

Power and Ethnic Identities: Dynamics of Student Politics in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad



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Formal Declaration

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This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Kisa Kazmi. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the degree of “MSc in Anthropology”.

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Kisa Kazmi

Abstract

Politics or governance is one of the five classic social institutions and it needs to be understood well if a holistic understanding of any community is to be achieved. Politics is considered essential for any society's proper functioning; political organization of society is multi-tiered and multifaceted. It is basically that group of actions linked with either taking decisions with the group's consent involved or other practices of power relations among people including sharing of capitals and positions. Student politics is one dimension of the complex political phenomenon within the larger society. The significant aspect of this research is the linkage of ethnicity to the student unionization. Students of Quaid-i-Azam University have six ethnic councils or student sub-unions, representing Sindhi (Mehran council), Pakhtun (Pakhtun council), Punjabi (Punjab council), Balochi (Baloch council), Seraiki (Seraiki council), and Gilgit-Baltistan (GB council). Gilgit-Baltistan council does not depict ethnic tone to its name but the students of GB speak Shina, Balti, Brushiski, Khwar and such regional languages. Students from Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) tried to make their council too but rest of the student councils resisted its formation. These ethnic student councils resist the influence of student wings of religious and national political parties, one of the major examples is Jamat-i-Islami's student wing Islami Jamiat Talba that face strong resistance by the ethnic student councils. Although; Imamia Student Federation (a sectarian party) exist latently without engaging into active student politics and have members from all ethnic student councils.

This research is truly focused to know about the student politics existing in the form of councils in Quaid-i-Azam University. It was aimed mainly to find out the consequences being faced and what are root causes working behind them. The research done was qualitative in nature. The total sample size of the research was 20 participants. With the participants, formal and informal talks as well as in-depth interviews were held. A number of different languages are being spoken here so the medium used to talk was Urdu for the common understanding of all.

The result found is based on the negligence of administration that has given free hand to students. It has somehow become responsible for the formation of councils and their actions being seen in the premises of institution. But this factor is not solely the reason behind problems but the others like personal issues, case of any girl's involvement or influence of the background, are also listed in the causes. From this, it can be concluded that although

there are several challenges coming out as a result of this system, ranging from micro to macro level. But the need of a proper student body prevails. Although, Quaid-i-Azam Students Federation or QSF is constituted as a representative of all students but it is fed its administration from the existing ethnic student councils that make it a fragile body. A formal and institutionalized student union is highly needed to provide students a fairer training for their political conscious nurture.

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1 INTRODUCTION

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "identity" is derived from the Latin word "identitas," and has the same semantic meaning. It has both the same and distinct meanings. As we will see below, two major and complementary components of identity appear to have contradictory interpretations. Apart from the linguistic sense of "identity," our overall perspective of the services is our general understanding of others, thus it is possible to say that our identity is closely related to conception, since our conception of oneself and others serves as a foundation for our identity. Furthermore, *William Jones* (1990) used an automated technique to present the notion as an equal of personality in the American psychological research for the first time in philosophy. The degree of psychological identity analysis was, in reality, knowledge level. Identity at this point referred to the character of one's personality and its nuclear component. In this view, identity is a method of organizing one's own physical features, ideology, knowledge, experiences, and talents. This definition of identity was originally used in psychology and personal studies by persons like *Herbert Mid*.

As a result, theorists such as *Henri Tajfel* sought to present a unified point of view. Tajfel's renowned idea of social identity is considered to be dependent on his group membership. One gathers knowledge about his surroundings and the distinctions between his group and others in order to build his own identity via similarities and differences. *Tajfel* really replaced various forms of group identities (including ethnic and national identities) with intergroup and intragroup approach ideas. In this sense, the state is defined by its source of power, culture, and other defining characteristics. *Alexander Wendt*, a structuralism theorist in international relations, regards personality and humanization as the primary causes of the psychological component of identity. He believes that this state view is so important in international relations that an aspect cannot be introduced without it. Identity, with its social consequences, was also employed in international relations studies to examine ethnic, racial, and patriotic groupings. However, identification has seldom been used in the fields.

If we define policy on an exceptional matter, according to *Carl Smith*, by distinguishing between friends and enemies or by the power of decision making, we can study the effect of a power-based identity related view. This section demonstrates just how identity can change the role of nation states and how an identity-based approach brings these concepts to bear. However, Power is divided into two forms in the first stage of social science literature: one as

a feature, that is, an actor's ability and one as a relation in matters like national power (*Morgental, 1993*). Power (influence in his words) is known as the ability as given in *Robert Doll (1991)* definition, the capacity of A to force B to do something not in other situations. *Barnett and Duvall (2005)* define this as an influence on actors' ability to create their situation and their fate. While there seems to be a direct relationship between power and ability on the first glance, this ability is generally now accepted.

According to *Joseph Ney's (2004)* new vision of power, power is intelligence based upon identity seen in the views of the superpowers of the world like it is somehow described in the compound framework of hard and soft war and by using the facilities of the contemporary world to profit from a certain strategy defined within a new collective-universal identity of all countries. The new identity practice, on the other hand, can be seen as planned in the form of liberal utopian realism.

Power is the ability to influence or control the beliefs and actions of other people. It is the general need of a human to influence other people and control them under his/her orders. People want power to maintain their authority over others. (*Hunter, 1989*). Power concerns are everywhere in interpersonal interaction, emerging among workplace colleagues, neighbors, friends, family members and even love partners (*Anderson, 2003*). Politics is all about power which prevails in every society. However, ethnically diverse societies have a great level of power conflicts. Ethnic emotions rooted in the history, are the roots or core of power conflicts. Most countries in the world are multi-ethnic e.g., Asia, Africa and the Pacific have most ethnically diverse societies. According to *Grime's Ethnologue (1998)*, the typical number of ethnic groups per state in Africa, Asia and therefore the Pacific regions is about 50.

