

**YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND ON  
CAMPUS VIOLENCE IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF  
ISLAMABAD**



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FINAL APPROVAL

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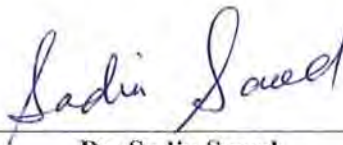


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### **Abstract**

*This study is intended to explore the sociological realities of on campus violence in the public sector universities of Islamabad. Ideally, the universities are expected to provide exposure and political education to their graduates with peaceful means. However, the Pakistani universities are experiencing violent behavior of the students. Student unions were functioning illegally in universities and they are prone towards violent activities. In Pakistan, student unions were banned by Supreme Court of Pakistan in 1993. However, students have played vital role in the country politics and many leaders emerged from student politics in universities. Meanwhile, campus violence is also dominant in mostly universities of Pakistan like Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, International Islamic University Islamabad, Federal Urdu University Islamabad, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan, and University of the Punjab Lahore. In October 2017, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad remained closed for 17 days due to student's strike. Owing to banned student unions, still some student's groups exist in universities. For example, Quaid-i-Azam University has six illegal political organizations in the shape of ethnic Councils including Punjab Council, Pashtoon Council, Gilgit Council, Saraiki Council, Mehran Council and Baloch Council. Similarly, International Islamic University Islamabad has also student organizations. These are Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT), Pashtoon Council, Saraiki Council, and Baloch Council. To understand this phenomenon, cultural violence theory has been used in this research. According to Galtung the violence is justified through some cultural aspects like religion, ideologies and languages. Qualitative research approach was used in this study through purposive sampling. Interview guide was used as a tool for data collection. A 16 students were interviewed from two universities (Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and International Islamic University Islamabad) for in-depth analysis of the on-campus violence. The on-campus violence is due to ethnic nationalism, biased and hated literature against opponent, and political hegemony. The political organizations are to maintain their dominance and hegemonic position and promote violent activities. Similarly, the existing local literature and folk lore create violent and hostile behavior among students. Ethnic nationalism and thereby ethnocentrism were also another reason of violence among students.*



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### **Abbreviations**

PEDM	Pashtoon Education Development Movement
IJT	Islami Jamiat Talba
BS	Bachelor of Science
QAU	Quaid-i-Azam University
FATA	Federally Administrated Tribal Areas
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

## **Chapter 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The prime aim of the university is to enlighten students and inculcate civic and democratic values, but the Pakistani universities are equated with violent experiences due to the political activism. Students' political behavior could affect the campus and national politics. It is not geographic and territorial issue but an international phenomenon and can be observed in many countries. Student movement in Indonesia had played greater role in bringing down President Suharto's government. In Thailand, Cuba, Korea, Europe and even in America student movements played important role in country politics. Political participation can range from voting to attend political rally, committing an act of terrorism or violence to sending a letter to a representative. State policies and universities structure give space students to select their range for political participation (Besar et al. 2015) and thereby engaging in the violent activities. Pakistani students' politics is also not exemption from the political violence.

The ratio of campus violence and clashes among students in educational institutions of Pakistan has become recurrent phenomenon. Every year violence in educational institutions is seen which has incredible loss of academic activities. In Pakistani universities, campus violence has taken the form of serious problem. Campus violence has many forms like fighting, strikes, demonstration and boycott of classes that ultimately leads to closure of university for infinite time. The violence in Pakistani universities is complex phenomenon and causes of this phenomenon vary in each university. Sometimes, conflict between students and university administration causes campus violence that results closure of university until conflict resolves. This conflict includes increase in fee, unavailability of buses, and unavailability of other necessary facilities. Sometimes, campus violence is caused due to the clashes among students which ultimately leads to closure of campus. Conflict among students can take serious physical fights among students that results in injuries and sometimes loss of life (Malik 2001).

Political participation give space for students to raise voice about their grievances and problems. This political liberalization tends to divide along ethno-regional lines this would increase the intensification of the tension between two groups. The increase in polarization between two groups fueled by the regime and press which give rise to explosion of violence in the campus. State policies regarding student political participation has been a factor for the emergence of violence in the universities (Konings 2002).

Pakistan has a long history of student politics. The student unions were present in pre-partition politics and have been active after partition. Student's activism was prominent in Ayub Khan regime. Similarly, student unions in Bhutto's era were also active. However, General Zia ul Haq banned student unions in 1984. Campus politics had become weaponized and violent in 1988 and in 1993 Supreme Court of Pakistan banned students' political activities within educational institutions (Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency 2008).

In spite of banned politics today political parties are engaging youth in political activities because more than half of the population is young. Youth have become apolitical and student politics abandoned because of increasing level of political violence among students. Although students are avoiding political participation in campus but the violence in Pakistani universities still exists. The violence is prevailing not only in Federal universities but this phenomenon can also be observed in Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Baluchistan universities. First of all, it is necessary to explore the ground realities of violence among students in educational institutions. It will be helpful to take right direction for policy makers to reduce violent incidents within educational institutions (Nauman and Rumi 2013).

It has been observed that violence phenomenon among students of Quaid-i-Azam University and International Islamic University in Islamabad was more than other Federal universities. On 22 April 2017, two student's organizations Baloch Council and Mehran Council clashed over an issue in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. This clash between two Councils injured dozens of students. Similarly, in January 2017, Punjab Council and Pashtun Council fight with each other over an issue. Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad remained close from 4 October 2017 to 20 October 2017 due to students protest against increase in fee. On 2 February, 2018 clash between Punjab Council and Pashtoon Council resulted in 11 injured students in the university (Dawn 2017).

Clashes among students in Islamic International University Islamabad have also been reported. Islami Jamiat Talba is political wing of Jamat-e-Islami and it exists in (IIUI) since its beginning. The Islamian University Student Federation consists of five ethnic base organizations. These ethnic organizations incorporate Saraiki Council, Pashtoon Council, Mehran Council, and Punjab Council. On April 04, 2018 a clash between Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT) and Pashtun Students Organization occurred on an issue of musical night and around 20 students injured in a clash.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem/Research Question**

Youth are considered as the future leadership of the country and they are expected to get democratic education. However, these adolescents are ending up with violent behavior due to their political participation. This phenomenon is contributing to violence in universities rather than learning democratic values. Students' groups are based on ethnicity fight with each other in the universities of Islamabad. These groups create hurdles in administration in the form of strike and protest. These universities administration have not control over these groups. Ultimately the clashes among these groups effect the academic sphere in the form of closure of universities. Boycott of classes, strikes, illegal demands by students and fight among students severely affect the academic activities. Does political participation among university students contributes to on campus violence?

### **1.2 Objectives**

- a. To investigate students' interests to become the member of political organization in universities in spite of banned student unions.
- b. To explore the grounded reasons of the violence among students in universities.

### **1.3 Significance of the Study**

Educated youth is engaged in violent activities in universities. It is alarming situation that youth who are the future of the country are becoming violent. It is necessary to explore the factors why they are going for violence in the universities. The Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad is a reputable university and is top ranking university in the Pakistan is facing this phenomenon. Similarly, International Islamic University Islamabad is another reputable and also facing violence incidents. Owing to these violent incident's universities remain closed. On one hand, this phenomenon is affecting academic activities while on the other hand future of the students as well as their productivity is also affecting. Therefore, it is essential to explore the factors why students take part in political activities because student unions are officially banned and why campus violence is rising. This study explored and identified the factors behind both political participation and experiencing of violence.

**Chapter No.2**  
**LITERATURE REVIEW**

## **2.1 Student Politics and On Campus Violence Globally**

Young people's political participation and its linkage with the violent acts is not a new phenomenon. The violent act can be found in various parts of the world. Especially, the developing countries are not exception from this phenomenon. The existing literature highlights diverse factors of violence on campus. Keniston and Lerner (1971) shed light on certain aspects of campus violence which included protest of students, brainwash of the students by teachers, power struggle among students and dissatisfaction with higher education system.

On contrary to above study Mulhollem (2015) described that on campus violence is due to alcohol consumption among the students, sexism, racism and homophobias in the USA. Annually 479000 student's experienced violence in American universities. Pezza and Bellotti (1995) illustrates that campus violence occurred due to three types of factors including enabling, predisposing and reinforcing factors. Similarly, some commonly held but mistaken beliefs through which campus violence is justified include that violent individuals are mentally ill, alcohol and drugs make people violent. Violence can be attributed to sexual desires and more aggressive and possibly violent partners are desirable. Similarly, faculty and administration justify the violent actions of students.

Similar to Bellotti, Wiscombe (2012: 6) narrates that violence in the universities is due to alcohol consumption, and immature behavior of the students. His findings revealed that 57% female students have experienced 229 incidents of sexual violence and they blame that all the offenders were drunk. Mostly cases are not registered because in those cases committed person is known. Further, 3 to 5 percent females in the universities experience sexual violence every year. It has been observed that sexual violence phenomenon is common in universities rather than college.

Nearly the same kind of findings was described by Rozenthal (2017: 35), who stated that almost 20% females experience sexual violence in the universities but only 4% report to the authorities of university. The main reasons to not register such events are sometimes victim think that is normal factor in the university, sometimes it is ignored because other fellows will laugh at the victim which ultimately leads to further such kinds of incidents.

Civic education also appeared as a key factor of increasing political participation among university students. Gleiber (2013) explored why students take part in politics. His study described the link between civic education and increasing political participation

among university students. Further, he reported that “we model” is also responsible for political participation of students in the university. We model includes economic, psychological, quality of education, civic engagement and opportunity factors that are responsible for the political participation of students. However, in US universities, income, wealth and employment are the main factors of the political participation of students.

California State Auditor reported that 55 U.S. universities have experienced violence on campus. Especially, sexual harassment and sexual violence from male students was dominant. Further, National Institute of Justice reported in 2007 that one in five girls are sexually harassed during university. This issue was highlighted on 22 January 2014 when president of US formed a special force for the protection for on campus violence especially sexual violence of female students from male students (Deters 2010).

According to Brady’s Civic Voluntarism Model, students take part in political activities if they have resources, interest in politics, experience and activities. In thirteenth century student’s activism was on its peak in the form of political involvement in USA. However, it was on declined in the last three decades and through civic engagement like service learning and community service students get involved in politics in the universities. Additionally, students have to face many barriers to take parts in politics. They do not know the process of politics. Politicians do not understand the issues of students and they are unsatisfied with their role in the politics (Wilson and Bryant 2008).

Fleenor (2009:15) found in his study that from 1995 to 2002 almost 61 per 1000 students have experienced violence in the universities. According to this report 479,150 students faced violent crimes, 30110 were raped, 39,280 were robbed, and 409,760 were assaulted on the campus. Owing to continuously on campus violence, public demanded a law against on campus violence. The law was later drafted and named as Clery Act (1990). The study further added that almost 35% university students reported violence issues to police after the promulgation of the act.

Jennings Gover and Pudrzenska (2007: 201) conducted a study on campus violence and its effect on student’s academic achievement using a sample of 564 graduates in University of USA. According to his findings almost 72 respondents said that they would perform better if the campus environment would have better. However, Turner (2016) narrates the effect of campus violence on student’s extra curriculum

engagement. He states that due to campus violence students do not take part in co-curricular activities like debates, seminars and other academic activities.

According to Oldham (2014) the worst on campus violence incident was occurred in Virginia Tech when a student killed 32 students and injured 15 students. Similarly, in 1966 on campus violence was introduced by Charles Whitman as he killed 14 students and wounded 31 students at the University of Texas.

Gun violence is also a big issue in the universities of USA. It has been elaborated by Lee (2015) in a study conducted in USA. His study found that from 2001 to 2005 almost 76 students killed on college and universities campuses. Further, due to handgun almost average ten students kill every year. President of Princeton University Shirly Tilghman banned and declare the gun violence on campus as public health epidemic at Culture of Violence Summit on May 28, 2013 (Lee 2015).

USA is not only country on the earth to experience on campus violence. European universities are also victim of the violence. Gland, Lecocq and Philippot (2007) conducted a study on university violence. In his study, he claims that French Education Minister said 39 universities out of 7500 were declared seriously violent and 300 were declared partially violent.

Exposure to family violence and situational reasoning are the main factors which are responsible for the violent behavior of youth in educational institution of Bangkok. He probes the causes that why youth become violent when they go in the schools, colleges, and universities. Using Hirschi's Social Bond theory's four element attachment, commitment, involvement and belief explains that attachment to family has vital role in shaping behavior if family environment is violent then it affects the youth in two ways. First through witnessing domestic violence which affects negatively and secondly, being victim of violence. Family environment has direct influence on behavior (Amaraphibal, Rujipak and Payakkakom 2013).

Campus violence as per the study of Armstrong, Hamilton and Sweeney (2006) is predictable outcome of the process occurring individually or organizational level. For instance, partying is considered as fun producing as well as source of sexual assault which student resist to criticize. He explained the issue of violence and sexual assault by using three approaches to understand the process. Firstly, one is of psychological in nature in which victim characteristics like gender role attitude, personality, sexual history all are examined. The second approach is about the rape culture in which the focus is on the consequences of rape myths and the ideas about the nature of men,

women and sexuality. Third approach see the particular contexts fraternities and bars. In this way by examining social and gender grounding of sexual assault it can be better understood that the outcome is in the process and culture breed. Reasons of sexual violence on campus. In spite of directing resources towards prevention the problem is still here and increasing day by day. Data was collected from Midwestern university which include nine months of ethnographic observation of a women floor in party dorm and 42 in-depth interviews were conducted by floor residents and 16 group interviews with students.

Duque, Vidu and Schubert (2017) studied the problem of women violence in the universities in the Spain. Gender violence in Spanish Universities was an unrecognized problem largely exist but covered in envelop because no one talk about it. People were afraid of talking on this issue. No policy and preventive measure could be taken by authority. Students and employees were leaving the university due to gender violence. The professors adopted the communicative methodology of research and analyzed the gender-based violence in universities. It is concluded that the victims are negatively affected. Their personality affected greatly as their self-esteem and self-confidence distorted by sexual assault or violence. Feeling of guilt and distrust remained in them. The presence of high number of cases in the university justify the problem and demand prompt actions to prevent and train students for reporting these cases (Duque, Vidu and Schubert 2017).

This article discusses the attribute of male sex aggression on university campus. The relationship dynamics and personality factors are closely related. There is progressive pattern of exploitation in courtship relations. For this study 291 questionnaire were filled by female students from twenty-one variant universities. More than half of the female reported that they offended during academic year at some level of erotic intimacy. The reason for being aggressive was mainly the forceful attempt at sex intercourse and girls reported 1022 offensive episodes. One other finding which is prominent that the offended girls were younger than the non-offender and newer in campus. The purpose of the study is to college girls should be trained in in formal self-reliance because victim resist to share the exploitation to anyone to avoid stigmatization by the society and family. In this way the frequency and intensity of exploitation increased by time and create psychological effects. Self-reliant girls know when to respond to the authority and others about the exploitation so training is necessary for prevention (Kirkpatrick and Kanin 1957).

Konings (2002) revealed the process of political liberalization in Cameroon. Political liberalization provide space to organize voice for multiple grievances they have for poor living and study conditions in the campus. This sheds light on the process of political liberalization mix with the ethno-regional lines. During this process the political organizations develop and affected by the circumstances. During 1990s revolt the process can understood. The deepening political and economic crisis aggravate the situation because due to economic crisis government cut the budget from the universities and in this way the students had to face the problem in this depressive and uncertain condition the students go for the protest and violence. Politics and academics are closely connected. Political leaders use the student's regime for their own purposes in return on government jobs. When at certain stage government was not able to fulfil demands of students they started violent protest. This give way to political liberalization. the conflict between two student political organization remained continue. From 1990 to 1996 the university life was paralyzed due to revolt and protests. The organizations names are changing still now but the political process is continuing (Konings 2002).

This article provides a comparative framework to analyze the institutionalized student's politics. This can be done by linking the large political environment with the university political setting. This analysis helped in observing different forms student political activity in different settings. At first comparison is made on the basis of activist and non-activists. The majority of activist tend to be brightest and able students than non-activists. The activists have high distrust on conventional roles of institutions and they avoid high institutionalized professional careers. Now youth are trying to make middle class values to work with humanistic parents and their own ideology so it is the mid-way between liberalism and conservatism. One category remained under generational conflict. Activists are not involved in generational conflict. The degree and type of student political behavior can be understanding by the seeing the political system of society and system of higher education. In some decentralized political system national student unions are weak or non-existent and high in centralized political system. This typology can be better understanding by the examples of French and Great Britain. In French the political system is short lives and unstable the universities are totally dependent on the government subsidy while in USA the recruitment is totally a public process. So, the in French it results into powerful national unions who stand for their rights from the government (Weinberg and Walker 1969).

## **2.2 Student Politics and On Campus Violence in Africa**

In Africa, student's political participation has played vital role in the country politics even many times youth political participation has changed the political structure of the country. Almost 60 percent elections from 1990 to 2015 had experienced violence due to youth political wings. This violence includes frightening to both voters and candidates, fight with security forces, physical harassment, attack on journalists, and assault on local party headquarters. The main reason for youth violence is the misuse of youth by the old politicians who use them for their own interest. Sometimes, youth becomes violent at election as they want to create space in the political arena (Ojok and Aol 2017).

Another study conducted by Hassan and Ageed (2011) to know the cause of on campus violence and its prevention especially in Zalingei University Sudan. According to the findings of this study mostly violence in universities is due to poor residential and academic environment and to some extent academic pressure causes on campus violence. On campus violence has very bad effect on students' academic performance because most of the time universities remain closed due to violence and relationships of students are disturbed. However, violence is use of the physical power in order to attain and control the power over weak by the strong.

Similarly, Bourdieu defines violence is component of power structure which has been used historically unjustly to strength the equity, peace and development. University has different types of people which have different culture, social class and family background so they ultimately go to violence to create their hegemony.

This article presented the case for the conflict, violence and peace in the African Universities. It clarifies the meanings of these terms in the peace studies. Peace studies are flexible and contextual as it can mean different things to different people. Conflict is defined as the incompatibility of needs or interest between two parties or groups. Violence is considered as the way to deal with this conflict as three main types are discussed here to make lucid idea about it. Physical or direct violence which can range from domestic violence to international violence. Structural violence is indirect violence in which damage result from social, political and economic structures in the society. In this type the structure of society is impaired by others and create damage. Cultural violence is different from above two as it is related with justification or excuses for applying physical or structural violence. It is based on the confiscatory ideology that leads towards the violence. The term peace has its own meanings in

simple terms the absence of conflict and war is called peace is a situation when structure work the development of people. It is also defined as the commitment to the non-violence resolution of conflict. This article highlighted the difference among other social sciences and peace studies as peace studies specifically give prescriptions for the future peace process and try to implement it (Harris 2010).

This article described the protest of university students in Black Africa. Communication framework was used which showed the five basic elements of the protest process. Catalyst, students, messages, targets and outcome are the basic elements. Catalyst include the environment or climate of protest. International and domestic factors play important role as catalyst. The student's attitude towards education system shows the aspect of climate protest. Rejection of education system or the positive or negative attitude towards when deviants tend to screen out from the system. Political system is also closely related to the climate of the protest. The stability and legitimacy create positive climate while the mistrust create the negative attitude. Student's background data matter a lot in analyzing the political activity. If student in past remained active then the ratio of protest and activism would be greater. Even in some cases the agencies or political parties supporting the students for political activism funding. In messages the communication process is occur may be through written communication. Second means include non-violent public demonstration at third level the boycott of classes done. at fourth students can be violent. The target of protest maybe primary or secondary. The political outcome determines the failure or success of the protest. In this manner the protest in educational system carried out (Murphy 2011).

A study conducted by Arijesuyo and Olusanya (2011) in Nigeria upon campus violence. He describes that sect, frustration, and social background are the main factors which contributes to on campus violence. Further, he describes that tertiary institutions in Nigeria are serving as emerging research institute in the field of education while at the same time cult violence has also become a burning issue in these institutions since last two decades. He used four theoretical Model to explain this phenomenon these are Ethno political Theory, Psycho Personality Perspectives, Frustration Aggressive Hypothesis, and Environmentalist Perspectives. According to Ethno Political Theory, Nigeria has multi culture society and youth has revolutionary ideas which makes them violent. Psycho Personality Perspective emphasis that those who have violent behavior are inborn violent. Frustration Aggressive Hypothesis narrates that society sets some goal when these goals are not achieved through legitimate means this leads to

frustration. Similarly, Environmental Perspective emphasizes that violence is an element which is already prevalent in the society and this environment is adopted by the youth. So, this approach ultimately blames that society is responsible for this violence.

