970s unrest. In regard to the behaviour of students during the unrest, the teachers and administrators felt that the behaviour of students was very aggressive in both the periods, whereas the students opined that unrest of 1980s experienced less aggressive behaviour as compared to that of 1970s.

4. As for the consequences of student unrest in both the periods, all the three groups were unanimously of the view that the unrest led to consequences such as loss of career and vocational opportunities for students, more tension at the time of unrest, and loss of credibility.

These responses were then taken up and analysed on the basis of which the questionnaires were amended. For instance the following changes were incorporated in the questionnaire.

1. More emphasis was given to the nature of the unrest.
2. Many questions related to political factor, were excluded from the final questionnaire.
3. Only two specific events were chosen viz. 1977 and 1982.
4. The question related to the lull period (the stage before the unrest) was excluded from the final questionnaire.
5. Another important result of the pilot study was that the respondents who had been in the same university for two decades were almost negligible in number, particularly the student group. Hence it was decided (on the suggestion also of the experts) to take two periods of time with a gap of five years than ten years.

After incorporating the indicated changes in the two questionnaires the final study was taken up at Utkal University. The research design proposed was also proved to be adequate and hence was retained.

PROCEDURE :-

The teacher, students, and administrator samples chosen for the study, were personally interviewed by the researcher and the questions were asked in sequential manner as designed for all the respondents. The answers shown by them, were noted down by the researcher or in certain cases the respondents wrote the answer themselves.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA :-

The analysis was carried out on the obtained data. For analysis of responses to the structured questionnaire, ^{pairs signed rank} Wilcoxon matched/ test was used to understand the direction and magnitude of the change in the perception of respondents in regard to student unrest between 1977 and 1982. Other data have been presented with the help of bar diagram.

The next chapter presents the analysis of results.

CHAPTER-IV

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

An attempt was made to compare and analyse certain aspects of student unrest in the years 1977 and 1982, perceived by three different groups viz teachers, students and administrators of Utkal University, Orissa.

The results are presented in the following manner, first considering each group separately and indicating the change in their perceptions in regard to causes, nature and consequences of student unrest in 1977 and 1982 and then comparing the perceptions of these three groups for any similarities and differences. A total number of six hypotheses were laid down and these were subjected to empirical testing, as mentioned in the methodology chapter.

I : A : PERCEPTION OF TEACHERS IN REGARD TO THE CAUSES OF STUDENT UNREST

The hypothesis put to test was that "there will be no difference in the perception of teachers in regard to ^{the} causes of student unrest in 1977 and 1982".

Table-1 presents the teacher's perception of causes that led to student unrest in the two years, the Wilcoxon T values and their significance levels.

As mentioned elsewhere (in the Methodology Chapter) each of the responses to the questions was assigned a weight using a five point scale, with lowest intensity getting a score of 1, the neutral getting a score of 3; and the highest obtaining a score of 5. The median of

these scores for each question was calculated for all the teachers and this median score is presented in the table for the two years. The median score indicates the degree to which the teachers thought the particular factor was responsible in causing the student unrest.

Table No. 1.

Teacher's Perception of the causative factors leading to student unrest in 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Causes of student unrest	Year of	Year of	Wilcoxon's T values	Signified level
		1977	1982		
		Mdn. Scores	Mdn. Scores		
1.	Teacher-taught relationship	4	3	10	P < .05
2.	Administrator-student relationship.	3	3	27.5	NS
3.	Difference in Caste	2	2	No difference	NS
4.	Difference in religion	2	2	No difference	NS
5.	Different language groups	2	2	No difference	NS

From the above table following conclusions emerge:

1. In 1977, the student unrest was perceived to have caused more by lack of teacher-taught relationship, where as in 1982, the teachers had perceived that the student unrest was caused relatively less by this factor and this difference for the two years was found to be statistically significant (T = 10 P < .05).

2. According to the teachers' perception, all other factors, such as administrator-student relationship, difference in caste, religion and different language groups did not play any significant role in the onset of student unrest in both the years.

While the degree to which each factor contributed to student unrest did not indicate much of variation amongst the teachers, when asked to specify which cause they thought contributed more to the student unrest, the responses given by them for the two years varied. For instance :

- a: In 1977, the teachers felt that faulty university administration and lack of material facilities in the campus were mainly responsible for the unrest, whereas excessive politicization in the campus was shown as a factor responsible for the unrest of 1982. It is observed that out of 28 teachers only 6 had not changed their perception.
- b: When asked to indicate the source of initiation in the unrest, twenty teachers (71.43%) opined that political grouping within the campus was the source of initiation in both the years.
- c: As for the other factors, which were considered as partly contributing to student unrest in both 1977 and 1982, they were lack of adequate hours of curricular activities, uncertainty of getting a job after completion of the course and lack of or inadequate accommodation facilities.

Most of the teachers (85.71%) felt that factors like lack of adequate curricular activities and uncertainty in getting a job were responsible for the unrest of 1977, whereas only the latter factor was shown as responsible for the unrest of 1982. Thus the hypothesis put to test was only partly validated with the teachers showing the differences in their perception in regard to ^{the} causes of student unrest.

I : B : PERCEPTION OF STUDENTS IN REGARD TO THE CAUSATIVE FACTORS LEADING TO STUDENT UNREST.

The hypothesis put to test was that "there will be no difference in the perception of students in regard to causes leading to student unrest between 1977 and 1982". Table-2 presents the median scores of the students, the Wilcoxon T-values and the significance level of the differences.

Table No. 2.

Student's perception of causative factors leading to student unrest between 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Causes of student unrest	Year of 1977 Mdn. Scores	Year of 1982 Mdn. Scores	Wilcoxon's T Values	Significance level
1.	Teacher-taught relationship	3	3	No difference.	NS
2.	Administrator-student relationship	5	2	4	$P < .05$
3.	Difference in Caste	2	2	No difference.	NS
4.	Difference in religion	2	2	-do-	NS
5.	Different language groups.	2	2	-do-	NS

From the above table following conclusions emerge:-

1. In 1977, the student unrest was perceived by the students, to have been caused more by contradictory expectations between the students and administrators, where as in 1982, these were not advanced as the causes of student unrest. This difference in students' perception of causes for the two years was found to be statistically significant ($T = 4, P < .05$).
2. According to the perception of students, the other factors such as teacher-taught relationship, difference in caste, religion and different language groups, were not responsible for the onset of student unrest in both the years.
 - a: While the degree to which each factor was responsible for the student unrest, did not indicate much variations amongst the students for the two years, they (75%) however, felt that lack of adequate accommodation facilities as well as lack of adequate standards in reading and library facilities were partly responsible leading to unrest in both the years.
 - b: As for the influence of curricular activities and uncertainty in getting a job after the completion of study, it was observed that out of 22 students 14 had not changed their perception. For example in 1977, 12 students perceived that lack of employment opportunities were responsible for the student unrest and 8 viewed that lack of curricular

activities made them more active in the unrest, whereas in 1982, 20 students had expressed that uncertainty in getting a job after the completion of their studies was partly responsible for the onset of unrest.

c: As for other factors, like the influence of faulty university administration, political factors and source of initiation in the unrest, considerable variation in their perception between the events had been observed. In 1977, 68.18% of the students felt that faulty university administration led to the onset of unrest and the source of initiation was from political groupings within the campus. On the other-hand in 1982, 86.36% of the students felt that excessive politicization on the campus led to the onset of unrest and the source of initiation was from political parties out side the campus as well as political groupings within the campus. Thus the hypothesis set up for testing was accepted except for the factor Administrator-student relationship.

I : C : PERCEPTION OF ADMINISTRATORS IN REGARD TO THE CAUSES OF STUDENT UNREST.

The hypothesis tested in this context was to ascertain if there existed any difference in the perception of administrators in regard to causative factors that led to student unrest in 1977 and 1982. Table-3 presents the median score of the administrators, the Wilcoxon T values and the significance level.

Table No. 3.

Administrators' perception of causative factors leading to student unrest in 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Causes of student unrest	Year of	Year of	Wilcoxon's T Values	Significance level
		1977	1982		
		Mdn. Scores	Mdn. Scores		
1.	Teacher-taught relationship	3	3	No difference	NS
2.	Administrator-student relationship.	3	2	4	P < .05
3.	Difference in Caste	2	2	No difference	NS
4.	Difference in re religion.	2	2	No difference	NS
5.	Different language groups.	2	2	No difference	NS

From the above table following conclusions emerge:

1. As for the influence of contradictions in expectations between the administrators and students on the unrest, the administrators felt that the influence of such factor was neutral in the first unrest, while this factor was not at all responsible for the onset of 1982 unrest. It was noted that the difference in their perception^{of causes} for the two unrests was found to be statistically significant (T = 4, P < .05).

2. According to them, all other factors like lack of teacher-taught relationship, difference in caste, religion and different language groups did not play any significant role in causing the student unrest in both in years.

Furthermore in regard to the causes of student unrest, a few more incidental responses were obtained, which have been analysed and presented below:-

It was observed that majority of the administrators (above 70%) did not change their perception at all in regard to the other causative factors that led to student unrest in both the years. They attributed the factors like excessive politicization in the campus, initiation from the political groupings within the campus, lack of standard accommodation facilities and other miscellaneous facilities like conveyance, recreation etc., lack of adequate curricular activities and uncertainty in getting a job after the completion of the study; etc. had played a significant role in both the unrests.

Thus the hypothesis⁻¹ put to test was only partly validated, with the administrators showing significant differences in their perception regarding the causative factor, the administrator-student relationship leading to student unrest in the year 1977 but, in 1982, the other causative factors were not perceived by them to have been different in the two years.

II : A : PERCEPTION OF TEACHERS IN REGARD TO THE NATURE OF STUDENT UNREST.

The hypothesis put to test was that "there will be no difference in the perception of teachers in regard to the nature of student unrest in the years 1977 and 1982. Table - 4 presents the median scores of the teachers, Wilcoxon T values and the significance levels.

Table No. 4.

Perception of teachers in regard to the nature of student unrest between 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Nature of student unrest.	Year of 1977 Mdn. Scores	Year of 1982 Mdn. Scores	Wilcoxon T values	Significance level
1.	Involvement of Political parties.	2	4	10	P < .05
2.	Involvement of students.	4	4	27	P > .05
3.	Student's involvement in terms of spontaneity.	4	2	2.5	P < .05
4.	Behaviour of students.	4	4	45	NS
5.	Organisation of unrest.	3	2	7	P < .05
6.	Discipline in unrest	3	2	11.5	P < .05
7.	Fullfilment of student demands.	4	2	18	P < .05

From the above table, following conclusions emerge:

1. The median score of 2 in 1977, indicated that the involvement of political parties in this year as being relatively minimal as compared to the year 1982, wherein it had been perceived to have been very high. The differences in the perception of teachers in regard to the involvement of political parties between the two events was statistically significant. ($T = 10$ $P < .05$).
2. The involvement of students in a spontaneous manner was perceived higher in 1977 in comparison to 1982. It is observed that the differences so obtained in the perception for the two events was found to be statistically significant ($T=2.5$, $P < .05$).
3. Similarly, the organisation of unrest, the discipline amongst the students in the unrest and genuineness of the student demands were all statistically higher during the first event than ⁱⁿ the second.
4. Involvement and behaviour of the students appeared to have been almost the same in the two events.

Furthermore, in regard to the nature of student unrest, a few more incidental responses were obtained, which have been analysed and presented below:-

- a: It was observed that most of the teachers had changed their perception in relation to the nature between the two events. For example, they opined ^{that the} 1977 unrest was

more psychological, and cultural in nature, but felt that the nature of unrest of 1982 was mainly political.

- b: More than eighty percent (82.14%) of the teachers felt that the unrest of 1977 was directed against university administration whereas the unrest of 1982 was directed against a local group of political importance and a section of students who, were the agents of the out side antisocial and economic interest groups.
- c: It was observed that most of the teachers (85.71%) had changed their perception in regard to the modus-operandi used by the students in the two events. For instance, they felt that the students used relatively more peaceful tactics in 1977 where as only aggressive tactics like picketing, gheraoing, demonstration marches against the officials, sabotage and destruction of property and physically assaulting the authorities etc. were used in the 1982 unrest.
- d: In 1977, 78.56% of the teachers felt that the unrest was supported by local and petty politicians, where as in the unrest of 1982, 71% of the teachers felt that the unrest was supported by middle wrung state level politicians particularly from opposition parties.

e: It was clear from their responses that the nature of causes in terms of the time factor was more of long-standing in nature in the 1977 unrest, whereas it was more of immediate in nature in 1982 unrest.

