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Student Politics and National Politics in India

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The emergence of youth as a new political class is a consequence of the creation and prolongation of youth as a distinctive life-stage with its attendant cultures and social arrangements. This has been made possible by the relatively rapid build-up of the educational system. And it has all been supported mainly by the requirements and rewards of industrial economies for literate, knowledgeable, and skilled labour forces working away from home and family, and also the aspiration that democratic citizens should be informed and responsible.

One result, in India, of political capacity (in the sense of the ability to make demands effectively within the political system) outstripping economic capacity (in the sense of the economy's ability to supply resources) has been the creation of a relatively large educational sector. In India, and in some other new and industrialising nations, modern educational institutions have created the new political class of youth prior to, or parallel with, the emergence of other modern political classes such as the middle and working classes. In consequence, this political class and particularly its vanguard, the students, has a significance in the politics of these countries uncharacteristic of the political change process in Europe and America during comparable periods of their democratisation and industrialisation.

Given the special significance of students in the politics of many new nations, certain questions assume importance and interest. These are: whether or not their politics are like national politics and integrated with them; whether student politics are separate from, opposed to, or ahead of, national politics; and what conditions promote one or another of these tendencies. The relationship of student politics to national politics can range between the poles of congruence and incongruence, and student politics can be assessed within this range by reference to goals and methods in the categories: Ideological; Regime; Programmatic/Party; Interest; and Issue.

Such an analysis of student politics in India is carried out in this article. While the findings do not tell us at what point, historically, students may become a political class, they do illuminate those factors in the college environment that are likely to incline students toward adhering or not adhering to their role as students, and throw light on those conditions that, in India, have been associated with student unrest and a readiness for activity as a political class.

[An earlier version of this paper was first presented at the South Asia Seminar of the University of Chicago in fall, 1967, and at the Association of Asian Studies in spring, 1968.]

ONE of the factors that distinguishes the political history of new nations from that of old, is the earlier appearance of youth as political class. While the writing on new nations often implies that there is nothing surprising about youth participating actively in attacks on established values and constituted authority and generally taking a hand in the politics of change, reflection on the social and political history of old nations suggests that youth as such was not among the political classes that contributed to the transformations and revolutions of the seventeenth through to the nineteenth centuries.

The emergence of youth as a new political class has flowed in part from the creation and prolongation of youth as a distinctive life-stage with its attendant cultures and social arrangements, and in part from the relatively rapid build-up of the educational system. This life-stage, in turn, is a product mainly of the requirements (and rewards) of

industrial economies for literate, knowledgeable and skilled labour forces working away from home and family, and also of the aspiration for democratic citizens to be informed and responsible. The creation of such social and ideological conditions, and of the life-stage and political class spawned by them, has taken place earlier in the history of industrialisation of many new nations than it did among many of the old.

One result, in India, of political capacity (in the sense of the ability to make demands effectively within the political system) outstripping economic capacity (in the sense of the economy's ability to supply resources) has been the creation of a relatively large educational sector. Britain, at a comparable level of industrialisation (say the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century), did not, for example, have as high a percentage of relevant age groups in schools and colleges as India does today. (Indeed, if intermediate and pre-university students

are counted among the university enrolled, India in 1966 had about the same percentage of university enrolled as Britain did in that year.) In India and in some other new and industrialising nations (e.g. Turkey, Ceylon, Pakistan, South Korea, Indonesia), modern educational institutions have created the new political class of youth prior to, or parallel with, the emergence of other modern political classes such as the middle and working classes. In consequence, this political class, particularly its vanguard, the students, has a significance in the politics of these countries that is not characteristic of the course of political change in Europe and America during comparable periods in their democratisation and industrialisation.

Given the special significance and weight of students in the politics of many new nations, the questions: whether or not their politics are like national politics and integrated with them; whether student politics are separate

from, opposed to, or ahead of, national politics; and what conditions promote one or another of these tendencies; become questions of some interest and importance.

The relationship of student politics to national politics can range between the poles of congruence and incongruence. The degree of congruence can be assessed in terms of an analytic typology that characterises a broad range of political orientations along the dimensions of their goals and methods.

Types of Political Orientation

- 1 Ideological
- 2 Regime
- 3 Programmatic/Party
- 4 Interest
- 5 Issues

Ideological politics is given form and substance by parties and movements that challenge the legitimacy of the social and political order. Regime politics, also expressed through parties and movements, is particularly concerned with challenging the legitimacy of the political order. Programmatic, interest, and issue politics, unlike the first two types, do not challenge the legitimacy of the political order. Ideological politics aims at changing or controlling the social order; regime politics at changing the regime; and programmatic politics at changing or controlling the government. Programmatic politics is the typical expression of legitimacy-affirming parties in competitive democratic political systems, although it also finds expression in movements and organisations (such as the Fabian Society in the UK, the Americans for Democratic Actions in the US, or the various "ginger" and "socialist" groups that have emerged from time to time (out of the Congress party or the Forum for Free Enterprise in India) that do not compete directly through electoral means for political power and the right to govern.

Interest politics gives expression to the associational life of the economy and society through purposeful representation to government and to those organisations that aspire to govern (parties) or through influencing public opinion (e.g. the mass media) with respect to the needs and aspirations of organised occupations, producers, consumers, and communities. Issue politics is the least stable of the five types. It is expressed through loosely organised committees, or the leadership efforts of prominent public men. It depends for its potency and survival on the saliency that particular problems or events have for public opinion generally or for particular publics or social categories.

TABLE 1 : RATES OF STUDENT INDISCIPLINE WITH DEGREES OF VIOLENCE, 1958-66

Year	All Cases	Degree of Violence				Per Cent Violent*
		1	2	3	4	
1958	93	90	2	1		4
1959	120	118	1		1	2
1960	80	78	2			3
1961	172	169	3			2
1962	97	96			1	1
1963	109	89	19	1		19
1964	395	280	81	29	5	29
1965	271	119	111	24	17	41
1966	607	257	261	60	29	42
	1944	1296	480	115	53	

Notes : (1) Peaceful protest.

(2) Some violence but not enough to occasion the use by police of lathi-charge or tear gas.