The university experience causes a significant transformation in people's personalities, and the student provides a new purpose to his life. His intention is to appreciate the magnificent beauty of the campus while being there. Sometimes his curiosity leads him to the brink of intellectual pinnacle, but a few have succumbed to the grips of varied and brilliant focus, giving a new meaning to his intellectual skills by engaging in malpractices. One of his mistakes is his proclivity to give his personality a new name and shape. As a result, they end up becoming a supporter of some existing student bodies.

Student unions are a component of colleges and universities that allow students to express their interests outside of the classroom. Aside from academics, academically gifted kids were

the driving force behind the groups, displaying excellent interpersonal skills, leadership abilities, and collaboration attributes. Union elections were held, and inter-university students participated, although these were the only universities that were politically involved in these elections. However, following the intervention of political parties for their own vested interests, it became political in character especially during election seasons, when money flew outside of institutions.

1.1. Student Politics at Global Level

According to *Altbach* (1967), universities all around the world have served as a nursery for producing leadership. Many prominent prime ministers and presidents have graduated from world-renowned and leading universities such as Oxford and Cambridge in the United Kingdom, and Howard and Yale in the United States of America, including Ronald Wilson Reagan, Jesse Jackson as President of America, Robert Anthony Eden and Tony Blair in the United Kingdom.

Despite its decline in developed countries, student political activity in the Third World remains a major issue. Students are still politically active and frequently have an impact on societal events. Despite the fact that colleges are based on a common Western institution, each country's academic history is unique. In a national context, the type and breadth of student action are influenced by historical conditions and traditions. The participation of the academic community generally, and students particularly, in many Third World nations' independence efforts is arguably the most notable overall distinction in this relationship between industrialized nations and the Third World. Furthermore, students have always been involved in language and cultural change. Movements have also had an essential role in creating modern cultural traditions. For example, students were at the vanguard of the Indonesian national language, Bahasa Indonesia, and offered intellectual support to the national cause. Muslim students were active in all periods of nationalism in India, while Indian students were typically interested in the Indian intellectual movement that culminated to the formation of Pakistan. (*Lelyveld*, 1978).

Politics is concerned with collective decision-making processes in societies and/or groups. Politics is concerned with the resolution or, at the very least, the management of conflict between individuals or groups. Another point of view is that politics is concerned with the maintenance of order within a specific society or group. Politics is concerned with the exercise of power. It is an activity that necessitates the participation of at least two

individuals; hence, student politics necessitates the participation of at least two students. As a result, student politics may be defined as two or more students working together to achieve a common goal.

Although student movements have only recently been documented at the worldwide level, they have been socially and politically active in a number of countries for a long time. The urge for group formation is felt in order to build identification for people who have similar characteristics or who support a shared cause. As a result, student unions were formed. These organizations reflect students' opinions on all academic, social, political, and cultural interests in general, as well as worldwide interests. Certain notable movements in history have been headed by students, demonstrating that politically informed and aware youth may bring improvements to society with their larger views as well as significant leadership qualities.

We can continue with some global and national examples to have a better understanding of it. As the European Nationalist movements of the nineteenth century, as well as European Revolutionary movements such as the German Revolutions of 1848 and Russian Revolutionary movements, have been documented as having a large mass of student support. In addition, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Asian students from India, China, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan, and other countries saw nationalist uprisings in which university students played an important part, as well as other events.

1.2. Pakistani Student Politics

You must concentrate on gaining knowledge and education. It is your foremost responsibility. Political awareness of the era is also part of your education. You must be aware of international events and environment. Education is a matter of life and death for our country.
(Muhammad Ali Jinnah)

Founding father of the nation was aware of the political consciousness as an integral part of education, particularly at tertiary level of education. Creation of Pakistan was realized because of the active student politics under the patronage of national political leadership, particularly Aligarh Muslim University students played a vital role in the making of Pakistan.

Students were involved in independence battles in a number of nations, including India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Egypt, and many more. Because of their engagement in national fighting, nations whose students have engaged on such critical national development concerns have frequently retained their feeling of political efficacy and regarded students as

genuine political players. Many students from Third World institutions have been referred to as "elites," both current and future. In virtually all Third World cultures, university students come from upper-income families.

Furthermore, in nations where the majority of the population is rural, student populations are primarily urban. In many situations, student populations include a disproportionate number of young people from minority groups who are educated or affluent. As a result, student populations frequently differ significantly from the overall Third World population.

Student politics in Pakistan have a long democratic tradition. One of the forms is having a noticeable number of student unions, such as the National Students Federation (NSF), which is one of Pakistan's oldest progressive student organizations. It originated as the student branch of the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) and dominated student union elections during the 1960s and early 1970s. It was also in the forefront of the struggle against Ayyub Khan's dictatorship in 1968, but it divided and became the Democratic Student Federation (DSF), and another split converted it into the Liberal Student Federation (LSF). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, NSF came forward to join the progressive electoral alliances, including the United Students Movement (USM) in Karachi and the Progressive Students Alliance in Punjab as well.

Later, it was discovered that organizations for a union were formed based on religion, such as Islamic Jamiat-e-Taliba (IJT) and Muslim Students Federation (MSF), as well as among various ethnic groups.

General Zia-ul-Haq put a ban on all political activity within educational institutions in 1984. He took this decision because he felt it would encourage atrocities and devastate the educational system. It has been prohibited for over 35 years, and most institutions now require students to sign an affidavit declaring that they would not be involved in politics throughout their studies. However, the Supreme Court's decision did not clearly prohibit it, as is stated in Article 17 of Pakistan's constitution. As a result, student politics was constantly active in the background.

People constantly feel the desire to establish an identity, and in order to do so, they make relationships with others of their type. It is a widespread notion that people inside organizations agree and disagree with one another, which is perfectly OK. Any type of difference typically results in fractionalization and resistance. However, when we discuss ethnic distinctions, we can see why violence occurs at both the micro and macro levels owing

to conflicts in beliefs, practices, norms, and values known as culture. Minorities also fear deep-seated risks to their identity and security while competing with other groups, therefore they engage into the in-group politics to lead.