The hypothesis - 2 put to test was rejected except for the 'involvement of students' variable, with regard to which teachers had not changed their views from 1977 to 1982 unrest, whereas they had felt that the nature of unrest in 1977 was quite different than that of 1982 unrest.

II : B : PERCEPTION OF STUDENTS IN REGARD TO THE NATURE OF THE UNREST.

Having ascertained the nature of student unrest as perceived by teachers, the present section analysis the same factor as per the student's perception. Table-5 indicates the median scores of the students as well as Wilcoxon T values, with level of significance.

Table No. 5.

Students' perception of student unrest in regard to its nature in 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Nature of student unrest.	Year of 1977 Mdn. Scores.	Year of 1982 Mdn. Scores.	Wilcoxon T Values	Significance level
1.	Involvement of Political parties.	3	3	28.5	NS
2.	Involvement of students.	3	4	7	P < .05
3.	Involvement of students in terms of spontaneity.	4	3	4	P < .05
4.	Behaviour of student	4	5	10	P < .05
5.	Organisation of unrest.	4	3	4	P < .05
6.	Discipline in unrest	4	3	4	P < .05
7.	Genuineness of student demands.	4	2	2	P < .05

From the above table following conclusions emerge:

1. The involvement of students was perceived to be significantly higher in 1982 in comparison to 1977. It was noted that the differences in their perception for the two events was found to be statistically significant ($T=7, P<.05$).
2. The involvement of students in a spontaneous manner was perceived to be significantly higher in 1982 as compared to that of 1977 ($T = 4, p<0.05$).
3. The median score of 4 in 1977 and 5 in 1982 indicates that the behaviour of students was significantly more aggressive in 1982 than in 1977 ($T = 10, P<.05$).
4. The organisations of unrest, the discipline amongst the students in the unrest and the genuineness of student demands, were all statistically higher during 1977 than in 1982.
5. Involvement of political parties appears to have been almost at the same level in the two events.

In addition to the above, certain other findings were obtained in regard to the nature of unrest, which are presented:-

- a: It was observed that most students had changed their perception between 1977 and 1982, in relation to the nature of unrest. For instance, in 1977, 77.27% of the students opined that the unrest was directed against the

university administration, where as they viewed that the unrest of 1982 was directed against a local group of political importance.

- b: Interestingly all the students opined that the 1977 unrest was political as well as psychological in nature where as it was mainly political in nature in 1982 unrest.
the students
- c: Most students (90.91%) felt that \surd used peaceful tactics in the first unrest as modus operandi but in 1982 unrest they mainly used aggressive tactics like picketing gheraoing, demonstration marches against the officials, sabotage and destruction of property and physically assaulting the authorities etc.
- d: According to 86.36% of the students, the nature of causes in terms of time was longstanding in 1977 but 95.46% of the students felt that it was immediate in nature in the unrest of 1982.
- e: As for the interference of political leaders in the unrest they (68.86%) felt that local and petty politicians interfered more in 1977 \surd where as middle wrung state level \surd the politicians were involved in \surd 1982 unrest.

Thus the hypothesis \surd^2 put to test was rejected except for one variable \surd that is the involvement of political parties in the unrest. In other words, the nature of unrest was considered by the students to have been different in the two years viz. 1977 and 1982; in all aspects for the political parties whose involvement in the unrest was considered to have more or less the same in the two years.

II : C : PERCEPTION OF ADMINISTRATION IN REGARD
TO THE NATURE OF STUDENT UNREST.

The hypothesis put to test was that "there will be no difference in the perception of administrators in regard to the nature of student unrest between 1977 and 1982". Table-8 presents the median scores of the administrators, Wilcoxon T values and the significant levels.

Table No. 6.

Perception of administrators in regard to the
nature of student unrest between 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Nature of student unrest.	Year of 1977 Mdn. Scores	Year of 1982 Mdn. Scores.	Wilcoxon T Values	Significance level
1.	Involvement of Political parties.	4	4	35	NS
2.	Involvement of students.	3	4	13	P < .05
3.	Student's involvement in terms of spontaneity.	3	2	13	P < .05
4.	Behaviour of student	3	5	5	P < .05
5.	Organisation of Unrest.	3	2	13.5	P < .05
6.	Discipline in unrest	3	2	13.5	P < .05
7.	Genuineness of student demands.	3	2	13.5	P < .05

From the above table following conclusions emerge:
and 4 in 1982

1. The median score of 3 in 1977/indicates that the involvement of students in this year was relatively minimal as compared to the year 1982. The difference in their perception was found to be statistically significant ($T = 13, P < .05$).
2. The involvement of students in a spontaneous manner was perceived to be neutral in 1977 unrest where as in 1982, it was perceived to have been imposed on the students. It was observed that the difference in their perception was statistically significant ($T = 13, P < .05$).
3. It was evident that the behaviour of the students during the unrest of 1977 was mild whereas it was perceived to have been relatively more aggressive during the unrest of 1982 ($T = 5 P < .05$).
4. Similarly, the organisation of unrest, discipline amongst the students in the unrest and genuineness of student demands, were all considered to be significantly moderate in 1977 than in 1982.
5. The involvement of political parties in the unrest appears to have been almost the same in the two events.

In addition to the above, certain incidental findings were obtained in regard to the nature of student unrest as perceived by the administrators between the two events.

For instance:-

- a: 80% of the administrators felt that the nature of the unrest was political in both the years.
- b: Most of them (95%) felt that the students mainly used aggressive tactics as modus operandi like picketing, gheraoing, demonstration marches against the officials, sabotage and destruction of property and physically assaulting the authorities in both the events.
- c: ^{Most} (75%) of the administrators felt that the unrest of 1977 was directed against them, where as the unrest of 1982 was directed against a section of politically motivated students as well as a local group of politicians.
- d: Around 80 per cent of the administrators opined that the nature of causes in terms of time in the first unrest was longstanding in nature where as 88% of them were of view that the nature of causes were of immediate in nature in 1982.
- e: According to 75% of the administrators, local and petty politicians and middle wrung state level politicians were involved in both 1977 and 1982 unrest.

-2

The hypothesis put to test was rejected except for factor 'the involvement of political parties' in the unrest, 'modus-operandi' the two of which the administrators felt, were more or less at the same level in the two unrests, whereas in all other factors the nature of 1977 and 1982 unrest were perceived to have been different.

III : A : PERCEPTION OF TEACHERS IN REGARD TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF STUDENT UNREST.

The hypothesis put to test was that "there will be no difference in the perception of teachers in regard to the consequences of student unrest between 1977 and 1982. Table-7 presents the median scores of the teachers, Wilcoxon T values and the significance levels.

Table No. 7.

Teacher's perception of the consequences of Student Unrest between 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Consequences of Student Unrest.	Year of	Year of	Wilcoxon T Values.	Significance level.
		1977 Mdn. Scores.	1982 Mdn. Scores.		
1.	Duration of unrest .	4	4	32	NS
2.	Management of unrest .	4	4	22.5	NS
3.	FulFillment of Demands	4	3	11	P < .05

From the above table following conclusions emerge:

1. The median score of 4 in 1977 indicates that the fulfillment of student demands was significantly higher in the 1977 unrest as compared to the unrest of 1982. The difference in their perception in regard to the fulfillment of demands was found to be statistically significant (T = 11, P < .05).

2. The duration of unrest and the management of unrest appear to have been almost the same in the two events.

In addition to the above, certain incidental findings were obtained in regard to the consequences of the student unrest as perceived by the teachers. For instance:

- a: In both 1977 and 1982 ^{unrest,} /the teachers felt that the consequences of student unrest was (a) loss of time in educational and career of the students; (b) loss of career opportunities for the students and (c) extreme mental tension during the unrest.
- b: Cessation of the unrest:- In both 1977 and 1982, the student unrest continued for a duration of one month approximately and then came to an end. The factors that led to the cessation of unrest were examined and the results of the analyses showed that in 1977, 71.43% of the teachers felt that the cessation took place by meeting the demands through negotiation halfway. More than one fourth of the teachers (21.43%) felt that the cessation took place due to the intervention of the Government. In 1982, 50% of the teachers opined that the unrest withered away on its own due to lack of support from within and another 32.14% of them viewed that the unrest came to an end by meeting demands halfway.

Thus the hypothesis⁻³ put to test was rejected except the factor 'duration of unrest'.

III : B : PERCEPTION OF STUDENTS IN REGARD TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF STUDENT UNREST.

The hypothesis was subjected to empirical investigation to ascertain the differences in the perception of students in regard to the consequences of student unrest between 1977 and 1982. Table-8 presents the median scores of the students perception as well as the Wilcoxon T values and levels of significance.

Table No. 8.

Students perception of consequences of student unrest in 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Consequences of Student Unrest.	Year of	Year of	Wilcoxon T Values	Significance level.
		1977 Mdn. Scores.	1982 Mdn. Scores.		
1.	Duration of unrest	5	5	28.5	NS
2.	Management of unrest	2	3	13.5	P < .05
3.	Fulfillment of demands	4	3	4	P < .05

From the above table following conclusions emerge:

1. As for the management of unrest and fulfillment of student demands, the Wilcoxon T values were 13.5 and 4, respectively, which were statistically significant.

results
The χ^2 indicated that in the year 1977, the management of unrest was more easy and the fulfillment of student demands was significantly more as compared to that of 1982 unrest.

2. The duration of the unrest appears to have been almost the same in both the years.

The other consequences stated by the students included the following:

- a: In 1977, according to 86.36% of students, the cessation of the unrest took place by meeting the demands of students through negotiation halfway, where as in 1982, 63.64% of students felt that the university administrators, used repressive measures to end the student unrest, Only 36.36% of students felt that the cessation of unrest took place by meeting the student demands.
- b: 76.58% of students felt that they lost more educational as well as career opportunities in the year 1977 as compared to 1982. Further they felt that they experienced greater tension in the second unrest.

Thus the hypothesis⁻³ put to test was rejected except for the 'duration' variable.

III : C : PERCEPTION OF ADMINISTRATORS IN REGARD TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF STUDENT UNREST.

The hypothesis was tested to know the differences in the perception of administrators in regard to the consequences of student

unrest in 1977 and 1982. Table 9 presents the median scores of the administrators, Wilcoxon T values as well as the significance levels.

Table No. 9.

Administrators perception of the consequences of Student Unrest between 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Consequences of Student Unrest.	Year of	Year of	Wilcoxon T Values	Significance level
		1977 Mdn. Scores.	1982 Mdn. Scores.		
1.	Duration of unrest	5	5	No difference	NS
2.	Management of unrest	3	4	5.5	$P < .05$
3.	Fulfillment of demands	4	2	1	$P < .05$

From the above table following conclusions emerge:

1. The median score of 4 in 1982, indicates that the tackling of this unrest was more difficult for the university authorities in comparison to 1977 unrest ($T = 5.5, P < .05$).
2. In 1977, the administrators felt that in this unrest of students some of the demands were met where as in 1982, it adversely affected the student community. The difference in their perception was found to be statistically significant ($T=1, P < .05$).

3. The duration of unrest seems to have been almost the same in both 1977 and 1982 unrests. This means that both the unrests continued for the same period of time, approximately one month.

In addition to the above responses, certain other responses obtained in regard to student unrest are as follows :-

- a. According to 70% of administrators the unrest of 1977 had come to an end by meeting the student demands halfway through negotiation. There was, however, considerable variation amongst them in regard to the cessation of 1982 unrest. Out of 20 administrators 7 viewed that the cessation took place due to pressure from the Government on the students, 6 opined that withdrawal of unrest was due to meeting the demands halfway, 4 felt that the unrest withered away on its own due to lack of support from within and the remaining viewed that there was pressure from the Government on the university administration to do something for the students.
- b. Further in regard to the consequences of student unrest, the administrators differed amongst themselves in their perception. In 1977, out of 20 administrators, 15 were of the view that student unrest resulted in loss of educational as well as career opportunities

for students and other 5 viewed that the consequences of student unrest was a loss of credibility for the students. While fifty five per cent of administrators also felt that even in 1982 unrest there was a loss in career and educational opportunities, forty-five per cent were of the view that the unrest caused a great deal of tension to the students.