On campus violence has been a burning issue in the universities of Nigeria since its independence. On campus violence is due to many reasons like lack of facilities at campus, lack of proper motivation from teachers which ultimately results in the form of harassment, boycotts, protest, fights among students and strikes. Further, issues which cause on campus violence are cultism, poor funding, weak rules and regulations and government policies. According to theory of relative deprivation if a person's standard of life improves his expectations also rise when expected expectations build due to social status do not meet the standard of living which ultimately leads to violence (Veras and Davis 2015).

### **2.3 Student Politics and On Campus Violence in Asia**

According to Shrivatsava (1992) student unrest and violence in Indian universities is due to three major factors. These are lack of supervision of the teachers, visiting faculty and to pass the examination for getting degree. Student's unrest in all over the world is almost due to one common factor which is gap between old and new generation. However, in India student's unrest is not for political or educational issues, some personal or meaningless issues caused campus unrest like concession in cinema house, postponement of exams and concession in attendance. Sometimes, campus violence is due to inappropriate educational environment, disrespect of authorities like parents, teachers and administrators. Sometimes, ideological and political interferences are also caused for campus unrest. However, students have played a vital role in Indian history. In 1920, when Gandhi started non-cooperative movement a large number of students participated in this movement and that was the first struggle when students participated in politics. Further, during Quit India movement student's activities were on its peak. Historically, it can be seen that all the movements during 1906 to 1919 and 1920 to 1932 that were revolutionary led by students.

In the past violence among students has been a burning issue as Syed (1975) conducted a study to explore the causes of violence in universities among students. He also focused on student leadership to know the characteristics of leadership among students in Lucknow, India. His findings revealed that leadership of students causes campus

violence because mostly student leaders were anti-social, troublemaker and rebellious in nature. According to Conspiracy theory majority of students want peaceful environment for study but student's troubles are due to student's leader. There is close relationship between the age of leader and age of the followers. If leader of an organization is young and has same age with their followers then there is possibility of violence. The researcher surveyed 220 leaders of student's organization at Lukhnow University to know their age mostly student which were leader at that time belong to age group of 20-24. Majority of the leaders were Hindus by religion and cast because Hindus are in majority in India.

Student political involvement in third world countries like India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Argentina is key issue in universities. In India, campus-based issues like poor examination system, and poor campus condition usually cause campus unrest. In third world countries universities do not function independently but these are dependent on their societies. The political system in third world countries is less dense than industrialized nations which allows students to take part in politics more effectively. Many institutions like mass media, parliament system, consumer groups, trade unions are weaker and often ineffective and educated middle class is in minority. All these factors mobilize university students to play a crucial role in politics and students' movements are considered conscience for society (Altbach 1984).

In third world countries mostly, universities are located in major cities or in capital cities which connects students to country politics. Students in third world countries are the most mobilize and politically aware group in societies. Many third world countries like China and Singapore have multi-ethnic societies and in universities as well which are also responsible for campus unrest. Students make their ethnic groups on the basis of their language which increase the possibility of violence in universities. Similarly, being a multi-ethnic population there are different ideological groups in universities which are also responsible for campus environment (Altbach 1984).

In mostly universities a certificate is mandatory at the time of enrolment which guarantees that students will not be part of any political organization. Legislation regarding political involvement of students and academic staff as well prohibits to express their political ideas on campus. Campus violence is dealt severely by political authorities with expulsion from university, repression of organization, and severe punishment or restrictions are imposed. Many countries like Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, South Korea, and Indonesia have limited the activities of student's

organization by imposing restrictions. The countries which have widely allowed activism have less threat to political structure and have less campus violence in universities (Atlbach 1984:4).

A study conducted by Zarco and Shoemaker (2012) in University of the Philippines, Diliman campus on student's organization conflicts from 1938 to 2000. Historically six deaths were recorded since 1954, five deaths occurred since 1969 due to interfraternity violence, in 1990 three hazing deaths occurred and two more in the end of 2000. The researcher collected data from Police Department, university Administration and reported incidents by other investigation authorities. Student organizations were not in the form of gangs until 1960 and violence was more common in fraternities. Mostly students were warned by their parents and teachers not to join fraternity gangs in university in 1960-1961. In 1990 student organizations became seriously violent and weapons were used by organization openly.

Technological advancement like availability and easy access of weapons to students is responsible for violence in universities. Some other factors like social change, individualism and the difference between real and ideal society caused violence among students. Students with lower background are involved in physical violence than middle class in case of any incidents. Aggressive boys mostly encouraged by their parents. In 1950 student political activism was on its peak and mostly campus violence was due to insufficient campus facilities. In India, carelessness of student leaders, hostility among students, political parties' interest, and university administration was cause of campus unrest. Moreover, education change the perception and mostly educate students have antiviolence mind (Bardis 1979).

A study conducted by Gender Studies Institute (2010) at Kabul University in Afghanistan on gender base violence in universities. Students from Universities of Kabul, Balkh and Herat were interviewed to know gender base issue in universities. Students views about gender base violence in Kabul University were females from remote areas faced harassment from male students. Some females reported that male students captured their pictures without permission. Similarly, students at Balkh University reported that there is severe sexual harassment, verbal abuse, and humiliation of sexual nature. There is lack of rules and regulations regarding gender base violence. Students are not punished if they are accused of sexual harassment. Mostly female students reported that they cannot move freely due to fear of sexual violence from male students. Students' response at Herat University regarding gender-

based violence was severe. They said campus environment is totally unsafe, female staff experienced many times harassment from male staff.

Higher Education Institutions (HEI) are effective in knowledge transfer, promoting human behavior, development, and disseminate insight cultures. University as a social institution affects the social environment and it is a place where educated, professional, technical and political leaders made. At the same time, universities are facing serious many challenges, the most challenge is campus violence or clash between students. Crime rate have been increased during 1980 and 1990 among college students. In Jordanian universities clashes among students increased due to personal or ethnic reasons. Crime rate committed by university students is increasing every year. For example, 409 crimes were committed by students which includes 11 murders, 9 attempted murder, 56-armed burglary, 7 rapes, 166 grievous harm, and 160 sexual assault in 2010. Similarly, in 2011 and 2012 these crimes were 537 and 658 respectively which indicates that violent incidents and crimes are increasing every year among university students (Yaseen and Aljouni 2013).

Another study conducted by Ramzoun (2013) in Jordan to explore social factors which urges university students to create campus unrest. The findings of the study reveal that campus violence among students is always male oriented and students of Arts discipline are likely to be responsible for campus violence. Especially, law and business discipline's students create violent environment in university. These students indulge in violent activity during free time from lectures while students of science college remain busy in their labs in every course. Another study conducted by Alshoraty (2015) to know the reasons behind campus violence in Hashemite University Jordan. His findings revealed that student groups on the basis of kinship, lack of communication, weak practice of Islamic values, and wrong socialization causes campus violence.

A study conducted by Acharya (2015) in Tribhuvan University and Kathmandu University, Nepal at student political participation regarding university governance. The findings of study revealed that student political orientation at Tribhuvan University is more intense than Kathmandu University. This official participation recognized by universities have lessen the conflict between students and university administration. At the same time, this official recognition is just for name, in both universities student opinion regarding university issues is not considered. Student representative are just consultant their opinion, feedback and comments are taken but no consideration or importance is given.

In Sri Lanka, violence against females in universities has been remained a hidden issue. In November 2013 to July 2014, several workshops on Sexual and Gender Base Violence (SGBV) have been organized in the form of seminars (Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere 2015). Similarly, another study conducted by Perera, Abeynaake and Galabada (2006: 21) in Sri Lanka at University of Colombo, his findings highlights that 55.6% students faced sexual violence during their university time. Iqbal (2012) conducted a study to explore the political attitude of university students. His findings describe that university students want to take part in politics as they are ambitious to change the political scenario of the county. They create violent environment because their issues are not properly addressed. Further, they have skills and abilities to improve the current political system in Pakistan.

#### **2.4 Student Politics and On Campus Violence in Pakistan**

Students' organizations in educational institutions are existing before the creation of Pakistan. Muslims Student Federation (MSF) was existing before the creation of Pakistan and it played role in Pakistan movement and was associated with Muslim League. After the creation of Pakistan, Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT) was formed on 23 December 1947 at Lahore and Democratic Students' Federation was established in 1948 at Gordon College Rawalpindi and later in 1950 it was extended to Karachi. Democratic Students' Organization was considered as a leftist students' organization and late it was merged into All Pakistan Student Organization. However, all students' organizations were affiliation with mainstream political on t ideological basis. For example, Muslim Student Federation was student political wing Pakistan Muslim League, Islami Jamiat Talba is still political wing of Jamat-e-Islami. Peoples Student Federation was considered the political wing of Pakistan Peoples Party. On ideological basis, Anjuman Talba Islam was its association with Jamiat Ulem e Pakistan while National Students Federation was considered leftist organization. Similarly, there were some ethnic base students' organizations which were mainly existed in Karachi like Pakhtun Student Federation, Punjabi Students' Federation, Baloch Student Organization, All Pakistan Mohajir Students' Organization, and Jiye Sindh Students Organizations (Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency 2008). These organizations registered bodies in educational institutions of Pakistan and used to participate in students' union election. Historically, students' unions played vital role in the national politics of Pakistan. Draconian West Pakistan University Ordinance of

1962 compelled President of Pakistan Field Marshal Ayub Khan and Governor of West Pakistan Malik Amir Muhammad Khan to revise the ordinance. Students Played their role in Tashkent declaration signed between Pakistan and India in 1966 which causes ouster of Ayub Khan in 1969 by Students' Unions. After the resign of Ayub Khan, student activism was on its peak in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's era. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto made students' unions as a part of educational structure and even president of students' unions was the member of syndicate. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto invited all elected students' unions president for consultation before travelling to India as a President of Pakistan for the negotiation of war prisoners. Until ban on students' unions, the activities include debates, poetry, music and music competitions other than studies. Through these type of competitions students learned multiple skills and elections in educational institutions provided political learning to students. At the same time, tolerance, and inter personal skills also provided to students in universities (Nauman and Rumi 2013).

Educational institutions worked as a nursery for political learning of student and many leaders emerged through educational institutions with low family background. For example, Mr. Javed Hashmi who was president of Students' Unions in Punjab University became Member of National Assembly of Pakistan in 1972. Mr. Liaquat Baloch who was President of Students' Unions in Punjab University with modest family background elected as Member of National Assembly of Pakistan in 1975. President of Hailey College of Commerce, Lahore Mr. Jahangir Badar elected as Senator and Member of National Assembly. Mr. Ahsan Iqbal, current Interior Minister of Pakistan was President of Engineering University Students' Unions in 1981. Mr. Ghulam Abbas a student leader in Punjab University in 1980 became the General Secretary of Pakistan Peoples Party. Mr. Altaf Hussain, the founder of Muttahida Quami Movement was member of students' unions in 1980 in Karachi University. Similarly, many Baloch leaders also emerged through students' unions like Mr. Abdul Hayee Baloch, was President of students' unions in Baluchistan (Nauman and Rumi 2013).

Student unions are officially banned in Pakistan since 1984. Originally ban on student unions was imposed in the reign of General Zia-ul-Haq. Martial Law Administrators put ban on student unions through Martial Law Orders in various zones. On January 31, 1984 ban on students' unions was imposed in Islamabad. In February 8, 1984 Martial Law Administrators put ban on student union in Punjab (Zone A) through Martial Law Order No. 1371. Students' Unions in FATA and NWFP (Zone B) were

banned through Martial Law Order No. 362 and 363 respectively. Similarly, on February 11, 1984 Martial Law Administrators put ban on student union in Sindh (Zone C) through Martial Law Order No. 227. After ban on all Zone, Federal Government planned to introduce societies in educational institutions but students' unions rejected the plan. In December 02, 1988 the Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto lifted ban on student unions from the floor of Parliament House. In 1990, elections of students' unions were not held in Karachi and rest of Sindh. In 1992, violence between Muslim Student Federation and Islami Jamiat Talba in Central Punjab and Army operation in Sindh postponed the elections of Students' Unions. On July 1, 1992, Supreme Court of Pakistan passed an interim order that at the time of admission every student will submit affidavit of not to indulge in politics in universities. Finally, on March 10, 1993 a bench of Supreme Court of Pakistan headed by Mr. Justice Muhammad Afzal Zullah banned student unions (Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency 2008).

The chapter literature review describes youth political participation and on campus violence in detail. Firstly, youth political participation and on campus violence is described globally in which all developed countries like United Kingdom, United State of America, Bangkok, Australia, Germany, and Spain are studied. According to Mulhollem (2015) annually 47900 students experience violence in universities. Similarly, according to Fleenor (2009) from 1995 to 2002 almost 61 per 1000 students have experienced violence in universities. Gun violence is also a big issue in the universities of USA. It has a long history and this is a big factor of on campus violence. From 2001 to 2005 almost 76 students killed on college and universities campuses. Further, due to handgun almost average ten students kill every year (New York Times 2007). President of Princeton University Shirly Tilghman banned and declare the gun violence on campus as public health epidemic at Culture of Violence Summit on May 28, 2013 (Lee 2015). After developed countries this phenomenon is described in detail in African countries like Sudan, Nigeria, and Cameroon. In the last, detail about student unions and campus violence in Pakistan has been described. Students' Unions have played vital role in the history of Pakistan. Many leaders emerged through students' unions. It was a platform for the students who have modest background. Mr. Javed Hashmi, Mr. Jahangir Badar, Mr. Ahsan Iqbal, Mr. Altaf Hussain and Mr. Liaquat Baloch are the examples of political leaders. Each Students' Organization was association with mainstream political party on ideological basis. Students unions were

initially banned in 1984 and later in 1993 Supreme Court of Pakistan banned Students' Unions in educational institutions of Pakistan. A bench of Supreme Court of Pakistan headed by Mr. Justice Muhammad Afzal Zullah banned student unions. The next chapter is theoretical framework in which different theories of violence are described.

**Chapter No.3**  
**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3.1 Active or Innate Drive Theories**

Active drive theories are linked with many other theories like psychoanalytic theory, personality theory, frustration theory, and ethological theory. These theories probe the causes of violence internally in an individual. According to Psychoanalytic theory violence behavior is due to the libido repression when a person does not control his sexual urge he become violent (Estévez, Jiménez and Musitu 2008).

### **3.2 Ethno-Political Theory**

This theory emphasizes on the revolutionary tendencies of youth in political structure and how youth become violent in their behavior. Marcel (2008) explained the philosophical foundation of this theory that how different ethnic and multilingual youth is taking part in political structure and the increasing violent behavior of youth in universities. He linked with ethnic diversity with violence and violent behavior. He supported his argument that in Nigeria different ethnic groups such as the Bakkasi Boys, Egbesu Youths, and the Niger Delta are different groups some of them are like with the Oodua Peoples' Congress, Arewa Peoples' Congress are student's political wings in universities which are governed by main political parties which fight with each other in the universities.

### **3.3 Psycho-Personality**

Psychologists say that human have natural tendency toward violence as this is innate drive. Freud (1923) linked the aggressiveness and violence with basic human drive id and suggest that human instincts or drives are present in id and the origin of aggressiveness which is human psychic energy are resides in id and all drive operate from id. Further, he applied this model to violence in human society. According to Hoffling (1975:58) that "*no species other than human fights, injure and kills its own kind so persistently or on so large a scale*". Many researchers like (Adelola 1997) and Mercel (2008) have applied this Frued's model to prove campus cult and campus violence in Nigerian universities. They have proved the link between human psycho-personality and socio-cultural variables which leads to violence among youth.

### 3.4 Frustrations- Aggression Hypothesis

This model explains that frustration is always responsible of aggression and violence. When human basic needs are suppressed or denied which are associated with socio-bio and economic factors then people adopt worse form it may be violence or any other harmful activity. Uguru-Okorie (2001) and Gabolahan (2003) elaborated this model that it is basically linked with human motivational state. They explained when people became discourage or demotivate then they became hopeless and adopts any activity. This activity may be positive or negative most of the time it is negative and the negativity leads to harmful consequences. At the end of 20 century and the beginning of 21 century, in Nigerian institutions most of the violence in universities was due to frustration because at that time in Nigerian society injustice, oppression and poverty were very common.

### 3.5 Cultural Violence

This theory was given by Johan Galtung in 1990. According to this theory violence is legitimized using religious and cultural ideologies which includes empirical sciences, language and art, and formal sciences. *"Cultural violence is any aspect of culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form"* (Galtung 1990:292). Language, stars, anthems, posters, military parades, all are aspects of culture not the entire culture. Language is an important aspect of culture that has also its sub aspects. For example, a person is using abusive words, shouting at someone or encouraging someone to do some harmful activities in English language. It does not mean that entire English Language is violent. Similarly, some aspects of any culture are used to justify violence, it may be religion or ideology. Cultural violence can be used in two ways: it can be direct violence or structural violence. As political science is about the use of power and to legitimize the use of power and violence studies cover use of violence and its legitimization. Similarly, cultural violence covers the domains of direct and structural violence and how this violence is justified within a society. Cultural violence is made acceptable within society in two ways. Firstly, an act or fact is changed by giving best explanation and secondly, reality is made opaque so that people cannot see the violent act as violent. For example, murder someone on behalf of the country is right while behalf of an individual is wrong and it is considered crime.

3.5.1 A typology of Direct and Structural Violence

Violence is avoidable thing for human basic needs. Direct and structural violence is categorized into four classes that are survival needs, wellbeing needs, identity needs and freedom needs. If these four needs are fulfilling then it would result in peace otherwise it will result in degradation. Direct violence includes killing (Survival needs), maiming, sanctions (well-being needs), de-socialization, resocialization (identity needs), and repression, detention (freedom needs).

Figure 3.1 Typology of Violence

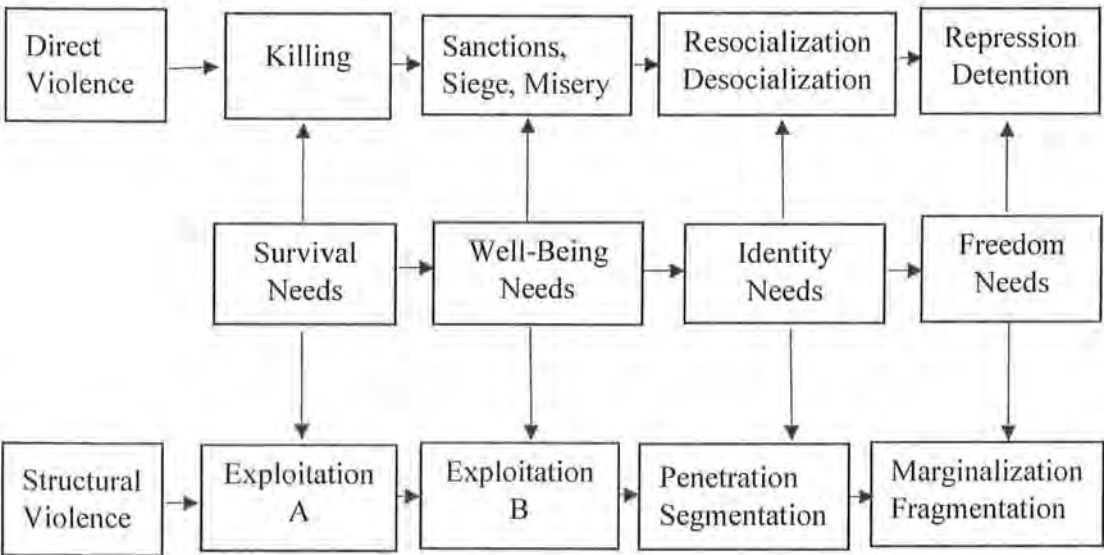


Figure 3.1 explains the typology of violence, types of direct violence and structural violence and its linkage with all needs. In the Figure 3.1, it can be seen that there are four needs that are survival needs, wellbeing needs, identity needs and freedom needs. Direct violence includes killing, sanctions, siege, de-socialization, resocialization, repression and detention. Similarly, structural violence includes exploitations, penetration, segmentation, marginalization and fragmentation.