1.3. Form of Politics in QAU

QAU presents itself as a Mini-Pakistan, with students from all around the country studying there. As a result, the ethnic variety prevalent in Pakistan is reflected in QAU's multi-ethnic student body. When it comes to ethnic identity contestations, diversity management is always a challenge; thus, this study proposes to investigate inter-ethnic relations among students, the role of ethnicity in establishing student unions (councils as they are commonly known on campus), the creation of other (alterity), tactics of strengthening in-group affiliation, the landscape of power and student politics, and the emergence of other (alterity).

This research will look at the daily manifestations of student ethnic politics that are as common as routine, as well as the occurrences of confrontations, both violent and non-violent, amongst diverse groups of students. The study will focus on what is seen as a "threat" in this general area in order to comprehend the ontological variety of the notion. It will be observed, told, understood, and investigated how ethnic identities are extended or shrunk in the narrative or language of student politics in this institute.

All these advances in this research will be critical, as they will provide a complete picture of the history of student politics and will demonstrate the power and ethnic identity utilized for dominance in universities.

1.4. Statement of the Problem

Having several different ethnicities and cultures gathered at one place seems so alluring to observe. Everyone being the carrier of their own unique identity, play part to enhance the beauty of this place i.e. QAU. But at the same time, these differences can often be seen as the reason to arouse rivalry and competitiveness with the people of opposite group. This study will try to highlight the inter-play of student politics as well as the role of councils in promoting healthy inter-relationship within and across ethnic groups. Also, it will focus on issues being faced regarding ethnic contestation, the factors involved to provoke violence and their effects in general. A part will also bring in light the concept of conflict resolution and how the exploitation is being done.

“Power and Ethnic Identities: Dynamics of Student Politics in Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad”.

Keeping in view the main idea and subject matter attached with it, I have operationalized my research topic further into following research questions and objectives.

1.5. Research Question

- 1- Do university student bodies inculcate the ethnicity in their socio-political organizations?
- 2- What are the causes of preferring ethnic councils in QAU instead of single student union?

1.6. Objectives

1. To observe the inter-ethnic relationship among students of QAU.
2. To collect and articulate the opinions about the role of student councils in the struggle for student rights.
3. To describe the dynamics of violence seen and student demands for their rights in Quaid-i-Azam University.

1.7. Significance of the Study

This research is focused on “Student Politics and their Inter-Ethnic Relationships”. It highlights social, political and economic aspects majorly. This piece of study will be helpful for the new generation to develop better policies to cope with problems. This study will be beneficial for the students in general, to understand the hurdles in their ways from making peace with others. Also, the relationship among groups would be improved after analysing the whole situation and getting to the real problem. It can bring out positive results in vision and implementation.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter demonstrates a familiarity with a body of knowledge and establishes credibility with by linking student politics with the path of prior research. The reviews cited and analysed, outline the direction of research on a question and show the development of knowledge. Furthermore, to integrate and summarize what is known in an area, the cited reviews pull together and synthesize different results wherein it points out areas where prior studies agree, where they disagree, and where major questions remain. It collects what is expected to be on point in time and indicates the suitable direction for future research. Lastly, the quoted work tells what others have found so that a researcher can benefit from the effort of others. It helped the researcher identify blind alleys and suggests hypotheses for replication. It divulged procedures, techniques, and research designs worth copying so that a researcher can better focus hypotheses and gain new insights.

2.1. Global Trends in Student Politics

Students live and work in academic institutions and student activism has a major impact on the environment, curriculum and politics of the university. While students generally are concerned about social politics, as has been noted, the institutional environment is important. Although universities come from a Western college, nations have different academic backgrounds. Historic circumstances and traditions are very much related to the nature and scope of the national student activism. This important political role legitimized students' participation in domestic politics (*Altbach, 1982*).

As students have participated in national battles, they have gained a position in history and are considered legitimate in their contemporary political role. Governments have tried to reduce this legitimacy, but the strength remains. However, A powerful tradition of student activism in Latin America continues to this day with variations. Latin American universities were stimulated by the renowned reform movement of 1918, which transformed the University of Latin America and put students in a governance process. There have been major changes in Latin America in the recent period. Modern repression mechanisms limited activism to the rise of repressive military regimes (*Altbach, 1982*).

Moreover, newer private and technological institutions with little activist orientation have to some extent eclipsed the traditionally militant public universities. In Argentina, Brazil, even in Chile, there has been a trend toward democratization; and students may be moving back to

the main stage of the political system. The history of student activism remains strong in Latin America, and students continue to participate in university governance in several countries and in politics too (*Liebman, 1972*).

The Activist tradition remains, and the legacy of the 1918 reform is strong in the minds of both the students and society, while Latin American higher education and policy have seen important changes. Students in various countries including India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Egypt and many others have been active in independence struggles. Therefore, Students have always been involved in cultural and linguistic reform and have also played an important role in shaping the contemporary cultural traditions. For example, students were at the forefront of the battle to employ Bahasa Indonesia as the national language of Indonesia and provided the national movement with intellectual support. (*Liebman, 1972*).

Additionally, Students played both a significant political and cultural role in pre-revolutionary China. Students inspired the 4 May 1919 movement and marked students' emergence as an important political force (*Chow, 1960*).

Students called for radical solutions to China's many issues at the time and contributed to intellectual and political ferment culminating in the Communist revolution of 1949. In the 1920s, students were active to form a nationalist movement in Burma and remained involved politically until all political activities were ended by the military government in the 1960s (*Silverstein, 1968*).

The colonial ideology was attacked, and the Russian revolution had an electrifying impact between intellectuals and nationalists, and after World War I special fermentation took place. While history differs from country to country, it remains a key factor in understanding the activism of contemporary students.