Having presented an analysis of the perception of each group, viz. teachers, students and administrators in regard to the causes, nature and consequences of student unrest of 1977 and 1982, it was though worthwhile to compare the three groups across the two years on the same three variables to ascertain the differences amongst their perception if any. Thus, the following section presents the perception of the three groups on the three variables.

IV : PERCEPTION OF TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND ADMINISTRATORS
IN REGARD TO CAUSATIVE FACTORS LEADING TO STUDENT
UNREST IN 1977 AND 1982 : A COMPARISON.

As mentioned earlier, an attempt was made to ascertain how far the teachers, students and administrators differed in their perception in regard to student unrest in terms of causes, nature and consequences. Table 10 presents the causes of student unrest as perceived by the three groups.

Table No. 10 follows on the next page.

Table No. 10.

Perception of teachers, students, and administrators in regard to the causes leading to student unrest in 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Causes of student unrest.	TEACHERS				STUDENTS				ADMINISTRATORS			
		Year of 1977 Mdn. scores.	Year of 1982 Mdn. scores.	Wilcoxon's T Values.	Significance level.	Year of 1977 Mdn. scores.	Year of 1982 Mdn. scores.	Wilcoxon's T values.	Significance level.	Year of 1977 Mdn. scores.	Year of 1982 Mdn. scores.	Wilcoxon's T values.	Significance level.
1.	Teacher-taught relationship.	4	3	10	P < .05	3	3	No dif-ference.	NS	3	3	No dif-ference.	NS
2.	Administrator-student-relationship.	3	3	27.5	P > .05	5	2	4	P < .05	3	2	4	P < .05
3.	Difference in caste.	2	2	No dif-ference.	NS	2	2	No dif-ference.	NS	2	2	No dif-ference.	NS
4.	Difference in religion.	2	2	No dif-ference.	NS	2	2	No dif-ference.	NS	2	2	No dif-ference.	NS
5.	Difference language groups.	2	2	No dif-ference.	NS	2	2	No dif-ference.	NS	2	2	No dif-ference.	NS

From the table -10 following conclusions emerge :

1. To the issue if the teacher-taught relationship had contributed to student unrest, both students and administrators were of view that it was moderately responsible in both 1977 and 1982 unrests. On the other hand the teachers were of opinion that in 1977 this factor had played a very important role in the onset of unrest whereas, in 1982, it only played a moderate role.

2. As for administrator-student relationship and its contribution to the onset of student unrest, while teachers and administrators felt that it had moderately influenced in both the years, the students felt that it played a highly significant role in 1977, but negligible role in 1982. Thus, there appeared a consensus amongst the administrators and students in regard to the administrator-student relationship having only a low influence on student unrest in 1982, while they differed in their view about this factor for the unrest in 1977.

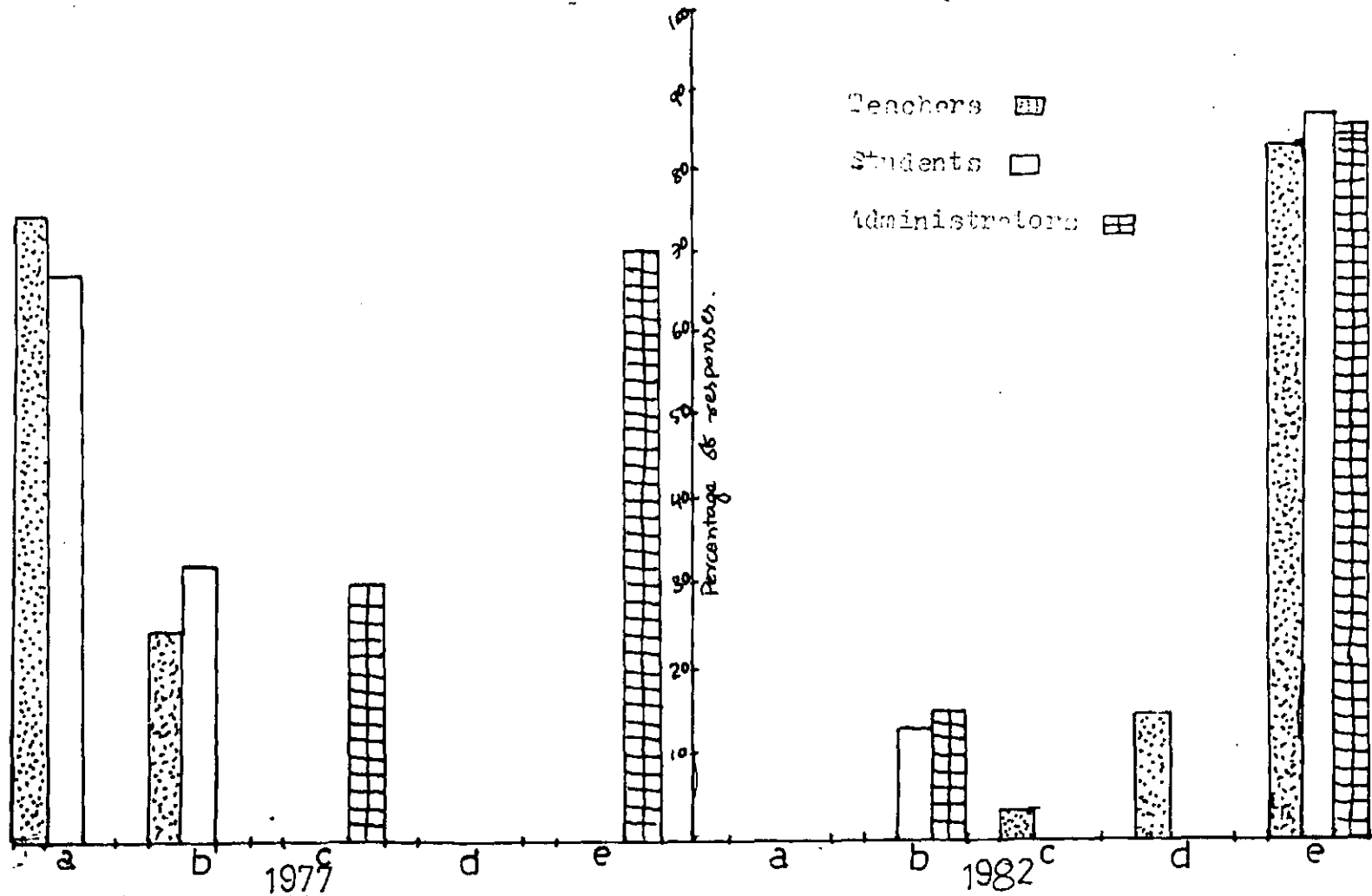
3. The three groups were unanimous in their views that difference in caste, religion and language had no role to play in the onset of unrest.

In addition to the above, a few more causative factors advanced by the three groups for the student unrest are diagrammatically presented.

From figure No. 1 (see page No.60) it is clear that in 1977, most of the teachers (75%) and students (63.18%) felt

FIGURE NO-1.

Causes of Student Unrest as Perceived by the three groups viz. Teachers, Students & Administrators



a-Faulty University administration; b-Lack of material and academic facilities;
c-Teacher-taught relationship; d-Lack of cultural cordiality; e-Excessive Politicization.

that faulty university administration was the cause of student unrest, whereas the rest of them attributed it to lack of material and academic facilities in the campus. On the contrary, 70% of the administrators viewed that excessive politicization in the campus led to student unrest whereas 30% of this group opined that the student unrest was caused more by lack of academic facilities. In 1982, it was observed that all the three groups (approximately above 80% of them) opined unanimously that excessive politicization in the campus led to student unrest in that year.

From Figure No. 2 (see page No.62) it is evident that in 1977 the teachers (71.43%), students (86.36%), and administrators (55%) opined that political groupings initiated the student unrest, whereas the remaining perceived that the source of initiation was from the political parties out side the campus. As for the 1982 student unrest the teachers (71.43%), and administrators (55%) had felt that the source of initiation of student unrest was from political groupings within the campus, whereas most of the students (77.27%) felt that it was from political parties outside the campus.

From Figure No. 3(See Page No.63) it is observed that in 1977, most of the teachers (85.71%), and administrators (70%) had stated that lack of curricular activities in the campus led to student unrest, whereas the remaining viewed that the unrest

FIGURE NO-2.

Source of initiation in the Unrest, as perceived by the three groups.