3.6 Cultural Violence

How religion, ideology, language, art, empirical sciences and formal sciences that are parts of culture are used to legitimize violence in direct or structural form.

### **3.6.1 Religion**

There are some sacred, das Heilige, in all religions that is usually used for God. In all religion's actions are justified on the basis of these sacred. In every religion, the Chosen, Unchosen and Satan have remained topic of discussion among the followers of every religion. The issue between Israel and Palestine is an example of legitimized violence. Israel justified itself as a Chosen People with Promised Land, named Eretz Yizrael. Israel all policies regarding Palestine are examples of legitimized violence. It can be seen that there is direct as well structural violence in Palestine. It can be seen killing, sanctions, violation of international laws like basic human rights, citizenship, detention and individual expulsion. While on the other hand, Palestinian consider themselves as experimenting by God. Religion has always been used to justify actions.

### **3.6.2 Ideology**

With the passage of time, after the decline of transcendental and immanent God with the emergence of secularization, religion was replaced by political ideology and modern state replaced the concept of God by exhibiting some traits of both but the basic idea was not changed. The distinction between God and Chosen, Satan and Unchosen was not made. As a result, the concepts of archetype and nationalism emerged that lead to structural as well as direct violence. Nationalism gave birth to many ideas like Hitler called Jews as "vermin" and "bacteria", Stalin called Kulaks as "class enemy", Reagan called Gadhafi as "mad dog" and Washington experts called terrorist as "the cranky criminals". At the same time, different discourse was built like men are stronger than women, the whites are intelligent than nonwhites.

### **3.6.3 Language**

Latin base languages like French (Modern English), Spanish and Italian made women invisible because of using same word for male gender. Nonsexist writing movement is an example of shifting from cultural violence to cultural transformation. Similarly, basic feature of different language like Indo-European can be compare with Japanese and Chinese language that clearly shows the forced rigidity of Indo-European in both languages.

### 3.6.4 Empirical Science

Through empirical sciences, direct or structural violence has also been legitimized. Neoclassical economic doctrine is an example of cultural violence. One aspect of neoclassical economic doctrine is trade theory which explains how countries are exploited in international market. Countries with technological advancement and skilled labor extract raw material from those countries that have raw material but unskilled labor and unavailability of latest technology. It is evident that Portugal gave up her textile industry and became out of world industry whereas England established her industrial capacity and got influence in world market. This doctrine results in vertical division in world which are still prevailing and at the same time it led to structural violence among countries.

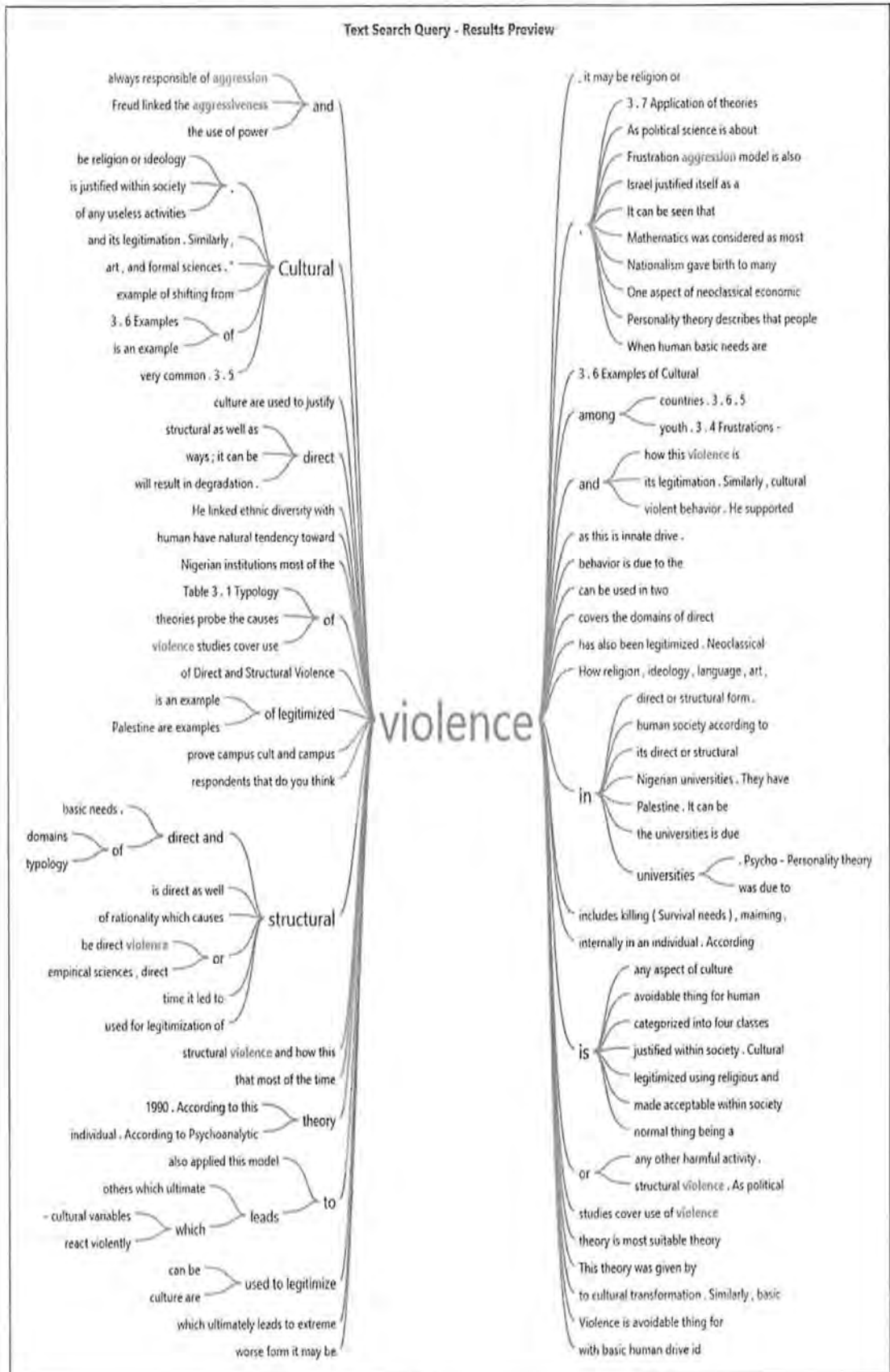
### 3.6.5 Formal Science

Historically, formal sciences have also been used for legitimization of structural violence. Mathematics was considered as most prevailing formal science. It has been used to control the thought of people and it gave birth to cost and benefit analysis. Through rationality, every nation builds relationship and make policies with other nation on the basis of rationality which causes structural violence.

Figure 3.2 has been generated in NVivo and it is the brief description of theory cultural violence. Figure 3.2 explains that direct and structural violence are two types of cultural violence that are used for legitimation of violence in society. Different aspect of culture can be used to justify violence like religion, ideology, language, art, and formal science. Direct violence includes killing, maiming, siege and sanctions while structural violence includes penetration, and segmentation. This theory was applied on current study because student organizations justify violence through their ideologies. Figure 3.2 is brief description of theory cultural violence. This figure is generated through NVivo. Cultural violence has two types, direct violence and structural violence. The right side of the figure 3.2 explains examples of theory with major tree like “it may be religion or” at the top right corner of the figure while left side of the figure explains types of violence and how it is justified. It can be seen at the left side of the figure two major words tree “Cultural” and “Structural” violence narrates that violence is used in two forms either in direct form or in structural form that is described in detail this chapter at cultural violence proportion.



Figure 3.2 Brief Description of Theory Cultural Violence



### **3.7 Application of Theories**

Active or innate theory is least relevant to my research as mostly respondents said that most of the time violence in the universities is due to girls as students want to show other students that he has more beautiful girl than others which ultimate leads to violence. Personality theory describes that people become violent because they have no control over their emotions. They have not self-control. This theory is relevant to the study because when a student of other political organization talks against the ideology or the culture of other student organization being a student loses his emotions and react violently which leads to violence in universities.

Psycho-personality theory is applicable to current study as in universities students have different social and political background. There are no officially student's organizations these are based on ethnic and some religious ideologies when some groups clash with each other the issue falls between some individuals and the whole group involve into quarrel. Those individuals who were responsible of clash might have some psychological issues like aggressive in nature or may be victim of ethnocentrism.

Ethno-political theory is applicable to current research as student unions are officially banned in Pakistan and different universities have different political structure. For example, in Quaid-i-Azam University there are different ethnic group based on their culture and ethnicity whenever some incident occurs issue of an individual becomes the issue of whole ethnic group which ultimately leads to extreme violence.

Frustration aggression model is also applicable to current study as students have no extra-curricular activities like debates, game competition so that students may engage in those activities instead of any useless activities.

Cultural violence theory is most suitable theory for current study as each student union justify their actions on the basis of either religion or ideology. Islami Jamiat Talba is religious student organization and its motto is to preach Islam in modern institutions. The member of Islami Jamiat Talba justify their actions on the basis of religion. For example, when researcher asked a question from respondents that do you think violence is normal thing being a member of political organization? They replied yes this is normal thing mostly were giving logic through their ideologies. All the respondents from International Islamic University Islamabad justify their violent actions through their religious ideologies. They gave the reference from Hadis that "if you see some evil and you have power to stop it so stop it by force if you can't stop it with force then speak against that evil even you can't speak then at least consider it worse from heart".

They were justifying their actions from religious ideologies. Similarly, in Quaid-i-Azam University, six ethnic Councils exist with different ideologies. Students were justifying their actions from their ethnic ideologies. When researcher asked question that how an individual issue becomes the issue of whole organization. Mostly, members said that if some violent incident happens in University among students whole ethnic group involves because it is considered that it is the sign of cowardice if revenge is not taken. So, it is normal thing to take revenge from other unions.

This chapter deals with theories of violence. Different theories of violence have been used. Drive theories are linked with many other theories like psychoanalytic theory, personality theory, frustration theory and ethological theory. Main focus of drive theories narrates a person become violent when his sexual urge become violent. Ethno political theory was given by Marcel (2008) and emphasis on revolutionary tendencies of youth and violent behavior. Psycho personality theory was given by Hoffling (1975). According to this theory human have natural tendency toward violence. Freud (1923) linked the aggressiveness and violence with basic human drive id and suggest that human instincts or drives are present in id. Frustration aggression hypothesis model describes that violence is caused due to frustration. This model was elaborated by Uguru-Okorie (2001) and Gabolahan (2003). When people become hopeless they adopt harmful activities that results in damage. Theory of cultural violence was given by Galtung (1990). This theory explains that violence is legitimized through different cultural aspects. These aspects are religion, ideology, formal sciences, empirical sciences, language and art. Religion always has been used for justify actions. For example, issue between Israel and Palestine, Israel consider itself as Chosen People with Promised Land, named Eretz Yizrael. So, all policies of Israel regarding Palestine are examples of legitimized violence. Ideology emerged the concepts of archetype and nationalism. Examples of violence through nationalism are Holocaust by Hitler. Language has also been used for the legitimation of violence. Similarly, neoclassical economic doctrine is an example of cultural violence that explains how countries are exploited in international market. Like other cultural elements, formal sciences also have been used to justify violence, especially structural violence. Mathematics in formal sciences is most important tool for justification of violence. Next chapter is operationalization and conceptualization. Conceptual and operational definition of key concepts like political participation and on campus violence are explained.

## **Chapter 4**

### **CONCEPTUALIZATION/OPERATIONALIZATION**

## **4.1 Conceptualization**

Conceptualization refers to the concept of refined definition in precis terms. The concepts used in current study are on campus violence, and youth political participation.

### **4.1.1 Political Participation**

Political participation has three characteristics, it deviates from legal or formal norms of regime, it influences the government and disrupts its functioning and it involves group activity by the non-elites (Shrivatsava 1992:205).

Political participation of youth is engaging youth to make their opinion and bring positive change in the society through casting vote, become a member of political party, involvement in the institutional structures and participate in debates (Education Audio and Cultural Executive Agency 2013).

According to Shrivatsava (1987:85) political participation among university student is to attend public meetings, to have a membership of union/organizations, to take part actively in college election, to give suggestions to government and to participate at the end of goals achievement.

According to Gleiber (2003:6) political participation is to take part in activities of an organization, attend meetings, conduct seminars and include voting, protest, jury duty and public consultations within campus.

Political participation is a concept used in political science. It is action of citizens to influence on government, or vulnerable activities of public in selection of policy makers, these activities include voting, attending meetings, and public representation (Bergstrom 2006:6).

### **4.1.2 Campus Violence**

Campus violence has five characteristics. Firstly, protest by the students will typically violent. Secondly, discipline of campus will be too permissive. Thirdly, higher education will indoctrinate its students. fourthly, campus will be politicized. Lastly, students will be dissatisfied with higher education commission (Keniston and Lerner 1971:39). According to above definition campus violence has five characteristics. However, Harris (2010: 298) defined campus violence differently than Keniston and Learner (1971). According to him campus violence includes any physical assault, threat

of assault (either it is in written, verbal or electronic form) and violent or threatening behavior (physically or verbally) occurring in the campus.

Campus violence is defined as an intended to all type of violence like physical violence among students, psychological torture, sexual and verbal abuse, bullying, arms exhibition, and all type of surveillance (Armstrong, Hamilton and Sweeny 2006:488). According to Pezza and Ballotti (1995:107) behavior, attitude and belief of students that involve direct or indirect physical involvement to hurt or injured other students, convert peace environment into violent environment and casualties that affects academic spheres as well as lives of students is called campus violence.

**Table 4.1 Conceptualization**

<b>Political participation</b>	<b>On campus violence</b>
<p>It has three characteristics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. It deviates from legal or formal norms of regime</li> <li>ii. It influences the government and disrupts its functioning.</li> <li>iii. It involves group activity by the non-elites</li> </ul>	<p>Campus violence has five characteristics.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Protest by the students are typically violent.</li> <li>ii. Discipline of campus becomes too permissive.</li> <li>iii. Higher education indoctrinates its students.</li> <li>iv. Campus becomes politicized.</li> <li>v. Students dissatisfy with higher education commission</li> </ul>
<p>Political participation among university student is</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. To attend public meetings,</li> <li>ii. To have a membership of union/organizations,</li> <li>iii. To take part actively in college election, to give suggestions to government,</li> <li>iv. To participate at the end of goals achievement.</li> </ul>	<p>Campus violence includes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Any physical assault,</li> <li>ii. Threat of assault (either it is in written, verbal or electronic form) and</li> <li>iii. Or threatening behavior (physically or verbally) occurring in the campus.</li> </ul>

<p>Political participation of youth is</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Engaging youth to make their opinion and bring positive change in the society through casting vote,</li> <li>Become a member of political party, involve in the institutional structures and participate in debates</li> </ol>	<p>Campus violence is</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>An intended to all type of violence</li> <li>Physical violence among students, psychological torture,</li> <li>Sexual and verbal abuse,</li> <li>Bullying,</li> <li>Arms exhibition, and</li> <li>All type of surveillance</li> </ol>
<p>Political participation is</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to take part in activities of an organization</li> <li>attend meetings,</li> <li>conduct seminars</li> <li>and include voting,</li> <li>protest,</li> <li>jury duty and public consultations within campus</li> </ol>	<p>Campus violence is</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Behavior, attitude and belief of students that involve direct or indirect physical involvement to hurt or injured other students,</li> <li>Convert peace environment into violent environment and</li> <li>Violent environment results in the form of injuries and casualties that affect academic spheres as well as lives of students.</li> </ol>
<p>Political participation is a concept used in political science.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is action of citizens to influence on government,</li> <li>or vulnerable activities of public in selection of policy makers,</li> <li>activities include voting, attending meetings, and public representation.</li> </ol>	<p>Campus violence is</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Students activities that affect academic activities,</li> <li>Physical fights among students result in injuries,</li> <li>protest,</li> <li>Illegal demands by students, and</li> <li>Demonstration that causes closure of educational institutions</li> </ol>

According to Malik (2001:50) student activities that affect academic activities, physical fights among students result in injuries, protest, illegal demands by students, and demonstration that causes closure of educational institutions is called campus violence.

## **4.2 Operationalization**

Operationalization is a process in which it is defined that how a concept is measurable. In operationalization concept is designed to measure.

### **4.2.1 Political Participation**

In this study political participation refers the activities of student groups in universities. Students fight with each other on minor issues and university administration cannot control these organizations and finally university closed. Student unions are officially banned in Pakistan but student organizations in scattered forms with different names are still functioning in educational institution of Pakistan with vague motto and objective. Every group of students want to suppress other groups so that control of university or name of the group will be called as powerful group in education institution. In the game of attaining power these groups fight with each other.

### **4.2.2 Campus Violence**

In this Study campus violence refers to all those activities of students in universities that affect academic sphere and ultimately leads to closure of universities. It includes physical fight among students of organizations in universities, boycott of classes by students, all types of strikes arranged by student groups, student protests, and demonstrations. Due to campus violence Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and International Islamic University Islamabad remain closed. Students fight with other and university administration cannot control aggressive students due to which ultimately academic activities are given up to avoid serious injuries. Last years in October 2017, Quaid-i-Azam university remained closed for 17 days due to campus violence (Dawn 2017).

**Table 4.2 Operationalization**

<b>Political participation</b>	<b>On campus violence</b>
Political participation in this study refers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. To become a member of students' organization in university</li> <li>b. To participate in the elections of student union for chairmanship</li> <li>c. To take part in organizations' election</li> <li>d. To take part in protest arranged by student organizations' in universities</li> <li>e. To participate in the meetings organized by student organizations</li> </ul>	On campus violence is <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Physical fight among students</li> <li>b. Illegal demands by students</li> <li>c. To create impediments in administration of university</li> <li>d. Boycott of classes</li> <li>e. Loss of academic activities</li> <li>f. All types of strikes</li> <li>g. All types of political activities like arrange political seminars, to force students become the part of any political party</li> </ul>

In this chapter conceptual and operational definition of key concepts are explained. Two key terms youth political participation and on campus violence have been described. According to Shrivatsava (1992:205) political participation has three characteristics, it deviates from legal or formal norms of regime, it influences the government and disrupts its functioning and it involves group activity by the non-elites. Similarly, According to Pezza and Ballotti (1995:107) behavior, attitude and belief of students that involve direct or indirect physical involvement to hurt or injured other students, convert peace environment into violent environment and casualties that affects academic spheres as well as lives of students is called campus violence. but in this study political participation refers the activities of student groups in universities. Students fight with each other on minor issues and university administration cannot control these organizations and finally university closed and on campus violence all those activities of students in universities that affect academic sphere and ultimately leads to closure of universities. It includes physical fight among students of organizations in universities, boycott of classes by students, all types of strikes arranged by student groups, student protests, and demonstrations. The next chapter is methodological section in which all methods and methodology is described.

**Chapter No.5**  
**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter deals with the procedures of research methods and research design adopted in completion of this study. Research methods are different techniques that used in research study for data collection such as self-administrated questionnaire, participant observation and interview scheduled. While research methodology or design incorporates a framework planned for data collection and data analysis.

Positivists methods uses deductive approach in which theory is tested using numeric data. While interpretive methods include ethnography, phenomenology and action research and focuses on theory building. This method relies on inductive approach in which theory is built on the base of data collection. Further, positivists design focuses on objective reality while interpretive deals with the subjective meaning or interpretation of social phenomenon (Bhattacharjee 2012).

In this study qualitative research approach have been used. The reason for using qualitative approach is that to get in-depth information regarding political participation among students and experiences of violence due to their political engagements. The qualitative approach is more appropriate for this study in comparison to a quantitative approach because researcher wants to get insight information from respondents regarding the issue of violence on campus. The researcher has interviewed only those students who are actively involved in political activities. Another reason for using qualitative approach is that the political unions are officially banned in Pakistan. So, researcher has first identified those students who were still involved in political activities and then build rapport with respondents and interviewed them for the research.

