

**POLITICAL STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS AND
VIOLENCE AMONG EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS**



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Acronyms

MSF	Muslims Student Federation
NSF	National Student Federation
CPP	Communist Party of Pakistan
DSF	Democratic Student Federation
LSF	Liberal Student Federation
IJT	Islami Jamiat Talaba
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
PSF	People's Student Federation
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PMLN	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
ISF	Insaf Student Federation
MQM	Mutahidda Qoumi Movement
YCL	Young Communist League
CPN (UML)	Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist–Leninist)
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
FUNCIPPEC	Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif
YAC	Youth Association of Cambodia
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union

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Abdur Rehman

Abstract

Violence crept into Pakistani educational institutions owing to the deep-rooted rivalry among political student organizations. Twin cities- Rawalpindi and Islamabad- had witnessed many gory scenes in its educational institutions in the past. However, the changing academic environment owing to mushrooming of private sector of education coupled with socio-political exigencies helped transform these organizations. A few examples can be found in the history where student politics played a remarkable role to encourage the development of civil society, to train their members for political activity and to promote appropriate ideas among the youth. Theories of “Rational choice” and “Bounded Rationality” were employed to explain the dynamics of student politics. Four political student organizations were included in this study with the sample of 120 respondents. Almost thirty members of each student organization filled the questionnaire. Despite the confrontational policy of these organizations vis-à-vis their counterpart organizations and administration, an attitudinal change was observed due to the eroding support for the hardliners within these organizations. This study revealed that the ideology had given way to interest-based politics. Student organizations seemed to be in quest of resolving their identity crises through the peaceful political activities and demonstrations. The study found that the females also actively participated in these student organizations.

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Chapter No. 1

INTRODUCTION

Youth always remains the vital organ for any political institution and every political party has its political youth wings. For these youth wings they always look towards the educational institutions where they can gain the strength regarding their political activities. There might be two reasons to target the educational institutions. First, amateur can easily be used to fulfill the political purposes, as the political elites do not want to change the traditional dynamics of power so they only use these youth wings to achieve positive or negative pursuits. However, the situation can be other way around as they might want to make new leaders for the new generation who can know the pulses of current situation better than them. So far as the case of Pakistan is concerned, the political elite is following the preceding notion to some extent.

Student politics has very rich history in the Pakistan. In 1947 the only established political student organization was Muslim Student Federation (MSF) - a brainchild of All India Muslim League. The purpose to establish MSF was to assist All India Muslim League in undivided India through recruiting young students so that they might play their active role in the struggle of making Pakistan. By the 1950s, disintegrating Muslim League owing to intra-party tussles & vested interest oriented grouping in the party played havoc to split Muslim Student Federation into many expedient factions.

So in 1950 another student organization came into being which was National Student Federation (NSF) that was student wing of Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP). It is also known as the oldest progressive student organization

in the history of student politics. This wing also gains the electoral supremacy in student union elections throughout 1960s' and early era of 1970s. It also played a pivotal role in the movement against General Ayub Khan's dictatorship in 1968.

NSF broke into factions and gave birth to Democratic Student Federation (DSF), which was formed by the students of Dow Medical College, Karachi. It only aimed at addressing the academic problems of students by filling the gap created through MSF factions. It also demonstrated rallies for some progressive causes. After sometime in 1973 another faction came into being in the name of Liberal Student Federation (LSF).

Islami Jamiat Talaba (IJT) the student wing of *Jamaat-e-Islami* (JI) is another dominant student organization in Pakistan. More than one time it faced crushing defeat in student union elections by NSF. Owing to politics of factionalism in NSF, IJT gained electoral momentum in student politics in 1970s and played a crucial role in the movement against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977. IJT is being accused of introducing the firearms in student politics when some of their members fired upon a rally of NSF in University of Karachi.

“IJT members were also instrumental in providing young men for the Army's violent anti-Awami League campaigns (the “Badar & Shams Brigades”), created to help the Army to harass and weed out Bengali nationalists.” (Paracha 2008: Online)

Islaami Jamiat Talaba, in the cloak of religion, succeeded to attract manifold students partially owing to the Islamization policy of Zia regime but the policy of ‘enlightened moderation’ coupled with liberalization of society in Musharraf’s era helped to squeeze their support and control in educational institutions.

People’s Student Federation (PSF) is the student wing of Pakistan People’s party (PPP) formed in 1972. She gained momentum since its inception and exhibited her electoral strength in interior Sindh and Northern Punjab by placing herself at the top in the student union elections. She played her role vehemently against the anti-Zia agitation and many of their members flogged and tortured by the Zia regime in late 1970s. They also found their strength in educational institutions.

Another important organization is Muslim student Federation (MSF). It is divided among many factions of the Muslim Leagues. However the dominant faction is the student wing of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) that headed by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, three times elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. Previously, MSF supported Ayub Khan till 1965 but due to public hue and cry against Ayub’s regime, MSF joined hands with NSF against Ayub in late 1960s. Zia regime also supported MSF in his tenure and helped them revive in the educational institutions of Punjab with full vigor.

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) has its own youth wing, which is called *Insaf Student Federation* (ISF). It is not deep rooted or embedded in educational

institutions of Pakistan but since last three years they are politically more active to make their presence felt in the corridor of education. PTI tries to utilize the educated youth to spread their political promotion and youth in colleges and universities is attracted towards their political agenda. The researcher includes their student organization as well due to the new emerging power on political face of the country. Although it is in the embryonic stage of political development yet it does have dire effect on educated youth. Till April 2008 they also have 400 female members in ISF among 2000 male members. Kamran Khan Chief organizer of ISF in Punjab University quotes his leader Imran Khan “continue to making addition in your numbers and keep up accelerating your educational capabilities, your opponents get reversed” (Iqbal 2009: 97).

In the course of analyzing the rich history of political student organizations, most of the time we come across the fact that political parties use them as a docile toy for violent means to destabilize their counterpart student organizations. For this end, political parties weaponize them and also provide them legal assistance in any troublesome situation. This is the reason that they have the courage to get involved in any type of conflict either with other student wing or administration of educational institution. The rise of violence in campuses resulting in a ban on student union helped to delink student organizations with their mentors outside the campus to some extent.

1.1 Research Question

The main purpose of political student organizations is to provide political education to its member and give awareness of the civic values (Janusauskiene 2002, R. Brennen 2006, Douglas 1995). However, myriads of examples can be found for their violent roles on campuses (Baig 2008, Hussain 2002, Ganga 1999). These organizations also promote ideology of their mother party on campuses. To what extent the political Student Organizations in Pakistan are adopting the above roles is the curiosity in this research project.

1.2 Objectives

- 1- To analyze the political attitude of student organizations in educational institutions.
- 2- To find out the reasons of politicization of students on campuses.
- 3- To uncover the factors responsible for making public sector educational institutions a stronghold of political student organizations.
- 4- To ascertain the causative factors responsible for confrontationist policy of these political student organizations vis-à-vis administration.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Plethora of political student organizations came to the fore in Pakistan to serve different purposes. Their logic of existence varied from each other ranging from ethnicity, linguistics, religiosity to serving political ends. Indulgence in politics being banned in the educational institutions as per the interim order of Supreme Court of Pakistan on 1st July 1992 put a question mark on the legality

of those student organizations, which were pursuing a political agenda in the premises of educational institutions. Multifaceted character of political student organizations ranging from their ability to use cultural symbols to mobilize masses as in the case of China to their ability to render services as a militia to different political parties resulting in tens of thousands of civilian casualties as in the case of Republic of Congo expose their juxtaposing attributes of being boon or bane for society in general and educational institutions in particular. These juxtaposing attributes of student political organizations attracted researcher's attention to uncover the true character of these organizations in Pakistani educational institutions. Furthermore, the striking shift in the political demeanor of exuberant youth as exhibited in the general election 2013 by their active participation in the election process ranging from political campaigning to voting divulges political consciousness among the youth. How this fervor is created among the youth and how they are mobilized to this extent needs to be investigated. Needless to say, political student organizations have a role to play in it. According to Pakistan Economic Survey 2011-12, there are 135 universities in Pakistan with an estimated enrollment of 1,413,478 students including 701,769 female students. Mushrooming of universities coupled with the ever-increasing strength of female students on the campuses has forced these student organizations to revisit their violence ridden past as rightly pointed out by Iqbal (2009) that democratic transition coupled with ever changing horizon of higher education is propelling these political

student organizations to revisit their strategies on campuses. He outlined following factors responsible for tactical change in the strategies employed by political student organizations on campuses:

1. Huge number of female student
2. Mushrooming of private universities
3. Ethnic identity and class division has become less dominant
4. Rapid urbanization occurs and bombardment of media exposure
5. Ideological affiliation getting weaker due to the end of cold war

(Iqbal 2009:10).