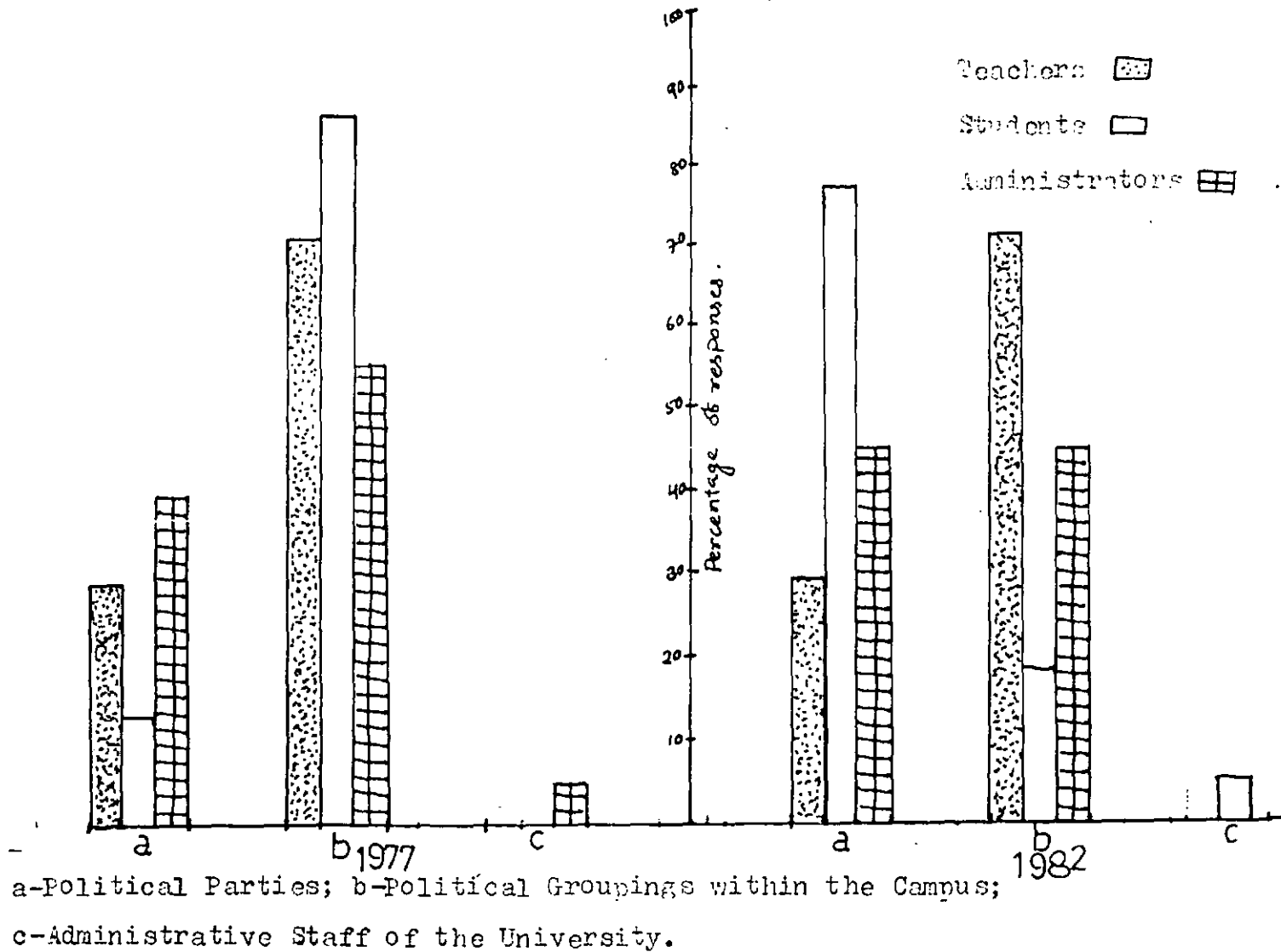
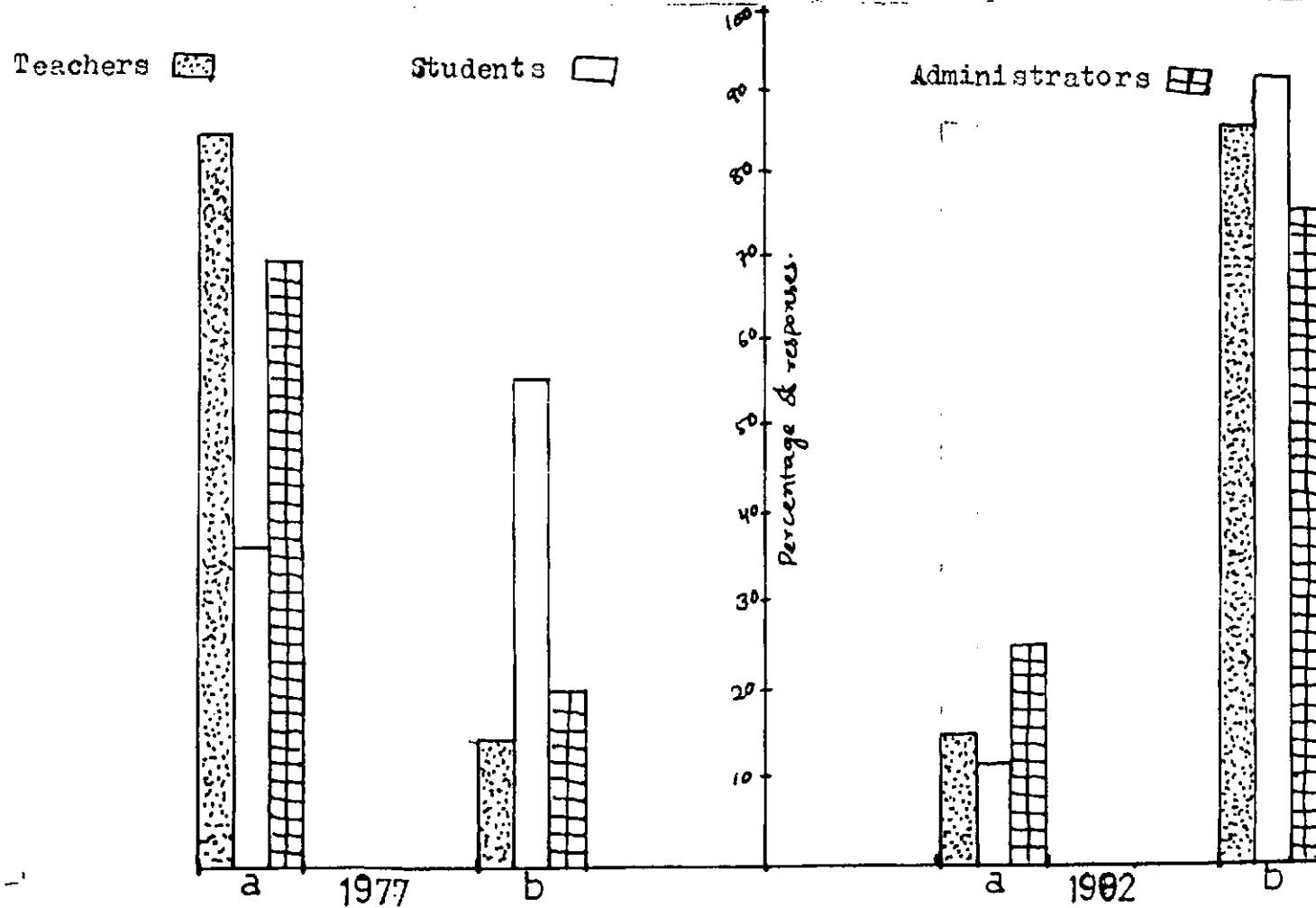


FIGURE NO-3.

Causes of Student Unrest as perceived by the three groups.



a-Lack of curricular and recreational activities;
b-Uncertainty in getting a job amongst the students.

of 1977 was caused by the lack of future prospects amongst the students. In regard to the above more than fifty per cent of them were of opinion that uncertainty in getting a job made them more active during the unrest, whereas slightly more than one-third (36.36%) identified lack of curricular activities in the campus as the cause of 1977 unrest. It was noted that most subjects of the three groups unanimously viewed the importance of uncertainty in getting a job amongst the students after the completion of the study as the cause of 1982 unrest.

Further, most of the subjects (85%) in the three groups attributed the lack of accommodation facilities and library facilities in the university as a cause for student unrest.

V: PERCEPTION OF TEACHERS, STUDENTS, AND ADMINISTRATORS IN REGARD TO THE NATURE OF STUDENT UNREST IN 1977 AND 1982 : A COMPARISON

Table No. 11 presents the nature of student unrest as perceived by the three groups. From the Table (see Page No 65) following conclusions emerge:

1. In 1977, the median scores of the teachers and students indicated that the involvement of political parties in this year in instigating the students was relatively minimal as compared to that of 1982. However, in regard to the latter year, students felt differently from the teachers, and administrators Viz. there was only an indirect involvement of political parties in 1982.

Table No. 11.

Perception of teachers, students and administrators in regard to the nature of student unrest between 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Nature of student unrest.	TEACHERS				STUDENTS				ADMINISTRATORS			
		Year of 1977 Mdn. sco-res.	Year of 1982 Mdn. sco-res.	Wilcoxon's T values.	Significance level.	Year of 1977 Mdn. sco-res.	Year of 1982 Mdn. sco-res.	Wilcoxon's T values.	Significance level.	Year of 1977 Mdn. sco-res.	Year of 1982 Mdn. sco-res.	Wilcoxon's T values.	Significance level.
1.	Involvement of political parties.	2	4	10	P < .05	3	3	28.5	P > .05	4	4	35	P > .05
2.	Involvement of students.	4	4	27	P > .05	3	4	7	P < .05	3	4	13	P < .05
3.	Student's involvement in terms of spontaneity.	4	2	2.5	P < .05	4	3	4	P < .05	3	2	13	P < .05
4.	Behaviour of students.	4	4	45	P > .05	4	5	10	P < .05	3	5	5	P < .05
5.	Organisation of unrest.	3	2	7	P < .05	4	3	4	P < .05	3	2	13.5	P < .05
6.	Discipline in unrest.	3	2	11.5	P < .05	4	3	4	P < .05	3	2	13.5	P < .05
7.	Genuineness of student demands.	4	2	18	P < .05	4	2	2	P < .05	3	2	13.5	P < .05

2. As for the involvement of students in the unrest of 1977, the students and administrators felt that a small section of students participated in the unrest, whereas the teachers felt that a large section of students participated in that unrest. As for 1982, the three groups responded in a similar manner viz. a large section of students participated in the unrest of 1982.

3. The involvement of students in a spontaneous manner was perceived to have been higher in the 1977 unrest by the students and teachers, as compared to the administrators; whereas in the unrest of 1982 the teachers and administrators viewed that it was imposed on the students. However, the students opined that in the 1982 unrest, there was neither spontaneity nor imposition as visualised by the other 2 groups.

4. As for 1977, while the teachers and students viewed that the behaviour of students was aggressive, the administrators viewed that it was mild. On the other hand in 1982, the students and administrators viewed that the behaviour of students was very aggressive whereas the teachers felt that it was not very aggressive.

5. It is clear from the table that the teachers and administrators had given similar responses to the 1977 and 1982 unrest in regard to discipline amongst the students. They viewed that the former was moderately organised and disciplined, whereas the

latter was disorganised and indisciplined in nature. Contrary to the above view, the students opined that the unrest of 1977 was better organised and more disciplined as compared to the second.

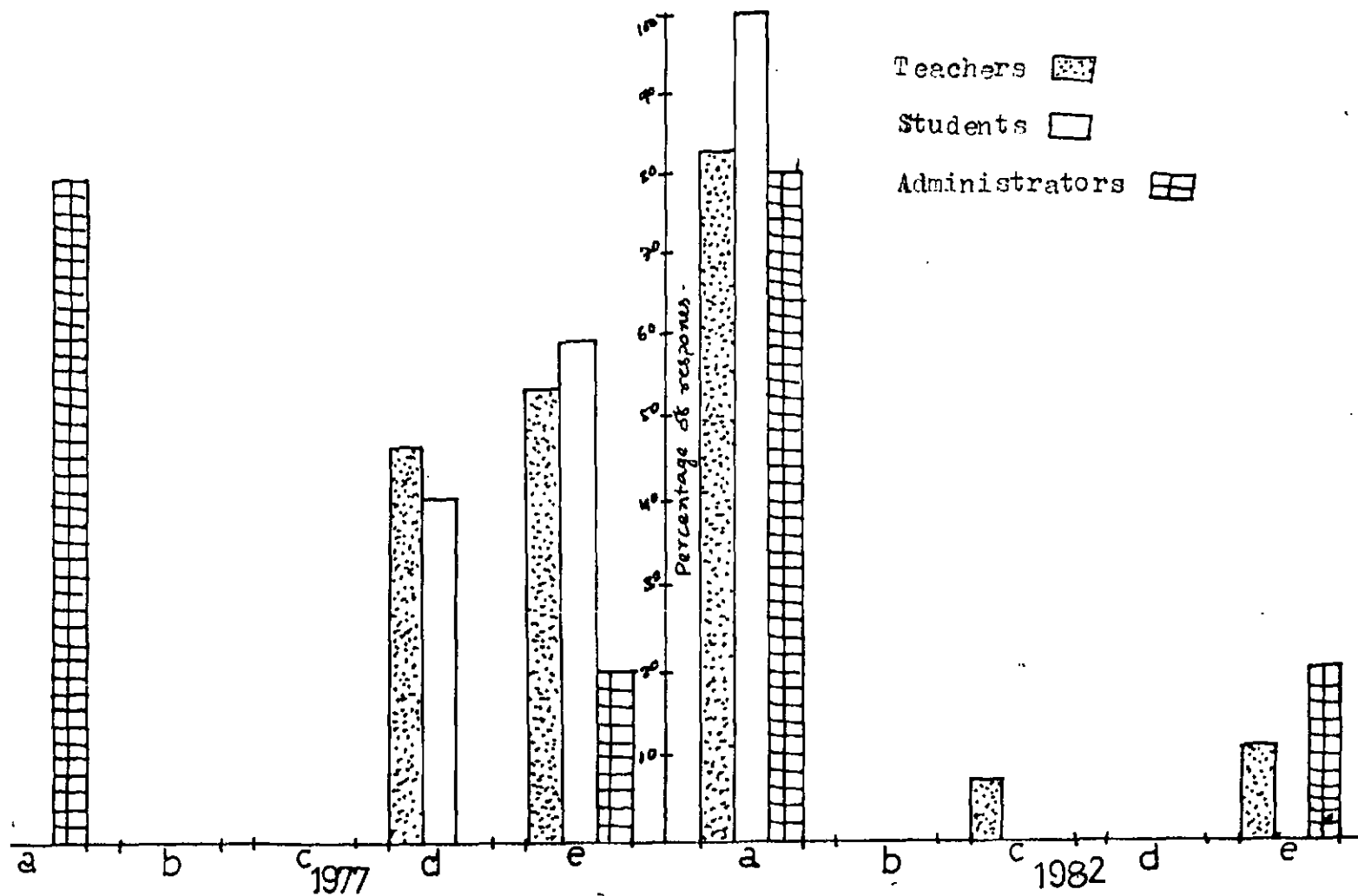
6. It was observed that the teachers and students were of similar views in their perception regarding the genuineness of student demands in 1977. They opined that the demands were genuine, but the administrators viewed that it was moderately genuine. On the other hand the three groups unanimously viewed that the demands were not genuine in the unrest of 1982.