### **5.1 Research Design**

Research design is a process in which a detailed plan and activities are described in order to find the answer of research question. It consists process of data collection, process of instrument development and sampling process. Data collection process is further classified into positivists and interpretive methods. Survey research, secondary data analysis, field experiments, laboratory experiments, and case research are used in positivist methods that focuses on theory testing.

## **5.2 Universe**

Universe is an area on which study is carried out while population is all the units that are under consideration or observation. The study was conducted in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and International Islamic University Islamabad. The researcher chose these universities because on campus violence is high in these universities and these two universities had remained in newspapers and media regarding violent activities among students. Further, these two universities have also political wings of students and these political wings are led by national political parties. Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT) is the most prevalent student political wing of Jamat-e-Islami (JI) that is national political party and PEDM (Pashtoon Education Development Movement) is also student wing of Awami National Party (ANP). Similarly, Quaid-i-Azam University has also student wings which are existing in the name of ethnic Councils. There are six ethnic Councils in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad like Punjab Council, Saraiki Council, Baloch Council, Pashtoon Council, Mehran Council, and Gilgit Council. Quaid-i-Azam University has almost 13559 enrolled students. While International Islamic University has almost 28000 enrolled students.

## **5.3 Unit of Analysis**

Unit of analysis is the object that is under investigation it may be any individual, group, organization, or any object (Bhattacharjee 2012). Unit of analysis of this study is the university student who is actively involved in political activities in university. The researcher wants to explore the factors of on campus violence. Only that student who is member of student's political wings was interviewed.

## **5.4 Sampling Frame**

Purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling in which sample is not drawn randomly but cases or participants are selected on strategic way according to research question. It is possibility that participants may differ in key characteristics. So that best answer of the research question can be find. The researcher cannot generalize the results obtained using purposive samplings (Bryman 2015). Sampling frame is procedure of selecting sample from target population. Sampling frame consists of different sections like different sampling technique probability and non-probability. In probability

samplings every unit have an equal chance of selection while in non-probability sampling there are zero chances of some units in selection (Bhattacharjee 2012).

Purposive sampling strategy has been used for the selection of respondents. The reason for using purposive sampling strategy is that the researcher has interviewed only those respondents who can give the best possible data. It means students who are actively involved in political activities and have experiences of on campus violence. Purposive sampling strategy is commonly used sampling strategy in qualitative researches. Further, snowball sampling is not used as it is used for hidden respondents or when respondents are not available. Similarly, quota sampling is not appropriate because student unions are banned and existed in illegal way in universities so the exact number of the students are not known that's why quota sampling is not used in this study.

### **5.5 Sample Size**

Sampling is a process in which subset of population usually known as sample are drawn for observation. Social scientist usually study about specific pattern within specific population. It is difficult to study the entire population because of time and space constraints. A representative sample is drawn from the population of observation (Bryman 2015). The researcher has collected data to a saturation point where no new information was coming from the respondents, it's a common strategy used for sample size in qualitative researches. The researcher interviewed 16 students from both universities. The researcher interviewed from each member of student organization in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. These members are chairman and general secretary of the council so total number of respondents from Quaid-i-Azam University is 8. Similarly, the researcher interviewed 8 eight students from International Islamic University Islamabad. Three major student's organization exist in International Islamic University Islamabad. Name of these organizations are Islami Jamiat Talba, Panjab Council and Baloch Council. The researcher interviewed two members from each organization. Three Nazim of IJT, two members of PEDM and two members of Baloch Council.

### **5.6 Tool for Data Collection**

Interview guide is a tool in which the researcher lists questions to ask from respondents regarding specific topic but it is not necessary to follow the sequence of questions

written on the guide. The researcher has freedom to follow any sequence and wording of the question can also be changed (Bryman 2015). Interview guide has been used as a tool for data collection because it gives freedom to researcher to ask probing questions in response of respondents. Interview guide was comprised of questions regarding political involvement and violence among students. Interview schedule and questionnaire have not been used in this study because this study falls under qualitative research approach. Secondly, interview schedule and questionnaire restrict respondents as well as researcher to ask close ended questions. Thirdly, the aim of this study was to get in-depth information regarding political participation and campus violence which was not possible using interview schedule or questionnaire as a tool for data collection.

### **5.7 Pre-Testing**

The researcher developed an interview guide for data collection. The researcher interviewed from 6 respondents for pre-testing from both Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and International Islamic University Islamabad to know the responses of respondents. Three respondents were interviewed from Quaid-i-Azam University who were chairmen of Pashtoon, Punjab and Baloch Councils. They suggested additional points to the researcher in interview guide. Similarly, the researcher interviewed three respondents from International Islamic University Islamabad including one Jamiat member, one respondent of Baloch Council and one respondents of Pashtoon Education Development Movement. They gave their feedback about interview guide and the researcher made amendments in questions accordingly.

### **5.8 Technique for Data Collection**

Data has been collected through face to face interaction with the respondents. The researcher build rapport with respondents. It was difficult to conduct interviews of the chairmen of different organizations because they excused of having no time. The researcher participated in the activities of different student organization to conduct interviews. After building the rapport the researcher conducted interviews from respondents in their respective universities. The researcher has used the language which was understandable to them. A recording device has also been used to record respondents' responses with the permission of respondents. The researcher has also written jotted notes of the respondents' answers.

### **5.9 Tool and Technique for Data Analysis**

This data was analyzed through NVivo software. Themes were generated through NVivo and further these themes have been narrated and linked with literature. NVivo is significant tool for qualitative research because it reduces the complex procedure of manual task that is hard and time consuming. Through NVivo a researcher can explore a phenomenon from different aspects. First of all, the transcribed interviews were added in NVivo. After importing all transcriptions different nodes were created. Each transcription was coded into four main nodes and further into child nodes. Main nodes include student-oriented questions, organizations-oriented questions, causes of campus violence and suggestions to control violence phenomenon in universities. Each node has further sub nodes. After creating nodes, all relevant answers from each transcription were imported into relevant nodes. Then, data was analyzed and word cloud of every node was also created through NVivo. Word cloud is a brief summary that describes detail of theme in short form. Similarly, word trees were also generated using nodes for every theme.

### **5.10 Opportunities and Limitations of the Study**

The current study provides the opportunity to understand the phenomenon, how youth political involvement of youth in universities contribute to campus violence. Student organizations exist in different form in universities like International Islamic University Islamabad, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan, Federal Urdu University Islamabad, Punjab University Lahore, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and Bahauddin Zakaria University Mulan. In all universities of Pakistan campus phenomenon is existing but current study covers only International Islamic University Islamabad and Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad due to time limitation. Further, only male respondents are interviewed for data collection from both universities. Additionally, the female perspective regarding youth political participation and on campus violence is not included. Similarly, the views of those students who do not participate in student organization is also not included due to time limitation. This study covers the perception of only those students who actively participate in student organizations and have experience of violence. Faculty members are also not included in this study as it was difficult to cover the views of different people due to time limitation.

### **5.11 Ethical Concerns**

Ethical concerns are basic requirement of research. It is obligatory for every researcher to make sure the ethics of the study. Ethical concerns are basically the scientific norms of the research community. In current study the researcher has tried to follow ethics of the research. Firstly, the researcher identified respondents and after identification the researcher-built rapport with respondent the researcher took the consent of respondents and asked them to provide information about the topic. As it was sensitive topic in nature and many respondents said that this is too much personal question and did not participate in the research. The researcher did not force them if any respondent was no willing to share his experience regarding on campus violence. Further, the researcher followed the proper dress code while entering into field. The researcher interviewed mostly from chairmen and general secretaries of student organizations. The researcher tried to avoid the cross questions regarding their organization motto. The researcher recorded the information on recording device after the permission of respondents. The researcher ensured the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents. Equal representation to avoid biasness. The researcher tried to avoid ideological conflict questions from the respondents.

### **5.12 Field Experiences**

When I entered into field for data collection I had to face various challenges. Firstly, when I was interviewing a Pashtoon student in International Islamic University Islamabad I did not realized that a student, who was the member of Islami Jamiat Talba, was also there and listen to our conversation. Some of the respondents felt offensive about the questions regarding his organizations. He was suspicious about presence in the university. He asked me to show my university card. I showed my card when he saw that I am student of Quaid-i-Azam University, he started arguing with me that what is the purpose of my visit to International Islamic University Islamabad. I told that I am conducting research and collecting data and showed my letter of consent. He was little aggressive that Quaid-i-Azam University is liberal and why Jamiat is not allowed in university. He asked me to go with him to meet their Nazim-e-Jamia but I denied, he called to his members that a suspicious person is in university. Within 3 to 4 minutes, 5 students came. I realized that I should go with them. Meanwhile, I texted my masters class fellows from International Islamic University Islamabad to settle down the

situation. I met with Nazim and meanwhile my friends also reached there. My friends convinced the Nazim that he was also member of Jamiat from 2014 to 2016 in this university. After that, Nazim gave me a detailed lecture about Islam and Jamiat and convinced me that I should avoid council system and should promote Jamiat in Quaid-i-Azam University. Mostly respondents were reluctant when I asked questions regarding campus violence. My respondents said that they have no time for interview and they excused. I interviewed from the Cabinet members of IJT. Members of Islami Jamiat asked me that Nazim is busy and you have to take appointment for interview. I had to take appointment 2 week ago for interview from the Nazim.

I take an appointment for interview from member of a council. He asked me to come on specific place for interview. When I reached there I saw that five people were sitting there and they were smoking marijuana. They offered me to taste but I refused. They said which type of student you are if you did not smoke cigarette. I waited one hour for conducting an interview but they were laughing with each other. After one hour they asked me about my topic. I told them and explained that why I am conducting research. They stated debates me on the topic corruption of administration in universities as well as in other institutions. After one hour of discussion they became hyper and asked me to leave. They said students are being exploited by university and do not speak against their right. Finally, they did not give me an interview and I left without interview.

All respondents were reluctant that why I am asking questions about their organizations. Some respondents showed their reservations that I may not share this information with any newspaper or media channel. Many respondents were not speaking on campus violence related questions. One respondent asked me I think you are student and you should defend students instead showing negative image of student organizations. He suggested me topic named exploitation of students by faculty as well as university administration. He started to argue that this is not valid topic because it does not defend student rights. He became angry and said sorry I cannot share information about on campus violence because I am student and I know how to defend student rights. I am not like you who is exposing and spreading negativity about student and their activities.

### **5.13 Validity and Reliability**

Validity and reliability are necessary steps in social research. Reliability focuses on results of research studies whether results are repeatable or not. How much is

consistency in results by using same methodology and scales. Validity refers to consistency of the data. The researcher has conducted detailed interviews from the respondents of every political organizations existing in Quaid-i-Azam University as well as International Islamic University Islamabad. Further, to make sure the validity and reliability of data, the researcher used a recording device and handmade notes. The researcher continued acquiring data until he reached a saturation point.

In this chapter methods and methodological sections are described in detail. Through qualitative approach the researcher has tried to find out the phenomenon of campus violence. The researcher interviewed 16 students from both universities and collected data until saturation point. Interview guide has been used as a tool for data collection while face to face interview was technique for data collection. After collection of data, the researcher analyzed the data through NVivo after coding. While in the field the researcher followed ethical concern and to ensure reliability and validity of the data the researcher used a recording device and jotted notes.

## **Chapter No. 6**

### **RESULTS**

This chapter explains the details of student-oriented themes, organizations related themes, and causes of violence that include reason for joining student organizations, and political background of the students. How they become the members of student political organizations and all the questions related to student organization that included purpose of student organizations, welfare works, and election procedure of student organization. Further, causes of violence in university. The researcher primary objective was to explore the factors of campus violence. The researcher asked question from the respondents in multiple dimensions. The causes of violence in both universities (Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and International Islamic University Islamabad) are different because International Islamic University Islamabad has different student organizations with different motto and ideology and Quaid-i-Azam University has student organizations with different ideology.

### **6.1 Reasons for Joining Students' Organizations**

When the researcher asked a question from students that why they joined student organization? The answer of this question was different in both universities. Chairman of Gilgit Council a student from Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad answered: *"I belong to Gilgit Baltistan and being a Gilgiti my interaction with Gilgit community was more than other Councils"*.

When he got admission in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, he saw there are different organizations which were on ethnic basis. According to Chairman Gilgit Council main reason for joining Gilgit Council is as he belongs to Gilgit and he joined student organization just on the base of ethnicity.

Similarly, another student who was member of Baloch Council said:

*"I am from Baluchistan and I was told in college about council system that boys help for securing admissions. I contacted with the members of Baloch Council and sent my documents for admission. They submitted my documents and I got admission in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and joined Baloch Council"*.

It can be concluded that both of the respondents joined illegal student organizations on the base of ethnicity. However, the member of Baloch Council joined because the members of Baloch councils helped him at the time of form submission. According to him he heard about Baloch Council when he was in graduation. After graduation he

contacted to Baloch Council for his admission and admission form was submitted by Baloch Council and he got admission. After joining Quaid-i-Azam University he became active member of Baloch Council and now he is ambitious for the help of other students who belong to Baluchistan.

However, another student who is the member of Saraiki Council joined Saraiki Council due to his peer group. According to him:

*"I came here and all my friends were in Council that's why I joined the Council now I am General Secretary of Saraiki Council".*

He became the member of Council same as a Baloch student became member of Council. He said when he was in graduation he heard about Quaid-i-Azam University and his friends already were in University. he belongs to Dera Ghazi Khan and he is now General Secretary of Saraiki Council.

Contrary to the councils existing in Quaid-i-Azam Islamabad the students of International Islamic University Islamabad described different reasons for becoming member of student organization. These students were politically active and were the members of Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT). A member of Islami Jamiat Talba responded:

*"At the time of admission in 2017 I saw different camps which were organized by Islami Jamiat Talba to guide students that were helpful in which merit of each department and merit formula for admission was described in detail that impressed me and I became member of IJT".*

He came to International Islamic University Islamabad for admission in 2017 to submit his admission forms. IJT members guided and helped him in admission procedure. He got admission in (IIUI) and now he is member of IJT and guides students at the time of admission. According to him it is moral duty of everyone to help others because Islam also teaches us to create ease for others and this is the motto of his organization.

Another student who was Nazim of IJT, belong to Baluchistan province was the active member of IJT. When the researcher asked him why he did not become the member of Pashtoon Education Development Movement or any other student organization as you are Pathan by ethnicity. He replied

*"I have family background of Jamat-e-Islami that's why I joined IJT. In this University IJT is main student organization which addresses the issues of students like hostel issues, fee related issues, and issues of buses".*

He belongs to district Musa Khel and his family supports Jamat-e-Islami which is national political party and he joined IJT because of his family background. According to Nazim of IJT students are peaceful and IJT raises voice for the right of students.

The researcher interviewed from a member of PEDM, who was spokesperson of his organization. I asked him why he is the member of PEDM? Was it necessary to join any students' organization? He replied:

*"When I got admission in this university I saw IJT students impose ideology on all students. I was not member of any student organization but I felt continuously discrimination of Pathan students from administration, and Islami Jamiat Talba and decided to join PEDM".*

He joined student organization for two purpose and he was not member of any student organization. Firstly, he felt discrimination of Pashtoons and decided to join Pashtoon Student Organization in Islamic International University Islamabad. Secondly, he observed enforcement of ideology by Jamiat on other students, owing to these reasons he joined PEDM.

Similarly, another student from Islamic International University Islamabad who was ex-chairman of Pashtoon Education Development Movement (PEDM) said:

*I tell my personal experience. We assumed that there is peace environment in International Islamic University Islamabad and we will study. When I get admission in this university, I observed that Islami Jamiat Talba exploit students and impose its ideology on other students and university administration cannot give protection us from Jamiat so, after that we make a group name Pashtoon Education Development Movement just for our protection from Jamiat".*

He told his personal experience that they protect themselves from the platform of PEDM because they do not want to conflict with in any religious, political and ethnic group. Further, he said that he wants to study and his mission is to promote education nothing else. When PEDM was established, it boycotted Jamiat activities like their (Dars), he said that he does not accept it as Dars-e-Quran because this is not the way of Dars-e-Quran to force their ideology on other students. He gave an example, if police take action against them then Jamiat gather students forcefully but PEDM is not interested in such type of activities. When they boycotted such activities, IJT attacked upon their students to suppress them. According to him, In International Islamic University Islamabad almost, every ethnicity supports us except Jamiat. He said that he



## 6.2 Membership of Students' Organizations by Choice

A student of Saraiki Council who was chairman in 2015 asked:

*"Pamphlets and membership forms are distributed among them during a welcome party arranged by the Council. Everyone has right to fill the membership form or not. The student who fill this form become member of the Council, and their data is submitted to the General Secretary of the Council".*

He said that all the new students are guided by the Council and free classes are arranged for entry test and after their final selection they are independent to choose the Council and it is not necessary for any student to be a member of that community from which he belongs. After that the secretary of the Council inform the student about any event or function arranged in the University. It is not necessary to join any organization. It is the right of student to join student organization on their own will. No one force students to join student organization.

Another student of Baloch Council from Quaid-i-Azam University answered: *"No, it is not necessary for an individual to participate in any organization. I am Baloch and I joined Baloch Council volunteer."*

He said everyone joins student organization with his own will. Similarly, other Councils also do not force anyone to join student organization. This is the problem in Quaid-i-Azam University if you are Baloch by ethnicity other students will consider you the member of Baloch Council either you are member or not.

Another student who was Baloch by ethnicity but was member of Saraiki Council answered:

*"There is no necessary to join Council and students are not forced by the Council, as I am Baloch by cast I may join Baloch Council but I joined Saraiki it is not necessary to join an organization. Student join organizations by their choice".*

The answer of the respondents shows that there is no necessary to join any political organization as he is Baloch by cast and joined Saraiki Council. He joined Council because his all friends were in Saraiki Council that's why he became member of Saraiki Council. As he was comfortable in Saraiki Council that's why he joined Saraiki Council.

Figure 6.2 explains why student participate in political organizations. It is brief description of the reasons due to which students became the members of political



### 6.3 Political Influence of the Students

The researcher asked question about political background of students. In QAU some students have political background. However, in International Islamic University Islamabad situation is different situation student said that they have not any political background.

Chairman of Punjab Council said:

*"My first cousin is member of Provincial Assembly and my family support PML(N). I have political background but I never arranged a single activity for PML(N) and never used political influence in QAU".*

Chairman of Punjab Council has political background and his first Cousin is member of Provincial Assembly but he never used any political influence in QAU.

Similarly, Chairman of Saraiki Council said:

*"I have not any political background. Personally, I have not strong family background and I became chairman because my cabinet has selected me as chairman".*

Chairman of Saraiki Council has not political background and he has poor family background. He is selected chairman by the cabinet.

Chairman Mehran Council said:

*"My family support PPP and I am District Head of PPP but I became chairman because I have strong communication skills and to some extent family background matters in the peer".*

Chairman of Mehran Council has also political background. According to Chairman of Mehran Council family background has importance in peer and he became chairman because he has strong communication skills.

General Secretary of Gilgit Council said:

*"I have not political influence but Council use political influence for their purpose. It depends upon the issue as well as on the person who is leading the Council. Once, we used a reference of Faryal Talpur to pressurize Vice Chancellor".*

According to General secretary of Gilgit Council, student use political influence for their purpose in university. He said that their Council used a reference of Faryal Talpur to pressurize Vice Chancellor. Council consists of many students with different background so it is easy to use political reference in Council. Further, once they protested for an issue, they used political influence on V.C. The Chairman asked his

cabinet members to use political influence if they had any political reference. Finally, they used the reference of Faryal Talpur. She called to V.C. about our protest. To use reference within Council is easy because in Councils students belong to different background and use of political influence is easy. When Council cannot get its purpose, political references are used.

Chairman of Pashtoon Council said:

*"There are different students from different regions in our Council. I have no political background but, in our Council, students have political background".*

Chairman of Pashtoon Council have not any political background. However, Councils consist of different students who have different political background. He added that students should resolve their issues by themselves. Political parties should not interfere in universities. He was against about the interference of political parties in universities. Student power can change every system. In the history of Pakistan students have played crucial role in country politics said the respondent.

Almost, all student organizations at QAU have students with different political as well as family background. Students use political influence for their purpose to pressurize University administration like students of Gilgit Council used political influence of Faryal Talpur to accept their demands.