2.2. Student Politics in Developing Countries

The university students of Brazil had been involved for a long time in the National Politics of their country. And Brazilians were not usually speaking of what we call “tradition if students” behaviour which usually has an influence on the political or social growth of the nation. The tradition which is pronounced has come from higher privilege class in the sense of economic and social settings. The political involvement of the students in National politics has been on a different pace which means it was sometimes higher and sometimes lower. The 19th century students in Brazil were direct participants in the struggle of abolishment of the

slavery and in the struggle for the formation of a Republic. In Latin American countries, the Cuban Politics was a bit different one. The involvement of students in politics was very clear. The political understanding and their participation in politics was very impulsive because there has been huge hype in the gatherings they have in the campuses or outside the campuses in Cuba. In the last ten years of the Nineteenth Century, the Havana University in Cuba was centre of Anti-Spanish political thought. The 1933 movement of students to bring down the dictator *Gerado Machado* who was in power since 1924 and then bringing up their own physiology professor as the provisional President of Cuba is an important example of students' involvement in politics there has been ups and downs in the political importance of these university students affected by many factors which were social, economic, and political. Secondly, the important point to note is that in 1950's; more than 17000 students were participating in student politics under the banner of on student platform named as The Federation of University students. The main factor of those students who affected the country's politics was the location of the university in the capital country of the country. The political participation of the students has an impact on the political thought because they belong to the intelligentsia of the state, and it is believed that they understand the circumstance around (*Emerson* 1968:315).

Students' participation in politics starts before the creation of Pakistan when in 1937 Muslim Student Federation was created. From its inception student movements were action oriented. Groups from the universities rounded up voters for All India Muslim League and after independence students helped in relocating refugees from India. Those were the glory days of students. (*Chaudhry & Mcdonough*, 1983).

Further students struggle for their rights can be divided in four parts.

- Against Ayyub Khan
- Bhutto's Restoration Movement
- Against Zia ul Haq
- Against Pervaiz Musharraf Emergency

In 1950s two student groups were emerged, one influenced by cold war the Marxist party called themselves Democratic Student Federation and the other one are Islami Jamiat Talba a religious faction. In the year 1953 six students were killed as police opened fire at protest

organized by Democratic Student Federation. Later these students' unions were banned due to their alleged linked with communist parties of the country (*Paracha, 2009*).

In 1960s students were fighting for the power among the Maoist- Soviet leaning, religious parties and national student's organizations. In 1974 Students Union Ordinance was passed, so in 1970s great student organizations were formed. Student unions and politics were flourished during that time period and it also encouraged on campus activities. In the meantime, students from both sides, religious as well as communist, made alliances with powerful political parties but unfortunately their internal rift continues (*Paracha, 2009*).

In 1980s student's unions became violent as government banned the democratic, progressive and liberal unions. People Student Federation (PSF) was brutally suppressed by government. PSF members were banned from going to college and universities. Culture of Kalashnikov was prevalent in universities during that decade. In the wake of Pervaiz Musharraf's emergency some progressive students' unions were established at time of privatization and modernization, but they kept in check for any potential student movement can be eradicated. There were few exceptions to this rule as healthy activities and leadership development programmes continues in institutions having the legacy of producing professional and bureaucratic elite in country. In 2002 Higher Education Commission was created, on the recommendation of Commission on Higher Education, whose sole aim was 'to create a patient and pluralistic society based on culture of Pakistan (*Paracha, 2009*).

2.3. Student Politics in QAU

The university is more autonomous, independent and liberal than its surrounding society in almost all the countries. The professors tend somehow to be left of the general population while rarely revolutionary in its political orientation (*Basu, 1981*).

However, QAU claims to be Mini-Pakistan and have students from every part of the country studying here. Thus, the ethnic diversity found in Pakistan is represented in QAU's multi-ethnic student population. Diversity management is always a challenge when it comes with ethnic identity contestations, therefore; this study suggests to probe the inter-ethnic relations among students, role of ethnicity in establishing student unions (councils as popularly known on campus), the creation of other (alterity), tactics of strengthening the in-group affiliation, landscape of power and student politics, and the dynamics of student politics on campus.

This study will observe the daily exhibits that are part and parcel of student ethnic politics ubiquitous as routine, in addition to the occurrences of confrontations, violent as well as non-violent, between different groups of the students.

2.4. Role of Student Unions or Councils

Students' politics is next to nothing in most of the institutions of Pakistan though there are many secular, modernized and progressive organizations. In most of the universities of Pakistan student's unions are replaced by university level societies and communities based on languages. Very few students equipped with latest technology like social media using these platforms in more sophisticated way to unleash and enhance their talent and abilities and at the same time overcoming the cultural and social barriers by the women as active and important members of these communities (*Abrahams & Brooks, 2019*).

These councils are giving students the opportunity to develop leadership skills, collective decision making and bargaining and their planning abilities by taking part in community welfare. Many important political figures came from these movements still there is a questions student why many students aren't taking parts in varsity politics. There are different reasons for this as some claim students are 'snow flaking' generation cannot stand against the vigorous debate of their opponents and they are in search for 'safe space' in their higher education while a countering view is that students are involved in many contemporary protests, on and off the campuses (*Abrahams & Brooks, 2019*).

These groups encouraged student participation in active politics and create political identity. In fact, these on campus activities are important in bringing together different perspective and fostering them to encounter differences, hence cretin a 'micro public' in which students cope with diversity and forge new solidarity. University play an important role in developing political participation of youth, by bringing together enough people of similar views to form a political union and provide resources to establish and maintain these political networks.

If we a broader perspective students played important role in protests around the world, either it is higher education specific (mostly against undue increase in their tuition fee) or the wider political perspective like delays to democratic reforms in Hong Kong, conservatism of ruling party in Turkey and the most recent against white supremacy after the murder of Floyd George, students were active peacefully and sometime violently (*Abrahams & Brooks, 2019*).

2.5. Opposing Arguments

On the other hand, a body of literature contends these activities are having positives impacts on students. Many scholars argue that far from enabling cross-cultural encounters and establishing new political factions, campus politics reproduce ever widening gap in societies. Some on campus networks discourage liberty, modernization and progressive political debates. Researcher thinks relationship between students on campuses often infused with individualism and authoritarianism instead of collective values that clearly militate against the perspective supporting such activities (*Klemencic, 2014*).