(3) Lathi-charge or tear gas used.

(4) Police firing.

After 1967 "Naxalite" students particularly in Bengal resorted increasingly to political murders of "class enemies", including teachers, principals and professors. This new dimension of violence is not reflected in these figures.

* This category includes all ranges of violence, from 2 to 4.

Indian politics exhibits all five types but does not give equal weight to each. Programmatic politics occupies the centre of the stage, although the ideology of some of the parties involved in programmatic politics challenges, in some respects, the legitimacy of the social or political order. The orientations of the DMK, the CPI, the CPI-M, the SSP, and the Jan Sangh, to name the most obvious, fall in this category, and the ideology and practice of at least one party, the CPI-ML, quite clearly rejects the legitimacy affirming character of programmatic politics. Interest politics, too, finds a central place in the Indian political system; one of the measures of the degree to which political development has outstripped economic development in India is the quantity and intensity of organised political representation and agitation. Issue politics in India has ranged from the demand for States reorganisation on linguistic lines or for particular solutions to the official language question, to more local or special issues such as C Rajagopalachari's campaign against BCG TB vaccine, J P Narayan's effort to obtain the release of Sheikh Abdullah, the goldsmiths' efforts to reverse the Gold Control Order, or the campaign to have the German Democratic Republic (GDR) take back its "defective" tractors.

Each type of politics tends to be associated with its particular methods. These move from the pole of violence to that of persuasion, with various shadings of coercion linking the two poles. Insofar as the parties or movements of ideological or regime politics are prepared to carry their challenge

to the legitimacy of the social order or the political order to its logical conclusion in the belief that they cannot achieve their objectives through the means prescribed by the constituted political order, their method (apart from strategic adaptations) is that of organised violence in the form of revolution, insurrection, rebellion or terrorism. Persuasion of the electorate, of the government and its agents, and of organised interests, is the method usually but not exclusively associated with programmatic politics. Interest and issue politics, too, are usually associated with persuasion.

Somewhere between violence and persuasion lie various forms of coercion, ranging from psychological and moral coercion to economic and physical. Almost all organised political forces in India have increasingly used coercive methods—sometimes peaceful, sometimes not. They have ranged in form, from civil disobedience, fasts, and hartals (strikes), to the more recent threats of self-immolation, bandhs (closures), gheraos (encirclements), and land grabs.

In India, student politics tend towards congruence with national politics. Unlike industrial workers, peasants, or capitalist, students have not aspired to be a ruling class; they lack the ideological identity and mission in the political system. The short life span of student generations deprives them of the stability and continuity that other political classes enjoy, and their social and economic dependence compromises their political independence and limits their access to political re-

TABLE 2 : RANK ORDER BY STATES OF STUDENT INDISCIPLINE, 1958-1966

(1) by number of incidents; (2) by incidents per college

1958-66 Number of Incidents	(1)	1958-66 Incidents per College	(2)
Uttar Pradesh	270	1) Orissa	3.3
West Bengal	241	2) Bihar (1.53)	1.5
Bihar	232	3) Andhra Pradesh (1.50)	1.5
Orissa	181	4) Kerala (1.39)	1.4
Andhra Pradesh	168	5) Uttar Pradesh (1.35)	1.4
Madras	125	6) Assam (1.3)	1.3
Kerala	120	7) West Bengal (1.25)	1.3
Madhya Pradesh	99	8) Jammu and Kashmir	1.0
Mysore	96	9) Delhi	0.9
Punjab	84	10) Gujarat (0.73)	0.8
Gujarat	73	11) Rajasthan (0.67)	0.7
Rajasthan	71	12) Mysore	0.7
Assam	61	13) Punjab	0.6
Maharashtra	51	14) Madras	0.5
Delhi	35	15) Madhya Pradesh	0.4
Jammu and Kashmir	25	16) Maharashtra	0.2
Others	12		
India	1944		0.9

sources. If students have not—and perhaps cannot—become one of the political classes that aspire to power in their own right, they have become on occasion a leading sector in the political system—expressing in an organised and militant form dissatisfactions or aspirations well before such sentiments have been clearly articulated and expressed by the established means of political representation and leadership. While students have often played a role in the regime politics of a number of nations and in the ideological politics of others, in India the orientation of student politics in the aggregate has remained relatively congruent with that of national politics.

National politics are primarily those of programme, interest, and issues, in that order. Student politics are primarily those of interest, issues, and programmes (parties), in that order. In this respect, Indian student politics are more like those of the US, and Western Europe before the mid-sixties than they are like those of Korea, Turkey, Indonesia, and Ceylon, where students played a key role in changing or attempting to change regimes, or like those of Japan and some Latin American countries, where important sections of organised student politics are heavily ideological.

The tendency, particularly noticeable before the fourth general election in 1967, for student politics in India to employ to a greater degree coercive and violent methods (Table 1) was also generally congruent with trends in national politics, which had moved in comparable proportions in these directions. The death of two effective prime ministers in less than two years, the Chinese and Pakistani wars, the failure

of the monsoon over a three-year period, the steep rise in prices and scarcity of food that it triggered off, all created crisis conditions that enabled the opposition parties to question the political legitimacy of the regime. In the period preceding the 1967 general election, and in its immediate aftermath, it became more difficult to discern the line that separates ideological and regime politics from programmatic, interest, and issue politics, because of the nature of the concerted opposition attack on the Congress party. Congress's role in the Indian political system, as the vehicle of nationalism and independence and, subsequently, as the dominant party, gave it a special relationship to the regime. Although, at Independence, it formally changed itself from a nationalist movement to a political party, informally it capitalised on this special relationship to the nation and the state, and profited from it. It is because of these considerations that opposition to the Congress and its defeat carried the aura of regime politics.