However, in International Islamic University Islamabad, the researcher interviewed from student organization including Islami Jamiat Talba, Pashtoon Education Development Movement, and Baloch Council. The member of Islami Jamiat Talba said:

*"I have no political background. I belong to Dera Ghazi Khan (DG Khan). My father is security guard in primary school. I came in International Islamic University Islamabad in 2012".*

Member of IJT said that he has not any political influence. There is no distinction between Nazim and common member of Jamiat. The respondent elder brother was already member of Jamiat and he continued his study with support of his family and his father is security guard in primary school. His elder brother was already member of Jamiat and he continued his study without parent's support. Jamiat is only platform where student can flourish. There is no distinction between Nazim and common member narrated by respondent.

A member of PEDM said: *"No, No, I have not any political background. Now, we have come to politics after getting admission here"*.

A member of PEDM said that he has not political influence and IJT based for the establishment of their organization. The member of said that the motto of PEDM is against the motto of IJT. IJT has compelled us to make a student organization which was established in 2008 named Pashtoon Education Development Movement stated by the respondent.

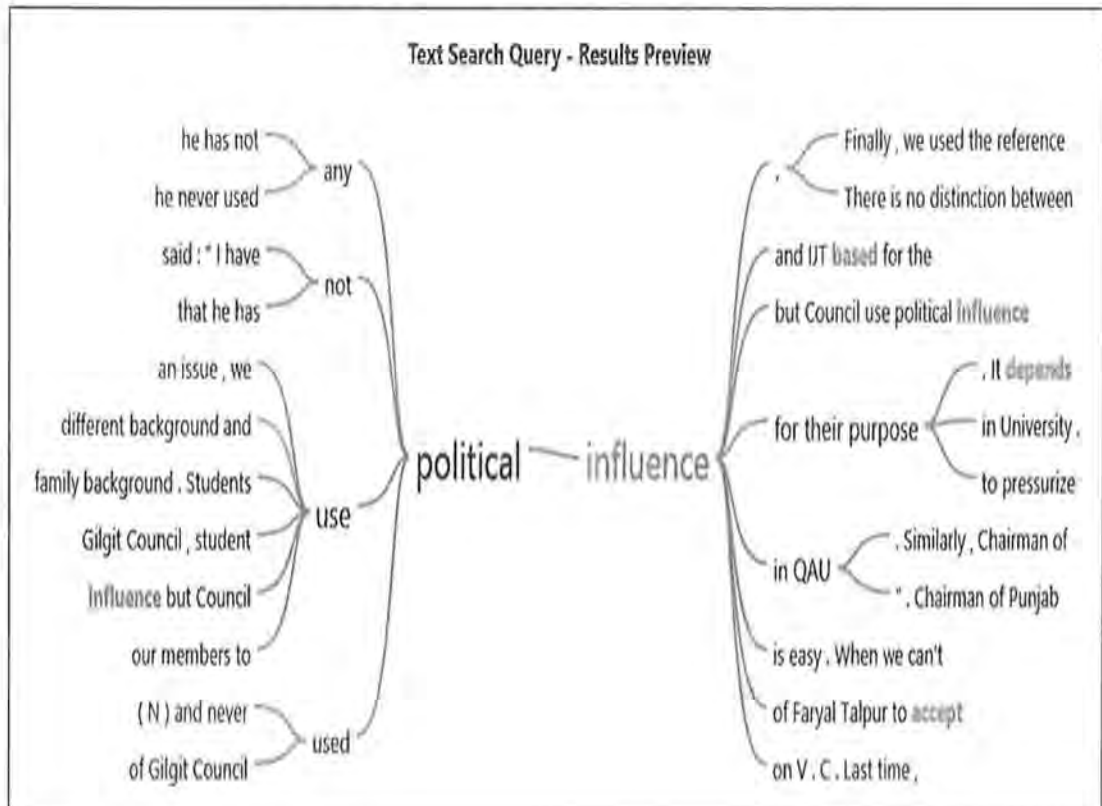
Another student who was chairman of Baloch Council in International Islamic University Islamabad said:

*"I have no political background even my family do not support any political party. I joined Baloch Council because of their welfare contribution for students."*

Contrary to above respondents the Chairman of Baloch Council also have not any political background. He said that he experienced welfare works of Baloch Council for students and decided to join Baloch Council. Within Council students' in groups feelings are strong than out group feeling that's why members support each other. The reason for supporting each other is because they share same region, and same culture so their interaction with in group interaction is more than other community. Another reason for living and supporting each other because of ethnicity. They share same language and language is another factor which brings them close with one another.

Figure 6.3 is the word tree generated through NVivo that explains the political background of the students. This table explains that student organizations use political influence in university for their personal interest. In student political organizations consist of different students who have political background that is used by organization. According to Keniston and Lerner (1971) intellectual and intelligent students usually become leader of student organization in universities. While current study findings narrate that the student who have more aggressive and more money and strong family background become leader of an organization. Current study findings are contrary with the findings of Keniston and Learner (1971).

**Figure 6.3 Political Background of Students**



#### 6.4 Purpose of Organizations

When the researcher asked question about the purpose of student organizations. What student's organizations do for students? All student organizations in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad were ethnic base their responses were alike. Student of Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad answered and was Chairman of Gilgit Council respond: *"Our organization is basically non-political and we represent our culture"*.

Student organizations in the shape of ethnic Councils in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad are functioning. According to the members of these organizations these organizations are non-political. These organizations represent their culture through way of dressing. Further, different musical programs are held within university territories in which relevant organizations play local songs of their area.

Another student who was the chairman of Baloch Council answered:

*"Main purpose of our organization is to aware people in our area. When admissions start we submit the forms of students and keep in touch with them as Baluchistan is at distance."*

The researcher interviewed the current chairman of Baloch Council. According to chairman, Baluchistan is less developed Province and literacy rate is low, Baloch Council helps students in their region. As Baluchistan is at distance and it is difficult for students belonging to far long areas to just for the sake of submit procedures. Therefore, Baloch Council helps students in this regard. admission come in university for the submission of admission forms. Further, they inform students in their area about admissions in different universities and help them in their studies.

Chairman of Punjab Council said:

*"I am current chairman of Punjab Council and our Council help students who cannot pay their fee, having issues like accommodations, books or any other problem".*

Similarly, Punjab Council also helps students same as Baloch Council facilitates students. The chairman narrated that accommodation is serious issue in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. Hostel is not allotted to newly students in first semester. Therefore, when students get admission in first semester they are unfamiliar and cannot adjust in new environment. Punjab Council facilitate new students regarding accommodation issues.

However, In International Islamic University Islamabad, although Islami Jamiat Talba is religious organization but purpose of IJT was same as others' student organization. student of Islami Jamiat Talba's responses who was member of IJT in International Islamic University Islamabad respond that:

*"Islami Jamiat Talba is only student organization which is always working for the betterment of students. Due to IJT there is proper check and balance on Canteens.*

He said that food quality of (IIUI) canteens can be compared with other universities. Clear difference in rates as well as in quality of food is seen. Further, peaceful environment in (IIUI) is due to IJT. When students come from remote areas they have accommodation issues because there is lack of hostels in (IIUI). Therefore, IJT facilitates students in accommodation. International Islamic University Islamabad fee structure is little bit expensive and IJT helps those students who cannot afford fee stated by the respondents.

Similarly, the responses of Pashtoon Education Development Movement (PEDM) and Baloch Council were:

*"Purpose of our organization is to help each other as well as to aware the students who want to get admission in universities after bachelor or inter in our areas".*

Chairmen of PEDM and Baloch Council said that purpose of their organization is to help each other. Further, he said that they came in International Islamic University Islamabad for study and they do not want to fight with anyone. they belong to remote areas and are in minority in International Islamic University Islamabad.

**Figure 6.4 Purpose of Student Organizations**



Figure 6.4 explains the purpose of student political organizations in term of word cloud. Figure shows that students' organizations arrange study circles for students, help in admissions and represent their culture. All organizations represent their culture. Students' organizations at International Islamic University Islamabad have different purpose like Islami Jamiat Talba have religious ideology and other organizations oppose IJT ideology.

## 6.5 Organizations and Welfare Works

The researcher asked about welfare works of organizations mostly students answered that they worked for the welfare of students. A Saraiki student who was ex-chairman of Saraiki Council in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad in 2012 asked:

*"Actually, Councils are working for the welfare of students. We guide students who are enrolled in B.A program in our area. They have no exposure about their further even they do not know location of universities because Saraiki Belt has low literacy rate that means the most of the parents are uneducated."*

He answered that Saraiki region has low literacy rate and students do not know about admission criteria of universities. Saraiki Council guide them about admission and provide guidance regarding different universities. Their Council campaign during admission time in Saraiki belt for awareness of the students because students do not know about their career after Bachelor. The respondent said that he is Saraiki and belongs to Dera Ghazi Khan which is a remote area usually called Saraiki Belt Area. The most of students studying who were studying in Bachelor Program, do not know how to get admission in universities. Further, he added that even he did not know about admission procedure when he was student of Bachelor of Arts. When he was chairman he started proper campaign how to get admission in different universities of Pakistan. This campaign proved fruitful and many students availed advantage from this campaign. As literacy rate is very low so mostly parents are not educated and cannot give proper guidance regarding universities. For example, most of the students who complete their BA program and due to lack of proper guidance do not get admission and in this way their career spoiled.

General Secretary of Baloch Council said: *"I am here from 2012 and I never observed that any Council helped any students, they are just dummy and create problems nothing else"*.

He said that he has been in Quaid-i-Azam University since 2012 and he never saw an individual case in which Councils helped to any student. Councils create issues among students in university.

Student organizations existing in universities works for the betterment of students. These organizations helped the needy and deserving students. Mostly students belong to remote area and guide students in their areas. These organizations spread awareness in their areas to motivate students for higher education. However, according to Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (2008), student unions had played vital role in country politics. Many leaders emerged from student unions. When these unions were active their role was totally different from now a day student union. In 60's student unions were active and worked for the rights of not only students but

also for general public. But, currently student unions prevailing in different universities are just student groups not unions and these groups works for the betterment of students on micro level not on macro level.

Figure 6.5 Organizations Works for Student Welfare



Figure 6.5 explains the welfare works of student organizations in universities. These organizations help the deserving students financially and work for the student rights and aware students in their career.

6.6 Linkage with Mainstream Political Parties

The researcher asked question about affiliation of students’ organization with national political parties. Students at Quaid-i-Azam University answered that no political party supports students’ organizations. The researcher interviewed chairman of Saraiki Council about political affiliation of Saraiki Council with national political parties he answered:

*“There is no political support to Saraiki Council. Actually, Councils are not political wings of any political party. Like Jamiat, PSF, and MSF are political wings of students in universities. However, structure of Councils is not same as structure of student political wings of political parties. Councils are groups based on ethnicity”.*

He said that no political party supports Saraiki Council. Saraiki Council is just ethnic base Council that represents its culture in university. Jamiat, Peoples Student Federation, and Muslim Student Federation are political wings of political parties. These political wings are supported by political parties. However, Saraiki Council is not same structure as other student organizations have.

Another student of Mehran Council who was current chairman of Mehran Council asked: *“Our Council is ethnic base which is a group of students who help each other’s and no political support their organization.”*

There is no support of any political party to Mehran Council. All students who are the member of Mehran Council are the supporter of different political parties. There are students who have different political background. Majority of students support Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), others students are supporter of Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and some are the supporter of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI). Personally, I am active supporter of PPP but in University I do not support the agenda of PPP and outside of the campus I participate in PPP activities. I never arranged even a single activity for PPP in Mehran Council at Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad said by the respondents.

Another student who was General Secretary of Baloch Council answered: *“I have nationalist back ground but no political party supports to Baloch Council”*.

There is no interference of any political party in QAU. Similarly, there is no support of any political party to Baloch Council. The respondent joined Baloch Council because the Council is free from political influence. He told his story that he did his BS in sociology from Karachi University and now studying International Relation from Quaid-i-Azam University and he observed that there is no interference of any political party in Quaid-i-Azam University that attracted him and he joined Baloch Council. Basically, all Councils in QAU are ethnic base and represent their culture.

Chairman of Punjab Council said:

*“I belong to district Gujranwala and my family support PML(N) Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and my first cousin is current member of provincial assembly. However, Punjab Council is free from any political influence and there is no support of any political party to Punjab Council”*.

Punjab Council has also students with different political ideologies but their activities are limited to outside of the campus. The respondent has political background but he

has never arranged any seminar or meeting for promoting his ideology in Punjab Council. He said that their organization is just ethnic base and represent Punjabi culture. QAU is said to be mini Pakistan because there is diversity of student. There are students who are from different regions of the country. In Punjab Council there is majority of students who support PTI but they support outside of the campus. As he has political background but he never invited students for any political purpose.

The researcher asked question from the General Secretary of Gilgit Council about the support of any political party to Gilgit Council. The respondent answered:

*"First of all, I want to clear that there is majority of Punjabi and Pashtoon students and Gilgit Baltistan students are in minority. So, if anyone thinks that Gilgit Council is supported by any political party it can be joke not the reality".*

Gilgit Baltistan students are in minority, Punjabi and Pashtoon are in majority. So, there is not affiliation of Gilgit Council with any political party. As they are in minority so they live together, help each other and represent their culture. The respondent told that there is no political party that support Gilgit Council even there is majority of students who are not supporter of any political party. We live together and help each other and represent our culture nothing else.

The researcher asked the same question from the Chairman of Pashtoon Council, he replied: *"No, no, there is no political party that support Pashtoon Council".*

Pashtoon Council has members from all provinces of Pakistan like Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Baluchistan as well and no political party support Pashtoon Council. He explained that all students are here for their study and Pashtoon students belongs to different provinces not only from KPK or Baluchistan. Some students are from FATA and even Pashtoon from Punjab and Sindhi are also member of Pashtoon Council. I think no one can claim that Pashtoon Council has support of any political party. We are free and each student has right to support any political party but no political party supports Pashtoon Council.

The researcher asked question from the members of Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT), Pashtoon education Development Movement (PEDM), and Baloch Council at University of the Punjab Lahore about political support and political affiliation with any political party. The chairman of PEDM said:

*"No, there is no support of any political party with us. If we have any political party support then we should not be beaten by Jamiat and IJT is funded by Jamat-e-Islami".*

Chairman of PEDM said that there is no support of any political party with them and they also do not want to associate with any political party because it will create hurdles for them. The respondent said IJT one program costs in Lakhs. When we conduct any program, we collect 100 rupees from each member for our program and for Pashtoon night we collect 1000 rupees once in year. Further, we do not want to be associated with any political party because our organization have members who belong to different ideology so, it is impossible to make affiliation with any political party. But, IJT has political wing of Jamat-e-Islami and proper funding is provided to IJT by Jamat-e-Islami.

Another member of PEDM said:

*"Our organization is nonpolitical. Our organization's every member has different political background. Some belongs to Awami National Party, some belongs to Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party. When they are in International Islamic University Islamabad then they have no political ideology but follow the PEDM ideology".*

Another member of PEDM said that their organization is nonpolitical and there are different students who have different ideology but in International Islamic University Islamabad they have to follow the PEDM ideology.

A member of Baloch Council answered:

*"Specifically, no political party support our University organization. There are students who belong to different political background like Pakistan Muslim League (N), Awami National Party and Pakhtunkhwa Milli Party, PTI and even some belongs to MQM as well".*

Baloch Council have also not affiliation with any political party and no political party support their organization. Different student within organizations support different political parties.

All student organizations except Islami Jamiat Talba has not affiliation with main stream political party. IJT is the political wing of Jamat-e-Islami. All other Councils are not associated with any main stream political parties. However, according to Nauman and Rumi (2013) all student unions were associated with main stream political parties. For example, Muslim Students' Federation was student political wing of

Pakistan Muslim League, Islami Jamiat Talba was the political wing of Jamat-e-Islami. Democratic Students' Federation was supported by Communist Party of Pakistan, National Student Federation was supported by various left-wing parties. Similarly, Insaaf Students' Federation, Imamia Students' Federation, Anjuman-e-Talba-e-Islam, Peoples Students' Federation and Baloch Students' Organization were the political wings of main stream political parties like Pakistan Tehreek Insaaf, Tehreek Jafria Pakistan, Jamiat Ulema Pakistan, Pakistan Peoples' Party and Baluchistan National Party respectively. But, after the ban on student unions, many organizations scattered and lose their identity and now days these organizations are existing in ethnic base or regions base on different universities of Pakistan and no one political party supports these organizations directly.

Figure 6.6 Linkage with Mainstream Politics



Figure 6.6 describes the affiliation of student political organizations with main political parties. All organizations declare itself nonpolitical and IJT at International Islamic University Islamabad accepted its affiliation with Jamat-e-Islami.

## 6.7 Maxim of Students' Organizations

The researcher asked questions from Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad about the motto of student organizations. Almost all the Councils motto at QAU is alike. For example, chairman of Punjab Council said:

*"Main purpose of our organization is to represent our culture. For example, every year each Council organized its Grand Night in which all Councils are invited by the host Council and other Councils represent their culture."*

Chairman of Pashtoon Council said: *"As there are ethnic base organizations in QAU, so our motto is to help students and represent our culture"*.

Similarly, the General Secretary of Gilgit Council Said: *"We help our students and represent our culture this is the motto of our organization"*.

In Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, all Councils are ethnic base and their main motto is to express their culture. Students from different areas come and make groups. As above both members said that motto of their organizations is show their culture. However, in International Islamic University Islamabad student organizations have different motto. IJT, PEDM and Baloch Council all of these have different motto.

Nazim of IJT said: *"Motto of Islami Jamiat Talba is solve student issues. Our motto is simply welfare of students"*.

The researcher asked question from Nazim of Islami Jamiat Talba about his organization's motto. He explained, Islami Jamiat Talba's motto is to solve the issues of students and work for the welfare of students. he explained that IJT team set the rate list of different shops so that no one can exploit students. International Islamic University Islamabad is economically in comparison to all other universities of Pakistan this credit goes to Islami Jamiat Talba. IJT take stands for the right of students. IJT motto is the welfare of students nothing else.

However, the response of PEDM students were quite different. The chairman of PEDM said: *"Main moto of PEDM is to give guidance to newcomers how to get hostel allotment, how to behave with each other"*.

The respondent explained that there is also an ethnic diversity in International Islamic University Islamabad. Students cannot easily adjust with another ethnicity. There is majority of Punjabis which shows their hegemony and PEDM gives protection to its students from IJT.

Similarly, the General Secretary of PEDM said:



Figure 6.7 explains the motto of student organizations. Some members told that student organizations have no motto. They are just student groups not organization on ethnic base.

Student organizations are working with almost same motto except Islami Jamiat Talba. Islami Jamiat Talba motto is to give religious education within universities. IJT is pure religious organization with Islamic ideology. It preaches in universities and give Islamic literature to students. However, other student organizations like Punjab, Pashtoon, Baloch, Sindh, Gilgit and Saraiki Councils motto is to represent their culture in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. But, PEDM motto at International Islamic University Islamabad is to protect its members from Jamiat and help new students in different aspects. However, according to Nauman and Rumi (2013) this was not the motto of student organizations but student unions were used as pressure group for the government and to win election in universities and make government. All political parties support its student political wings for elections. Through student unions leaders were emerged from main stream political parties. The findings of current study are contrary to Nauman and Rumi (2013) because now days students' organizations are not supported by political parties and political parties are also not interested in student unions existing in universities. These are just groups of students with vague motto and vague direction. Students come and participate in their regional groups with useless activities.

### 6.8 Funding Source

The researcher asked question from all the student organization at QAU and International Islamic University Islamabad about the source of funds. How they arranged their festivals, Grand Nights? And who give funds to their organization? The answer of this question was same of every student organization. General Secretary of PEDM, at International Islamic University Islamabad said:

*"We collect 200 rupees from each member and 1000 rupees once in a year for Grand Pashtoon Night. Similarly, when we welcome our juniors in the form welcome party we collect charges from each member. Some students who are well of participate according to their capacity. Similarly, who belong to poor family also participate according to their capacity".*

According to General Secretary of PEDM, their party collect charges from every member to welcome their juniors. For, Grand Pashtoon Night they collect 1000 rupees from every member and those students who belong to rich family give money according to their capacity. Similarly, poor students give money as they can afford.