This line of argument also pursued that many students' protest is conservative and narrow in focus. For example, students protest rather than addressing fundamental social prejudices, they are focused on maintaining status quo by protesting against restructuring and demanding roll back to previous policies. Research has pointed out to the changed nature of student representation. Student representation has shifted from political position, protecting collective body rights to entrepreneurial role focused on giving advice to senior university managers for quality assurance and service delivery. In the most important view, scholars have pointed out the difficulty in articulating the single collective student voice due to massified higher education system with ever increasing diverse student bodies (*Woolard & Hunt, 2019*).

Frequently, national student associations and institutional student organizations stage the protest to meet their demands but sometime these movements can start without student organizations or due to inaction of representation student structure. Since early 2000, we have observed another global wave of students and scholars protest directed at higher education. The reasons and dynamics of protest may vary across the nations but grievances share the same global trend marketization of higher education. Marketization of higher education characterised by one or more measures like: introducing greater competition in provision of student education, supplementing public sources of university with private sources and granting public institutions more autonomy from government steering. Global financial crisis 2008 and latest COVID-19 pandemic further reinforced such policies as larger chunk of budget is using to overcome these problems (*Woolard & Hunt, 2019*).

As a result, government austerity drives are hitting development budgets and reducing university funding by government in countries like Pakistan, Ukraine, and Brazil but also in the developed countries like Italy, United Kingdom and America. The trend is same virtually for every country in the world towards forcing higher education to increase their income from

private sources, including increase in tuition fee and competing for public funds. The issue on the student power in global perspective addresses the questions how students organise themselves in all over the world and what role they are playing in higher education policy and at the national level (*Klemencic, 2014*).

Higher education policy making around the world is becoming more ‘policy network’ less hierarchical with decisions are negotiated and mediated by many stake holders rather than imposed by authorities. With such policy network organised student groups present a vocal stakeholder (*Porta, Cini, & Guzmán-Concha, 2020*).

The core assumption of policy network is resource dependency. Resources are dispersed over many public and private stakeholders, thus forcing a university leader to include all actors in decision making for effective policy formulation and legitimating of policy and accountability (*Porta, Cini, & Guzman-Concha, 2020*).

2.6. Student Power

As the collective representative the student organizations provide vital information, expertise and legitimisation in decision making. To investigate political development in higher education in specific national and institutional context we need to scrutinise the all key actors comprise higher education. We need to understand how things work, their underlying politics in decisions and their relationship and interaction with different actors. We need to unbundle the key aspects which motivate political processes including historical rules and critical events gone in the time before that.

Also, significant the coercive power of student organizations. Legitimate and coercive power both are exercised by student governments. In the relation between the institutional leaders and student unions officials often these are dominated by authorities over students through implicit and subtle action. The concept of domination is closely related with autonomy and free hand that is integral part of power (*Ming-kin, 2020*).

Another area of concern is students’ movement mobilisation. Student movement mobilisation potential is somewhat impeded by diversity of student unions, diversity of demands and diversity of emotions is making difficult to form a collective body with shred grievances.

Students’ experience and expectations about higher education vary significantly even within a same institution. Number of Students involved in these social networks physically and

virtually has increased dramatically. As a result, students have multiple and overlapping memberships in different networks and identities. These networks put multiple requirements on students' time along with their focused attention towards the work. Though social media have made it possible to participate in multiple networks at the same time and engaged in several activities. The initiators of these movements are responsible to make students aware of the shared grievances and identify who responsible are held accountable for these grievances (*Tarek, 2021*).

We can say collective student identity need to be politicised. The study of student movements Include the study of contention that is what are their claims and the conflict of interest with authorities. Students' government power and success to obtain their goals can be measured by how well they are organised within and outside the campus. For example, after the self-immolation of unemployed college graduate and street vendor *Tarek-al-Tayeb Mohamed Bouazizi*, students used the social media to stage protests against the increasing employment and with other factors successfully topple the governments in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt and Libya while at the same time force many authorities to bring reforms like unemployment benefit in many countries (*Tarek, 2021*).

This basically shows youth with a well-planned, organised and peaceful protest with reasonable demands and ways, can achieve their desired target.

2.7. Ethnic Violence

In Pakistan it is truly stated that ruling elite is not able to preserve ethnic identities positively. Political socialization and institutionalization of people is unable to bring fruit due to less economic resources and their unequal distribution among different segments of society. After the death of Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Prime Minister Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, those party-political leaders who supposed power as a politically weak component and could not develop strong democratic political system which was needed for equal representation of all existing ethnic identities of Pakistan. This results in some kind of insecurity and trust deficit among different ethnic groups. Students from these ethnic groups come with same conscience that they are denied of their rights and this is still happening and they have to fight for their rights. On petty issues every ethnic group in universities think they are being victimised as they are a minority group.

There are many national factors and dynamics that cause violence and violent extremism in Pakistan's universities. Among these factors are ethnic rivalries and religious violence. The ethnic dimension is somewhat more responsible for regular clashes among students in Pakistani universities. Ethnic divide has deep rooted history in Pakistan, even governments cannot quell these differences in national issues like dams' construction. Even ethnic differences gave birth to new country in 1971 when Bengali speaking people create their separate identity on world map. So after many prejudices from Punjabi politicians and leaders gave rise to ethno nationalism in Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (*Kennedy, 2003, p.158*).

We have 224 Higher Education Institutes (HEIs) in Pakistan according to Higher Education Commission (HEC) website. Among them more than hundred are government institutes and they are catering students from all over the country with different ethnic, religious, cultural and political background. Students in public universities have membership in multiple unions which itself reinforce their identity. Mostly they are using these political groups to influence administrative and teachers' affairs such as admission, marks, hostel allotment and fee concession. To get this they will follow any course even violence. For example, in January 2021, students protested against on-campus exams across the country and especially in Lahore. They blocked the roads, violate the COVID-19 restrictions and manhandled the police and campus security to enforce their demands as universities were against online examination (*Shehzad, 2021*).