Further, in regard to the nature of student unrest, a few more responses were obtained which have been analysed and presented with the help of bar diagram.

It is noted from the Figure No. 4 (see Page No.68) that the three groups had differed amongst themselves regarding the broad nature of 1977 unrest. While the students (59.09%), and teachers (53.57%) viewed that the broad nature was psychological, the administrators (80%), viewed it as political in nature. The remaining teachers (46.43%) opined that it was cultural, the students (40.91%) viewed it as political and the administrators (20%) viewed it as psychological nature. On the other hand most of the teachers (82.14%), students (100%), and administrators (80%) were of opinion that the nature of 1982 unrest was mainly political in nature.

FIGURE NO-4

Broad Nature of Student Unrest as perceived by the three groups.



a-Political; b-Social; c-Economic; d-Cultural; e-Psychological.

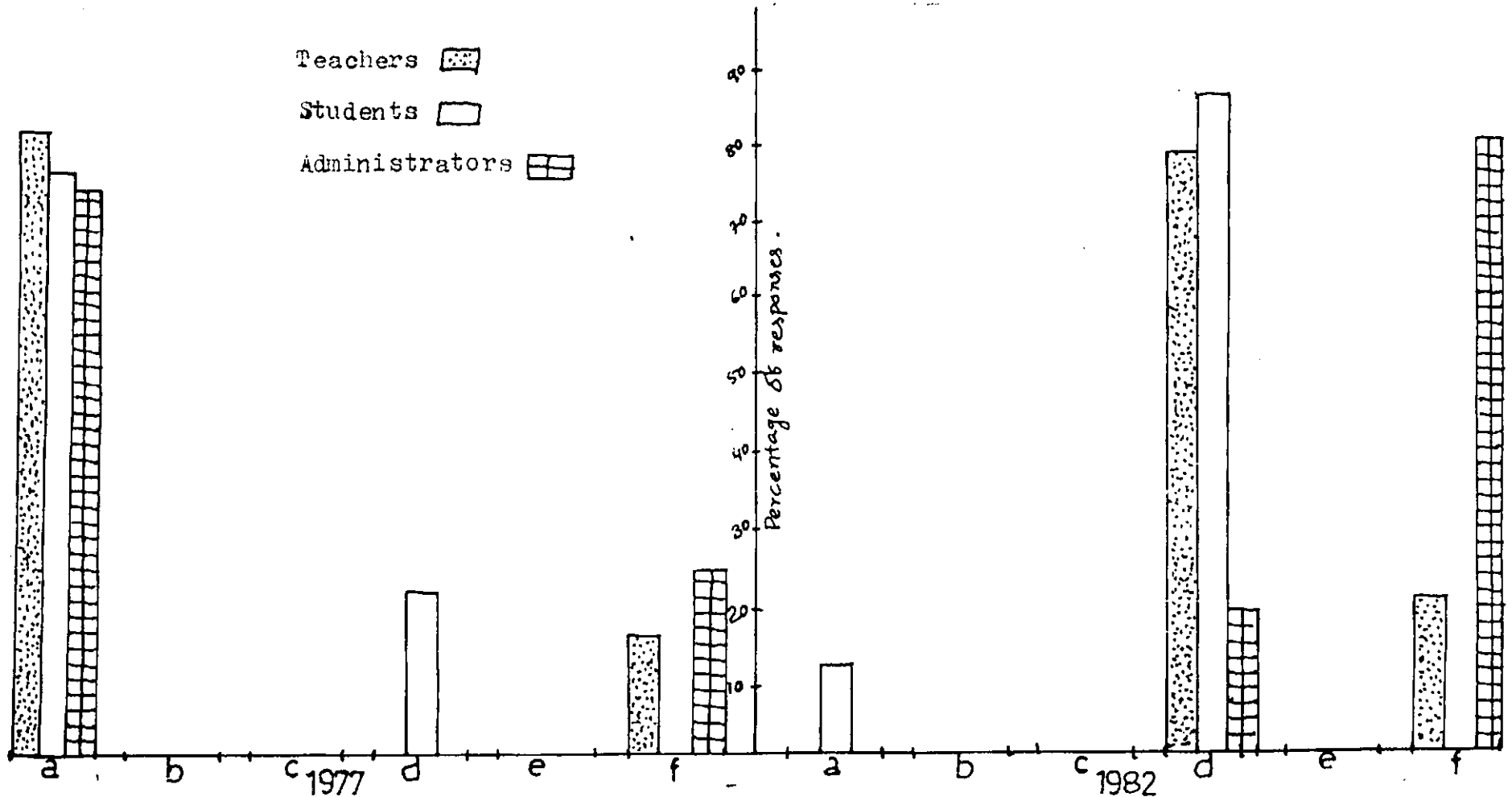
From the Figure No. 5 (see Page No.70) it can be said that all the three groups unanimously felt that the unrest of 1977 was directed against university administration. The other teachers and administrators viewed that it was directed against a section of students apparently the agents of out side anti-social political group, whereas the students (22.73%) viewed that it was directed against a local group of political importance. As for 1982, the teachers (78.57%), and students (86.36%) viewed that the students unrest was directed against a group of politicians, whereas the administrators viewed that it was directed against a section of students.

From Figure No. 6 (see Page No. 71) it is clear that the teachers (85.71%), and students (90.91%) had given similar responses regarding the modus-operandi used by students and they viewed that students used peaceful tactics during 1977 unrest, such as black flag presentation, boycotting of classes, hunger strike, etc., whereas the administrators (95%), viewed that the students adopted aggressive tactics in the unrest. On the other hand all the three groups unanimously were of opinion that the students used aggressive tactics during the unrest of 1982, such as picketing, gheraoing, sabotage and destruction of properties, and physically assaulting the authorities.

From Figure No. 7 (see Page No. 72) it was observed that all the three groups had given similar responses in both

FIGURE NO-5

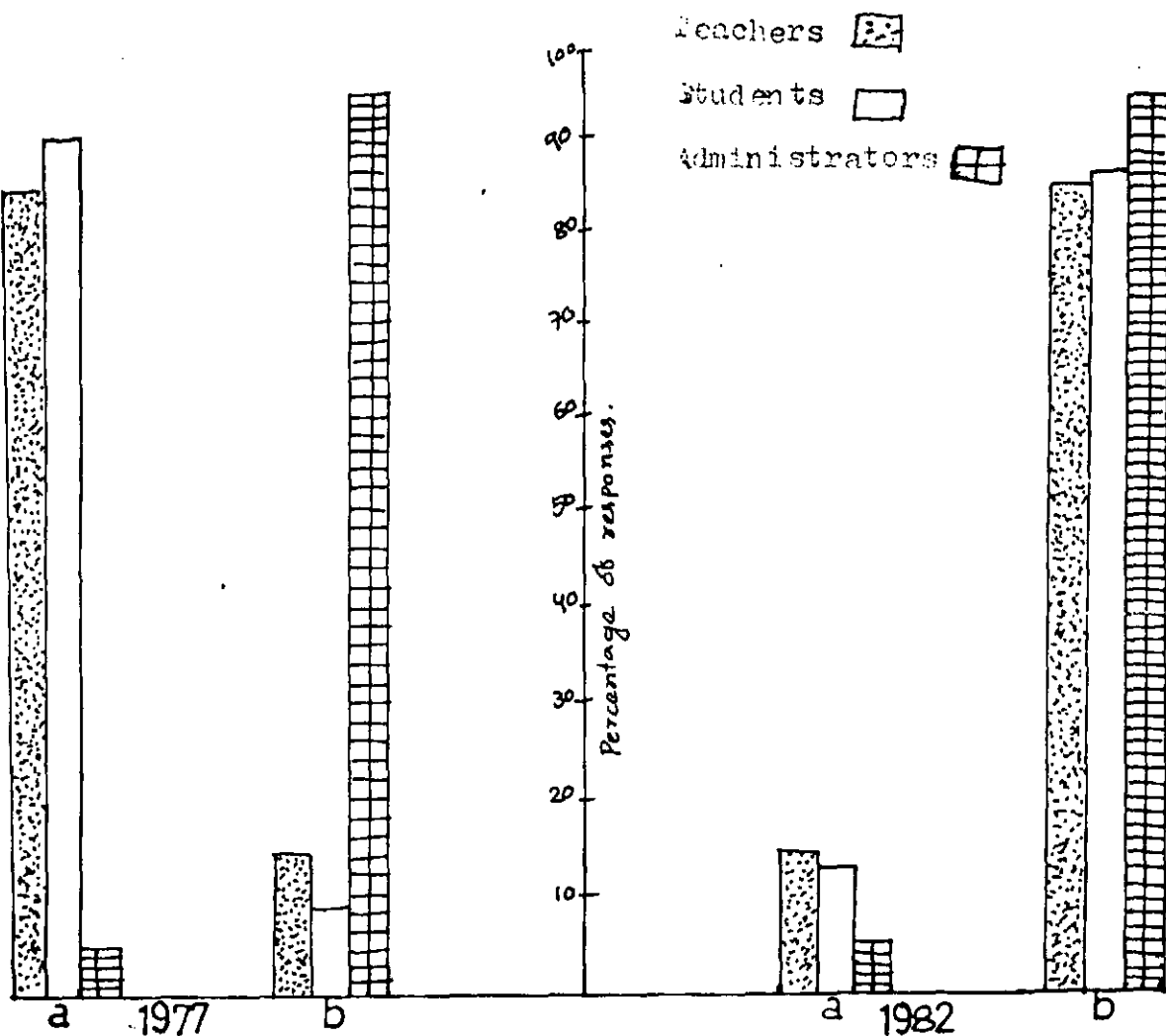
Perception of Student Unrest being against a particular source.



a-University Administration; b-Members of Teaching Staff; c-Part of a Country wide or bigger unrest in the area; d-Local Group of Political importance; e-Local group of Economic importance; f-A Section of Students.

FIGURE NO-6

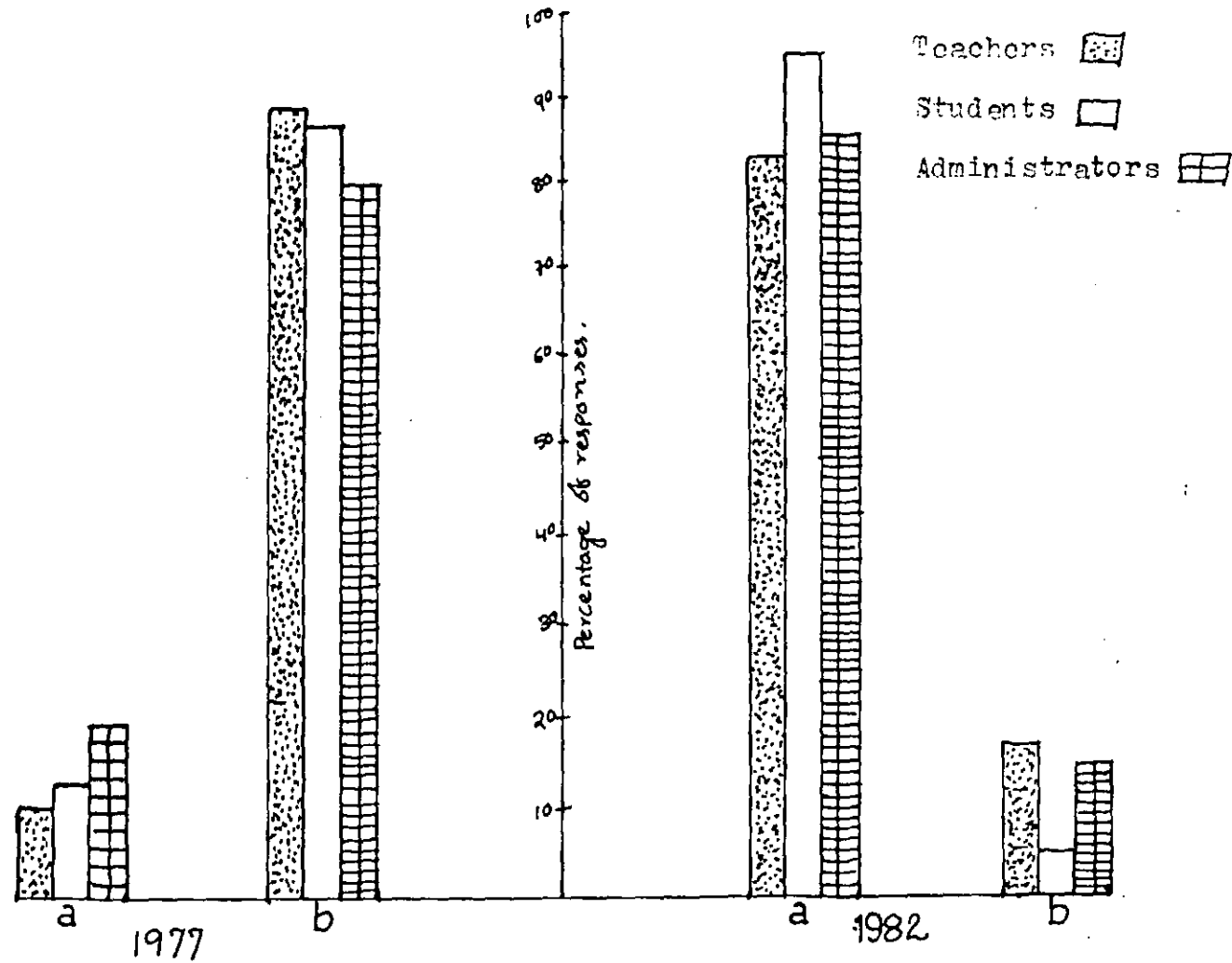
Modus-Operandi during the Unrest as perceived by the three groups.



a-Peaceful Tactics; b-Aggressive Tactics.