Most student political activity is interest-oriented, because conditions in colleges are bad and represent the most direct and pressing experience of a student's year. It is conditions and events in the college (and schools)—scarce and badly managed resources (bad food, crowded hostels), poorly qualified faculty, and deadening and inappropriate instruction and examination—that generate the grievances which are the immediate cause of most student unrest. Such grievances are sharpened by the fear that the certification, for which most students enter universities, will not gain them the job they hoped it would, and the griev-

ances are often eventually connected to wider concerns. One of the issues, which of late has engaged some American students the conditions of whose colleges are less depressing, is the attempt to win a franchise in colleges and universities viewed on a model of self-governing private associations or autonomous units of local government. This issue has not yet attracted the same attention in India, although the recently released report of the Gajendra-gadkar Committee on the governance of universities recommends that students be represented in senates (or courts) but not in academic or executive councils, and given a greater voice in their own and university affairs. Indian students are less interested, as it were, in controlling the factory through works councils or participation in management decisions, than in securing an improvement in the conditions of labour.

The factory analogy is apt. Students in India have flocked into colleges and universities in the 1950s and 1960s in a manner reminiscent of the immigration of "surplus" agricultural labour to factory towns in the early stages of industrialisation in England: both were in search of opportunities or of a chance to improve their lot. If industrial entrepreneurs in the name of production but for the sake of profit "sweated" the new recruits, educational entrepreneurs in the name of knowledge but often for the sake of influence or political power and sometimes for the sake of profit have misused and abused their new recruits. In a sense, both the early industrial workers and the early waves of the democratic educational explosion in India have gotten what they deserved — the one, a small increment in income and slight improvement in living conditions, and the other, the degrees that help to certify them for employment in respectable occupations.

The educational institution, like the factory, throws those who were strangers to each other together in a common setting. By doing so, it fosters the growth of a common consciousness, an identity as worker or student, teaches the recruits that they share common problems and grievances, and enables them to concert and organise plans and actions. If, in the nineteenth century, it was the control of the means of production that helped define the men of power, in the twentieth it is increasingly command of specialised knowledge and its applications that does so. And, if the ambivalence of the worker in the nineteenth century was between

becoming a property-owner himself or nationalising (appropriating) the means of production, the ambivalence of the student in India is between mastering the knowledge or skills and techniques that the educational system has to offer or appropriating their symbols (degrees) by political means. This is not an argument for the benevolence of unregulated private ownership of the means of production or the superior quality of Indian higher education today; it is an argument for the view that nationalisation of the means of production does not necessarily or by itself solve the problems of production or social justice, just as the appropriation of degrees by an increasingly powerful class of students will not necessarily or by itself create the skilled (and wise) citizens required for national development.

Student politics in India has an issue as well as an interest orientation. The relevant political arenas for issue politics are the State and the nation, not the educational institution. And the issue themselves — unseating the Namboodiripad government in Kerala, opposing Bengali in Assam, agitation against the Patnaik government in Orissa, opposing Hindi (or Tamil) in Madras, demanding a steel plant for Andhra — are usually State or national in origin and implication. However, the States have increasingly become the object of student pressure not only on such issues but also with respect to academic and institutional interests. If students formerly confined agitation on behalf of their interests to the relevant educational institutions, the increased role of some State governments in higher education has made government a more promising pressure point. In the process of attempting to influence this new centre of educational power, students who were previously divided into subgroups by institutions are increasingly uniting with one another on a State-wide basis.

Student politics has a programmatic dimension through its connections with political parties. The major ones, particularly the SSP, Jan Sangh, Congress, and CPI-M and CPI, attempt to penetrate, organise, mobilise, and recruit students as a social category and a political class by taking an interest in student demands and grievances and by establishing or patronising student or youth organisations and leaders. And students who mean to go into State and national politics know that making a name and a following in the university arena can contribute to that end.

Finally, with the rise of "Naxalism",

TABLE 3 : HIGH PERFORMANCE AND HIGH INDISCIPLINE COLLEGES COMPARED TO ALL INDIA COLLEGE NORM ON 11 VARIABLES

Indicator	All-India Sample (Mean)	High Performance Cases (Mean)	Indiscipline Cases (Mean)
(1) Student-teacher ratio	17.1	14.9	16.6
(2) Percentage of scheduled caste students	5.3	4.1	5.2
(3) Percentage of students in the hostel	15.6	22.5	18.3
(4) Percentage of intermediate students	28.6	18.9	28.7
(5) Percentage of post-graduate students	4.3	7.1	4.8
(6) Library books per student	15.6	19.1	15.4
(7) Per student expenditure on scholarships	100.4	125.9	100.1
(8) Per student college expenditure	736.0	1040.4	774.1
(9) Per teacher expenditure on teacher's salary	4550.1	5259.3	4857.0
(10) Percentage of students from rural areas	34.1	32.4	46.5
(11) Percentage of students passed the examination	58.6	72.1	56.2

TABLE 4 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY SEX

Sex	All-India Sample		High Performance Sample		Indiscipline Sample	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
Male	79	32.5	28	25.0	59	38.4
Female	36	14.8	20	17.8	1	0.6
Co-educational	128	52.7	64	57.2	94	61.0
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

TABLE 5 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY TYPE OF MANAGEMENT

Type of Management	All-India Sample		High Performance Sample		Indiscipline Sample	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
Central Government	5	2.1	5	4.4	2	1.3
State Government	64	26.3	36	32.1	56	36.4
University	12	4.9	5	4.5	14	9.1
Private aided	131	53.9	58	51.8	80	51.9
Private unaided	31	12.8	8	7.1	1	0.6
Not mentioned	—	—	—	—	1	0.6
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0*	154	100.0

particularly the annihilation of class enemies practised by the Charu Mazumdar faction of the CPI-ML, student politics has added an organised ideological orientation.

After the 1967 general election, which marked the temporary end of the Congress dominance and ushered in a period characterised by the politics of coalition and defection at the State level and, in time, by minority government at the Centre, the frequency of disturbances and the level of violence (outside Bengal) in national and student politics appear to have declined despite an increase in industrial and civil service strikes and the party-led "land grab" movement of 1970. (Our compilation of incidents of student unrest ends in 1966.) The major and important "exception" in the 1967-1971 period was the rise of "Naxalism", i.e., the use of political murder against class enemies in the name of revolutionary

transformation of state and society. Although evident in the politics of Andhra and Kerala, Naxalism has been most active in the politics of Bengal where it blends into the political violence that characterises relationships among the three communist (and other) parties.