Chairman of Baloch Council at International Islamic University Islamabad said: *"We are 300 students in International Islamic University Islamabad. We collect funds from our members for each function"*.

Chairman Baloch Council said they celebrate three functions annually including welcome party, farewell party and Pashtoon Grand Night. The researcher probed the answer of source of funding. The activities of these organizations are limited to just for recreational purpose. So, he explained that they collect 500 rupees for farewell and welcome party and 1500 rupees for Grand Baloch Night. He explained that there are three major functions in a year. First, when admission starts new students comes and they are welcomed and a party is arranged for them named welcome party. Similarly, at the end of the year another party is arranged for those students who complete their degree named farewell party. Once in year our annual function is arranged named Grand Baloch Night and for this Grand Baloch Night we collect 1500 rupees from every member.

Nazim of IJT said:

*"Islami Jamiat Talba is in this University since 1947 and many bureaucrats, politicians, Religious scholars and business men flourished from the platform of Jamiat. Now, they are at powerful positions and all alumni, ex members of Jamiat give donations to Jamiat that donation is used for the welfare of students, Dars-e-Quran, and for different programs"*.

As Jamiat existence in International Islamic University Islamabad is old as the history of Pakistan is old. So, there are many alumni, bureaucrats, and business men who support the ideology of Jamiat and give donations to Jamiat. Through this donation IJT arranges many activities.

In Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, the researcher asked about the party funds from all the student organization existing in University. The chairman of Saraiki Council said: *"Fund is collected from Council's members and these grand nights are just for refreshment"*.

There is cultural diversity in Quaid-i-Azam University and each Council represents its culture. Student organizations arrange Grand Nights to represent their local culture. All Councils collect funds from students for Grand Nights. Similarly, Saraiki Council collect funds from all members and this fund is used for the refreshment of students. Further, collected fund is utilized on welfare activities and proper check and balance is ensured.

General Secretary of Mehran Council said:

*"We collect funds from our members and celebrate our functions. Each member of Council gives money for Grand Nights and other functions like Farewell and Welcome parties".*

Mehran Council also collect funds from its member for any recreational activity.

Chairman of Gilgit said that Council also collects funds from its member. According to chairman of Gilgit Council:

*"There is cultural diversity in QAU and I think it is best platform for every Quaidian to interact with other communities and should understand their culture. All Grand Nights are arranged to represent their culture and we collect money from our members for every function".*

All Grand Nights are arranged to show culture of respective organization and these Grand Nights are arranged so that students of different community can interact with each other and can share ideas about culture.

Similarly, Baloch Council also collect money from its members. As General Secretary of Baloch Council said:

*"Our treasure of cabinet collects charges according to program, if program is arranged in expensive hotel then collected charges are according to expenses. Similarly, if arranged program is in University then amount is collected accordingly".*

Baloch Council also collects funds from its member like other Councils collect funds from its members and funds are collected according to arranged programs. It can be said that these all organizations are based on their ethnicity and represent their culture in their programs.

The researcher asked question from members of students' organizations that how they collect funds for their activities and what is source of funding? This was an important question because economic factor is most important factor for stability of any

institution. The respondents replied that alumni and members donate funds according to their capacity. Treasure collects funds according to arrange recreational function. Although source of funding of students' organization is simple. Funding depends upon the activity. All organizations celebrate three functions in a year. These functions are welcome party, farewell party and grand night. Funds for these functions are collected from each member of organization. Five hundred rupees are collected for farewell and same amount is collected for welcome party. However, for grand nights or annual function this amount is increased to 2000 rupees for recreational purpose. However, according to Iqbal (2012) student organizations were funded by main stream political parties. After the ban on student organizations these political wings loss their identity and now these groups are limited to just recreational activities. In current study, all organizations collect funds from its members just for recreational purpose like farewell, welcome and annual parties.

Figure 6.8 Funding Source

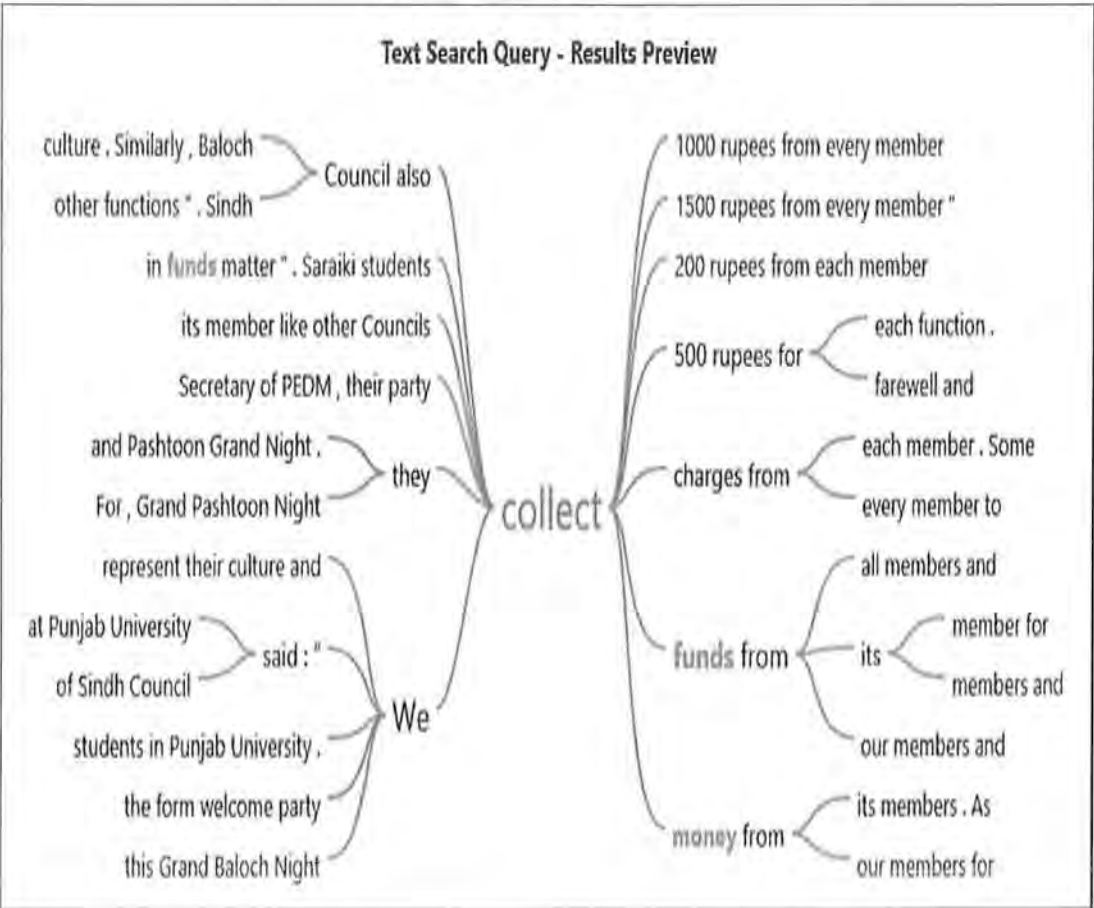


Figure 6.8 describes that how student political wings collect funds for their organizations. The table shows that each organization collects funds from its member. Table is indicating the amount that are collected from each member. This fund is used for different recreational activities.

### 6.9 Cabinet and Election Procedure

The procedure of election of organizations were same of all organization except Islami Jamiat Talba. As the researcher asked question from the members of all student organizations that how chairman and other cabinet is selected and for how many duration chairman and cabinet is selected? It appeared that in most of the organizations select its chairman and cabinet for one year. There are two major designations in Council system. However, in International Islamic University Islamabad, Jamiat follow different election system as well as Cabinet system. At QAU, the researcher asked question from Chairman of Pashtoon Council about their election procedure and the number of cabinet's members, he replied:

*"There is proper election procedure for the election of Chairmanship and General Secretary. Chairman and General Secretary are elected for the duration of one year. The cabinet consists of 10 to 15 students, usually Chairman and General Secretary are selected in first week of January every year".*

Pashtoon Council Cabinet consists of 10 to 15 students and every year in first week of January selection of Chairman and General Secretary is done.

Similarly, General Secretary of Baloch Council said: *"There is also proper election system for Chairmanship and General Secretary and elected body works for one year"*. General Secretary of Baloch Council said that Chairman and other cabinet are just show piece and number of cabinets depend upon the strength of students. Chairman and General Secretary are selected for the period of one year. Further, Punjabi and Pashtoon are in majority so their cabinet is large than other Councils. Actually, Chairman and General Secretary are just show piece nothing else. It is just fun and enjoyment to become Chairman and General Secretary. The cabinet depends upon on the numbers of Council like Punjabi and Pashtoon are in majority so, their cabinet members are greater in numbers than other Councils. Baloch and Gilgit Councils' have less member of

members. So, their cabinet members are less in numbers than Pashtoon and Punjab Council said by the respondent.

Similarly, a member of Saraiki Council said:

*"There is proper election for Chairman and General Secretary. Every year Chairman and General Secretary are elected for one year and Cabinet members are 8 to 12".*

Saraiki Council elects its chairman and General Secretary for one year and Cabinet of Saraiki Council consists of 8 to 12 members.

Chairman of Punjab Council asked:

*"We just show our culture in all programs. There is proper election procedure for the selection of Chairman and General secretary and Cabinet members are selected not elected. Usually, Cabinet vary in number every year".*

QAU is mini Pakistan because every ethnicity student is here and this University is at top ranking according to HEC criteria and students participate in all programs happily. Punjab Council invites all other communities in its programs. Chairman and General Secretary are elected for but cabinet is selected. He explained that Quaid-i-Azam University is mini Pakistan. People come from different areas of the country. Further, he added that he belongs to Gujranwala District and visited all other universities of Pakistan. He concluded that the freedom of expression exists only in QAU. A person can do anything he wants like criticism and discussion on any aspect. Different parties for students are arranged that is just for fun and students happily participate and give money for programs and every Council is invited in our programs.

General Secretary of Mehran Council said:

*"There are six Councils in QAU but no one has proper election structure. We follow proper election procedure and our Council system has same structure like political parties have".*

Mehran Council follow proper political structure and there is mutual consensus in all matters. Every member's opinion is considered and there are proper rules and regulations that are obligatory for each member. They further expressed that there is no monopoly of anyone in our Council. All decisions are made through mutual consensus. All other Councils have monopoly system.

However, in International Islamic University Islamabad Jamiat has different election procedure from all other organization. The head of organization (Nazim) said:

*“Every year on first week of January elections are held for Nazim-e-Jamia but there is no candidate for Nazims, all Umeedwar Rukan cast vote to each other and the Umeedwar Rukan who gets more vote become Nazim-e-Jamia. Then Nazim-e-Jamia selects his Cabinet”.*

Islami Jamiat Talba's election procedure is different from other organizations. All umeedwar Rukan are eligible for Nazim-e-Jamia. One who gets more vote become Nazim.

Similarly, Chairman PEDM said:

*“Every year election is held for Chairman and General Secretary. There are Pashtoon from FATA, Baluchistan and KPK so there is always rotation in designations of Chairman and General Secretary. If chairman belongs to Baluchistan then General Secretary would be either from KPK or FATA. Similarly, if Chairman belongs to FATA or KPK then General Secretary would be from Baluchistan. There is voting system for chairman and general secretary and Cabinet is selected”.*

PEDM has members from FATA, KP, and Baluchistan. So, to overcome conflicts and create harmony among all Pashtoon. Once chairman comes from Baluchistan and next year chairman belongs to Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) or Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). Similarly, the designation of General Secretary also rotates among Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), and Baluchistan.

A member of Baloch Council said:

*“Baloch Council has two major designations Chairman and General Secretary. Like other organizations Baloch Council's Chairman and General Secretary works for one year and other Cabinet is selected”.*

According to Chairman Baloch Council, Chairman and General Secretary are elected every year and other cabinet is selected.

The researcher interviewed all members of an organizations to know how Chairman and other Cabinet of students' organizations is elected. The respondents said that there are no criteria of chairman. Usually the interested candidates are nominated and most famous person or who have ability to deal students' issues is elected as a chairman and other cabinet members are selected according to strength of students. Cabinet members usually include Treasure, Assistant Treasure, Information and Cultural Secretary. Two major designations are in student organizations that are Chairman and General

Secretary of an organization. Chairman and General Secretary are elected for one year and other cabinet is also selected for one year. Cabinet members of every organization depends upon the strength of council. Usually, cabinet members consist of 10 to 15 members in every organization. But election procedure for Jamiat is different from other organizations. no candidate is nominated for Nazim, every umeed war Rukan is eligible for Nazim. Every member casts vote and the person who gets more vote becomes the Nazim of Islami Jamiat Talba. Similarly, according to Nauman and Rumi (2013) when student unions were active proper elections in universities were held and president was elected for student unions. Similarly, current student organizations also copy the election procedure of student unions which are now banned in Pakistan.

Figure 6.9 Election Procedure

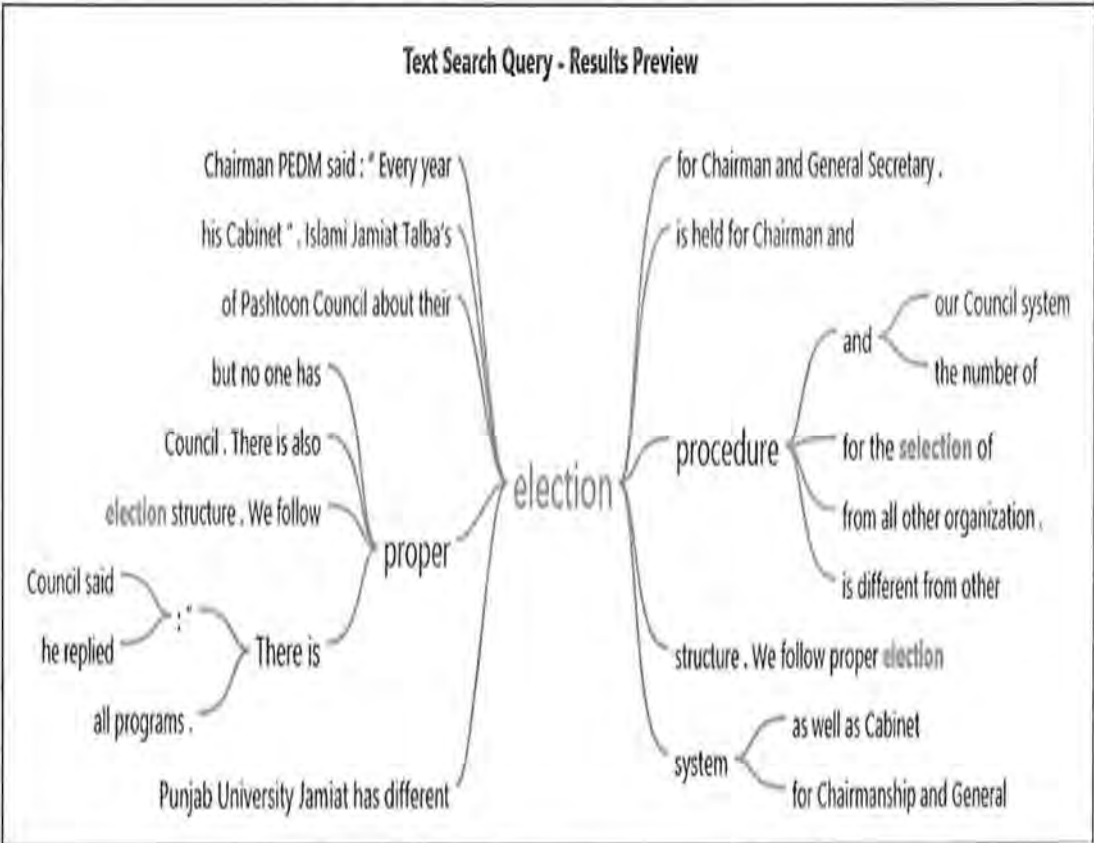


Figure 6.9 narrates the election procedure of student organizations. All organizations elect chairman and general secretary for one years. Proper elections are held every year and cabinet changes every year and cabinet members vary for each council.

### 6.10 Students' Organizations Responsible for Campus Violence

It was found that student organizations are not only responsible for the violence in universities. The researcher asked question about political participation of students and its link with campus violence from all student groups/Councils. At QAU, the Researcher asked from all Council's Chairman as well as General Secretary. The Chairman of Gilgit Council said:

*"Yes, I agree with your statement, these Councils are responsible for campus violence because all those students who want to study come in Councils and their career spoils. This Council system should be finished".*

Chairman of Gilgit Council is agreed with the statement that Council system and student organizations cause campus violence and career of mostly students is spoiled.

General Secretary of Baloch Council said:

*"I observed the psyche of students who are in student organization. First, they become General Secretary and Chairman just to show their power. Second, they create problems deliberately so that students come to Chairman and request to Mr. Chairman kindly solve the issue and then Mr. Chairman thinks I am President of Pakistan".*

General Secretary of Baloch Council has serious reservation with Council system and he claimed that all type of student organizations causes campus violence.

Chairman of Punjab Council said:

*"No, it is not necessary that campus violence is due to student organizations. Student organizations will be in universities because it is natural phenomenon people who are living in any area live in groups. Suppose, there is no group system then there will be anarchy in University".*

Chairman Punjab Council disagree with the statement that campus violence is caused due to student organization and become group is natural phenomenon.

General Secretary of Mehran Council said:

*"It is common perception that students are violent, they create disturbance but this is not the fact".*

Aggression is natural phenomenon and students are always blamed for campus violence this is wrong perception about students. Aggression is natural phenomenon but question is how student become aggressive and what factors motivate them to be aggressive. I

am totally against this perception that student organizations are responsible for campus violence.

Chairman of Pashtoon Council also disagree that students or student organizations are responsible for campus violence. He said:

*"Violence is common phenomenon which exists in all societies and our country is facing this phenomenon in the form of terrorism. It is common sense that when people will live together then definitely there is higher possibility that they will fight with each other. This is misperception that student organizations are responsible for campus violence. I do not agree with this false opinion which is prevailed in our society".*

Violence exists everywhere and every corner. He disagrees that student political participation or student organizations cause campus violence. According to Chairman Pashtoon Council this is misperception regarding student organizations.

However, in International Islamic University Islamabad the major three student organizations that are IJT, PEDM, and Baloch Council also disagree that student organizations create violent environment in universities.

A Nazim of IJT said:

*"Ban on student union is the main cause of violence among students".*

Nazim of Jamiat said that he does not believe that student organizations are responsible for campus violence. All type of violence in universities is due to ban on student unions. Now students are being exploited by University administration and student cannot demand their rights. He said I came in International Islamic University Islamabad in 2008, I did my BS in Gender Studies from International Islamic University Islamabad now I am MPhil Scholar at Gender Studied Department. I have 10 years' experience regarding University life. Student organizations are blamed for campus unrest but this is not the fact. Now days, these students are not aware about their rights like student of 1990's. University administration exploits students but student cannot talk about his right. This is misperception that student organizations are responsible for campus violence.

A member of PEDM said about student organizations and campus violence:

*No, I do not believe that student organizations cause campus violence, there are good and bad people in every society. if, some students create disturbance in universities then it cannot be generalized that student organizations are causes campus violence".*



### 6.11 Activities of Students' Organizations in Universities

The researcher asked question about student organizations activities in universities. The answer of every student organization was different. Islami Jamiat Talba at International Islamic University Islamabad arranges different Darood circles, Bayan and invite students to Islam and PEDM has no regular activities and informal activities are to help students and arrange study circles. Similarly, Baloch Council have no formal activities because these are nonpolitical student organizations.