FIGURE NO-7.

Nature of Causes in terms of time as perceived by the three groups.



a-Immediate; b-Longstanding.

the years. In 1977, they unanimously viewed that the broad nature of causes in terms of time was longstanding, on the other hand in 1982, it was immediate in nature.

Further in regard to the above responses the three groups had also given some other views regarding the supporters of unrest. It was observed that the teachers (78.56%), students (68.86%), and administrators (75%) were of opinion that the unrest of 1977 was supported by local and petty politicians, whereas the unrest of 1982 was supported by middle wrung and state level politicians.

VI: PERCEPTION OF TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND ADMINISTRATORS REGARDING THE CONSEQUENCES OF STUDENT UNREST IN 1977 AND 1982 : A COMPARISON.

Table No. 12 presents the consequences of student unrest as perceived by the three different groups. From this table the following conclusions emerge (see page no. 74).

1. It was noted that the students and administrators felt that both the unrests were continued for the same period of time i.e. one month. But, the teachers felt that both the events continued for more than twenty days but less than one month.
2. As for tackling of the 1977 unrest, while the teachers felt that it was difficult for the administrators, the latter felt that it was neither easy nor difficult for them, though the students opined that it was easy to tackle. As for 1982

Table No. 12.

Perception of teachers, students and administrators regarding the consequences of student unrest in 1977 and 1982.

Sr.No.	Consequences of student unrest.	TEACHERS				STUDENTS				ADMINISTRATORS			
		Year of 1977 Mdn. sco-res.	Year of 1982 Mdn. sco-res.	Wilcoxon's T values.	Significance level.	Year of 1977 Mdn. sco-res.	Year of 1982 Mdn. sco-res.	Wilcoxon's T values.	Significance level.	Year of 1977 Mdn. sco-res.	Year of 1982 Mdn. sco-res.	Wilcoxon's T values.	Significance level.
1.	Duration of unrest.	4	4	32	P > .05	5	5	28.5	P > .05	5	5	No difference.	N.S
2.	Management of unrest.	4	4	22.5	P > .05	2	3	13.5	P < .05	3	4	5.5	P < .05
3.	Fulfillment of student demands.	4	3	11	P < .05	4	3	4	P < .05	4	2	1	P < .05

unrest, the teachers, and administrators had given similar kind of responses that the tackling of unrest was difficult whereas the students opined that it was neither easy nor difficult for the administrators.

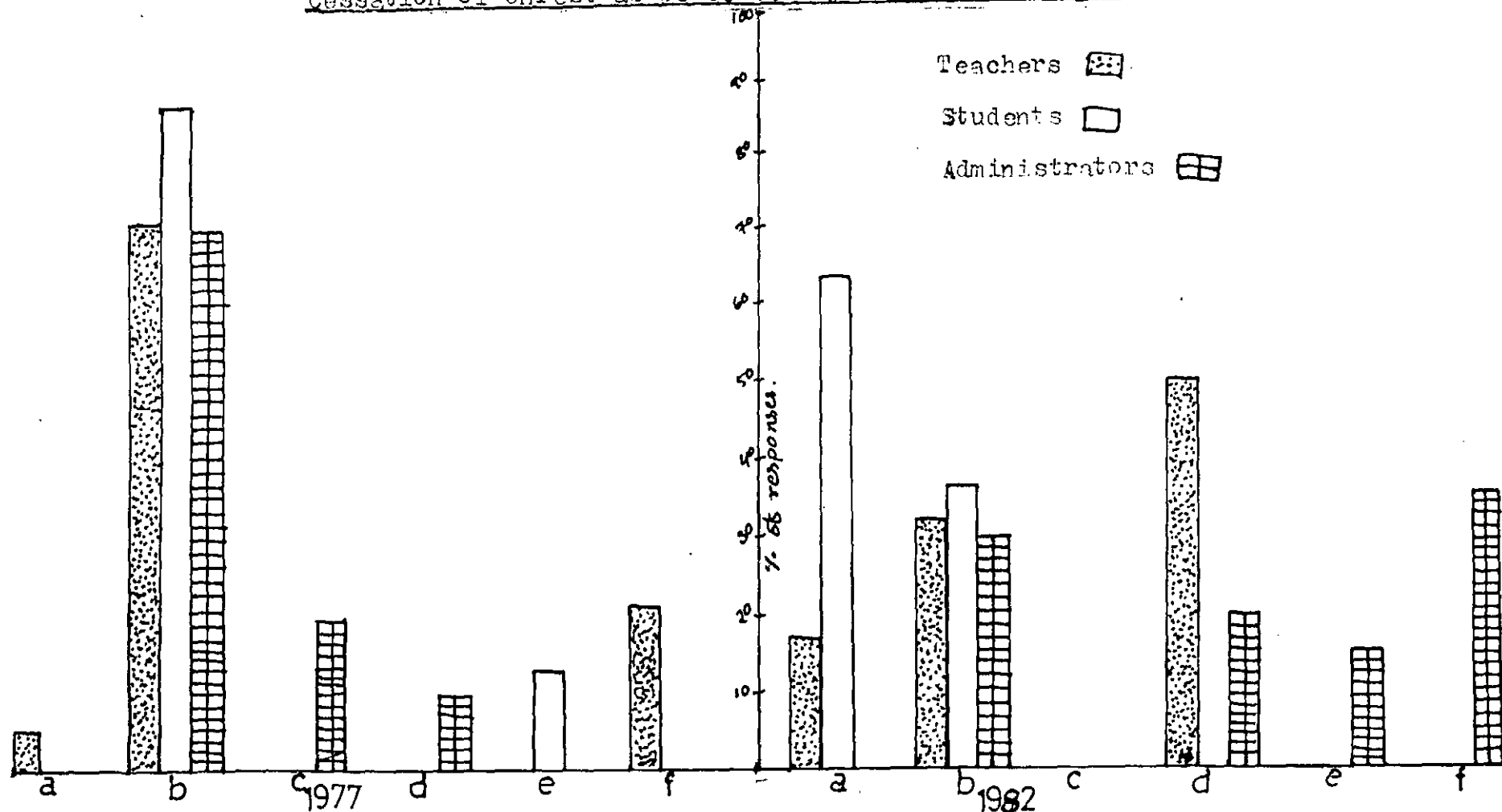
3. It was clear that all the three groups had responded in a similar way regarding the fulfilment of students demands. They felt that some demands were met during the unrest of 1977. On the other hand in 1982, while the teachers and students opined that no demands were met, the administrators viewed that the unrest of 1982 adversely affected the student community.

In addition to the above certain incidental findings were obtained regarding the consequences of student unrest as perceived by the three groups. These responses are diagrammatically presented in figure-8.

As for the consequences of unrest, the teachers had perceived the same consequences of both the events. More than 30% of them felt that in both 1977 and 1982 unrest, there were same consequences such as loss of time in educational and career of the students, loss of opportunities in academic sphere, and extreme mental tension during the unrest. In regard to the above responses, the students (76.58%) opined that they lost only educational and career opportunities in 1977, but in 1982 they got extremely mental tension. It was observed that the administrators differed amongst themselves regarding the consequences of unrest as for 1977, but 20 administrators, 40% of them viewed

FIGURE NO-8.

Cessation of Unrest as perceived by the three groups.



a-Repressive Measures by the University Authority; b-Meeting Demands half way; c-Meeting Demands fully; d-Withered away of its own; e-Pressure from Government on the University Administration; f-Pressure from the Government on Students.

the loss in educational as well as career opportunities, 30% of them viewed the loss of credibility before the administration and the others viewed that the students experienced greater tension in this unrest. In 1982, 55% of the administrators felt that students lost educational as well as career opportunities and other 40% of them opined that the students lost credibility before them.

From the Figure No. 8 (see Page No. 76) it is clear that the teachers (71.43%), students (86.36%), and the administrators (70%) had given similar responses regarding the cessation of 1977 unrest, but they differed amongst themselves regarding the cessation of 1982 unrest. In 1977, they realised that the cessation took place by meeting the demands through negotiation half way. On the other hand in 1982, while 50% of the teachers viewed that the unrest withered away of its own, the students (63.64%) opined that strict and repressive measures adopted by the University authority. But, to a great extent the administrators differed amongst themselves regarding the cessation of 1982 unrest.

The next Chapter presents discussion of the results.

CHAPTER-V

DISCUSSION

The main objective of this study was to ascertain if the nature, causes and consequences of student unrest were different between the two years viz. 1977 and 1982 as perceived by university teachers, students, and administrators. The second objective was to find out if the three groups, in the university varied amongst themselves in regard to their perception of the nature, causes and consequences of student unrest. The study was carried out in Utkal University and the findings of this study indicated that there was a significant change in the perception of nature, causes and consequences of unrest in the two years (1977 and 1982). There was also a significant difference in certain aspects amongst the perception of the three groups regarding the student unrest. For detailed results, see analysis of results (Chapter-4). In this regard these results have in certain respects supported the findings^{of} a few of the earlier researches and also rejected a few. These are being discussed in the following section.

A : THE CAUSES OF STUDENT UNREST

The findings of this study showed that the three groups were of the opinion that the causes of unrest in 1977 were: lack of teacher-taught relationship, contradictory expectation between the administrators and students, faulty university administration, interference of political parties and lack of

adequate curricular activities in the campus. As for the unrest of 1982, the causes put forward were: excessive ^{ci} politization in the campus, political groupings within the campus and lack of employment opportunities. In regard to the factors such as caste, religion and different language groupings influencing the sparking of student unrest, teachers, students, and administrators unanimously opined that these factors had no significant influence in both the years. These findings, however do not appear to agree with those of Ray (1968) in Uttar Pradesh and Parker (1976) in West Bengal both of whom stressed that languages, caste, and religion were responsible for the student unrest. Perhaps the contrary findings in the present research may be due to the admission policy of the Utkal University which emphasizes merit and excellence in academics for admitting students to higher education stream and thus at the higher educational level in Utkal University, almost all students are relatively more of a high academic calibre. The second reason may be that most of the students are from Orissa and so speak the same language (Oriya and English) and thus to quite an extent the influence of religion or different languages or group factor may be relatively lesser amongst them as compared to that in Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. Also as pointed out by Altbach (1968) in Orissa there had been more of socially oriented participation in the unrest rather than religion or caste based factor.