The massive Congress-R victory under Indira Gandhi's leadership in the March 1971 parliamentary election, has re-established something of the old pattern of Congress dominance, discredited anti-Congressism, and left most parties groping for effective political orientations and strategies. Neither students nor other groups (except Naxalites) have departed significantly from programmatic politics this year. At the same time, the abortive "Che Gueverist" student rising in neighbouring Ceylon (which Indira Gandhi's government helped put down by sending military supplies and personnel) has raised the question of whether Indian stu-

TABLE 6 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

Type of Institution	All-India Sample		High Performance Sample		Indiscipline Sample	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
Arts-Science (Private)	108	44.4	38	33.9	76	49.4
Arts-Science (Government)	37	15.2	17	15.2	39	25.4
Commerce	19	7.8	4	3.6	3	1.9
Law	14	5.8	3	2.7	3	1.9
Professional (Medical; Engineering)	23	9.5	17	15.2	9	5.8
Teachers' Training	24	9.9	21	18.7	—	—
Ayurvedic, Pharmacy, Nursing, etc	18	7.4	12	10.7	16	10.4
Agriculture, Dairy Residential	—	—	—	—	5	3.2
Veterinary Science	—	—	—	—	3	1.9
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

TABLE 7 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY HIGHEST DEGREE GRANTED

Degree	All-India Sample		High Performance Sample		Indiscipline Sample	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
Undergraduate/Intermediate/PUC	14	5.8	3	2.7	3	1.9
Graduate	170	70.0	72	64.3	99	64.3
Master's Degree	57	23.5	35	31.2	52	38.8
Diploma	1	0.4	1	0.9	—	—
Certificate	1	0.4	1	0.9	—	—
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

TABLE 8 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY PERCENTAGE OF POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS

Per Cent	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
Nil	188	77.4	78	69.6	101	65.6
0.1-100	55	22.5	34	30.4	53	34.4
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

dent and national politics can and will remain roughly congruent.

"Student indiscipline" is one of the key developments that have affected in recent years the relationship between the educational and political systems. Indiscipline has, characteristically, but not exclusively, arisen inside the educational system and has been directed against its authorities and institutions. It has, equally characteristically, increasingly jumped boundaries, engaged public authorities, and encouraged the penetration of the political into the educational system.

In relating student politics to national politics, we have analysed the following types of data: (1) quantita-

tive data over time, on rates of student indiscipline generally, and rates and levels of violence associated with it, both considered in the light of secular political trends in the country; and (2) macro-aggregative data bearing on college environments that help to explain in what ways and to what degree various forms of student behaviour can be accounted for by factors indigenous to the educational system.

The quantitative data on rates of student indiscipline, and rates and levels of violence associated with it, are based on a compilation prepared on the basis of cuttings and newspaper archives of almost 2,000 incidents of college indiscipline during the period 1958-1966.

The newspapers used include *Times of India* (Bombay), *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), *Statesman* (Calcutta), *Hindu* (Madras), *Deccan Herald* (Mysore), *Tribune* (Ambala), and *National Herald* (Lucknow). The compilation does not, presumably, exhaust all cases, since not every case is reported and newspaper attentiveness may vary over time. Nor can we expect that the reports give a faithful picture of the interstices of each case. However, the compilation provides measures of gross magnitudes for the events and behaviours at issue in the analysis.

Table 1 summarises these findings. Reported levels of student indiscipline as well as the percentage of violence began to show a distinct upturn in 1964, the year of Jawaharlal Nehru's death (May 27). They registered a sharp drop in 1965, the year of the war with Pakistan, but climbed dramatically in 1966, just before the 1967 general election. (Our impression is that these high rates were maintained in 1967 but declined in 1968, 1969, and 1970.) Table 2 reports the same data on a State-by-State basis.

We began the macro-aggregative study by identifying, examining, and comparing student behaviour in terms of performance and indiscipline, the one characterising student roles within the educational system, the other being an index of student participation in the political process. "Indiscipline", (disruptive or violent strikes or demonstrations in various arenas such as colleges, localities, regions, and even States) is not, of course, the only form of student participation in the political system. Students may participate in established party structures, assist local notables in politics, and generally confine their political activity to conventional structures and processes. Nor, indeed, does "indiscipline" always involve student interaction with the political system. Strikes and demonstrations may be confined within the boundaries of educational institutions. But behaviour summarised by the phrase "student indiscipline" involves goals, processes, and structures specific to students, and it often engages public authorities or seeks to influence, coerce, or terrorise them.

In order to understand student indiscipline, we have begun with the students' immediate context, i.e., factors that shape the college environment, and related these to performance and indiscipline. In doing so, we have identified and measured certain variables that help explain high performance and

high indiscipline.

We are acutely aware that macro-aggregative data, especially at the national level in a society and polity so large and diverse as India, will produce a set of generalisations that fail to cover many particular instances. Micro-social analyses are equally valuable because they explain critical exceptions. These deviant cases may characterise recessive trends that represent the potentially dominant forces of a developing social reality; they may be elite instances whose social and political significance transcends their numerical weight. Longitudinal analysis of the sort possible within the micro study of particular structures, processes, and persons, can capture patterns of change that a historical behavioural data will miss.

Our strategy in studying the effects of factors in the college environment has been to compare colleges with notably high performance and colleges with pronounced indiscipline with all-India norms. These norms were derived from a 10 per cent random sample (243 cases) of all colleges in India that are affiliated to universities. Such colleges are obliged to compile annual reports for the Government of India's Education Ministry. (There may be from 500 to 1,000 unaffiliated colleges not accounted for by this method.) The sample was stratified by regions (five) and type of institution (eight).^{*} The data, covering 16 factors in the college environment which we thought might be relevant to performance and indiscipline, was taken from B-1 forms filled out by the colleges and sent annually to the Ministry of Education. As Tapan Raychaudhuri and Amartya Sen have observed in other contexts, this data is subject to a number of caveats: since some data may have financial and other consequences — for instance, State grants are indirectly related to enrolments — colleges have an interest in over- or under-stating facts. (The 1961 education statistics for UP report-

^{*} The regions are: (1) Eastern (Bengal, Assam, Orissa); (2) North-Central (Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, and Rajasthan); (3) Northern (Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir); (4) Western (Maharashtra and Gujarat); and (5) Southern (Tamil Nadu, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, and Kerala). The types of colleges are: (1) Arts-Science (Government); (2) Arts-Science (Private); (3) Professional (Medicine, Engineering, Architecture, etc); (4) Commerce; (5) Law; (6) Agriculture, Veterinary, Ayurvedic, Home Science, Nursing, Physical Education, Pharmacy; (7) Teachers; and (8) Oriental, Fine Arts.