Nazim Old Campus said:

*"Islami Jamiat Talba daily includes "Dars-e-Quran" after Asar Prayer in every hostel's mosque and after Maghrib Prayer "Islahi Bayan" is arranged for the students because Pakistan is the second state after Madina Munawara that was came into being in the name of religion Islam. So, being a Muslim, it is our duty to invite people to Islam.*

Nazim of hostel 3 said that Jamiat conduct activities daily, weekly, and monthly. Dars-e-Quran and Islahi Bayan are daily activities, Submission of weekly offered Prayers, and activities performed within week to Nazim-e-Jamia is weekly activity and reading the literature by the members including daily and weekly activities. Other than these activities Jamiat arranges different recreational functions for students. he explained that activities in detail that on every weekend, each hostel Nazim, Umeedwar Rukan, and Rukan submit their reports to Nazim-e-Jamia which includes how many prayers were offered by the members, how many Dars-e-Quran and Bayan were arranged by members. Nazim-e-Jamia overview the submitted report and then give further advice to members. At the end of every month, Islamic literature that is given to every Hostel Nazim, Umeedwar Rukan, and Rukan is submitted to Nazim-e-Jamia by Hostel Nazim, Umeedwar Rukan, and Rukan. Members are designated different ranks on the basis of daily, weekly and monthly report progress and the members who are fail to achieve target set by Nazim-e-Jamia are removed from their designation. Similarly, annually different functions are arranged for recreational activities. For example, every year Jamiat arranges sports competition in which students take part.

A member of PEDM said:

*"Actually, there is no hierarchy system and this is not an official student organization like Jamiat. There are no proper activities but informal activities include help each other and motivate Pashtoon students".*

Pashtoon Education Development Movement has no formal activities like Jamiat carry its activities. There are informal activities like student help and motivate each other. Similarly, Baloch Council's activities are similar to PEDM activities as General Secretary of Baloch Council said:

*"There are no formal activities. Our organization is not registered, actually, we all students from Baluchistan live together because of same region, same language and same culture."*

Baloch Council is not officially registered Council but it is group of students who belong to Baluchistan Province and share same culture, language and region and their purpose is to focus on their study not to do any useless activity. Additionally, he told that our main purpose is to focus on our study not to indulge in any useless activities. We have made Baloch Council for our protection stated by respondent.

At Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad the researcher asked about daily, weekly, monthly and annually activities of student organization. There are no formal activities and mostly students asked that all Councils are nonpolitical and one activity was common is all Councils that was to represent their culture. The activities of all organizations are alike.

Chairman Punjab Council said about the activities of his organization:

*"Main activity of Council is to represent their culture. I am Punjabi and we show our culture to other students. Further, we arrange study circles for students".*

All Councils represent their culture. Similarly, Punjab Council also represent its culture. General Secretary of Baloch Council said:

*"There is totally "Dramy Bazi" (Fraud) in the name of Councils. The activities of Council are to attract girls and I never saw that any Council helped any student. Main activity of the Council is to wait in front of girl's especially between 7 PM to 9 PM daily, to tease girls and pass comments. If, I am wrong anyone can observe their activities".*

General Secretary Baloch Council said there are not any useful activities of Councils. Council's students tease and attract girls and pass comments on girls.

Chairman of Pashtoon Council said: *"Council system has become notorious but now there are not any useful activities of students".*

The Chairman of Baloch Council said that Councils are not performing their duties according to objectives and are notorious for their bad activities. He said that Councils

have forget their agenda. All Councils fight for minor issues and create hype. Students are immature, honestly speaking, I cannot tell any practical activity which the actual purpose of Councils was but hypothetically, to donate blood, represent culture and reconciliation among student and resolve issues.

General Secretary of Saraiki Council said:

*"Our Councils arrange study circles, we donate blood to needy and in case of emergency we are always available for the help of students. Last semester, a student of Chemistry who was worry about their hostel fee and accommodation as well. We arranged money and accommodation for him".*

Chairman Saraiki Council said that they helped the poor and needy students and last semester their Council helped a student who was facing difficulty regarding accommodation and fee.

Chairman Gilgit Council said: *"Nowadays Council system has weakened and students have not any ideology.*

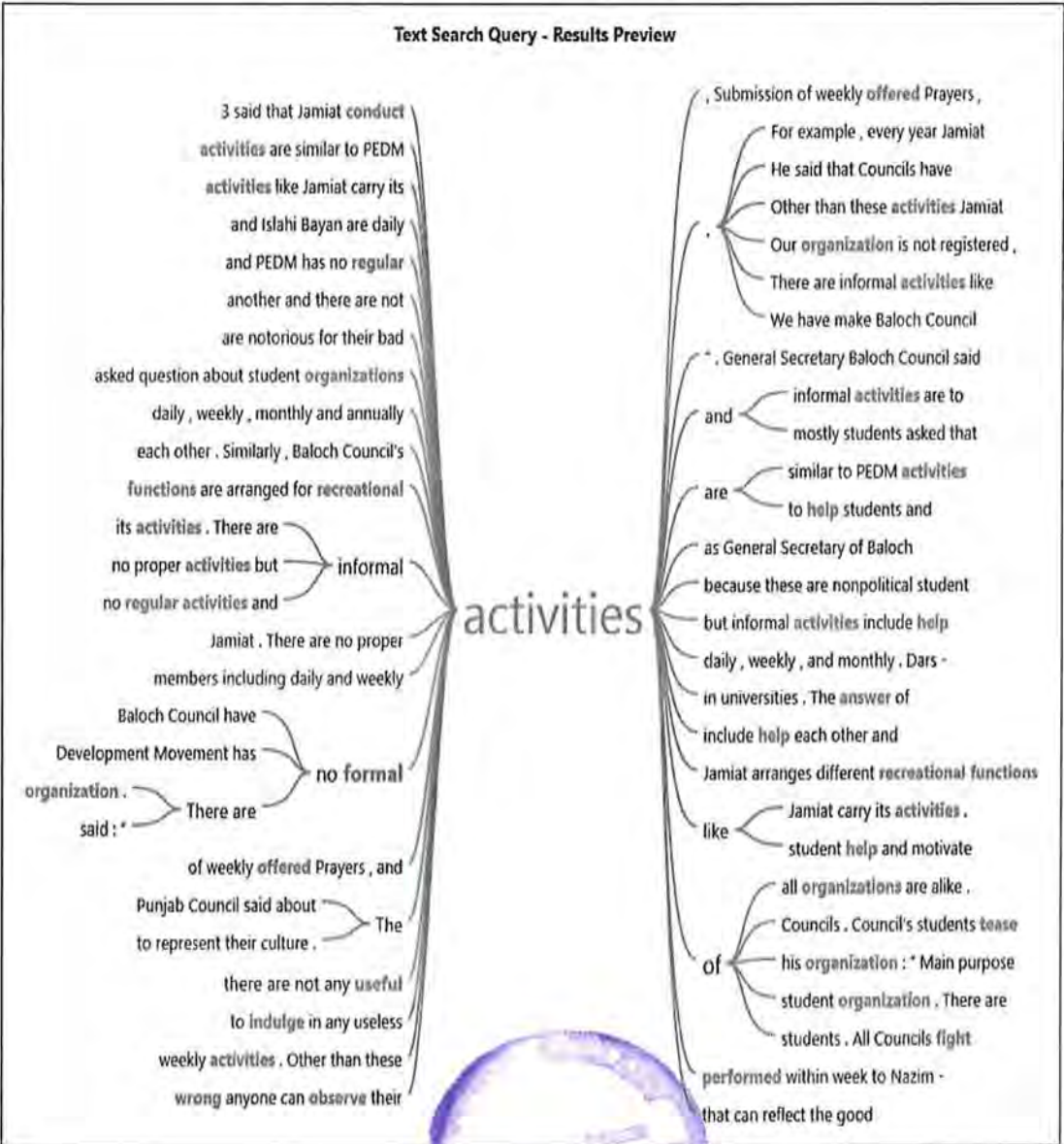
Chairman of Gilgit Council said that Council system is good for students and it should exist but students who are in Councils are not ideological. The respondent said that students fight with each other and do not respect one another and there are not activities that can reflect the good image of Council system. Actually, Council system is good but the students who are in Council are not good.

Figure 6.11 explains the activities of student organizations. Table explains that there are no formal activities of these organizations except Jamiat. All other organizations are carried informal activities. Informal activities include help students, arrange different cultural events. Some respondents answered that they are officially not registered so there are not any formal activities.

All student organizations existing in universities do not carry formal activities except Islami Jamiat Talba. The researcher interviewed all student organizations in Quaid-i-Azam university and asked question about their activities but all student's organizations member replied that no formal activities are held by student organizations but some informal activities are carried by these organizations. Informal activities are gathering of students, to help students and arrange study circles. However, according to Malik (2001) student organizations in Pakistan had play crucial role in Pakistani politics, these unions had formal activities within educational institution. Official meetings were held by student unions regarding election procedure were held. To help needy and deserving

students were minor agendas of student unions. But now days the student organizations existing within Pakistani universities are unregistered and have no agendas. Future of students and their intellectual is decreasing due to these organizations. Even not a single member answered satisfactory about formal activities of student organization expect Jamiat that is only political wing of Jamat-e-Islami in International Islamic University Islamabad Lahore. Islami Jamiat Talba has formal activities in which every member is assigned task and within given time period the assigned task is fulfilled by members. The meeting of Islami Jamiat Talba are organized and Ameer Jamat e Islami comes in their meeting.

Figure 6.11 Activities of Student Organizations



## 6.12 Ethnic Nationalism

Chairman of Baloch Council at Quaid-i-Azam University said: *“Ethnic Nationalism is the main factors among students that lead to Campus violence”*.

According to Chairman of Baloch Council, feelings of ethnic nationalism cause hatred among students which ultimately leads to violence on minor issues. Nationalism is an international phenomenon and have affected the whole world globally. Unfortunately, Wave of nationalism also have encompassed Pakistan and it is also suffering from this phenomenon. The feelings of hatred are among students. The concept of I is dangerous among students. For example, it is misperception among Baloch students that all-natural resources are in Baluchistan but Punjab is using all resources. So, if some issue creates then this factor provokes emotions and student fights with each other.

Similarly, General Secretary of Punjab Council told:

*Many times, I debated with my friends who belong to Baluchistan they always discuss on the topic of unequal distribution of resources. There are feelings of hatred among students of Baluchistan Province.*

According to General Secretary of Punjab Council, nationalism among students causes campus violence. He observed that students from Baluchistan province have feeling of hatred towards Punjabi students. he shared his experience that I noted that whenever clash arises between Punjab and Baloch Council, slogan is raised that beat Punjabis because they are exploiting us. Nationalism factor is very dangerous that is one major reason behind campus violence. Another thing is that, it is considered that Punjabis are hypocritic. So, this type of myths give birth to nationalism”.

According to Chairman Gilgit Council:

*“I think nationalism is one of the major issues behind on campus violence. Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Gilgit and Pashtoon all considered themselves superiors. So, in my opinion campus violence is due to feelings of ethnic nationalism”*.

Gilgit Council’s chairman told that nationalism factor causes campus violence. He replied that ethnic nationalism evokes feelings of hatred and students are rigid in their ethnicity and do not tolerate each other that leads to violent incidents in universities.

Similarly, A member of Mehran Council told:

*“I think there are many factors that causes on campus violence but according to my perspective nationalism is one of the most burning reason of campus violence”*.

Similarly, General Secretary of Pashtoon Council said:

*“In my opinion, if nationalism factor could be stopped, almost 90% campus violence will be reduced. Feelings of extreme negativity regarding one another is catastrophe of the society”.*

Nationalism is one of the most important reason behind on campus violence. General Secretary of Pashtoon Council claimed that 90% campus violence is due to nationalism.

Figure 6.12 Ethnic Nationalism

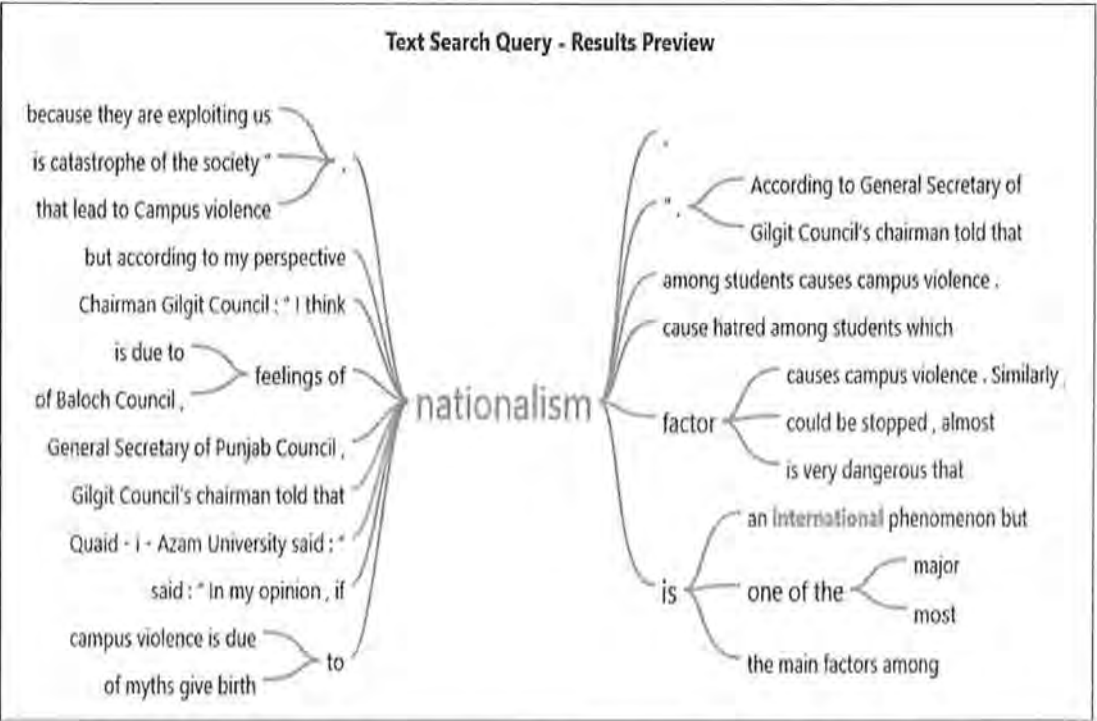


Figure 6.12 is the word tree of nationalism that is one major factor of campus violence. This is an international phenomenon and prevailing in universities. Such feelings create hatred among students and they do not tolerate each other and fight on minor issues.

### 6.13 Emergence of Ethnocentric Feelings

Another factor that causes violence among students in universities is lack of interaction. According to Chairman of Punjab Council:

*“When students get admission in University, they find different environment than college. Lack of interaction causes campus violence.*

Different student groups joined different organizations and due to their attachment with the said organizations and the views developed by these student organizations affect

the attitude of individuals. He told a story that last week I was sitting in front of Quetta huts two guys were speaking loudly I went to them and inquire the reason of conflict? the Punjabi guy told me that I sit on his bike by mistake because I do not know the exact bike number of my friend mistakenly I have opened the lock of that bike because my bike key matched that lock and that lock opened and now his guy is not listening to me. The Pashtoon guy verified all the documents and bike number and even checked the key because of the doubt that Punjabi guy has universal key which can open the lock of any bike. A little misunderstanding was leading to conflict among them.

Chairman of Punjab Council gave an example that how lack of interaction leads to campus violence. He said that a little mistake by Punjabi guy was leading to violence. Similarly, Chairman of Pashtoon Council said:

*"Mostly clashes occur because students do not interact with each other and started fighting."*

The respondent said I am here since 2014 and I observed many things. When I get admission in this University I was very aggressive and did not talk with anybody. Later, I realized that interaction is essential for survival. Last year, I was sitting in front of Central Library, a member of Pashtoon Council came to me and asked that one Punjabi guy that is my class fellow laughed at me when we went to that guy, he told I was talking to my friend and we laughed at a joke not on him. However, Pashtoon guy was in angry because he was thinking that he has been insulted. if, we did not negotiate with that guy it would result in campus violence.

Chairman of Pashtoon Council shared his experience regarding on campus violence. According to him lack of interaction among students causes campus violence. General secretary of Gilgit Council said:

*"Campus violence caused due to lack of interaction and misunderstanding among students. Sometimes, class fellows with in class in a joke fight with each other."*

General Secretary of Baloch Council said: *"I observed that mostly clashes are on minor issues"*.

He told that for example, in the class students fight due to chairs. like one said this is my seat yesterday I sit here other said no this is my seat. This is due to lack of interaction among class fellows. In the class, clash arises and comes in Councils that results in the form of among Councils.

General Secretary of Mehran Council told:



*"BS students are immature because they don't know how to behave with one another. They come in University after inter and their behavior does aggressive. Usually, they don't show tolerance that ultimately results in violence".*

Chairman of Gilgit Council said that immaturity of BS students causes campus violence. They are aggressive in their behavior and don't show any tolerance that results in violence among students.

General Secretary of Baloch Council said:

*"Before BS program, QAU was research institute. Students knew each other by their name and violence ratio was very low but, now this is not research institute. QAU has become a college because strength of BS students is higher than MPhil and Ph.D. students. After BS program campus environment changed and violence ratio increased.*

General Secretary of Baloch Council shared his experience regarding on campus violence that after the start of BS program environment of University changed and campus violence ratio also increased.

Chairman of Punjab Council told that:

*"(Sara Gandh University main BS ny dala howa hai) Students of BS program have distorted the campus environment. Almost in 99% campus violence is due to BS students. they are involved in every violent activity".*

Chairman of Punjab Council explained what the causes of campus violence are? He blamed that BS students are responsible for campus violence. After BS program, University environment has changed. He claimed that 99% clashes are due to students of Bachelor program and campus environment has been disturbed due to BS program.

Chairman of Saraiki Council Shared his experience:

*"There was peace environment in University before BS program. There was harmony and integrity among students and violence ratio among student was little".*

Before BS program, there was harmony and integrity among students and campus environment was peace. BS students don not know how to live in university. There is no maturity in BS students, they do not know how to treat friends, how to behave in the class. They are immature that's why fight with each other's. they violate the written agreement of Councils and create violent environment.

Chairman of Pashtoon Council told his experience that:

*"Campus violence has increased after starting the program of BS in QAU. If, I look back in 2010 I see that how much campus environment has changed. Now, issues are created on minor things".*

According to chairman Pashtoon Council, there was peace environment before BS program in 2010. Now, campus environment has changed.

Chairman Mehran Council told:

*"Some students blame that after BS campus environment has changed. I agree with them, who say campus environment was good before BS program, proper study circles were arranged and there was study environment".*

Chairman Mehran Council Blamed that BS students do not give respect the elders. Their behavior is aggressive and fight with each other and campus violence incidents have increased. Now, BS program has started and the charm of campus has vanished. They do not respect seniors; tolerance level is not at all. Their behavior is aggressive, fight with each other, there was not coupling system in this University after BS coupling system started.

**Figure 6.14 Intolerant Adolescents**



Figure 6.14 explains that students of Bachelor program get admission in university after their college life. When they enter in university, they are immature and have aggressive

behavior that leads to violence among students. It can be seen above figure 6.14 that Students, campus and program are three major key words. Similarly, environment and violence are sub key words that illustrates the linkage among bachelor program, campus, students, environment, and council.

### 6.15 Preservation of Ethnic Identity

Another factor which causes campus violence is to maintain hegemony because student unions are banned in Pakistan and every organization either it is ethnic base or religious base, wants to keep its hegemony. As chairman of Punjab Council said:

*"I think main issue behind all politics and fights among students is because every group want to dominate on others. No one knows each other out of the campus".*

Chairman Punjab Council told that every group wants to suppress other group because everyone wants dominancy. General Secretary of Mehran Council shared his experience:

*"Punjabi and Pashtoon are in majority in this University and usually they fight with each other. Punjabi wants to keep their hegemony while Pashtoon wants to keep their hegemony with ultimately leads to violence".*

General Secretary of Mehran Council also blamed that hegemony causes violence among students. He gives the example of Panjabi and Pashtoon students, they fight with each other because they are in majority and want to keep their hegemony in University.

Chairman of Baloch Council narrated:

*"Council system is made to show power. Chairman and General Secretary both become to show off. (Har koi chahta hai ky bs meri baly baly ho) everyone wants that people praise him which causes to violence among students".*

Chairman of Baloch Council said that everyone wants that student should praise him that he is General Secretary or Chairman of the Council and student give respect them.

General Secretary of Gilgit Council said:

*"I think everyone wants to show off his power. Punjabi say that we are the owner of this University while Pashtoon say we are owner. Similarly,*

*Baloch consider we are the owner of this University. Everyone considers himself king that results in the form of fight among students”.*

General Secretary of Gilgit Council told that students of every organization consider themselves as a king that causes fight among students.