Chapter No. 2

REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Student wings are the junior leagues of political parties in many parts of the world. Their stated position vis-à-vis their functions in the educational premises are to promote civic formation, defense of youth rights and promotion of the party ideology. They are usually well organized and relatively closed to exterior activity, engaged in constant struggle to defend the party ideology through well-knit group activity. Youth have become a vital organ for any political party to achieve their positive and negative pursuits. These political wings are designed to perpetuate the hegemonic influence and to maintain the structural position of political parties in any area. The example of Bangladesh is vivid in this case that after the liberation war of 1971 every political party has its own youth militant wings to counter the wing of opposition parties.

Hussain (2002:05) argued that all political parties have their own armed wings whose main onus is to strengthen their political base and to counter the cadre of rival political parties. In the context of South Asian countries youth wings of political parties served as a militant wings due to their ideological differences and political rivalries. Muniruzzaman (2009:05) opines that arm culture was institutionalized in Bangladesh by Ershad's government by distributing arms to its student front to counter opposition and to tighten his control over politics.

However, these political wings pave a way towards political violence in Bangladesh and politics of violence becomes a culture embedded in the roots political system. The situation of Pakistan is similar to the region where most

of the political parties have indulged in ethno-religious and ethno-linguistic conflicts. One of the main reasons of ethno-linguistic conflict is the lack of regional focus policies on the behalf of state.

Unintentionality of the state to address the regional grievances aggravated the already beleaguered situation. MQM (Mutahidda Qoumi Movement) in Karachi capitalized on the inability of the governments to address *muhajir* concerns and created a support base on ethnic lines. MQM also employed the militant strategies to counter the opposition. Baig (2008:39) argues that *mohajir* Nationalism was driven by “street culture” of the youth being captivated beguiled by the avenue for the expression of their “masculinity and physicality” created by MQM militant tactics and political gathering and thus resulted in undermining the state authority.

Baig (2008:15) claims that their militant base camp was at Liaqatabad and state launched the operation clean up against MQM which affect the popularity of the party but the condition goes on worsening. Similarly other parties have their own political wings, which aimed to main their political base.

Khattak (2013) argued that *Jamaat-i-Islami* (JI) had always been successful in making its foothold strong in educational institutions on account of her organized and well-planned strategy on restructuring of its student’s wing.

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has made two groups of its student wings, one on school and college level and another for universities, higher education level. The party's move indicates the importance of youth in future election.

Political party youth wings have the potential to play a positive role in Nepal, said Pottie (2011:01) but the ground realities are contrary to his claim as the YCL (Young Communist League) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist–Leninist), CPN-UML youth force is engaged in interference with tender processes, taxation and other activities that undermine political space, development and public security. Levit (2011:01) is of the view that financial gain being the pursuit of various activities of Maoist affiliated Young Communist League (YCL) and, to lesser extent CPN-UML as well, has put the security of many districts on the threshold of precariousness and vulnerability.

In Philippines, youth participation propensity towards politics is still limited. The National youth commission was established by the virtue of “Youth in National Building Act” of 1995, hailed as landmark legislation in the promotion of youth welfare. The absence of youth wings is the weakness of political parties and do not have strong youth wings that offer young people an attractive entry point into politics. This ultimately limits participative democracy in the country.

The “*Kabataang Barangey*” is a youth wing created by Filipino President Marcos' decree in 1975 with the intent of quelling the opposition to his

dictatorial regime rather than giving a definite role to youth in community affairs (Valesco 2013:87).

In Cambodia, All three main political parties have youth wings: the Youth Association of Cambodia for Cambodian People's Party (CCP), FUNCIPPEC youth of *Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif* party (FUNCIPPEC), and Khmer Nation Youth movement of the Sam Rainsy party. The Youth association of Cambodia (YAC), the oldest of the three political wings, started in 1978. Former Prime Minister Hun Sen founded the YAC and was its first president.

YAC, being a brainchild of Cambodian ruling party CCP, had the privilege of state backing till 1993 which helped to perpetuate it at grassroots level through financing its different activities coupled with the formulation of committees at national, provincial, district and even on school level. A special political education unit is responsible for propaganda and ideological training of its active members. According to YAC, they had 800,000 members at that time with very close international contacts with youth and students from Russia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Vietnam (Eng 2013:11).

In Botswana Women and youth face difficulties in trying to be active in politics. Youth tends to be used therefore in party choirs and this refers to the youth who have no schooling (Somolekae 2006:09).

In United Kingdom, it was observed that between 1991 and 2001 the Labor Party youth organization attracted manifold youth to its cadre on account of introducing direct action politics whereas the youth membership of the Conservative Party, taken as a combination of the membership of the Young Conservatives and the Conservative Students has squeezed in the same period because of diminishing interest of youth in conventional party politics. Parry, Moyser and Day corroborated this idea by pointing to their own findings regarding youth under participation in ‘conventional’ party politics and over-participation in direct action politics such as pressure group action (Lamb 2002:25).

Albeit Kyrgyzstan witnessed the formation of many youth wings of political parties from 2005 to 2007 yet paucity of strategic visioning marred the operationality of these youth wings. Ten leading political parties formed youth wings. Youth wings of political parties are not so vibrant but are still visible actor in the political arena. On account of being in embryonic stage of development, youth wings are unable to lead young people by offering any innovative programs coupled with their inability to be a source of trust and support for various societal youth groups (Alymbaeva 2010:06).

Republic of Congo witnessed massacre of its civilians amounting to 2,000 owing to recruitment of armed wings or private militias by the political parties to settle their political animosities in 1993-94 (Ganga 1999:03). President Lissouba established his own party militias known as Cocoye, the Zulus and

the Mambas (Ganga 1999:4-5) Cocoye had access to army personnel that's why they are more powerful as compared to Cobras. All militias asserted that they are the real soldiers. At the advent of presidential election in Congo in 1997, government forces surrounded the compound of Sassou-Nguesso to comply with the orders of President Lissouba and confronted with the private militia "Cobras" of Sassou-Nguesso resulting in tens of thousands of civilian casualties ended with the installation of Sassou through the invasion of Angolan socialist regime.

Student federations in Chile have institutionalized place in Latin American political hemisphere. Fech, an organization of student of University of Chile in Santiago, is a major student group involved in political affairs of the country. Fech is eminently a political body. All students automatically become the member of Fech after matriculation in University. Being sponsored by different political groups, these militants are known sympathizers of political parties. "Instability, disorganization and disunity have been chronic characteristics of student efforts in Chile" (Bonilla 1960:25).

In Tanzania youth played an adorable role. Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) formed on 7 July 1954 led by young action group in 1956 named as TANU Youth League provides vigorous support to the party. Despite their participation in many social welfare activities coupled with volunteer led programs of nation building to break the colonial trends and volunteer led programs of nation building, TANU Youth League developed unfavorable

reputation all over Tanzania for interfering people's ordinary life on account of their vigilantism in 1964. Role of youth in history of Dar es Salam is marred by political opportunism, managed vigilantism coupled with alternating idealism (Brennen 2006:23).

In Lithuania, the overwhelming majority of youth political organizations established as independent social youth organizations with only exception of Young Conservative League existing within the Home Union (Lithuanian Conservatives) yet they are affiliated with mother parties ideologically as well financially. The main goals are to encourage the development of civil society, to train their members for political activity and to promote appropriate ideas among the youth (Janusauskiene 2002:08-11).

Lithuanian youth political organizations performs varied functions ranging from the proliferation of party ideology, training youth for political career through political education, working as 'a middle step' in the careers of young politicians through recruitment to the political parties, representing youth problems and make it echoed in the parliament through their 'mother party', participating in the activities of 'mother parties' especially in electoral campaigns to socializing the youth by offering diversified activities encompassing sports and tourism.

With reference to Latin America, students always remain a political actor over there and they played instrumental role in overthrowing the dictatorial regimes in Cuba, Colombia and Venezuela between 1957 to 1959. A propitious

environment is provided to students at Latin American University for engaging in debate and action concerning National and International political issues.

“Increased exposure to a politically active milieu, within academic field which confront problems inherent in the social structure, increases favorable attitude of students toward a political figure who symbolizes a radical re-ordering of the society” (Walker 1965:19).

As most of the universities in Latin America are sponsored by state and thus rendering students exposed to considerable direct or indirect political influence. The linkages between prevailing political system, student politics and the system of higher education influence student political behavior.

Focal point of prevailing mode of investigation of student politics is non-institutionalized mode of political behavior along with the social-psychological attributes of participants completely ignoring the significance of structural links between political system, university, institutionalized and non-institutionalized student politics. Weinburg and Walker (1969) try to unmask the interplay of different structural parts in student politics of Latin America by focusing on the structural linkages of these parts. “In the Latin America and to some extent in the French cases, the stronger structural linkages between university and/or national politics provide a stronger basis for the organization of protest and increase the probability of protest movement partial success” (Weinburg and Walker 1969:19).