TABLE 9 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY PERCENTAGE OF SCHEDULED CASTE AND SCHEDULED TRIBE STUDENTS

Per Cent	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
0-5.5	168	69.2	90	80.4	108	70.1
5.6-100	75	30.7	22	19.6	45	29.2
Not mentioned					1	.7
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

TABLE 10 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN THE HOSTEL

Per Cent	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
Nil	90	37.0	35	31.2	26	16.9
0.1-10.5	42	17.3	18	16.1	48	31.3
10.6-20.5	31	12.8	11	9.8	27	17.5
20.6-35.5	32	13.2	16	14.3	20	13.0
35.6-100	48	19.8	32	28.7	30	19.4
Not mentioned					3	1.9
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

TABLE 11 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY SITUATION IN RURAL/URBAN AREAS

Rural/Urban Situation	All-India Sample		High Performance Sample		Indiscipline Sample	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
Urban	195	80.2	88	78.6	138	89.6
Rural	48	19.8	24	21.4	16	10.4
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

ed twice as high primary school enrolments as did the 1961 census data for UP.) Furthermore, the accuracy of reporting is more than likely to vary, depending on the conscientiousness of the institution. These data are not based on an independent census. However, it must be borne in mind that, the same data are also submitted to the university of affiliation and the State education departments, whose officials may or may not be sanguine about cooked statistics. A report that deviates far from known realities is apt to be noticed. Furthermore, there is no reason to falsify data with respect to many factors of interest to us: urban-rural location, male-female proportions, etc. Still, it must be borne in mind that, while India's data collection for education is better than most countries', it has important limitations.

Our 112 high performance cases are those colleges in the sample in which 60 per cent or more of the students passed the various examinations given by the college in 1965-66. While we do not assume that the examination

standards of all universities are the same, neither do we believe they are capable of infinite manipulation. Factors favouring uniformity are: that the exams of affiliated colleges are set by the university and that they are normally evaluated by outside examiners. Factors favouring variation are that universities have differing standards, that invigilators (who supervise exams) can be — and are — hoodwinked or intimidated; and that examiners can be selected with an eye to generosity and are not always immune from influence. Another factor affecting the comparability of performance is the fact that some subject matter is earlier, or is made easier, in some examinations than others. It is on this ground that the relative high performance of Ayurvedic (traditional medical) colleges might be held suspect. Further, the significance of 100 per cent passing at the well-reputed Home Science College in Chandigarh may differ from that of 95 per cent passing at Elphinstone College, a well-reputed general college in Bombay.

TABLE 12 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY AGE OF INSTITUTION

Age of Institution (Years)	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
1 - 5	52	21.4	15	13.3	8	5.2
6 - 10	68	28.0	38	33.9	27	17.5
11 - 20	65	26.7	30	26.8	58	37.7
21 - 75 and above	57	23.4	28	25.0	61	39.5
Not known	1	.4	1	.9	—	—
Total	243	99.9	112	99.9	154	99.9

TABLE 13 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO

Student-Teacher Ratio	All-India Sample		High Performance Sample		Indiscipline Sample	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
1 - 10	72	29.6	41	36.6	29	18.8
11 - 20	96	39.5	43	38.4	68	44.2
21 - 35	57	23.5	21	18.8	51	33.1
36 - above	17	7	6	5.3	6	3.9
Not known	1	0.4	1	0.9	—	—
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

TABLE 14 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY PERCENTAGE OF PUC/INTERMEDIATE STUDENTS

Per Cent	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
Nil	109	44.9	69	61.6	44	28.6
0.1 - 30.5	36	14.8	13	11.6	25	16.2
30.6 - 60.5	63	25.9	22	19.6	73	47.4
60.6 - 100	26	10.6	6	5.4	12	7.8
Not mentioned	9	3.7	2	1.8	—	—
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

The percentage of students passing exams is, of course, by itself no satisfactory index of excellence; all we can say is that, institutions in which a high percentage pass, adequately perform certain minimum formal functions expected of them — such as to prepare students for exams. We can say nothing on this basis alone about the meaningfulness or appropriateness of the education. But passing the exams does suggest that students are minimally oriented to their role as students. Further, the fact of passing also improves their future prospects.

The list of 154 indiscipline cases, which we compare with the high performance cases and national norms, was drawn from the almost 2,000 instances collected for the 1958-1966 period.

Our criteria for regarding a college, as a "serious" case for purposes of the "high indiscipline" list, were more than one instance of indiscipline, or the use of *lathi* charge, tear gas, or firing by the police. A methodological diffi-

culty, encountered when we began to select colleges, was in itself almost as revealing about the nature of the college environment favouring indiscipline as our subsequent statistical analysis of certain indicators regarding the nature of those environments. It became plain that about 50 per cent of the high indiscipline cases failed to meet the modest qualifications required for university affiliation (the unaffiliated constitute approximately 30 per cent of all colleges). Almost one-third of the remainder (which were affiliated) showed signs of administrative weakness by failing to meet the minimum reporting requirement, the submission of the B-1 form to the Education Ministry. In consequence, B-1 forms were not available for unaffiliated colleges and for non-reporting colleges, and these do not appear in our final indiscipline list.