Another type of violence at campus level is religious violence that takes many lives and the prominent one is Mashal Khan student of Charsada University killed in mob lynching on blasphemy allegation. The power struggle between far-right and far-left groups is another reason for violent clashes at university level. Among these groups frequently fight occurs between Islami Jamiat e Taliba (IJT), Pashtun Students Federation (PSF), People's Student Federation (PSF), and the Muslim Student Federation (MSF). IJT wants to impose particular political and social ideology and against the national and secular groups at Quaid e Azam University (QAU). Since the QAU is one of top ranked university in country and attract students from all over the country and provide sense of ethnic unity (*Reuters, 2017*).

In 2017 QAU remained close for two weeks due to student-admin showdown. 70 students were arrested and most of them were from Bloch Student Federation. 10 percent increase in fee withdrawn and 12 other demands of student's unions were accepted. November 2018 two

student's groups in QAU clashed and 12 students were injured. Both groups beat each other members and damage public and private property including vehicles. According to police some student displayed weapons and fired some shots. Police and Rangers reached university to maintain law and order. Similar clashes were erupted earlier in 2018 when Punjabi and Pashtun students fight over petty issue (*DAWN* 2017, 2018).

Students with different communities use violence as tool to bargain with administration, on the other hand universities have no choice but to sit and conciliate as student governments are very strong pressure groups and can paralyse whole academic activities within no time if their demands are not listened and accepted. We are living in a democratic country with vast ethnic diversity in the majority of population.

2.8. Reasons for Different Student Bodies

Many cultures are living, interacting and flourishing in our society by maintaining their own identity. Same is the case for different student unions working across the country are thriving for unity while maintaining and protecting their own identity and members. Overall purpose of the Student Unions (SUs) is to safeguard the interest of students. They are led by students for students. These unions representative are often elected by student population to ensure safety of their interest in academic year. These representatives take care that policies are in line with students' interests (*Briggs et al.* 2019).

Different culture, attitudes, lack of trust in one another and pressure from members are major hurdle in single collective body that represent every ethnic group and their demands. To bring these unions with different and ever widening opinions and goals on one page is not an easy task. When members of these diverse communities come together to discuss strategies to solve the problem they come to know that they don't speak the same language and ideas when it comes to diversity. Some issues like fee concession and admission policy may bring them close yet once the goal is achieved, they think there is no reason to work together (*Shehzad, 2021*).

The value of diversity reaches unprecedented at campus level. Institutional leaders find themselves to respond to attack made by opponents and to some extent policies are giving concessions to these leaders. Petty disputes among individual students are considered as humiliation of the whole group thus involving the whole union and exacerbate the situation.

They behave like tribal people that only revenge can compensate the situation (*Briggs et al. 2019*).

Given the transient nature of studentship and election turnaround, student leaders are susceptible to individual agents and external circumstances. Some questions are more important when investigating student bodies like how they operate, how they and how they matter in the context of higher education. This can be understood with some conceptual tools. Students stand in with and reciprocal relation with authorities whom they seek to influence. In relationship student governments possess resources i.e., professional expertise, legitimacy of policy outcome, social control of their members and services important to authority (*Loader et al. 2014*).

Authorities in turn provide funding and material resources at same time they define relational structure through which students intermediate their interest. Resource dependency theory posits we can predict the student unions behaviour and characteristics on the basis of resource dependency and situation. The interaction between authorities and students take place within a particular structure either within university or in a political system with set of formal or informal norms, rules and values. The neo-institutional theories tell us this structure can constrain or enable agents' choices and draw actors' preferences. People who are more vocal in supporting social and political discussion are enrolled in ethnic studies courses are more like to appreciate these differences (*Milem, 1992, 1994*).

More than 80 percent of world leaders were university students. Union leadership is first significant step for professional recognition and future advancement for aspiring career politicians. The experience of marginality among these movements contributing towards point of view that each ethnic group need their own voice that can better understand and negotiate with their demands (*Loader et al. 2014*).

2.9. Inter-Ethnic Relations

Government and many non-governmental organisations are working hard for more ennoblement in HEIs from economically backward areas. Recognising the growing ethnic diversity at university level there is need to keep an eye on relations among these vast ethnic populations those are away from their homes and under the influence of student unions and their inter-ethnic rivalries. Ethnic groups are varying across the country so do their majority.

For example, Pashtun groups become minority ethnic group outside Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and so the other groups. Ethnic identity formation based on exploration of questioning pre-existing attitudes and searching into the past and present of one group and its relations with other groups. This (Owen, 2016) process automatically leads to the development of secure and positive identity of one's own ethnic group. By exploring this we can get implications and great insight into interethnic relations among these groups (*Phinney 1996*).

Role of students' council is very important in ethnic relations and power structure within the campus. Student council is an organization conducted and led by students. In most cases it is the prerogative of senior students to lead such organization to protect student rights. Student council provides opportunity to develop leadership skills and carrying out services project and different activities. In addition to the planning events of community welfare and promote peaceful co-existence. Councils help share student ideas, concerns and interest with community. Student councils are work on parliament procedure. Ideas are shared and debated, voted upon and endorsed by the president. Any student who is interested in leadership, organisational behaviour, event planning and becoming more involve in university welcomed to be involved (*Quinn & Owen 2016*).

Students' unions are in continuous state of power struggle to establish that they are superior to other unions and have more resources and control over students. This sends a clear message to administration that they need to avoid conflict and be more lenient on that particular group. This is just like the class struggle in over society where working class trying to get more share in resources. Similarly, these unions are in perpetual struggle to have more power in their arsenal to better negotiate and forced university to talk on their own terms. Teachers often face dilemma in setting limits between accepted behaviour and extreme behaviour that cannot condoned (*Razer, 2021*).