In China, student organizations, having elaborated organizational capacities, mobilized the masses through employing cultural symbols having resonance with public coupled with action on public stage for creating collective consciousness to join their movement in 1989 at Tiananmen. The strategy to employ cultural symbols worked and from every rank and file people joined their movement.

“Organizationally oriented social movement theorists have focused on the existence of organizational structure and linkages as the critical variables in the emergence of collective action (...) Other social movement perspectives have emphasized the extent to which cultural symbols create mass consciousness” (Douglas 1995:450).

1. Public sector universities, being sponsored by the state, provide more space for political maneuverings to student organizations showing the strong linkages between political system and universities.
2. Students find the way to express their “masculinity and physicality” through political student organizations.
3. Students studying under less supervision and less academic pressure are more prone to be politicized on campuses.

4. Greater level of political activities on campuses is associated with individual holding left of center political views.

Chapter No. 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter deals with the theoretical framework, in which theory is used to understand and predict the phenomenon. It can be used to challenge or extend the prevailing knowledge.

3.1 Theory of Bounded Rationality

Herbert Simon coined the term of bounded rationality. He is of the view that in the process of decision-making, rationality is not at optimum level due to the paucity of information, limitation of cognitive structure of brain and bounded time span that they have in making decision. So these are ponderous encumbrance in the way of making decision. The perfect and propitious decision is difficult to make in the bony arms of reality. Simon dexterously divulged the two parts of human brain, which take part in human actions i.e. rational and emotional.

So from this assumption it can be stated that human is partly rational or optimal level of rationality is occurring on his/her part. This shows his/her complexity in solving the problems. For Simons bounded rationality somehow linked with uncertainty on the part of individual (Dequech 2001:911-915).

3.1.1 Application

Researcher's review suggests that violent behavior on the part of youth is due to the emotional part of their brain. As in this age group people are more enthusiastic and more passionate and the political parties who channelize their enthusiasm to meet their ends by using them as a puppet for their own pursuits.

So the bounded rationality on the youth's part paved the way for violent political incidents. According to another assumption if a person have limited choice so he/she is bound to adopt one option among them because it is necessary for him/her to survive in this very situation. Bounded rationality emerged with the advent of cognitive school of thoughts whose founders are Burner and Piaget. Cognitive psychology deals with high mental processes rather than with stimuli and responses of behaviorism.

3.2 Rational Choice Theory

American sociologist George Casper Homans grounded the rational choice theory in 1961, with the help of proposing the basic outline of exchange theory. Later on, Blau, Coleman and Cook contributed the extended and well-established form of the theory in 1960s and 1970s. Every society has its own institutional structure and proper arrangement in which individual seeks to attain his/her goals. Purposive nature of humans helps them have sets of hierarchically arranged preferences, or utilities. Humans make rational calculations in choosing lines of behavior. Emergent social phenomena, social structures, collective decisions, and collective behaviors are ultimately the outcome of rational choices made by utility-maximizing individuals (Scott 2000:11).

Rational part of the mind suggests that people always involve in cost and benefit analysis before taking any decision. Every individual action based on conformity or deviancy is an outcome of his/her rational calculation.

Hierarchically arranged preferences provide, as the result of opting for rationality, a solid ground for reaping the harvest of rational choices to individuals prone to maximize the utility. On the other hand Whiteley (1995:227) argued that although rational choice model give a great understanding of political participation, yet it provides the incomplete picture of political participation.

3.2.1 Application

In analyzing the rationality of joining the student organization, bundle of reasons pop up ranging from peer group influence, family background, political interests, desire to exercise power, propensity to express their masculinity, adherence to political ideology, channelizing the youth exuberance through intoxicating power, to survival strategies necessitated by circumstances. Some of these reasons are rationally motivated while others are driven by emotions.

3.3 Propositions

- 1- Bounded rationality is that when the people are bound to choose within the limited options out of circumstantial necessity to survive in a particular environment, he/she has to join one of the student organizations. Adolescent-cum- masculinity expression pushes students to join political student organizations.

2- Rational choice is that people have cost and benefit analysis before joining any of political student organization. If the cost is low and benefit is high then the person will join the organization and vice versa.

3.4 Hypotheses

Null hypothesis (H^0)

There is no relationship between student organization of political parties and political violence.

Alternate Hypothesis (H_1)

There is a relationship between student organization of political parties and political violence.

Chapter No. 4

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND OPERATIONALIZATION

This chapter is dealing with the existing concepts in the study and how the researcher used these concepts within the context of his/her research.

4.1 Conceptualization

4.1.1 Student Organization

According to Pittsburg State University student organization is defined as:

“A group consisting of at least 80% students; however, the president, chairperson, or chief officer must be a full-time student. If membership is open to persons outside of the college campus community, all officers must be students” (Pittsburg State University 2013: online).

However, the definition of Southeastern Louisiana University is bit different from the definition Pittsburg State University that is student organization is defined as:

“A group of students joined together in pursuit of a common purpose, which is in support of the mission, goals and core values of Southeastern, guided by a lawful constitution under the direction of chosen officers and officially recognized by the Division for Student Affairs” (Southeastern Louisiana University 2013: online).

The definition of Southeastern Louisiana University is bit explanatory as compared to the definition of Pittsburg State University in which this

organization must have some common mission and goals and it also has constitutional legality. According to Pittsburg State University, the memberships of student organizations may only be extended to persons outside the campus proviso all the officiating members are students and only one-fifth members may be taken from the community.

Student organizations or student committees are made up completely of University students, obligated for the conduct of various sponsored activities in its entirety coupled with the daily affairs of the group. These student organizations may not extend its membership to non-students. Faculty and staff are given more say in the role of an advisor in these student organizations as compared to their restricted role of a voting member. In addition to this, registered student organizations require to maintain at least six active members to acquire approved Registered Student Organization (RSO) status from the University. The active membership must comprise at least two officers, a President and Treasurer, and all officers must meet the requisites for co-curricular participation (University of Arkansas 2013: online).

Arkansas University dexterously given the layout and salient features of student organization, the difference from two other definitions is quite clear that student organization must be responsible for sponsored activities. Faculty and staff member should be given an active role of 'advisor'. The organization should be registered within the educational institution. Member must ensure participation in co-curricular activities. Commonality between the definitions

of Pittsburg State University and University of Arkansas is the conditional permission to extend its membership to the community outside the campus.

4.1.2 Political Violence

According to Tilly, it is rarely a solo performance, since it usually grows out of the interaction of opponents contending for power within the political system (Perry 1975:225).

According to the definition of Tilly, political violence is the outgrowth of the power struggle between different political players competing within a political system.

Political violence, for Muller, represents violence directed against the regime (the structure of political authority) and/or against particular authorities occupying positions in the regime (Perry 1975:228).

Muller's perspective on political violence is different from that of Tilly. He is of the view that violence directed against the authoritarian rule to dismantle the power structure or against the persons sitting at the helm of affairs in that autocratic state is political violence.

Douglas Bwy defined political violence that is "relatively 'organized' such as guerilla war, government crises events, and revolution, and that which is relatively 'anomic' such as riot, strike, demonstrations and the like" (Perry 1975: 230).

Bwy's definition has given two strands of political violence: one is relatively organized political violence as in the case of guerilla war, government crisis events, and revolutions and the other is relatively anomic generated out of chaos and lawlessness as in the case of riot, strike and demonstrations. Tilly talks about tug of war between different political players; Muller talks about violence directed towards autocratic rule and Bwy talks about organized and anomic violence. The commonality between Muller and Bwy's definition is that violence is directed against the regime to cripple it.

4.2 Operationalization

4.2.1 Student Organization

The student organizations that researcher selected for this research undertaking did not fulfill the criteria of the above-mentioned definitions. In this research, four student organizations were selected namely; IJT, MSF, PSF, and ISF. All these organizations had no legal authority on campuses or educational institutions. They are still banned by the state. Therefore, educational administrations never gave them a degree of freedom to enjoy carrying out their activities within the premises of educational institutions. These student organizations selected on account of their political backing and strong hold on campuses as compared to their counterpart organizations meet the criteria given in the above-mentioned definitions regarding its membership for students only and active participation in co-curricular activities. However,

these student organizations do not meet the criterion of lawful constitution and staff and faculty had no concern with these organizations.

4.2.2 Political Violence

Student organizations, selected for this research undertaking, indulged most of the time in political violence throughout their history. The universe of this research fulfills the criteria of above-mentioned definitions of political violence. These organizations wage strike and demonstrations against the administration to make them round to agree to their proposals. Zia regime used violent means to curb these political student organizations resulting in violent clashes between the Zia regime and some student organizations like PSF and IJT. They also meet the criterion of tug of war between with their counterpart organizations to take control of the campus to achieve their politically motivated goals and some of their members also want to join practical field of politics by using these organizations as a political nursery. They show their power through strikes, riots and demonstrations. These political student organizations most of the time involved in political violence either to grab power or to counter the tactics of dictatorial regimes to curb and eliminate them.