These facts have introduced a very important bias into our "high indiscipline" list. First, our criteria of high indiscipline are quite modest. It is sufficient for a college to have demonstrated

twice in a conspicuous but mild fashion to arrive on our list of 154 cases. Further, those colleges so weak that they cannot qualify for affiliation do not appear on our list. In other words, the accidents of selection have operated to narrow the anticipated differences between the characteristics of the indiscipline list and the norms established by the all-India sample. If our statistical analysis still reveals significant differences between the indiscipline cases and the all-India norm, these may be taken as especially meaningful, since a complete list, including the unaffiliated colleges and those failing to submit B-1 forms, would, presumably, have shown much more marked differences.

What follows is a comparison of the norms of the all-India sample with the high performance and indiscipline cases. We report product moment correlation co-efficients and levels of statistical significance for the high performance sample; we do not do so for the indiscipline list. Indiscipline, unlike pass percentages, is not easily quantifiable, i.e., there are no convenient measures of it for the population of a particular college.

The following, more detailed, discussion suggests the particulars of this analysis, and attempts explanations of the observed relationships. Table 3, which reports the mean of each variable for each of the three groups of cases, provides a summary comparison for the quantifiable variables only.

MALE, FEMALE, AND CO-EDUCATIONAL COLLEGES

(1) Female colleges are markedly less involved in incidents of indiscipline than are male or co-educational colleges. Less than one per cent of the incidents of indiscipline involved women's colleges, while 15 per cent of all colleges are female institutions.

(2) Female and co-educational colleges tend to perform better academically than do male colleges. Female and co-educational colleges' proportion of performance colleges just exceeds their proportion of the collegiate universe, while male colleges' proportion falls appreciably below.

Female college students are under much more severe pressure to comply with conventional social norms than are men, are under much closer surveillance and control, and are generally more compliant to the expectations of educational authorities.

TYPES OF MANAGEMENT

(1) The level of academic performance in government colleges tends to be appreciably better than in private colleges, and the level of indiscipline tends to be considerably higher than in private colleges. While government colleges represent only a quarter of all colleges, they constitute just under one-third of the high performance cases and over one-third of the indiscipline cases.

This pattern of behaviour has to be understood in the context of the wide variation in quality among private colleges, a variation whose range runs from academically and socially elite missionary and other sectarian colleges to the marginal, jerry-built institutions of profit- or influence-seeking entrepreneurs. If this category could have been differentiated along these lines, it might reveal significant differences with respect to academic performance and indiscipline. Table 5, however, does not distinguish among them.

Most government colleges tend to attract talent more than status, the socially-mobile more than the established. For these reasons, among others, they may be more sensitive barometers of discontent than the elite among the private institutions.

TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS

(1) Colleges providing a variety of professional training have lower levels of indiscipline than arts and sciences colleges. The proportion of indiscipline cases among all categories of professional colleges except Ayurvedic fall below their proportions of all colleges. The proportion of indiscipline cases among arts and sciences colleges exceeded their share of the all-India sample, with government arts and sciences colleges markedly exceeding their share.

(2) Performance levels were highest among teachers' training and professional (engineering, medicine) colleges, and equal to, or below, the all-India norms for all other categories of colleges except Ayurvedic. Teachers' training and professional (medical, engineering) colleges occupy approximately 19 and 15 per cent of the high performance cases, while they represent only about 10 per cent each of all colleges.

Generally speaking, students attending professional colleges have better job prospects than those attending arts and science colleges. Because students attending professional colleges ordina-

TABLE 15 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY BOOKS PER STUDENT IN THE LIBRARY

	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
0 - 10	90	37.0	32	28.6	60	39.0
11 - 20	69	28.4	31	27.7	54	35.1
21 and up	79	32.5	49	43.6	38	24.5
Not mentioned	5	2.1			2	1.3
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

TABLE 16 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY COLLEGE EXPENDITURE PER STUDENT

College Expenditure Per Student (Rs)	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
1 - 1,000	175	72	69	61.5	118	76.8
1,001 - 10,000	60	24.7	40	35.8	33	21.3
Not mentioned	8	3.3	3	2.7	3	1.9
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

TABLE 17 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY EXPENDITURE PER TEACHER ON TEACHERS' SALARY

Expenditure on Salary Per Teacher (Rupees)	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
1000 - 2500	44	18.1	15	13.4	7	4.5
2501 - 4000	98	40.3	46	41.1	64	41.6
4001 and above	93	38.3	48	42.8	79	51.3
Not mentioned	8	3.3	3	2.7	4	2.6
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

rily do one or two years of college work before joining professional colleges, their age level is slightly above that of students in arts and science colleges. (However, these age differences are not as marked as, for example, in the US, because the professional colleges are "first degree" institutions, not, as is often the case in the US, second degree institutions.) These considerations help account for the lower levels of indiscipline among the various types of professional colleges. Because those who can qualify for (or buy) the scarce seats in medical and good engineering colleges often come from more secure and established families, they have less reason, in the present Indian circumstances, to join student strikes. Because the market for engineers and medical doctors has contracted since 1967, the professional colleges may not remain so compliant.

Ayurvedic colleges, however, do not share the more favourable job prospects of other professional colleges and do not attract high quality applicants

(many are medical school rejects). Their relatively higher levels of indiscipline are usually related to agitations designed to win for Ayurvedic degrees the same status and opportunities conferred by "allopathic" medical degrees. Contrary to the commonly held opinion, law colleges, taken nationally, do not manifest high levels of indiscipline. The striking fact that no teachers' training institution appears among our severe indiscipline cases can be explained in part by the fact that students in such institutions are frequently already in service and are older and often with families. Their in-service status means that they, unlike students who have not yet joined service or profession, have a job to lose.