The findings regarding other causative factors such as political interference in the university campus as causing student unrest, find support in the studies of Cormack (1960), Sarkar (1964), Sri Chandra (1971), Ray (1968), and Majumdar (1981) who all had demonstrated that political factor was the most important cause of student unrest. However these researches had not compared two different periods as has been done in the present research which has shown political interference as a factor varyingly influencing the student unrest in the years 1977 and 1982 respectively, with the latter showing greater influence than the former. The above differences in the causes attributed to student unrest in the two different periods, might be due to the reason that in 1977 as compared to 1982 the students were not perhaps so highly drawn into and influenced by direct political involvement as the students of the latter period. Also, perhaps what ever interference there was, the same was limited to an indirect than direct influence of the politicians in the campus.

Another causative factor that had significantly influenced student unrest in the present study appears to be the unemployment factor. This was more frequently attributed as a cause in the unrest of 1982 than of 1977. Studies by Lauterbach(1975), Oommen (1975), Mishra (1975), Vidyarthi (1976), and Majumdar (1981) had also indicated that unemployment and the worsening

economic conditions of students were the two most important causes for student unrest, but none of the above researches had focussed on the differences between any two periods. In the present research the difference in this factor between the two periods may be perhaps attributed to the increasing unemployment in the country year after year. In 1977, students passing out of higher education could hope to get employment in one organisation or the other in the capacity of research staff, teaching faculty staff, management trainee etc. As the time passed, more and more students occupied the available occupational stream and relatively fewer persons could get employment as compared to the earlier periods. This explanation appears more appropriate to explain the differences in the two periods in regard to unemployment being considered as a factor causing student unrest. Further the findings of Sharma and Chandra (1975) strongly support the above findings that 'future prospects' in regard to employment play a dominant role in student unrest.

Other factors advanced as a cause for student unrest (1977) in the present study were the lack of adequate curricular and recreational activities in the campus. Again in this regard, one observed a difference in the two periods under consideration viz. while the lack of adequate curricular

and recreational activities was advanced as a cause for 1977 student unrest, the latter namely uncertainty about future was advanced as an important cause for 1982 unrest. The findings of 1977 find support in those of Srichandra (1971) and Sinha (1975) who demonstrated that lack of opportunities for proper utilization of leisure time and lack of curricular activities led to student unrest. In 1982 unrest, it was felt that uncertainty about the future was a cause for students to resort more to unrest than in 1977. One may explain this by stating that considerable changes had been brought about in Utkal University in regard to curricular and other related issues in the later part of nineteen seventies and early part of ^{the} eighties. Perhaps lack of adequate curriculum was not as intensive in 1982 as was in 1977.

Having discussed the differences in the causes that led to 1977 and 1982 student unrest, respectively, it is now relevant to discuss in what respects the three major groups in the university (viz. teachers, students and administrators) were similar or differed in their perception of the causative factors leading to student unrest. In this regard, it is observed that the three groups were unanimous in their perception of the causes for the unrest in 1982 being the excessive politicization in the campus. Also the three groups

were similar in their opinion in regard to the fact that religion, caste and language had no role to play in student unrest in both the years. On the other hand, the three groups differed on issues such as faulty university administration, lack of adequate relationship between teachers and students etc. as being a cause for student unrest. For instance, while the teachers, and students attributed faulty university administration to the unrest of 1977, the administrators denied the same and said that it was due to excessive politicization only. Secondly, while the students opined in a number of instances that it was the lack of adequate curricular and recreational activities and unfavourable teacher-taught relationship which led to student unrest, the teachers did not agree with this view point. May be such denials and contradictions are as expected since none would like to hold oneself responsible for a negative event such as student unrest and so a cause that is attributed to the administrators such as faulty university administration is denied by them; and similarly a cause such as poor teacher-taught relationship is denied by the teachers.

B : THE NATURE OF STUDENT UNREST

The results of the present study had shown that in the year 1977, the unrest was relatively more psychological than

political in nature. Also in 1977 the problems which led to the unrest were reported to have been of longstanding in nature where as in 1982 they were of 'immediate' or 'urgent' in nature. Furthermore while in 1977 unrest, the local and petty politicians were involved in the unrest of 1982, the involvement was from middle wrung and state level politicians. The above findings appear to support those of studies by Cormack (1960), Roy (1968), Srichandra (1971), Sarkar (1974), Bhatt (1972), Sinha (1980), Altbach (1982) etc., who had all shown similar findings as in the present study.

When the three groups (teachers, students, and administrators) are compared for their perception of the nature of student unrest, it is seen that all the three groups felt that in 1982, a large number of students participated in the unrest and their behaviour was very aggressive and their demands were not genuine at all as compared to the 1977 unrest which was perceived as relatively less aggressive and more genuine in the student demands. While the administrators and students agreed that the involvement of students was less in 1977 as compared to 1982 unrest, the teachers felt that it was the same in both the years.

As for the nature of involvement of students in the 1977 unrest, only teachers and students had agreed that it was

spontaneous, where as the administrators felt that it was neither spontaneous nor imposed. On the other hand in the 1982 unrest, teachers and administrators felt that the nature of involvement of students in the unrest was imposed (viz. the students were forced to participate) than spontaneous; the student groups felt that it was neither imposed nor spontaneous.

In regard to the organisation and discipline amongst the students during the unrest in 1977, the teachers and administrators felt that it was only moderately organised and disciplined as compared to that of 1982 which was perceived as having been totally disorganised and indisciplined in nature. The students however contradicted the above view and stated that the unrest was well organised and disciplined in both the years.

As for the involvement of political parties in student unrest, it was perceived that in 1977 petty politicians were involved in the unrest, where as in 1982 it was perceived that more middle wrung and state level politicians were involved in the unrest. These differences in the perception of the three groups may be attributed to the following reasons. Since the unrest of 1977 was confined to the problems between the students and administrators and was more psychological in nature, only local petty politicians interfered. On the contrary in 1982, middle wrung and state level politician were more involved perhaps because of their vested interest in the

university as they wanted to exploit the student groups to strengthen their own base amongst the students. Another factor which might have contributed to the factor involving of politicians in the campus could be that of realisation on the part of the students regarding the benefits that may accrue to them as a result of political involvement. In addition to the above, it may be said that in the seventies and before that, the students were perhaps relatively more academically oriented and interested in their studies as compared to the present day wherein one finds less academic orientation, more of groupism amongst students according to the ideologies of the concerned political parties which influence them.

So far as the observation regarding the nature of involvement of students and their behaviour in the unrest are concerned, in 1977 relatively lesser number of students appear to have participated spontaneously and their behaviour was slightly less aggressive than those in 1982 wherein not only more students appear to have participated because the unrest was imposed on them, but also they had been rather very aggressive in comparison to their counterparts in the 1977 unrest. The reasons behind this difference again may be attributed to the greater academic orientation of 1977 students who utilized their time more judiciously by showing concern for time factor

as compared to the students of 1988 who mainly indulged in undesirable behaviour. As pointed out by Sinha (1980), instead of ideology, orderliness and discipline there were only some tendencies to hooliganism, sporadic, often senseless protests and agitations in the student unrest and hardly there was any serious, purposeful and ideological student movement. Altbach (1982) remarked that the spirit and ideological commitment of the independence struggle has been lost and profound changes appeared in the nature and orientation of student movements in the post Independence period.

Further it was also observed that in the unrest of 1977 students used peaceful tactics like hunger strikes, peaceful marches, presentation of black flag to authorities, boycotting the classes etc., where as in the 1982 unrest the students had adopted very aggressive tactics like picketing, gheraoing, sabotage, destruction of property and physically assaulting the authorities. The change in approach between the two periods could be attributed to various factors including relatively better interaction between teachers and students, better understanding of students by the administrators and relatively more respect for teachers etc. As observed in this study, the demands of students were more academically oriented as compared to the demands of the later years wherein the students protested for any issue including non-issues. At times their protest was to support the protests

going on in any part of the world. In this context the findings of Sinha (1980) supports the above findings. He found that earlier unrests were meant for focussing student grievances concerning examination, admission and so on, but in later years it got transformed into a larger social movement. Further he opined that all varieties of issues have served as incitement for campus unrest, ranging from socio-political issues to very minor grievances.

As for the nature of unrest in terms of discipline and organisation, the present research showed that the 1977 unrest was more well organised and disciplined than the 1982 unrest. Perhaps this difference may be due to the fact that in 1977 unrest students were influenced generally by one ideology, but in the recent years they are motivated by many ideologies. Previously there used to be relatively more cohesion amongst students and they used to possess a sense of "we feeling", but in the later years such feelings have been relatively absent. It appears that more often students seem to be interested in groupism which creates tension and leads to unhealthy competition, development of rivalry, and disharmony amongst the students. Further the findings in the present research showed that political groupings within the campus had led to student unrest in the year 1982, gives credence to the above observation and rationale.

The findings of this research has also indicated that all the three groups had changed their perception regarding the nature of causes in terms of duration of demands made. For instance the nature of causes in the first unrest (1977) was of longstanding in nature, where as it was of "immediate" or urgent in nature in the 1982 unrest. Since the later has been perceived to be more politically tinged, and as political factors generally have no time dimension, they could generate tension at any time, in the campus. On the contrary cultural, psychological and economic factors have time dimension, and so they take time to generate any sort of disturbance within an individual or a group in regard to these aspects.

C : THE CONSEQUENCES OF STUDENT UNREST

The findings in regard to this factor indicated that the teachers, students and administrators had changed their perception regarding the management of unrest and fulfilment of student demands. At the same time, they had all felt that the unrest resulted in heavy loss of time in the educational and vocational career of the students and extreme mental tension to them during both the unrests. All the three groups had perceived generally only the bad consequences of unrest in both the years.

Thus the findings of the present study has on the one hand found support in some of the earlier researches in regard to political involvement being on the increase in the campus life etc., where as it has contradicted the earlier findings in regard to the involvement of caste, religion and language in influencing the unrest.

To summarise the discussion, one may state that the present study which set out with the objectives of finding out the change of perception regarding the causes, nature and consequences of student unrest and to compare the similarities and dissimilarities amongst the three groups viz. teacher-students and administrators in the university, was able to arrive at the conclusion that not only there was a significant difference in the nature and causes of student unrest between 1977 and 1982, but also the three groups differed significantly amongst themselves in regard to their perception of causes and nature in the unrest of 1977 and 1982.

This Chapter has thus been able to successfully highlight some of the exclusive findings of this study as compared to the ones conducted earlier.

The next chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the present research.

CHAPTER-VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Having discussed the findings of this study in the light of earlier researches, it becomes imperative to summarise the findings and arrive at the major conclusions of this research.

As mentioned earlier, "the main objectives of this present research were :

1. To ascertain if there had been any change in regard to causes, nature and consequences of student unrest in the years 1977 and 1982.
2. To ascertain if there was any difference amongst the three major groups in Utkal University viz. teachers, students and administrators in regard to their perception of causes, nature and consequences of student unrest in 1977 as well as in 1982.

In line with the above objectives, following six hypotheses were formulated.

1. There will be no difference between the two years 1977 and 1982 in regard to causes of student unrest.
2. There will be no difference between the two years 1977 and 1982 in regard to the nature of student unrest.
3. There will be no difference between the two years 1977 and 1982 in regard to the consequences of student unrest.

4. The causes as perceived leading to student unrest in the years 1977 and 1982 will not vary across the three groups viz., teachers, students and administrators.
5. There will be no difference in the perception of these three groups viz., teachers, students and administrators regarding the nature of student unrest which occurred in 1977 and 1982.
6. There will be no difference in the perception of these three groups viz. teachers, students and administrators regarding the consequences of student unrest in the years 1977 and 1982.

To test the above six hypotheses a comparative research design was used. The setting chosen to conduct the study was the Utkal University; the reason for choosing the same for this research are given in detail in the methodology chapter.

The sample consisted of a total of twenty-eight teachers, twenty-two students and twenty administrators, who had all witnessed the 1977 and 1982 unrest and were still continuing to serve in one capacity or the other in the same university. To ascertain the differences in the nature, causes and consequences of student unrest

in the two periods, an open ended and a structured questionnaire covering the three areas were prepared and administered to the three groups in the university. The results were then analysed response by response applying Wilcoxon Matched Pair Sign Rank Test.