Chapter No. 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodology is the structured knowledge and logically organized methods to determine different procedures and techniques for the purpose to have enough knowledge about the research that had been conducted. The researcher used the suitable techniques and analytical methods require exploring the data.

5.1 Research Design

In the research study quantitative research method was chosen, which helped to cover the fundamentals of the research study. The quantitative approach focuses on the collection and analyzing of numerical data. The researcher used the selected technique for the data collection.

5.2 Universe

The selection and specification of the population is essential step. This research study was conducted in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Both are twin cities and both are equally affected with the incident in any city. The study of the universe consists of four major political student organizations among the public educational institutions of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Islami Jamiat Talaba (IJT), Muslim Student Federation (MSF), People's Student Federation (PSF), Insaf Student Federation (ISF) in Islamic International University Islamabad, Federal Government H-8 College for Boys Islamabad and Gordon College Rawalpindi is included in the universe of researcher. Total population of researcher was about 2000 members of political student organizations.

5.3 Unit of Analysis (Target Population)

Students, who were the member of above mentioned political student organizations and actively participate in the political activities within the campuses, were unit of analysis of the researcher. The sample of the study totally concerned with only those respondents who were the active member of political student organization that researcher mentioned in his questionnaire.

5.4 Sampling Design/ Sampling Technique

The researcher was used convenience sampling technique. It is non-probability sampling technique. In which the subjects were selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher. It was hard to locate selected respondent because they were not easily accessible or willing to give info. Therefore, convenient sampling seemed to be appropriate.

5.5 Sample Size

The researcher collected the data from a chosen sample of one hundred and twenty 120 respondents. The sample size of one hundred and twenty respondents was enough to get required information about the critical issue of political student organization among educational institutions. In the received data there were no high variations in the responses of the respondents; it was the reason that sample size of 120 respondents was well enough. If the variation in the received data is high then the researcher must be enlarge his/her sample size to counter the variations in responses of received data.

5.6 Tools for Data Collection

A questionnaire was a proper and systematic tool used to collect the data in organized arrangement. In the research study a structured questionnaire was developed. It was given to the respondent in order to acquire the relevant and appropriate data. The English language was selected for the construction of questionnaire. The questionnaires were distributed by the researcher among the respondents, face to face in their educational institutions.

5.7 Tools for Data Analysis

Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for data analysis. The researcher used this scientific approach to ensure the relevance and precise data was collected and presented in tabulated form.

5.8 Techniques for Data Analysis

The researcher used Pearson Chi-Square to check the compatibility of data and then carried out the analysis process in SPSS.

5.9 Pretesting

The researcher took ten respondents in order to pretest the questionnaire. The respondents were taken in such a way that they were also belonging to the area of research where the researcher did his research.

5.10 Opportunities and Limitations of the Study

The researcher faced a lot of difficulties regarding the demographic information. So to rebuild their trust is the ethics of research. To keep it in mind the researcher gave the freedom to its respondent regarding sharing their demographic profile. Second limitation is that researcher had to fill the questionnaire face to face by its respondents, if he not do so, than many of respondent skip few questions specially those subjective in nature. It was truly difficult for the researcher.

5.11 Ethical Concerns

The researcher performed the study keeping in view the moral constraints. The researcher- through politeness and respecting respondents- built trust. The researcher avoided personal questions and forbade to use abusive language. The feedback given by the respondents remained confidential with the researcher. The researcher successfully created a friendly environment with respondents in order to get unbiased data.

Chapter No. 6

RESULTS

This chapter is comprised of about significant findings of the researcher regarding the particular social problem.

6.1 Findings

Table 6.1 Age of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent
15-25	97	80.8
26-35	23	19.2
Total	120	100

According to the table 6.10, almost 80 percent respondents were between the age of 15-25 years and 19 percent respondents were between the ages of 26-35 years, which means that myriads of respondents belonged to youth.

Table 6.2 Education of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Graduate	32	26.7
Post Graduate	88	73.3
Total	120	100

Table no 6.2 illustrates that 26.7 percent respondents were doing their graduation in different collages of Rawalpindi and Islamabad and 73.3 percent respondents were doing their post-graduation in public sector universities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

Table 6.3 Family income of the Respondents in PKR.

	Frequency	Percent
Less than or Equal to 25000	49	40.8
25001 to 50000	47	39.2
Above 50000	24	20
Total	120	100

Table no 6.3 illustrates that 39.2 percent respondents had the family income of less than or equal to 25000 PKR. Most of them were doing their graduation from different collages and a fewer of them were enrolled in universities for securing their graduate degree. Same percentage was for the second group whose family income was between 25001 to 50000 PKR implying that they belonged to lower middle class. Only 18.3 percent of respondents' family income was above 50000 PKR, which means that they belonged to upper middle class and 3.3 percent of respondents who were not convenient to give the information regarding their family income.

Table 6.4 Family Dependents of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Less than or Equal to 3	77	64
3 to 6	32	27
above 6	11	9
Total	120	100

Table no 6.4 illustrates that 64.2 percent respondents had less than or equal to 3 dependents in their family. 21.7 percent of respondents had 3 to 6 dependents in their family and 5.0 percent respondents had more than 6 dependents and 9.2 percent respondents are not convenient to give the answer regarding dependent family member.

Table 6.5 Numbers of Student Organizations

	Frequency	Percent
1 to 5	42	35
6 to 10	41	34.2
More Than Ten	37	30.8
Total	120	100

Table no 6.5 illustrates that 35.0 percent respondents responded that 1 to 5 student organizations were there in their educational institutions. Whereas 34.2 percent were of the view that 6 to 10 student organizations were there in their educational institutions and 30.8 percent respondents answered that in their college or university more than 10 student organizations were present.

Table 6.6 Affiliated With Organizations

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	118	98.3
No	2	1.7
Total	120	100

Table no 6.6 illustrates that 98.3 percent of respondents were those who were affiliated with any of the political student organization present on campus. Almost all respondents were affiliated with any of political student organization and only 1.7 percent of respondents were not affiliated with any of those organizations.

Table 6.7 Affiliated With Whom

	Frequency	Percent
IJT	28	23.3
MSF	33	27.5
PSF	29	24.2
ISF	30	25
Total	120	100

Table no 6.7 illustrates that 23.3 percent, 27.5 percent, 24.2 percent, 25.0 percent of respondents were those who were affiliated with *Islami Jamiat Talaba*, Muslim Student Federation, People’s Student Federation and *Insaf* Student Federation respectively.

Table 6.8 Motivation

	Frequency	Percent
Family Background	16	13.3
Peer Group	43	35.8
Political Awareness	59	49.2
Any Other	2	1.7
Total	120	100

Table no 6.8 illustrates that 13.3 percent of respondents were affiliated with their student political organization due to their family background. 35.8 percent of respondents were affiliated with their organization due to their peer group affiliation. It is the second highest percentage in response. 49.2 percent of respondents were affiliated because of political awareness. This is the sign for active political system within the campuses. It was highest percentage in response. It implies that growing political awareness among youth is signifying the salience of student political student organizations. 1.7 percent of respondents were affiliated with these organizations owing to any other reasons, which they did not mention.

Table 6.9 Officiating Members

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	71	59.2
NO	49	40.8
Total	120	100

Table no 6.9 illustrates that 59.2 percent of respondents were officiating members of these organizations or they were in the hierarchical structure of these organizations. This much of the percentage of the officiating members alerted the researcher and on further probe, the reality came to the surface that even some of the members of these organizations were considering themselves as officiating members because for them, members and officiating members were one and the same thing so that is why the percentage of designated

member was little bit high. 40.8 percent of respondents were just the members of these political student organizations.

Table 6.10 Quantifying the Organizational Presence

	Frequency	Percent
25 to 50	20	16.7
51 to 75	17	14.2
More than 75	83	69.2
Total	120	100

Table no 6.10 illustrates that 16.7 percent of respondents answered that their organization had presence in 25 to 50 educational institutions. Mostly ISF members went for this option because they were not deep rooted in educational institutions. 14.2 percent of respondents were of the view that their political student organization was actively working in 51 to 75 educational institutions. A majority of 69.2 percent responded that their organization was active in more than 75 educational institutions. Most of the IJT members opted for this option, as their organization was strongly deep rooted in the education system.

Table 6.11 Social Activities

	Frequency	Percent
Sports Gala	3	2.5
Book Fairs	7	5.8
Admission Guidance Camp	22	18.3
All of Them	88	73.3
Total	120	100

Table no 6.11 illustrates that 2.5 percent of respondents answered that they have done the activities like Sports gala after the affiliation with this organization. 5.8 percent respondents answered that they have done the activity of book fairs after the affiliation. 18.3 percent respondents have done the activity of admission guidance camp. 73.3 percent respondents have done all these activities after the affiliation of this political student organization. So it can be concluded here that these organizations also helpful to provide healthy environment in campuses for students.