Chairman of Saraiki Council told:

*“I am here from past 8 years and I observed many fights among students. I concluded that mostly violence issues are due to wish of hegemony by every organization. On minor issues these words are common in listen that how dare you to ask me something (Tumhari himmat kesy hoi mjhe kch kehny ki) ”.*

Chairman Saraiki Council told that wish to gain power in University caused campus violence. He shared his 8 years’ experience about university life and causes of violence. He said that minor issues cause campus violence like lack of tolerance.

At International Islamic University Islamabad Chairman of PEDM said:

*“There is one major reason that causes violence among PEDM’s student and Jamiat. Jamiat force their ideology on all students and we do not accept their ideology.*

Chairman of PEDM told that Islami Jamiat is at hegemonic position from past 60 to 70 years and they challenge their position and do not follow the ideology of Jamiat that causes violence among Pashtoon students and Jamiat. He said there are some other reasons which causes violence among PEDM and Jamiat like Jamiat conducts its activities like dars-e-Quran and they force to attend that activity but we do not participate in that activity. Second, we follow University rules and regulation but IJT wants that students should follow the rules and regulations set by Jamiat. Third, IJT was at hegemonic position from 60 to 70 years and we challenge their hegemony. These are the causes of violence between IJT and PEDM. Further, when any protest is recorded, IJT force students to join this protest. Similarly, IJT wants that student must follow them.

However, member of IJT said:

*“Islami Jamiat Talba is nonpolitical organization and IJT was establish in this University. We are peaceful people but we do not bear the violation of religion, Pashtoon students are our brother and we respect them but they propagate anti Pakistan and anti-religion things which is definitely against our ideology and causes violence among us”.*



### 6.16 Honor Based Violence

Girls are cause of violence among boys in universities. The researcher asked question from respondents that how much they agree with the statement that girl causes violence among boys all respondents replied this is shameful but it is reality. Chairman Punjab Council said:

*"Another issue which causes violence among students are girls. I think this is immaturity and this is general trend in Pakistani societies. I observed that students consider girls their property and fight for them".*

Mostly students fight with each other due to girls and this phenomenon shows that there is immaturity in Pakistani society. General Secretary of Mehran Council replied:

*"I observed that clashes among students are not due to major issues. Some minor things cause campus violence like girls. Students fight with each other due to girls.*

General Secretary of Mehran Council observed that clashes among students are not on big issues. Students fight with each other on minor issues. He explained an example of clash between Punjabi and Pashtoon students who fought with each other on the issue of girls. He gave an example that last year he witnessed, two Punjabi students were sitting at social huts with their girlfriends and two Pashtoon students sat in front of them and started talking with one another but Punjabi guys perceived that they are passing comments on them and this is insult in front of girls so the fight started that resulted closure of university for 3 days.

Chairman of Gilgit Council said:

*"Mostly girls are not reason for violence but ultimately it becomes the reason. It depends upon the interest that who is interested in the girl? Is there chairman interested in the girl? If, chairman is interested then that girl cannot become friend of any other student. If she becomes then fight is must".*

Chairman of Gilgit Council told that it is said that girls do not become reasons of violence among students but ultimately, they become reasons. If, there is interest of chairman in girl then it will lead to violence in future.

Chairman of Saraiki Council respond.

*"Girls also become reason of quarrel among students. I observed that if somebody pass a comment of girl, she will not respond but the boy with that girl consider it insult and fight".*

Girls do not respond on the comments that are passed by boys but the boys along with girls considered it insult and fight.

General Secretary of Pashtoon Council replied:

*"Sometimes girls caused violence among boys but this type of issues are little. (Kuch chachhory type ky larky is trah ki ghatia harkaten krty hain) Some students who are frustrated do such type of activities".*

He is partially agreed that girls cause campus violence among students. Some frustrated boys who are less in quantity fight due to girls.

Similarly, General Secretary of Baloch Council replied:

*"Historically, women have been caused for the reason of violence among people. So, it is not new thing that violence is caused due to girls. Main purpose of students is to attract girls that definitely causes violence among boys".*

He said that violence due to girls is natural phenomenon and this is not any unique thing. He said it is one of the reasons that causes violence among students. however, student at International Islamic University Islamabad were also agreed that girls cause violence among students except Jamiat. As Nazim said:

*"Islami Jamiat Talba helps students but some students violate the ideology of Jamiat like they sit with girls in unethical manners that is unacceptable for Jamiat. Mostly, Pashtoon and Baloch students do this type of activities".*

It is against the ideology of Jamiat to do unethical activities with girls. IJT stops students when they cross limits otherwise they have no issue.

General Secretary of PEDM replied:

*"Sometimes, girls caused campus violence. Jamiat politics in the name of Islam. They said it is haram to sit with a girl but at the same time they sit with girls and even have affairs. He said Jamiat objects that it is against Islamic ideology to sit with girls but at the same time they sit with girls. He responds that it seems Madrassa instead of university. Further, If, they have Islamic ideology then coeducation should not be allowed in universities. Almost there are 47000 students in this university and 35000 are girls. In the class, groups are made by the teachers for assignments so it is necessary to talk with girls but IJT do not allow such to talk with girls. This is not university, it seems this is Madrassa".*

General Secretary of Baloch Council replied:

*“This is little bit true but we have decided that our organization will never fight with other organization due to girls. This ethical wrong. two or three times but we strictly take action against those students who were involved in these activities. We cannot bear such type of incidents (Hum larkion ki khatir apni party dao py ni lga skty) ”.*

He said that sometime girls cause of fight among boys but we have strictly warned our members that organization will not support any member in the issue of girls. However, Baloch Council have taken strict action so that girls will no cause of violence. he said that their organization discourages such type of issues.

**Figure 6.16 Honor Base Violence**

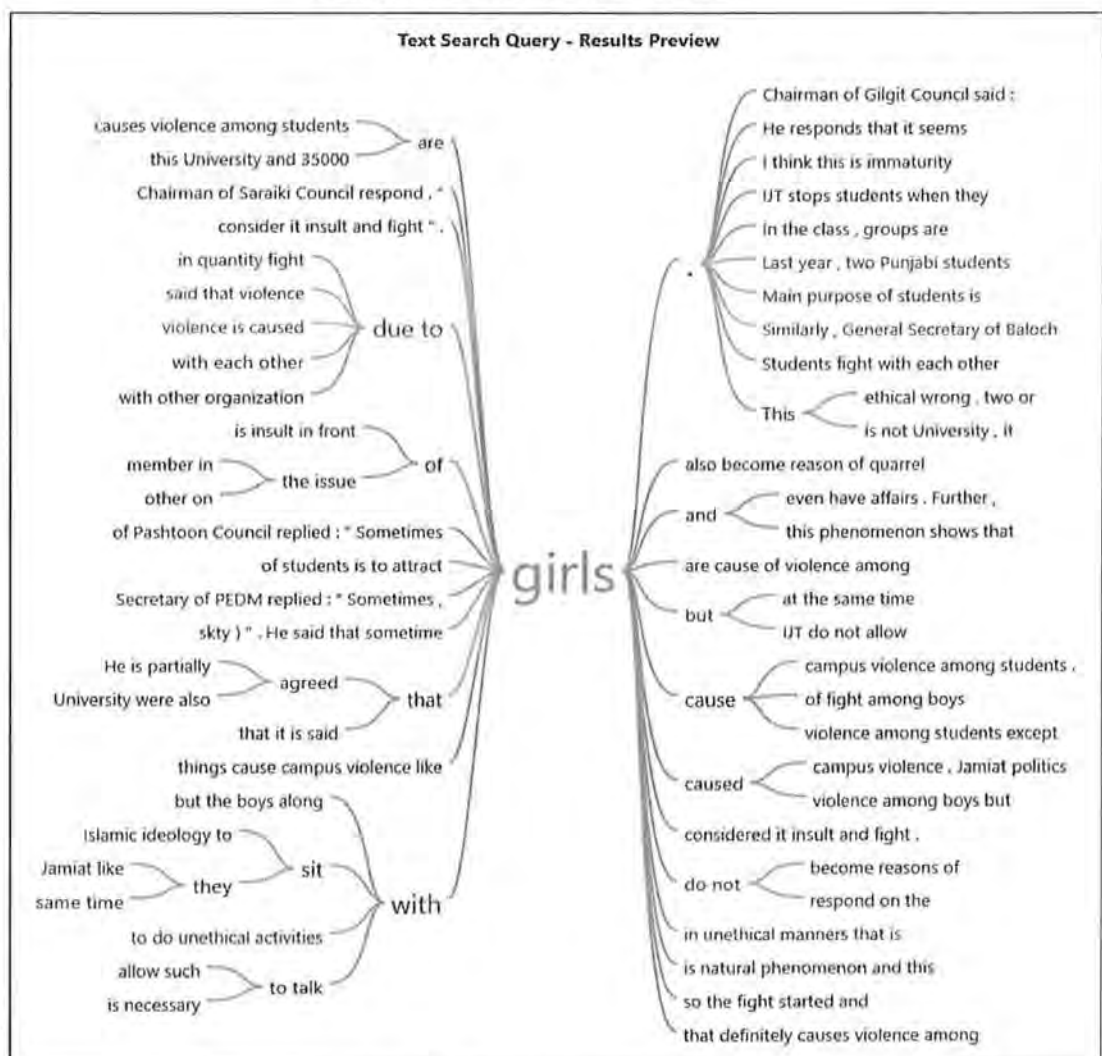


Figure 6.16 describes another factor of campus violence. The figure explains how girls caused violence among students in universities. Students feel insult in front of girls if

someone talks harshly. It can be seen in above figure 6.16 that a tree of words on both sides of word girls explaining linkage of violence among students. On right side of the tree students' answer is explained and on left side of the figure causes due to girls is narrated.

### 6.17 Self Understanding of Students to Control Campus Violence

This section deals with the steps suggested by students to control campus violence. All organizations members were agreed some steps should be taken against students who create violent environment.

All member of student organizations was agreed that university administration should be powerful so that take proper action against students who are responsible for campus violence. Chairman of Punjab Council said:

*"University is an institution and it is the responsibility of university administration to maintain the environment of campus. But, all public universities are lack of powerful university administration. If some incident occurs then university administration disappears. Any issue if happens then administration should control it".*

He said university administration should take strict action and should not compromise on campus environment. When some violent incident occurs university, administration should reach on time so that issue may be resolved immediately.

Chairman Pashtoon Council said:

*"University administration itself involves in campus violence. Everyone has its own interest, faculty members have own interest, administration has its own interest. So, students are used and administration use them".*

University administration is involved in internal politics of university. Similarly, teachers also do politics and students are exploited by administration as well as teaching staff\*.

General Secretary of Saraiki Council told:

*"If university administration is vigilant then it is not possible that incidents like violence emerge in the university (Agr university administration seedhi ho jae to kisi maai ky lal ki himmat ni ky university ka mahool khrab kr sky)".*

University administration is properly functioning then no one can disturb campus environment and administration should be powerful.

Chairman of Gilgit Council give suggestions that:

*"first of all, it is the responsibility of state to control such type of incidents but university is an autonomous body that have its own structure so university administrators should be Army Generals. I guarantee no violent incident will be reported".*

According to chairman Gilgit Council army Generals should be appointed on administrators post then violent incidents can be stopped. To control violence is the responsibility of state but universities are autonomous bodies and administration should control campus environment.

General Secretary of Baloch Council said:

*"I experienced many violence incidents but every time we informed university administration that a violent incident is happening but no one take notice".*

University administration do not want to resolve issues even students inform administration on time but no one shows concerns regarding violence.

General Secretary of Mehran Council shared his experience:

*"Administration never wants safe environment of the campus. Administration should be so powerful that it may take strict action against students who violates the university rules and regulations. Last time, I called university administration and even police that students are gathering to fight but every one said no need to worry and finally students fought with each other and many injured".*

General Secretary of Mehran Council shared his personal experience that once he had experienced a violence incident and he informed police as well as university administration but no body take notice and finally students fought and many injured.

Chairman PEDM said:

*"Students unions should be restored. If unions cannot be restored then there should be banned on every kind of groups in universities and there is majority of students who are living from previous 6 to 7 years".*

Administration should take strict action against such type of students and just university students should be allowed in university. For example, the present Nazim of Jamiat has completed his degree 10 years ago and now he is still living in university hostel".

## **Chapter 7**

### **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

## 7.1 Discussion

Campus violence is an international phenomenon and it has also badly affected the Pakistani universities. The aim of current study was to explore the factors behind campus violence. It was assumed that student organizations cause campus violence because student unions are officially banned in universities by supreme Court of Pakistan. In spite of banned political organizations, still different types of student group are existing in universities and performing their duties like a political organization. It has been observed that member of these student organizations fights with each other that affects academic spheres. At the same time, these groups interfere in administration matters of university. These organizations properly elect chairman and general secretary and majority of Pakistani universities have such type of organization with different names. Campus violence ratio has increased from past decades. The focus of current research study is the organizations existing within Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and International Islamic University Islamabad Lahore. Six student groups or organizations are existing in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and three major organizations are existing in International Islamic University Islamabad Lahore. The name of these six groups are Gilgit Council, Punjab Council, Pashtoon Council, Mehran Council, Saraiki Council and Baloch Council. Similarly, three major student organizations at International Islamic University Islamabad are Islami Jamiat Talba, Pashtoon Education Development Movement, and Baloch Council. All organizations at Quaid-i-Azam University are ethnic base and claim that each student group represents its culture and to help needy students. However, the situation is International Islamic University Islamabad is quite different. Islami Jamiat Talba is a student organization that have pure Islamic ideology and want to enforce its ideology on other students. Similarly, two other organizations Baloch Council and Pashtoon Education Development Movement are also carry their activities. The researcher interviewed from all the chairmen and general secretaries as well as members of these organizations to explore the factors behind campus violence.

Theory of Cultural violence given by John Galtung (1990) also supports the findings of the current study. According to theory of Cultural violence, use of direct or structural violence is legitimized or justified through cultural elements religion, ideology, language, and formal sciences. The context of violence in both universities comes in the domain of culture. Councils in QAU are based on ethnic basis and show their culture. Similarly, IJT justify violence through religion because it is religious

organization and their motto is to convince students to Islam and stop vice with the use of force.

Campus violence is an international phenomenon. Marcella (2015) claimed that 479000 students experienced violence in American universities annually. Fleenor (2009:15) conducted a study on campus unrest. his findings revealed that from 1995 to 2002 almost 61 per 1000 students experienced violence in universities of America. Amaraphibal, Rujipak and Payakkakom (2013) conducted a study in Bangkok educational institution. His findings revealed that exposure to family violence causes violence in educational institutions.

Students join these organizations by their own choice. Some students become members of these organizations because their peer convince them to join organizations. Many students join because of ethnicity, Punjabi joins Punjab Council, Sindhi joins Mehran Council, Balochi joins Baloch Council and Pashtoon joins Pashtoon Council. While others join just to attain the tag of student organizations to get fame. All students who are member of any organization do not have strong political background except some students. If some students have political background they use influence for their interest. The purpose of these organizations is to help students and take action against student rights violation. They work for student welfare, arrange different study circles and aware students in their areas to get admission in universities. These organizations have not political affiliation with any main stream political parties. Almost all members of student organizations refused to accept the claim that political parties support these organizations. These organizations collect funds from their members for annual functions and other recreational activities. Different students participate according to their capacity, annually three functions are arranged for students, welcome party for newly students to welcome them in university, farewell party for the passing out students at the end of the degree and one annual function named grand night for the selection of new cabinet of the organizations. Chairman and General Secretary of each organization is elected for one year and cabinet is also selected for one year.

Different factors cause campus violence. Responses of students who were active in political activities at Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad said that nationalism creates clashes among students of different communities. As Quaid-i-Azam University has ethnic diversity and students belongs different communities so, feelings of ethnocentrism are emerging among students due to which violence on campus ratio is increasing. Another factor that causes violence on campus is abundance of intolerant

students that has emerged after the BS program. Students do not tolerate each other and fight with each other. Students come in BS after their college life and at the peak of their adolescence with aggressive behavior and immaturity and create violent environment in universities. Third major factor was preservation of ethnic identity in which every student organization wants to dominate on other organizations. Fourth major factor was honored base violence, in which students feel insult and take revenge from other students that create clashes among students. It's a natural phenomenon to have attraction with opposite sex, so, sometimes, girls become cause of violence among students.

However, the causes of violence among students at International Islamic University Islamabad are little different than Quaid-i-Azam University because campus environment of International Islamic University Islamabad is different than QAU. Islami Jamiat Talba is a religious organization with pure religious ideology while at the same time there is coeducation in university that is also against the ideology of Jamiat. So, when students sit with girls IJT stops them that causes violence among students. Further, two other organizations Pashtoon Education Development Movement and Baloch Councils also exists in International Islamic University Islamabad except Jamiat. These student organizations do not follow the ideology of Jamiat but Jamiat do not allow any other organization to perform activities like Jamiat itself performs this is the main cause of violence among students in International Islamic University Islamabad. IJT does not accept the existing of PEDM and Baloch Council. So, when these organizations want to celebrate functions or other activities, IJT stops their activities with force that results in the form of clashes among them.

## **7.2 Conclusion**

Student unions have played vital role in country politics. Student unions have a detailed history in Pakistani politics. Campus violence causes due to existence of student unions. These unions are responsible for campus violence in different ways. Although, student unions are officially banned but these unions have still existence in universities. They unions are not officially registered so the activities of these unions are influencing the academic environment. These organizations do not conduct formal activities but through informal activities use pressure on administration as well university staff. Instead of engaging its member in useful activities, youths are engaged in unethical or

useless activities. In this way, career of students spoiled and productive activities of students affects. Six student organizations are performing activities in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and three major student organizations, IJT, PEDM, and Baloch Council are performing its activities in International Islamic University Islamabad. Both of these university have campus violence ratio high than other universities. Quaid-i-Azam university remained close for 17 days because of these student organization that affected academic sphere as well as university environment (Dawn 2017). State as well as University administration should make strict policies against these organization so that influence of these organization can be decreased.

### **7.3 Recommendations**

The current study focuses on youth political participation and on campus violence in the universities of Islamabad and Punjab. The purpose of study was to explore how political involvement of youth contributes to on campus violence? The data was collected from only male students within Quaid-i-Azam university Islamabad and International Islamic University Islamabad Lahore. Youth political participation and on campus violence are two different areas with different aspects. In current study, the researcher tried to cope with both aspects. However, in future these two broad aspects should be studied separately. For on campus violence, sample should be large encompassing all universities of Pakistan which have high ratio of campus violence. Unit of analysis should be not only students but faculty members, and administration of university also included. So, phenomenon of campus violence should be explored from multiple views. Similarly, the youth political participation should also be studied separately and views regarding student unions, advantages and disadvantages and their role in universities should be explored. To check the relationship between youth political participation and campus violence, a quantitative study will be conducted within universities of Pakistan that will multiple unit of analysis like university administration, members of student organizations, faculty members and neutral male as well as female students. So that the results can be generalized.

In current study the research has tried to explore the phenomenon of campus violence within Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad and International Islamic University Islamabad Lahore with target population of only male students who are actively participate in political activities within universities.

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## Annexure

What is your designation in your student organization?

When did you become member of student organization?

Why you became member of current student organization not any other?

How you became member of student organization?

What is the procedure to become member of your organization?

Is it necessary to for every new student to become member of student organization?

Do you have any political background?

Does your family know that you are a member of student organization?

What is the motto of your organization?

How you solve your internal problems?

Which political party support your organization?

What are the activities of your organization?

Describe welfare works of your organization?

How your organization punish a member when he made mistake?

Who helped you in problematic situation?

What are the major designations in your organization?

How many cabinet members are there in your organization?

What is the selection criteria for chairmanship?

How chairman and other cabinet members are selected?

What is the funding source of your organization?

Have you experienced any violence in university? If yes, how many times?

What was the reason of violence which you have experienced?

What incentives you received being a member of student organization?

Do you think student organizations are responsible for campus violence?

What issues you are confronting due to ban on student unions?