The results of this study were as follows:-

1. Between 1977 and 1982, there was significant difference in the causes that led to student unrest. For instance, while in 1977 the causes were faulty university administration, poor teacher-taught relationship, poor administrator-student relationship, lack of adequate curricular and recreational activities; in 1982, the causes that led to the onset of unrest were excessive politicization in the campus, political groupings within the campus, political interference and lack of employment opportunities in the future.
2. The teachers, students and administrators were unanimous in their opinion that religion, language and caste played no significant role in the onset of student unrest in both the years. They however differed amongst themselves in regard to the causes viz., faulty university administration, poor teacher-student interrelationship, lack of adequate academic and recreational facilities, and poor administrator-student relationship. For instance, while student and teachers attributed the onset of 1977 unrest to faulty university administration, the administrators did not agree

with the above view. While administrators felt that the lack of adequate curricular activities was the cause of student unrest in 1977, the students denied the same. Thus there was a significant difference in the perception of the three groups in regard to the causes that led to student unrest.

3. The nature of student unrest varied between the two periods, with 1977 being relatively more psychological in nature, slightly more disciplined, better organised, with lesser involvement of politicians from outside. On the contrary the 1982 unrest was considered to be more political in nature, somewhat poorly disciplined, poorly organised and with greater involvement of politicians from outside.
4. As for the consequences, all the three groups were unanimous in stating that there were damaging consequences as a result of the student unrest in both the years.

The above findings were discussed in the light of other studies in the field. Thus the study which set out with the objectives of ascertaining the trend in the changes that occurred in the causes, nature and consequences of student unrest, was able to conclude that during the two different periods of time there has been a change in the causes and nature of unrest itself that led the unrest. While in 1977, the unrest was caused more by academic

and non-political factors, in 1982, the unrest was caused by more non-academic and more political factors. As for the nature of unrest, the 1977 unrest was more psychological in nature where as the 1982 unrest was more political in nature.

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Every research study, especially in the field of social Sciences suffers from a few limitations due to mainly the kind of data available, and as researcher deals with certain situations over which he has no control.

In this research, every attempt was made to render the findings as valid and generalizable as possible. However there are certain major limitations which have to be kept in mind while making inferences from the findings of this study. These are listed below:-

1. The "two years" periods taken for the study are rather too close to make one wonder if the obtained differences could really be valid. At the same time, as mentioned in the methodology Section, these two periods have been not only chosen because of the gap of five years between them but also due to the fact that these two years (1977 and 1982) experienced a traumatic effect as a result of the student unrest. Ofcourse it could have been ideal to have considered two different decades, 1970s and 1980s, but persons serving for that many years in the same institution were difficult to obtain for gathering the needed information.

2. Another limitation refers to the choice of only one university. Ideally those universities which have witnessed and experienced student unrest more frequently and intensely, like that of Allahabad university should have been taken up and perhaps a comparison of the student unrest in two different decades in about three or four universities would have given more reliable and generalizable information. The time factor being limited in this study, only one university could be covered and so the choice fell on Utkal University in which such a study had not been conducted at any time earlier.
3. The third limitation refers to the 'perception factor'. Whether nature or causes or consequences, these have been inferred in this study only from the perceptions of the three groups in regard to the student unrest which had taken place some years ago. These perceptions generally may be tinged with one's subjective feelings and experiences at the time, the event had taken place and at the time they are responding as well as by various factors that take place in the intervening period. Hence what has been concluded may not be exactly what had really taken place but some what different from it also. To ensure however, certain degree of reliability the same subjects who have witnessed both the unrest, who had worked earlier and continued to work presently in the same university have been taken as respondents.

4. Because of too many restrictions in selecting the needed sample, the size of sample has been rather small for any major categorical conclusions or inferences to be drawn. This could have been to an extent overcome if more than one university had been taken for the conduct of this research. This was not possible in this study due to time factor.
5. Last but not the least is the statistical tools used in this study. The data available as well as the information needed were such that every response had to be considered for the directional change that had taken place in the two periods and that two amongst all the three groups. Methods such as path analysis etc. might have been used but for the fact that each response had to be separately considered.

Despite the above limitations the findings of the study had thrown light on a very difficult area in the field of social psychology. It is earnestly hoped that this study has been able to bring about an understanding to layman and expert alike about a rather difficult problem that has been bothering every institution of higher education in India, more frequently and with greater intensity particularly in the recent years.

To bring about a better insight into the problem of student unrest, the future researchers could take up a few

more universities as well as include a few colleges under them which had experienced unrest time and again. Secondly, it could be ideal to immediately handle the problem of unrest as it occurs or within a period of weeks after it had occurred so that the causes, nature, and consequences could be more reliably ascertained which has not been possible in this study. Another aspect that needs to be considered is the damages caused to the society in terms of mob violence etc. consequent to student unrest. It would also be worthwhile to study those who resort to unrest so as to delineate a typical personality, social and biological profile which could be used later to prevent student unrest from arising.

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PERCEPTION OF STUDENT UNREST

PERSONAL DATA OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Age :
2. Sex
3. University:
4. Department
5. Educational Qualification
6. Teaching Experience
7. Income:
8. Marital Status: Single/Married
9. Religion
10. Type of family - Nuclear/Joint

INSTRUCTION

This is a questionnaire that has been structured to elicit information regarding Perceptions of the teachers, students, and administrators about student unrest in the Utkal University during two periods of time, namely 1977 and 1982.

Here there are two parts of this questionnaire viz. part-I and part II. In case of part-I you have to choose one response out of five given in each question, but you are requested to choose most suitable alternative (s) provided against each question (in case of part-II), and in case you find that none of the alternatives presented falls within your perception, then go for "any other, specify" head and indicate your perception clearly. It is requested that you may frankly express your opinion without any hesitation and inhibition as all your response will be kept in highly confidential.

PART-I

1. What level of involvement do you think the political parties had in the unrest?
 - (a) 100% involvement from the time of instigating the students to the cessation of unrest.
 - (b) Political involvement up to the instigating level.
 - (c) Involvement only indirectly from outside.
 - (d) Involvement only at the time of negotiation.
 - (e) No involvement at all.
2. To what extent do you think the unrest was caused by caste differences?
 - (a) To a great extent.
 - (b) To a reasonable extent
 - (c) To some extent
 - (d) To no extent at all.
 - (e) No existence of any kind of caste.

3. To what extent do you think the unrest was caused by differences in religion?
 - (a) To a great extent.
 - (b) To a reasonable extent.
 - (c) To some extent.
 - (d) To no extent at all.
 - (e) No existence of any kind of religion.
4. To what extent do you think the unrest was caused by different language groups?
 - (a) To a great extent.
 - (b) To a reasonable extent.
 - (c) To some extent.
 - (d) To no extent at all.
 - (e) No existence of any kind of language groups.
5. To what extent do you think the contradiction of expectations between students and administrators was responsible for the unrest.
 - (a) To a great extent.
 - (b) To a reasonable extent.
 - (c) To some extent.
 - (d) To no extent at all.
 - (e) There ^{exists} only formal relationship between the students and the administrators.
6. Indicate to what extent the unrest was affected by lack of understanding between the teachers and students?
 - (a) Very much affected.
 - (b) Quite affected.
 - (c) Moderately affected.
 - (d) Affected to an extent only.
 - (e) Not at all affected.
7. What according to you was the level of involvement of the student community in the unrest?
 - (a) Entire student community.
 - (b) A large section of student community.
 - (c) A small section of student community.
 - (d) Only those few whose interests were at stake.
 - (e) None at all.
8. What according to you was the nature of unrest in terms of behaviour of students?
 - (a) Very aggressive.
 - (b) Aggressive.
 - (c) Mild.
 - (d) Retiring.
 - (e) Submissive.
9. What according to you was the nature of unrest in terms of organisation?
 - (a) Highly organised.
 - (b) Organised.
 - (c) Moderately organised.
 - (d) Disorganised.
 - (e) Highly disorganised.

10. What according to you was the nature of unrest in terms of discipline ?
 - (a) Highly disciplined.
 - (b) Disciplined.
 - (c) Moderately disciplined.
 - (d) Indisciplined.
 - (e) Highly indisciplined.
11. What do you think about the tackling of the unrest by the university authority?
 - (a) Very easy to tackle.
 - (b) Easy to tackle.
 - (c) Neither difficult nor easy.
 - (d) Difficult.
 - (e) Very difficult.
12. What according to you was the unrest in terms of spontaniety?
 - (a) Highly spontaneous.
 - (b) Spontaneous.
 - (c) Neither spontaneous nor imposed.
 - (d) Imposed.
 - (e) Highly imposed.
13. What do you think of the genuineness of student demands?
 - (a) Highly genuine.
 - (b) Genuine.
 - (c) Moderately genuine.
 - (d) Not genuine.
 - (e) Highly ingenuine.
14. What were the benefits accrued to the student community as a result of unrest?
 - (a) All demands met.
 - (b) Some demands met and others not met.
 - (c) Quite a few demands met.
 - (d) No demands met.
 - (e) None of the demands met but also highly adversely affected.
15. How long the unrest continued?
 - (a) Continued for one month and more.
 - (b) Continued for ten days but less than one month.
 - (c) Continued for five days and more but less than ten days.
 - (d) Continued for a day or more but less than five days.
 - (e) Stopped immediately.

PART-II

1. What according to you caused the student unrest?
 - (a) Faulty university administration.
 - (b) Lack of material and academic facilities.
 - (c) Lack of healthy teacher-taught relationship.
 - (d) Lack of cultural cordiality in the campus.
 - (e) Excessive politicization in the campus.
 - (f) Any other, specify.
2. What according to you was the source of initiation?
 - (a) Political parties from outside the campus.
 - (b) Political groupings within the campus.
 - (c) Administrative Staff in the Campus.
 - (d) Any other, specify.
3. Whom do you think was the supporter of the unrest?
 - (a) Office bearing national and high level politicians.
 - (b) Middle wrung state level politicians.
 - (c) Local and petty politicians.
 - (d) Any other, specify.
4. What among the following you think was the economic cause chiefly responsible?
 - (a) Lack of or substandard accommodation facilities.
 - (b) Lack of or substandard reading and library facilities.
 - (c) Lack of miscellaneous facilities like good conveyance, recreation etc.
 - (d) High tuition fees.
 - (e) Any other, specify.
5. What do you think of the most important cause of student unrest?
 - (a) Lack of curricular and recreational activities.
 - (b) Uncertainty in getting a job amongst the students.
 - (c) Any other, specify.
6. What according to you was the nature of unrest?
 - (a) Political.
 - (b) Social.
 - (c) Economic.
 - (d) Cultural.
 - (e) Psychological.
 - (f) Any other, specify.
7. What do you think about the nature of causes in terms of time?
 - (a) Immediate.
 - (b) Longstanding.
 - (c) Any other, specify.

(v)

8. Whom do you think the student unrest was directed against?
 - (a) University administration.
 - (b) Members of the teaching staff.
 - (c) Part of a country wide or bigger unrest in the area.
 - (d) Local group of political importance.
 - (e) Local group of economic importance.
 - (f) A section of students apparently the agents of outside anti students political interest.
 - (g) Any other, specify.
9. What exactly the modus-operandi of the student during the unrest?
 - (a) Peaceful tactics like hunger strike, peace marches, black flag presenting to the authority, boycotting of classes etc.
 - (b) Aggressive Tactics like picketing, gheraoing, demonstration marches against the officials, sabotage and destruction of property and physically assaulting the authorities.
 - (c) Any other, specify.
10. What were the losses suffered by the student community as a result of unrest?
 - (a) No loss.
 - (b) Lost credibility before the teachers.
 - (c) Lost credibility before the administrators.
 - (d) Lost educational and career opportunities.
 - (e) Got extreme tension in general.
 - (f) Any other, specify.
11. What according to you was responsible of the cessation of the unrest.
 - (a) Strict and repressive measures adopted by the university authority.
 - (b) Meeting the demands through negotiation half way.
 - (c) Meeting the demands fully.
 - (d) The unrest withered away of its own, due to lack support from within.
 - (e) External pressure from the Government on the university administration to do something for the unrest.
 - (f) External pressure from the Government on the students to discontinue strike.
 - (g) Any other, specify.

Thank you.