Table 6.12 Change and Political Participation

	Frequency	Percent
Confidence Building	36	30
Enhance Public Relations	27	22.5
Become Islamist	20	16.7
Enhance Political Tenacity	11	9.2
All of them	26	21.7
Total	120	100

Table no 6.12 illustrates that 30.0 percent respondents were of the opinion that confidence building increase in them. This is the change they feel after the affiliation with this organization. 22.5 percent respondents were of the view that their public relation enhanced. 16.7 percent respondents were of the view that they become Islamist after the affiliation with this organization. This option was mostly chosen by the members of Islami Jamiat Talaba. 9.2 percent of respondents said that their political tenacity enhanced after the affiliation. It

can be considered better to some extent for our half-backed political system. 21.7 percent of respondents were chosen the last option “All of Them”.

Table 6.13 Student Organization useful for Society

	Frequency	Percent
To some extent	33	27.5
To great extent	83	69.2
Not at all	4	3.3
Total	120	100

Table no 6.13 illustrates that 27.5 percent respondents answered that these student organizations are better for civil society to some extent. A large no of respondents 69.2 percent were of the view that these political student organizations were useful for society to great extent and provide the reason that better political system govern a society towards the right path. These organizations provide the political awareness through which a society can know better about its political rights and duties as well. 3.3 percent respondents replied that these political student organizations not at all useful for society.

Table 6.14 Volunteer Youth Organization

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	85	70.8
No	35	29.2
Total	120	100

Table no 6.14 illustrates that 70.8 percent respondents were of the view that there should be the existence of volunteer youth organizations in a society. 29.2 percent respondents said that there should not be the existence of volunteer youth organization.

Table 6.15 Education and Politics

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	93	77.5
No	25	20.8
Do not Know	2	1.7
Total	120	100

Table no 6.15 illustrates that 77.5% respondents were in the favor of that politics and education should move on a parallel way. On the bases of plethora of responses in favor of political activities on campuses, it can be inferred that it is not perceived as a threat for the pursuance of quality education. 20.8 percent were of the view that education and politics should not move on a parallel way. 1.7 percent said that they did not know about that.

Table 6.16 Targeted Area

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	97	80.8
No	16	13.3
Do not Know	7	5.8
Total	120	100

Table no 6.16 illustrates that 80.8 percent respondents said that the targeted area of their organization were only students. The reason was quite simple as their tag depicts their target area “Political student organization” anyone who was student fulfilled their criteria. 13.3 percent respondents were of the opinion that no targeted areas of these organizations. 5.8 percent did not know this.

Table 6.17 Age Criteria

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	41	34.2
No	70	58.3
Do not Know	9	7.5
Total	120	100

Table no 6.17 illustrates that 34.2 percent respondents answered that there is an age criteria of membership of organization whereas 58.3 percent respondents responded that there is no age criteria except the student must be enrolled in university. 7.5 percent did not know about this question.

Table 6.18 Better for Society

	Frequency	Percent
Volunteer Youth Organization	17	14.2
Student Organization	45	37.5
Political Student Organization	13	10.8
All of them	45	37.5
Total	120	100

Table no 6.18 illustrates that 14.2 percent respondents were of the opinion that volunteer youth organization are better for the society. 37.5 percent respondents said that student organizations are much better for the society. 10.8 percent respondents were of the view that political student organizations are better for the society. There is slight difference between student organization and political student organization. Student organizations are those, which only works for student affairs whereas the political student organizations work for political parties. On account of their structural composition they are labeled as the sub-political parties. 37.5 percent said that all of them have their role for the betterment of the society. Keeping in view the responses in favor of student organizations as well as ‘all of them’ for rendering better services for social uplift as compared to their counterpart organizations, it can be inferred that the member of student political organizations deem ‘student organizations’ a better platform for the betterment of society.

Table 6.19 Organizations in Conflict

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	69	57.5
No	44	36.7
Do not Know	7	5.8
Total	120	100

Table no 6.19 illustrates that 57.5 percent respondents said that Yes, these organizations are indulged in some sort of conflict. 36.7 percent answered that no, they never indulged in any type of conflict. 5.8 percent did not know about this question.

Table 6.20 Issues of Conflict

	Frequency	Percent
Ideological Conflict	70	58.3
Minor issues like playing Music	10	8.3
On Female issues	21	17.5
None of them	19	15.8
Total	120	100

Table no 6.20 illustrates that 58.3 percent respondents said that they have ideological basis of conflict with the other organizations and majority who chose this option was associated with ISF and to some extent other also. 8.3 percent of respondents claim that the reason of conflict with other organizations is minor issues like playing music. Majority who choose this option was associated with Islami Jamiat Talaba. 17.5 percent respondents said that the major reason of conflict is female issues. They found the rivalries regarding particular females but many of them do not admitted so. 15.8 percent respondents opted the option “None of Them”. It can be inferred from the response of majority that major reason of conflict with other organizations is still ideological differences. However, all political parties in Pakistan are the

right wing parties so it is difficult to operationalize ideological conflict on their part.

Table 6.21 Perception regarding Violent Activities

	Frequency	Percent
Because you lost your legality	37	30.8
Perception is based on the Rumors	65	54.2
Do not know	18	15
Total	120	100

Table no 6.21 illustrates that 30.8 percent respondents were of the view that prevailing perception vis-à-vis the indulgence of student political wings in violent activities is because of their losing legality in terms of their existence on campuses implying this perception borne out of their illegality of existence after Supreme Court interim order in 1992 whereas more than half of the respondents (54.2 percent) were of the opinion that this perception was based on rumors and had nothing to do with reality. 15.0 percent did not know that why this phenomenon prevailed.

Table 6.22 Beneficiaries of Student Organizations

	Frequency	Percent
Students	65	54.2
Educational Institutions	30	25
Political Institutions	18	15
None of them	7	5.8
Total	120	100

Table no 6.22 illustrates that 54.2 percent respondents were of the view that their beneficiaries are students. 25.0 percent respondents were of the opinion that educational institutions are their beneficiaries. 15.0 percent respondents had the opinion that political institutions are their beneficiaries. 5.8 percent respondents said that no one is their beneficiary. It can be conclude from above mentioned results that ultimately students are the beneficiaries of political student organizations.

Table 6.23 Are Student Organizations Puppet to Political Parties?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	26	21.7
No	84	70
Do not Know	10	8.3
Total	120	100

Table no 6.23 illustrates that 21.7 percent respondents were of the view that they are being used in someone else hand. Youth has always been radicalized and used for the political purposes. Every party has their own interest and on the basis of this interest they use their youth wings as a tool. On the other hand majority of 70.0 percent deny this phenomenon that they being used in someone else hand. 8.3 percent said that they do not know about this phenomenon of being used as a puppet. Keeping in view the results, it can be inferred that the members of political student organizations are still sure that

they are not being used as a puppet or being hoodwinked to their political parties.

Table 6.24 Student Organization and Career Counseling

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	87	72.5
No	16	13.3
Do not know	17	14.2

Table no 6.24 illustrates that 72.5 percent of respondents were of the view that their organization many time organized the career counseling program in their educational institutions. 13.3 percent said that their organization never engaged in career counseling program in this institution. 14.2 percent respondents did not know that either there organization engaged career counseling program or not. There was the element of alienation of members with their organization.

Table 6.25 Conflict with Admin

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	79	65.8
No	39	32.5
Do not know	2	1.7
Total	120	100

Table no 6.25 illustrates that 65.8 percent of respondents were of the view that they have conflict with admin also said that the conflict with admin is quite obvious. 32.5 percent respondents answered that their organization has no

conflict with admin. 1.7 percent respondents did not know about this phenomenon. So it can be concluded here these organization still indulged in a confrontation with the admin.

Table 6.26 Reasons of Conflict

	Frequency	Percent
Legal rights conflicts	47	39.2
Do not cooperative	49	40.8
Cross their limits	18	15
None of them	6	5
Total	120	100

Table no 6.26 illustrates that 39.2 percent respondents were of the view that reason of conflict with administration of educational institution was based on legal rights, which indicates that students are well known about their legal rights. 40.8 percent respondents were of the view that conflict is by the virtue of non-cooperative attitude of administration. Most of the respondents were opted this option and it can be inferred that the reason of non-cooperative attitude on the part of administration might be the clash of interests. It can be viewed as common practices on the part of public sector administration. 15.0 percent respondents said that administration intervening into the matters of political student organizations which provide them the reason of confrontation. 5.0 percent respondents were marked the option “None of Them”.