Generation gap is a reason for disagreement among student unions and authorities of different institutions. This gap is increasing not just among members of these groups but also in students those are not participating in such activities and are silent political force. Another phenomenon that is facing strong criticism is excessive individualism in contemporary ethnic relations that is creating polarised and fragmented society with little sense of shared values and unity. Goals for personal gratification dominate the younger generation at expense of moral, broader social and spiritual meaning (*Boyte 2004; Putnam 2000*).

This mounting disagreement and class based politics is ill boded for future of country's democracy and political activities. Many scholars examine this with social movement theories focusing on formal power of representation students have in university governing bodies and with diffusion theories like the Arab Spring or 1960s student movements all over the world (Rojas, 2006).

While exploring different aspects scholars focused on large scale social trends and their ultimate impact on student activism, such as rise or neo-liberalism and commercialization of higher education. This neoliberal agenda combined with austerity in higher education results in new conflicts that in turn elicit reappearance of students as political actors (*Cini & Guzman-Concha, 2017*).

The commercialization of higher education forced students to shift their own recourses to earn tuition fee and to exert pressure on authorities to cease the mounting fee. By focusing on previous researches, we can say research on students provide ample opportunities to cross fertilization of social theories with organizational theories. To perceived as legitimate representative student unions often mobilize their members as strategy. Institutional changes can be explained by social movement theory like tactics used by proponents of change, diffusion of strategies and social skills needed for mobilization (*Fligstein & Sweet 2020*).

On the account of the growing range of student body and student experiences, issues like shared student identity, framing, informal activities and networks are of growing significance to student associations. The principles of shared governance are strongly held in the parts of Europe in higher education institutions, but it also observed in public higher education institution all over the world (*Klemencic, 2014*).

In the contest of national public policy students communicate their interest to administration via student representative bodies. Since students are directly affected by higher education policies, student councils request to be considering as vital stake holder in governing policies of higher education institution. Conditions must be applied for representation of student unions. Students must be able to organize themselves into interest association. These organisations must display certain amount of continuity and organization and this comes from formalization of rules and procedures in documents approved by students and institutionalisation of these groups by creating secretariat or presidency. These associations include all types of unions such as ethnic, religious, democratic or secular (*Della Porta and Diani 2006*).

Student unions are different kind of educational bureaucracy in higher education institutions. They act as quasi-government as these bodies elected, organised and operate on rules. They are political as they aggregate collective students' interest and funnel them to institutional and public authorities. They are at same time work as professional and service organizations as they provide academic and welfare support to students while managing student facilities. These groups use political lobbying, expert services and political advocacy as their mode of political action. State need to recognise student unions in higher education decision making process by involving highly regularised and formalised unions strictly follow the rules as set by state, higher education and students' representatives (*Weiss & Aspinall 2012*).

Any policy made by higher education will get legitimacy when student accept it cordially not by force as any forced decision will not sustain for long time. Students should think seriously about a collective body to mitigate the authorities' problem of dealing with variety of different people with no one ready to leave its position. Negotiations works on reciprocity, if u need something u have to give back something. Students should press for inter-ethnic bonhomie, space for difference of opinion and respect for communal issues.

Main objective to solve all problems is to address the students' rights and tuition fee increase as competition in higher education rising and trend is increased tuition fee. In marketized systems where students' involvement is necessary for quality assurance. An education system where government steering is remained strong and budget low these unions work as accountability checks. Students protest culture to meet their demands is still popular in all over the world. Expecting from students to halt these activities is a bit too much (*Hodgkinson & Melchiorre, 2019*).

Government and higher education authorities keep in mind all these perspectives while making policies to ensure students' consent as we know a peaceful and flourishing academic culture produce good citizens, researcher, scholars and scientists. At the same time students need to be more cooperative and show their concerns to authorities in peaceful manner as university politics is pathway to national politics. The need of the hour is to depoliticise student unions to make them more negotiable and peaceful. After the end of colonized world, state institutions and university-educated political elites played an important role in the development of new nation states that were integrated into global markets and international organizations. When the international order began to be reshaped by Cold War dynamics, the modernizing belief that university students were critical to promoting 'socioeconomic and

political models across the globe' was enhanced and new universities and scholarship schemes were set up in an attempt to shape the minds of these young students (*Hodgkinson & Melchiorre, 2019*).

2.10. Student Politics and Academic Performance

According to *Zaman et al (2011)* Participation with political parties in campus divide the individual into several different groups and the politician make external power collectively on administration in campus to influence the decision making of universities authorities. Many time, conflicts occur between staff members and the politician involved student in campus. Political parties on the macro level or national level participate in those conflicts and solve the issue and also encourage the student to maintain the political activities. Leader change the Psychology of those student and become more active in political activities.

According to *Kimball (1962)* Part of this history includes the banning of student unions and allowing selective groups to operate with impunity. In more recent years, administrators of some universities have used strong-hand tactics to remove all such groups, in effect making universities a politics free zone. The problem is that we have confused violence with politics, also many parents, teachers and students agree with these tactics. Let's pause and consider is not the act of preventing students from becoming politically and socially active members of the society, of their own university communities, also an act of violence

Zaman et al. (2011) opined political parties in educational institutes work to gain their own interest accordingly. They make special way for education system in the campus according to the political policies. The idea is especially and mainly for the base for political pressure on dealing with the higher education. This kind of system occurs in education institutes with the exercise of political activities. With these activities, environment of the university become distorted because the teachers also cannot concentrate on teaching. Thus, the political activities effect on overall academic performance.

Lester and Goalp (1974) argued that certain personality traits and attitudinal variables have been correlated with efficacy as well as persons who are psychologically involved in politics and have some record about high in political information are more likely to develop a sense of efficacy.