The high performance in teachers' colleges is related to these same factors. Engineering and medicine have been, in recent years, the opportunity professions (even though the late sixties have witnessed a "surplus" among engineering and medical graduates). In contrast to arts and science colleges, the incentive

TABLE 18 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY PERCENTAGE OF ALL STUDENTS WHO PASSED THE EXAMINATIONS

Percentage of Students Passed	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
0 - 40.5	30	12.4	—	—	21	13.6
40.6 - 60.5	77	31.7	4	3.6	55	35.7
60.6 - 80.5	64	26.3	61	54.4	49	31.8
80.6 and above	47	19.3	47	42.0	9	5.8
Not mentioned	25	10.3	—	—	20	13.0
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

TABLE 19 : DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGES BY PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS FROM RURAL AREAS

Per Cent Students from Rural Areas	All-India Sample		High Performance Cases		Indiscipline Cases	
	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent	Number of Colleges	Per Cent
0 - 20.5	89	36.6	46	41	33	21.4
20.6 - 70.5	87	35.7	38	33.9	82	53.2
70.6 - 100.0	46	18.9	19	17	27	17.5
Not mentioned	21	8.6	9	8	12	7.8
Total	243	100.0	112	100.0	154	100.0

of a good job at good pay has attracted good students and helped them apply their talents. Seats in medical and engineering colleges have been at a premium. The quality and pace of academic work, again in contrast to arts and science colleges, tend to better command students' energies and attention. The high performance registered in Ayurvedic colleges is related to modest standards within the Ayurvedic profession generally.

HIGHEST DEGREE LEVEL OFFERED

(1) Colleges that offer second degrees (post-graduate work and masters' programmes) tend to perform better and have higher levels of indiscipline than colleges which offer BA degrees or less. Post-graduate colleges' proportion of the high performance and indiscipline cases are just below and above one-third, while their proportion among all colleges is just under one quarter.

The existence of post-graduate studies in an educational institution and the higher quality faculty they require may lend them a certain seriousness of purpose and air of professionalism conducive to higher performance. On the other hand, post-graduate students have provided leadership for student causes, and are more likely to be in the process of being recruited by organised political forces.

PERCENTAGE OF POST-GRADUATE STUDENTS

Table 8 essentially confirms the findings in Table 7. See also Table 17, which shows that colleges where teachers are paid on the average of Rs 4,000, i.e., mainly teachers of graduate students, indiscipline and performance both tend to be higher. (The correlation co-efficient for proportion of post-graduate students and percentage of students passing is 0.212 at 0.05 significance level.)

PROPORTION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND TRIBES TO THE STUDENT BODY

(1) A low proportion of scheduled castes and tribes students is associated with high levels of performance. (The negative correlation between proportion of such students and percentage passing is -0.106 and is not statistically significant.)

This weak association may point to the fact that culturally underprivileged scheduled castes and tribes students find it more difficult to win admission to high performance colleges than they do to more mediocre institutions even though State government programmes reserving places for them give them a certain advantage.

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN HOSTELS

(1) Indiscipline tends to be markedly

low in colleges without hostels; it tends to be markedly high in colleges with a small proportion of their students in hostels. As the proportion of students in hostels increases further, indiscipline declines, but remains appreciably higher than in colleges where no students live in hostels. The proportion of the indiscipline cases represented by colleges with no students in hostels (16.9 per cent) is less than half their proportion of all colleges (37 per cent).

(2) Performance is higher in "residential" colleges than in non-residential colleges. The proportion of the high performance sample represented by colleges with 35.6 per cent or more in hostels is approximately 29 per cent as against only 20 per cent of all colleges. (The correlation between proportion of hostel students and pass percentages is 0.300 at 0.05 significance level.)

Students attending colleges without hostels tend to live scattered around a city or town, many with families or relatives. They are less in touch with each other, tend to have fewer common grievances (inadequate living facilities cannot be blamed on the college), and find it harder to concert with each other. Colleges with limited hostel facilities may provide a source for the generation of grievances and a nucleus for leadership and organisation, but lack of community spirit and college loyalty that is often associated with the residential colleges. However, the high concentration of students in hostels makes organisation and communication sufficiently easy so that, everything else being equal, they remain more prone to concerted action with respect to a variety of causes.

The higher performance in "residential" colleges may be related to the fact that they are often older, established, colleges whose students come from relatively privileged homes and are relatively talented and well-educated.

RURAL-URBAN LOCATION

(1) Colleges situated in urban areas are more susceptible to indiscipline than are those situated in rural areas. (See also Table 19.)

(2) Location does not affect performance.

AGE OF COLLEGES

(1) Recently-established colleges tend to be more disciplined than older colleges. Colleges one to 10 years old, form only 23 per cent of the indiscipline

pline cases, while they account for 49 per cent of all colleges.

(2) Students at recently-established colleges perform less well than those at older colleges. Colleges one to five years old represent only 13 per cent of the high performance cases, while they represent 21 per cent of all colleges. The proportion of older colleges in the high performance sample is equal to or higher than their proportion of all colleges.

Young colleges are often small. They do not have the high student concentrations which are an element in indiscipline. Grievances have had less time to accumulate, and students less time to organise. Since new colleges often cater to new entrants into education, their constituents may feel grateful simply to have found a seat. So far as performance is concerned, unless they are exceptional institutions like the Indian Institute of Technology, with special financing and support, young colleges cannot command the faculty and facilities of older institutions. They also tend to recruit the less able students.

STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO

(1) Indiscipline tends to rise with the proportion of students to faculty. It may decline again when the student-teacher ratio rises above 36, but our 'n' is too small to tell with confidence. (The correlation between student-teacher ratio and per cent passing is -0.228 at the 0.05 significance level.)

(2) Performance tends to decline as the proportion of students to faculty increases.

Both these findings confirm what is generally believed both in India and abroad, *viz.*, that low student-teacher ratios are good for education and institutional morale.

PROPORTION OF PRE-UNIVERSITY COURSE/INTERMEDIATE STUDENTS TO STUDENT BODY

(1) Pre-university or intermediate programmes are associated with lower educational performance and higher institutional indiscipline. The proportion of the high performance cases represented by colleges free of such programmes is 17 per cent above their proportion of all colleges; their proportion of the indiscipline cases is 16 per cent below their proportion of all colleges. (The correlation between proportion of Intermediate/PUC and per cent passing is -0.384 at a significance level of 0.05.) Colleges having between 30.6 and 60.5 per cent of their

students in PUC or intermediate classes have strikingly high levels of indiscipline; their proportion of the indiscipline sample (47.4 per cent) is nearly double their proportion of all colleges (25.9 per cent). However, when colleges are primarily PUC or intermediate (over 60 per cent PUC intermediate) the level of indiscipline tends to decline.