Table 6.27 Political Affiliation

	Frequency	Percent
<i>Jamaat-e-Islami</i> or Organization of Islamic Conference	28	23.3
Pakistan Muslim League	33	27.5
Pakistan People's Party	29	24.2
Pakistan <i>Tehreek-e-Insaf</i>	30	25
Total	120	100

Table no 6.27 illustrates that 23.3 percent respondents were of the opinion that they are politically affiliated with *Jamaat-e-islami* or organization of Islamic conference. 27.5 percent respondents said that they are politically affiliated with Pakistan Muslim League. 24.2 percent respondents were of the view that they are politically affiliated with Pakistan People's party. 25.0 percent respondents were answered that Pakistan *Tehreek-e-Insaf* is their mother party. This table clearly manifests the affiliation of political student organizations with their mother parties outside of the campus.

Table 6.28 Work for Political Parties in Campuses

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	44	36.7
No	54	45
Do not know	22	18.3
Total	120	100

Table no 6.28 illustrates that 36.7 percent respondents said that yes, politics in campuses mean working for political parties. On the other hand majority respondents 45.0 percent answered that politics in campuses does not mean working for political parties. Both options have high percentage of response. 18.3 percent respondents did not know about this phenomenon. It can be inferred that political activities on campus do not mean only working for political parties rather it can have its own internal political dynamics.

Table 6.29 Funding Source

	Frequency	Percent
MNA's MPA's	71	59.2
Your Former members	39	32.5
Anyone else	10	8.3
Total	120	100

Table no 6.29 illustrates that 59.2 percent respondents said that there source of funding is MNA's MPA's. It depicts that the elected member of National Assembly owned them and help them through funding. 32.5 percent respondents were of the view that their former members of organization are the source of their funding and help them out in every crucial matter. 8.3 percent respondents were of the view that there is anyone else who is source of their funding. It clearly manifests that political student organizations are extension of political parties as the bulk of their financing is coming through political channels.

Table 6.30 Number of Conflicting Incidents

	Frequency	Percent
1 to5	87	72.5
6 to10	22	18.3
More than 11	11	9.2
Total	120	100

Table no 6.30 manifests that 72.5 percent respondents were of the opinion that 1-5 conflicting incidents occurs when he joined this organization till now. 18.3 percent respondents were chose the option of 6 to 10 conflicting incident occurs after the affiliation of them till now. 9.2 percent respondents said that more than 11 conflicting incidents occurs after their affiliation till now. It can be inferred from the result that somehow member of political student organizations still involve in violent incident.

Table 6.31 Reason of Ban on Political Student Organizations

	Frequency	Percent
Democracy and Dictatorship conflict	50	41.7
Engage in trouble making activities	42	35
Anti-State activity	3	2.5
Do not know	25	20.8
Total	120	100

Table no 6.31 illustrates that 41.7 percent respondents said that due to democracy and dictatorship conflict in Pakistan's early history was the reason

of their ban on campuses. In 1984 government of General Zia-ul-Haq banned these student organizations. Majority of respondents marked this option. 35.0 percent respondents said that the reason of ban on these student organizations was that they were engaged in trouble making activities. 2.5 Percent respondents said that the reason of their ban is that they were involved in anti-state activity. 20.8 percent respondents were of the opinion that they did not know about the reason of ban on these organizations which is something uncertain that they did not know even about the history of their student political organization.

Table 6.32 Political System on a right way or not

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	85	70.8
No	32	26.7
Do not know	3	2.5
Total	120	100

Table no 6.32 illustrates that 70.8 percent respondents were of the opinion that this political system is going on a right way than there is a question that what is their struggle about. 26.7 percent of respondents were of the view that this political system is going not on the right way then there is another question that why there political parties take part in elections of 2013. 2.5 percent respondents did not know about that the system either going on the right way or not.

Table 6.33 Casting Vote

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	113	94.2
No	7	5.8
Total	120	100

Table no 6.33 illustrates that 94.2 percent of respondents have casted their vote in general election 2013. The main reason to ask this question is to analyze the phenomenon of maturity and passionate attitude of youth towards politics. So the absolute majority of youth cast its vote in general election 2013 which is better for political system in Pakistan. 5.8 percent respondents were those who have not casted their vote. However, it was very nominal percentage.

Table 6.34 Existence of Organizations in both Public and Private Sector

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	39	32.5
No	81	67.5
Total	120	100

Table no 6.34 illustrates that 32.5 percent respondents were of the opinion that their organization exist in both public and private educational institutions. But 67.5 percent respondents clarifies researcher's claim regarding political student organization that they are much more in public or state owned educational institutions.

Table 6.35 Why in Public Sector of Education?

	Frequency	Percent
Administrational Gaps	64	53.3
Less Academic Pressure	24	20
Less Supervision	5	4.2
Do not know	27	22.5
Total	120	100

According to the table no 6.35, now moving towards the reason of political student organizations among state owned educational institutions. 53.3 percent respondents were of the view that administrational gap is the main reason of nourishment of political student organizations among state owned educational institutions. In private sector of education the administration did not provide the room for such activities. 20.0 percent respondents were said that less academic pressure in state owned educational institutions is the reason that provides the legal grounds to these types of organizations. On the other hand private sector of education keeps the student busy in some other healthy activities. 4.2 percent respondents said that less supervision is the reason of their existence in state owned education sector. The less supervision might be owing to the huge number of enrolling students in vulnerable circumstances. 22.5 percent respondents were those who did not know that why political student organizations are mostly held in state owned sector of education.

Table 6.36 Eager to show Masculinity and Physicality

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	84	70
No	29	24.2
Do not know	7	5.8
Total	120	100

According to the table no 6.36, this is the question that depicts conflicting behavior of the member of these organizations. 70.0 percent of respondents endorsed the assumption regarding psychological stimulation behind their conflicting behavior, and were of the view that yes, their age fellows are eager to show masculinity and physicality. It is the age group effect. 24.2 percent respondents were of the opinion that it is wrong our age fellows are not eager to show masculinity and physicality. 5.8 percent respondents were those who did not know about that. It can be inferred from the above mentioned results member of these political student organization admitted that young people are somehow anxious due to their age factor and ready to show their enthusiasm even in physical form.

Table 6.37 Take part in Political Meetings

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	84	70
No	36	30
Total	120	100

Table no 6.37 illustrates that 70.0 percent of respondents said that they attend the meeting of their political parties. The reason to ask this question is just to analyze the relationship of political parties and their student wings and the attachment political parties and its sub-political wings. 30.0 percent respondents were those who do not attend the meeting of their political parties and most of them were just members and have weak affiliation as compared to the other members. It can be concluded here that students in campuses closely attached to their mentors outside the campuses.

Table 6.38 Point of View get Importance

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	95	79.2
No	25	20.8
Total	120	100

Table no 6.38 illustrates that 79.2 percent respondents were of the view that their point of view gets importance in the meeting of their political parties. This enhances their attachment towards the party and realizes them that they are the important part and asset for the party. Whereas, 20.8 percent respondents said that their point of view did not get any importance because they did not fall in the hierarchical order nor designated members of their organization. It depicts the element of uncertainty on their part. So it manifests that those members who are not get involves in the decision making process might be used as the purpose of man power.

Table 6.39 Doing Activities in Meetings

	Frequency	Percent
Slogans	8	6.7
Man Power	66	55
All of them	46	38.3
Total	120	100

Table no 6.39 illustrates that 6.7 percent respondents answered that they are being used for raising slogans in public meeting of political parties. However, a clear majority was of the opinion that they are being used for man power to show the strength of political party in its public meetings. 38.3 percent respondents said that they did all the activities mentioned in the options.

Hypothesis Testing

Significant Level $\alpha = 0.05$

Political Affiliation * Eager to show Masculinity and Physicality

Cross Tabulation

Eager to show Masculinity and Physicality

Political Affiliation	Yes	No	Do not Know	Total
Jamaat-e-Islami or Organization of Islamic Conference	12	14	2	28
Pakistan Muslim League	25	6	2	33
Pakistan People's Party	27	1	1	29
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	20	8	2	30
Total	84	29	7	120

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.216a	6	0.004
Likelihood Ratio	20.697	6	0.002
No. of Valid Cases	120		

a. 4 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.63.

H⁰: There is no relationship exists between political affiliation and showing the masculinity and physicality.

H₁: There is a relationship exists between political affiliation and showing the masculinity and physicality.

Conclusion

The above table illustrate that the Pearson chi-square value is less than the alpha value $p=0.05$, which shows that our null hypothesis is accepted. Therefore no relationship exists between political affiliation and showing the masculinity and physicality. The value is significant one.

Work for Political Parties in Campuses * Reason of Conflict

Cross Tabulation

Reason of Conflict

Work for Political Parties in Campuses	Legal rights Conflicts	Do not Cooperative	Cross their Limits	None of them	Total
Yes	7	23	13	1	44
No	39	5	5	5	54
Do not Know	1	21	0	0	22
Total	47	49	18	6	120

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	72.949a	6	0
Likelihood Ratio	80.381	6	0
No. of Valid Cases	120		

a. 4 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.10.

H^o: The null hypothesis is that relationship between working for political parties in campuses and reason of conflict with admin is not exist.

H₁: The alternate hypothesis is that relationship between working for political parties in campuses and reason of conflict with admin is exist.

Conclusion

The above table illustrates that the value of Pearson chi-square is .000. Which is less than the alpha value $p=0.05$. Therefore, the value determined that it is highly significant and our null hypothesis is accepted. Therefore no relationship exists between working for political parties in campuses and the conflict of these organizations with admin.

Used as Puppet or not * Funding Source

Cross Tabulation

Funding Source

Used as Puppet or not	MNA's MPA's	Your Former members	Anyone else	Total
Yes	21	2	3	26
No	46	36	2	84
Do not Know	4	1	5	10
Total	71	39	10	120

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	36.926a	4	0
Likelihood Ratio	29.478	4	0
No. of Valid Cases	120		

a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .83.

H⁰: The null hypothesis is that there is no relationship between what is funding source and you are being used in someone else hands.

H₁: The alternate hypothesis is that there is a relationship between what is funding source and you are being used in someone else hands.

Conclusion

The above table illustrates that the value of Pearson chi-square is .000. Which is less than the alpha value $p=0.05$. So the value determined that it is highly significant and our null hypothesis is accepted. So there is no relationship exist between what is their source of funding and you are being used in someone else hands.

Your Beneficiaries * Political Affiliation

Cross Tabulation

Political Affiliation

Your Beneficiaries	JI or OIC	PML	PPP	PTI	Total
Students	21	18	13	13	65
Educational Institutions	4	3	15	8	30
Political Institutions	3	6	1	8	18
None of them	0	6	0	1	7
Total	28	33	29	30	120

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34.446a	9	0
Likelihood Ratio	34.572	9	0
No. of Valid Cases	120		

a. 8 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.63.

H₀: The null hypothesis is that there is no relationship between whom you are politically affiliated and who your beneficiaries are.

H₁: The null hypothesis is that there is a relationship between whom you are politically affiliated and who your beneficiaries are.

Conclusion

The above table illustrates that the value of Pearson chi-square is .000. Which is less than the alpha value $p=0.05$. So the value determined that it is highly significant and our null hypothesis is accepted. That there is no relationship exists between whom you are politically affiliated and who are your beneficiaries.

Organizations in Conflict * Reason of Ban on Student Organization

Cross Tabulation

Reason of Ban on Student Organization

Organizations in Conflict	Democracy and Dictatorship Conflict	Engage in Trouble making Activities	Anti-State Activity	Do not Know	Total
Yes	26	33	2	8	69
No	22	7	0	15	44
Do not Know	2	2	1	2	7
Total	50	42	3	25	120

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.966a	6	0.002
Likelihood Ratio	20.78	6	0.002
No. of Valid Cases	120		

a. 6 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.

H⁰: The null hypothesis is that there is no relationship exists between organization indulged in conflict or not and the reason of ban of these type of student organizations in Pakistan.

H₁: The null hypothesis is that there is a relationship exists between organization indulged in conflict or not and the reason of ban of these type of student organizations in Pakistan.

Conclusion

The above table illustrates that the value of Pearson chi-square is .000. Which is less than the alpha value $p=0.05$. So the value determined that it is highly significant and our null hypothesis is accepted. That there is no relationship exists between organization indulged in conflict or not and the reason of ban of these type of student organizations in Pakistan.

Motivation * Change feel after the Affiliation

Cross Tabulation

Change feel after the Affiliation

Motivation	Confidence Building	Enhance Public Relations	Become Islamist	Enhance Political Tenacity	All of them	Total
Family Background	2	3	2	2	7	16
Peer Group	4	5	17	8	9	43
Political Awareness	28	19	1	1	10	59
Any other	2	0	0	0	0	2
Total	36	27	20	11	26	120

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	57.040a	12	0
Likelihood Ratio	60.701	12	0
No. of Valid Cases	120		

a. 11 cells (55.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

H⁰: The null hypothesis is that there is no relationship between what motivation behind the affiliation is and what type of change students feel after affiliation.

H₁: The null hypothesis is that there is a relationship between what motivation behind your affiliation is and what type of change you feel after affiliation.

Conclusion

The above table illustrates that the value of Pearson chi-square is .000. Which is less than the alpha value $p=0.05$. So the value determined that it is highly significant and our null hypothesis is accepted. That there is no relationship exists between what motivation behind your affiliation is and what type of change you feel after affiliation.

Activities * Number of Conflicting Incidents

Cross Tabulation

Number of Conflicting Incidents

Activities	1 to5	6 to10	More than 11	Total
Sports gala	2	1	0	3
Book fairs	5	0	2	7
Admission Guidance Camp	9	10	3	22
All of them	71	11	6	88
Total	87	22	11	120

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.127a	6	0.003
Likelihood Ratio	18.707	6	0.005
No. of Valid Cases	120		

a. 7 cells (58.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .28.

H⁰: The null hypothesis is that there is no relationship exists between activities you have done after the affiliation and number of conflicting incident occurs, when you joined this organization till now.

H₁: The alternate hypothesis is that there is a relationship exists between activities you have done after the affiliation and number of conflicting incident occurs, when you joined this organization till now.

Conclusion

The above table illustrates that the value of Pearson chi-square is .003. Which is less than the alpha value $p=0.05$. So the value determined that it is significant and our null hypothesis is accepted. That there is no relationship exists between activities you have done after the affiliation and number of conflicting incident occurs, when you joined this organization till now.

Numbers of Student Organizations * Political Activities should be or not

Cross Tabulation

Political Activities should be or not

Numbers of Student Organizations	Yes	No	Do not Know	Total
1 to 5	23	19	0	42
6 to 10	20	17	4	41
More than ten	31	6	0	37
Total	74	42	4	120

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.548a	4	0.002
Likelihood Ratio	19.035	4	0.001
No. of Valid Cases	120		

a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.23.

H⁰: The null hypothesis is that there is no relationship exists between number of student organization in an educational institution and political activities should be in educational institutions or not.

H₁: The alternate hypothesis is that there is a relationship exists between number of student organization in an educational institution and political activities should be in educational institutions or not.

Conclusion

The above table illustrates that the value of Pearson chi-square is .002. Which is less than the alpha value $p=0.05$. So the value determined that it is significant and our null hypothesis is accepted. That there is no relationship exists between number of student organization in an educational institution and political activities should be in educational institutions or not

Chapter No. 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Discussion

Student politics is banned in Pakistan due to its violent past history and facing huge challenges to justify their logic of existence, because the holistic scenario is altogether changed, as the ideological politics is dying down on account of change in political dynamics. All these variables also affect student politics to some extent. Student politics always emerge as a governance issue for educational institutions on account of their confrontationist designs. As per the researcher's findings, an element of rigidity coupled with violence is still more prevalent in student organizations working in F.G College of Islamabad and Government College of Rawalpindi as compared to their university counterpart organizations.

On the basis of findings, it can be inferred that student politics in colleges is different from university student politics on account of adolescence- most stormy period of one's life- as the students are emotionally charged so it becomes easier for the organizations to hook them and exploit them for their nefarious designs. They even do not know about the political history of their student organization but their dedication with their organization is quite remarkable because of enticing slogans, pseudo and hollow from inside. PSF and MSF are much strong in colleges of Rawalpindi and Islamabad as compared to other student organizations. Albeit their members are still involved in different violent acts yet the frequency and intensity of violence as compared to their violent past is on a lower scale. So major finding is that there

are certain administrative loopholes which provide space to these organizations to carry out such type of activities which are detrimental for the intellectual environment on campuses. These grey areas need to be addressed.

Political activism generated through these political student organizations prior to Zia regime was lacking systematic and goal oriented politics. Coercive methods employed by the Zia regime to banish these organizations on campuses on account of their violence ridden activities was the final nail in the coffin of political activism generated through these organizations and political activities on campus started being perceived as a wastage of time. However, the situation further deteriorated vis-à-vis political activism when the educational institutions asked the students to submit an affidavits stating that they would not indulge in any kind of activity political in nature otherwise they can be rusticated from the institution and heavy fines and other penalties can also be imposed on him/her resulted in limiting the political activities on campuses.

The student political organizations despite their abhorrent perception strive for the rights of the students in the universities. These organizations provide a forum to students to challenge the unilateral policies of educational institutions: be it in the form of rising fee, dwindling hostel facilities, mounting favoritism of teachers and diminishing amount of scholarships. Through these forums, students raise their concerns regarding the one-sided policies affecting the student community.

Louis M Seagull (1970) argued that “youth today differ from earlier generation in that they are more politicized and better educated – twin factors which should produce new voters less committed to previous political patterns” as cited by Shaw (1974:66). In the case of ISF most of their members are better educated and more politicized striving to get rid of traditional political patterns of Pakistani society. They are more concerned with issue oriented politics as compared to party identification. Tag of party identification is not merely the concern of emerging youth on campuses.