In the Indian educational system, where most schools extend only through 10 or 11 years, the one or two year pre-university course or the two-year intermediate course prepares students for entering the first degree programme. In terms of their academic standards and the age of their students, these programmes approximate American or European high school rather than college education. As a result, they require teachers, who may aspire to being collegiate intellectuals or professionals, to teach elementary courses on a mass scale. PUC or intermediate students are often unattached to the institution because they are in transition to a first degree course somewhere else. Both factors undermine the development of a specifically collegiate atmosphere that can produce intellectual and institutional commitment among both students and faculty.

BOOKS PER STUDENT IN THE LIBRARY

(1) Taking books per student as an index of per capita educational facilities, the more books per student, the higher the level of performance. The proportion of high performance cases represented by colleges, with 21 or more books per student, was markedly higher (43.6 per cent) than their proportion among all colleges (32.5 per cent), while the proportion of such colleges in the indiscipline universe (24.2) was lower than their proportion of all colleges (32.5). (The correlation between books per student and percentage passing was 0.211 at an 0.05 significance level.)

These results confirm the general impression that high quantity and quality of facilities promotes performance and morale.

COLLEGE EXPENDITURE PER STUDENT

(1) Colleges, whose expenditure exceeds Rs 1,000 per student per annum, tend to have markedly higher performance and slightly lower indiscipline than colleges whose expenditure falls below Rs 1,000. With an expenditure of over Rs 1,000, colleges' proportion of the high performance cases (35.8

per cent) appreciably surpasses their proportion of all colleges (24.7 per cent). (The correlation between per student expenditure and per cent passing is 0.240 at an 0.05 significance level.)

This finding, like the earlier one, on books per student and faculty per student, confirms the view that more adequate educational resources affect performance and morale.

EXPENDITURE PER TEACHER ON SALARIES

(1) In colleges, whose expenditure per teacher is above Rs 4,000, both performance and indiscipline tend to be higher. Since faculties qualified to teach for the MA level on the whole draw higher salaries than those reaching PUC and BA students, Table 17 probably confirms the finding in Tables 7 and 8, *viz.*, that colleges with post-graduate students have both higher performance and higher indiscipline. (The correlation between expenditure on teachers' salary and percentage passing is 0.174 at 0.05 level of significance.)

However, this Table also suggests that, in colleges on the lowest economic level, where teachers on the average draw no more than Rs 2,500 per year, indiscipline tends also to be very low. Colleges where teachers draw such low salaries constitute 18.1 per cent of all colleges yet they constitute only 4.5 per cent of the indiscipline sample. Apparently a certain level of hope and possibility, as suggested by higher teacher salaries, is necessary for high levels of discontent.

PROPORTION OF STUDENTS PASSING THE EXAMINATION

(1) Colleges with a high number of students passing exams have a slightly higher rate of indiscipline than colleges where few students pass. Colleges where almost all students pass again have a very low rate of indiscipline.

This finding bears out what we have already stressed in connection with Tables 5, 8, and 16, that high performance and indiscipline are not, in all cases, inversely related.

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS FROM RURAL AREAS

(1) The level of indiscipline is higher in colleges with substantial numbers of rural students than in those without them. However, in colleges that have mostly or entirely rural students, indiscipline is neither especially high or low. The proportion of high perform-

ance cases represented by colleges with a low, 0 to 25.5, per cent of rural students (41 per cent) is above, and the proportion of the indiscipline cases (21.4 per cent) below, their proportion of all colleges (36.6 per cent). This trend is reversed for colleges having between 20.6 and 70.5 per cent rural students, in which performance is hardly affected but indiscipline increases strikingly by comparison with their proportion among all colleges. (The correlation between proportion of students from rural areas and percentage passing is not statistically significant.)

Since most colleges (80 per cent) are located in urban areas (see Table 11) rural students must leave home to attend them. These findings suggest that, where large numbers of rural students find themselves in an unfamiliar environment, away from the usual social definitions and restraints, and exposed to the new problems of town life, they are a potent factor in unrest. Where a college caters mainly to urban students already familiar with an urban environment, indiscipline appears to be lower. Where it caters mainly to rural students — and colleges doing so are probably the 20 per cent or so located in rural areas, where there is less dislocation and adaptation — indiscipline again appears to be lower.

To summarise: The colleges in our

indiscipline list were more likely to be male or co-ed than female; to be government rather than private; to be arts and science rather than professional (except Ayurvedic — traditional medical); to include at least some proportion of post-graduate students rather than BA students only; to have a small percentage of students in hostels rather than a strong residential pattern or no hostels at all; to be located in urban rather than rural areas; to be above 10 years old rather than below; to have low proportions of faculty to students; to have low proportions (21 or less) of books to students; to spend Rs 1,000 or less per student per annum; to have high proportions (30 to 60 per cent) of pre-university or intermediate students ("prep" students) rather than none or a strong predominance of such students; to have high proportions (20 to 70 per cent) of rural students rather than few or a strong predominance of such students.

The colleges in our high performance list do not always appear statistically at the opposite end of a continuum from the high indiscipline cases with respect to particular characteristics of the college environment; but they generally do. A few characteristics apply to colleges noted for both high performance and high indiscipline. Thus, government colleges and colle-

ges including some proportion of post-graduate students are notable for both high performance and high indiscipline. But with respect to most characteristics, high indiscipline and high performance do appear, to varying degrees, as opposites: male-female, low versus high proportion of faculty to students; low versus high proportion of books to students; low versus high expenditure per student; high proportion versus no pre university or intermediate students; high versus low proportion of rural students. In addition, the high performance colleges are more likely to be teachers' training, engineering, medicine and Ayurvedic colleges, than arts and science, commerce, or law; to have low proportions (less than 5.5 per cent) of scheduled castes and tribes' students; and to be strongly residential colleges (35.6 and above in hostels).

These findings do not tell us at what point, historically, students may become a political class. But they illuminate those factors in the college environment that are more likely to incline students toward adhering, or not adhering, to their role as students and throw light on those conditions that, in India, have been associated with student unrest and a readiness for activity as a political class.



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