In the context of third world countries, Altbach (1984:635-650) argued that those who are in authority generally views student politics as negative factor, something that should be abolished from academic arena. Although student politics affects the higher education and have the disruptive implications beyond the campus yet, viewing student politics as negative force is condemnable, because student’s political involvement can also pave a way toward the process of national building as well their political socialization.

In Pakistan’s political history, some of the mainstream leaders of national politics are the outcome of the student wings of the political parties for instance, Benazir Bhutto was the president of debating society of the Oxford university, Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed was the president of M.S.F (Muslim student federation), Makhdoom Javaid Hashmi was the student leader of the Punjab university, Mehmmod khan Achakzai was the student leader of the PSO (Pukhtoonkhwa student organization).

University is an autonomous body providing the much liberal environment to its students as compared to its suburbs. It seems to be hard for political authorities to enforce conformity in its entirety in the territory of campuses. In third world countries universities are situated almost in capital city, closer to the seats of power. It has become comparatively easier to trigger geographical-based demonstration. As the role of higher education changed and growing size of universities make easier to mobilize ample individuals on diverse localized political issues. In the case of India most activism was of campus based, which is stirred by local issues related to exams or different complaint against administration and faculty. In the third world countries political institutions are half-baked and not well established which makes easier for an organized group such as student community to have direct impact on politics.

Bleak understanding of the manifesto on the part of the members of these student political organizations and their tendency to confuse their organizational manifesto with that of their mother party are the matters of concerns for these student political organizations. To disseminate justice, knowledge and tolerance, to help youth revisit right-duty matrix vis-à-vis state and its institutions and to sensitize the literate segments of society politically are some of the important goals, which these student political organizations are trying to achieve.

Student political organizations work as pressure group on campuses. Sometimes these organizations try to champion student cause by raising voice

against the administration when their policies are completely out of tune with the ground realities. Inclusion of legislative members of provincial and national assembly in the syndicate of universities has politicized the university environment to some extent. In case of any conflict between administration and student organization, these political members of syndicate neutralize the situation proviso their interests are watched.

Quality education in Pakistani educational institutions is not suffering because of the student political organizations as per their claim and they are of the view that this blame is not in consonance with ground reality. It is an effort to use them as scapegoat for the reasons of expediency by the administration to hide their failure to provide quality education to students. Policies of higher education need to be revisited to provide quality education instead of curbing political activities on campus.

7.2 Conclusion

Ever increasing competitiveness of the society resulting in tight schedule for students on campuses to meet the requirements of demanding educational system producing anxiety to get good grades. Lessening scholarships and increasing fee are exerting extra pressure on students. Anxiety produced by the educational system can only be evaporated if some forum is provided to students for their cathartic purposes in the form of some student political organizations. The question is not lifting the ban from student organizations but now the emerging issue is that how to ensure their smooth and peaceful

representation. Keeping in view the importance of student politics in academic environment, higher education needs to revisit their educational policies. Non-violent representation of student political organizations on campuses can only be ensured; if ethno-lingual bifurcation is not fomented and female participation is encouraged. Adherence to fundamentalism, dogmatic creed and ethno-lingual divide are ponderous encumbrance in the way of soft image of these student political organizations. They have to come out of identity politics by resolving their identity crises created out of the desire to be distinguished from the rest of the organizations. The concluding remarks are that student politics is not merely a negative phenomenon. If properly channelized, it can direct the energies of youth to the nation building process through their political socialization. Given the liberty to work within the parameters defined by the state, student political organizations need to play a proactive role rather than opting for confrontation.

7.3 Recommendations

The participation of students in politics in the universities is a healthy approach as it creates awareness among students about their societal right-duty matrix. But unfortunately, violent clashes among different student political organizations resulted in goriness on campuses forcing governments and courts to banish them. However, violent ridden past of these organizations has given way to peaceful demonstrations for the rights of students on account of changing political environment, increasing strength of

female students on campuses, dwindling support for violent activities and changing educational milieu. The student organizations also serve as a nursery for the future political leadership.

Keeping in view the significance of the student politics and the concerns associated with it, here the researcher intends to give some recommendations:

1. To revive political activism among the students, it is a sine quo non to lift ban from student political organizations to mobilize geographical-based demonstrations on localized issues.
2. The student unions should be registered with the university authorities and one of its members should be taken as a representative in the university syndicate.
3. Advisory role should be given to some of the faculty members in student political organizations to channelize their energies in a more constructive way.
4. The students, who are involved in the violent activities, should be punished according to university rules to save the peaceful environment of the universities.
5. The members of the student bodies should be assigned extra duties such as arranging the quiz competitions, debate competitions, sports festivals, literary activities and other co-curricular activities to polish the skills of the students.

6. Universities should provide a forum to students for their political socialization in the form of student political organization.
7. Political student organizations should attract more female students under their banner to do away with their violent image.
8. Political student organizations should use gendered lens to design their activities.

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Annexure

Questionnaire

Political Student Organizations and Violence among Educational Institutions: A Case Study of Rawalpindi and Islamabad

Introduction

I am Abdur Rehman student of Sociology from Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad conducting a research on political student organization and violence among educational institutions.

Demographic Profile:

Name.....	Age.....	Marital status.....
Education.....	Profession.....	Family (members).....
Individual Income <input type="text"/>	Family Income <input type="text"/>	Number of Dependents <input type="text"/>

1- Is there any student organization in your institution? (If No, Skip all)

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

2- If yes, then how many student organizations are there?

- 1-5
- 6-10
- More than ten

3- Have you affiliated with any student organization?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

4- Whom organization you are affiliated?

- IJT
- MSF
- PSF
- ISF

5- What is the motivation behind your affiliation?

- Family Background
- Peer Group
- Political Awareness
- Any Other

6- What are motives of this organization?

7- Do you have any designation in this organization? (If No, Skip Q.8)

- Yes
- No

8- If yes, then what is your designation?

9- In how many educational institutions your organization works?

- 25-50
- 51-75
- More than 75

10- What type of activities you have done after the affiliation of this organization?

- Sports Gala
- Book Fairs
- Admission Guidance Camp
- All of them

11- What kind of change you feel after the affiliation?

- Confidence Building
- Enhance public Relations
- Become Islamist
- Enhance Political Tenacity
- All of them

12- Do you think political activities should be in the educational institutions?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

13- At what extent student organizations are beneficial for civil society?

- To some extent
- To great extent
- Not at all

14- Do you think volunteer youth organization should be in a society?

- Yes
- No

15- Do you think that education and politics should move on parallel way?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

16- Are your targeted area is students or anyone else?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

17- Is there any age criterion for the membership of your organization?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

18- Which is much better for society?

- Volunteer youth organizations
- Student organizations
- Political student organization
- All of them

19- Do you think that these organizations indulged in a conflict?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

20- On what issues you have conflict with other organizations?

- Ideological Conflict
- Minor issues like playing Music
- On female issue
- None of them

21- General perception is that student organizations indulged in violent activities what is your opinion?

- Because you Lost your Legality
- Perception is based on the Rumors
- Do not know

22- What do you think who are your beneficiaries?

- Students
- Educational Institutions
- Political Institutions
- None of them

23- Do you think that you are being used in someone else hands?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

24- What is your benefit to educational institutions?

25- Have your organization ever engaged in career counseling programs for students?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

26- Is there any conflict exist between your organization and administration? (if No then skip Q:27)

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

27- What is the reason of conflict between your organization and educational administration?

- Legal rights conflict
- Do not cooperative
- Cross their limits
- None of them

28- Your student organization affiliated with whom political party?

- JI or OIC
- PML
- PPP
- PTI

29- Does politics in campuses just means working for political parties?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

30- What is the source of your funding?

- MNA's
- Your Former Members
- Anyone else
- MPA's

31- In which activities this fund is spent?

32- When you joined this organization till now, how many conflicting incidents occurs?

- 1-5
- 6-10
- more than 11

33- Why there is ban on such type of organization in Pakistan?

- Democracy and Dictatorship conflict
- Engage in trouble making activities
- Anti-State activity
- Do not know

34- Why you people are being blamed for diluting primary mandate of campuses- the quality education?

35- Do you think that prevailing political system going on the right way?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

36- Are you eligible for vote?

- Yes
- No

37- Did you cast your vote in general election of 2013?

- Yes
- No

38- Do your student organizations exist in both public and private sector of education?

- Yes
- No

39- Why these student organizations prevail only state owned (public) universities?

- Administrative Gaps
- Less Academic Pressure
- Less Supervision
- Do not know

40- Do you agree that most of your age fellows eager to show masculinity or physicality?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

41- Have you attend the meeting of your political party?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

42- If yes, then did your point of view get any importance?

- Yes
- No
- Do not know

43- If yes, then Why?

44- If no, Then Why?

45- When you go into the public meetings of political parties, in which activities you take part.?

- Poster, Banners
- Slogans
- Man Power
- All of Above