Ben-David and Randall (1966) Academic freedom become a controversial issue as soon as there emerged a full-time academic profession attached to independent university cooperation

during the Middle Ages. The most usual type of conflict was the clash between Town and gown. The gathering of several thousands of young men in cities with a fighting population of perhaps an equal size give rise to a great number of disputes and often to violence. To increase their mutual protection and power, the scholar sought to incorporate themselves as a university, basing their claims for corporate privileges and exemption from the public jurisdiction on both the general rights of corporation and on the traditional rights of the individual scholar in Roman and Canon Law.

According to *Altbach* (1967) the student federations were organized according to the different zones of Nepal, they represented students of different regions rather than varying political ideologies. During this time, student activities were “norm-oriented”, directed on specific goals such as prospectus improvement, campus facilities and the quality of education.

2.11. Student Politics and Leadership Formation

Lester and Goalp (1974) since person to interact with other person of about their own level of educational attainment, and since persons with the higher education generally are more involved in and talk more about politics, a higher educated person encounters more stimuli about politics than one not so well educated. Many students who have a good status are more attractive with the affiliation of political party, while friends are also main cause of participation.

According to *Lipset* (1964) the quality of relationship between students and their teachers depends in part of on the tradition which have developed with in the various university systems and on the students and staff ratio. Where there is a static separation between students and teachers who have other than university employment, or where there is a very great number of students per staff member, the staff will have less direct influence on student behaviour than where the relationship is more that of the apprentice working callously with the master.

According to *Matthew and Nelson* (2009) person shows the relationship of political with religious ideas in campus. Many parties draw the religious ideas to construct their identity in the campus. Many political parties show our self with the religious point of view, and they secure our position and dominancy on other and on the university administration in the name of religion.

2.12. Student Politics and Social Development

Dressel and Lehman (1965) indicated in their study that association of students with different people in a living group was the most significant experiences in their lives. Student living groups are the source of social as well as personal development of the students. And these groups or unions were the source of association of students with the peers of different backgrounds. Interacting with these peers of different background groomed their social and personal development and also posed a great impact on their thinking abilities. The union is part of the educational program of the college. As the centre of college community life, it serves as a laboratory of citizenship, training students in social responsibility and for leadership in a democratic society. (*Brattain*, 1981)

Newcomb (1962) has demonstrated the importance of living-unit friendships in shaping individual attitudes and values. According to *Near* (2003)-known as revolutionary school of thoughts- politics is a priceless gift of contemporary human knowledge. Furthermore, 'Near' argues that discouraging students from involving in politics may hurt their spirit of democracy.

2.13. Pressure Group as a Cause of Violence among Students

Wagoner (1972) defined Pressure Group as one of the most important concepts of modern Political Science and after the political parties; they are the most political organizations. Further, he emphasized that the Pressure Groups, on the other hand, are voluntary organizations formed to promote a cause or political position in a society. Lobbying and going for a strike are the frequent tactics used by the students' pressure groups. Many of the political movements in Asia and Europe were strengthened by the involvement of the student's organizations.

Hussain (2012) student at a college or university level, are engaged in grassroots' leadership. Student then creating a big chance with in campus, they stand in front of the political movements in front of administration and work as a pressure group to change the policies of administration because many policies are against the right of students both academic and student life issues.

According to *Snellinger* (2005) the fear that creating political places on campus will result in the 'politics of violence' belies the extent of our limited mind. Instead of criminalizing politics, we must ensure that politics on campuses is free from criminal and violent

influences. The students must be given a formal way of voicing their grievances and influencing policy decisions, in case their options are reduced to either joining violent and criminal groups or to completely give up from political action. If we provide them with opportunities, they will respond. Added responsibilities will put pressure on them to be inclusive and look beyond their narrow individual or ethnic goals.

According to *Wagoner* (1972) the student's organizations can apply pressure on the administration of educational institutions to accept the demands as the council of the student's community. They can go on strike. At times they go for protest against the policies of the administration. Among the direct plans, mass rallies, marches and demonstrations are very successful methods. Sometimes indirect methods are used as well to advance their cause. Lobbying is another tactic used by the pressure group.

According to *Choudhry* (1994) Pakistan's politics is frequently based on individuals rather than the institutions which often lack power. Political parties are weak and not developed thus creating a blank space giving other forces like individual leaders and interest or pressure groups, a chance to fill this gap. Students are one such pressure group who can take benefit of the situation and play an important role in political process. They are alarming and powerful political actors in Pakistan's politics, competent of influencing the nature and way of political development. After the creation of Pakistan, the students prolonged their role and established their dominance to the political process which manifested in different forms.

According to *Umar* (2004) the pressure and interest groups have become a key component in understanding the political system. Among them, the student's organizations are potentially very important and effective pressure groups. Throughout the 20th century, the student's organizations have been one of the most important actors of the political system in many countries of Asia, Europe and America. Their potential sensitiveness to the political growth earned them the guard of the political parties and their leadership. Many of the political actions in Asia and Europe were strengthened by the participation of the student's organizations.

2.14. Student Politics, Political Parties and Social Development

Liver (1983) Politics is about institutions and ideologies, elections and parties, power, authority and all of those other things that people write books about. These things however, are interesting because they are aspects of politics, not because they are subjects in their own

right. Student political federations in universities and colleges struggle for the rights of students. Student stand in front of administration and demand for the deferent issues which students face in campus like fee issue, hostel facilities, scholarships and favouritism of teachers.

Alam (2003) Politics is an integral aspect of all social life including state, conflict, decision making and power. Student's united activities in pursuance of certain aims can be identified as student politics. Observed that the types identified by different authors are based on time, region, country and culture. Broadly speaking there are three types of student politics namely student unity, student unions and student's involvement in party politics. The recent upsurge in student politics is different: national political parties have established affiliated student political parties to use the students as their political tools.

S.Badat (1999) defined student politics as struggles by students-as-a-group to influence a set of relations in the educational or broader national sphere.

J. Fredrick and R. Tuner (1989) claimed that although the student body is divided according to political affiliation and degree of participation, it can be mobilized towards a specific political goal thereby overcoming these divisions.

Hannan (2000) claimed previously that the students were divided into two competing ideologies the leftist and rightist. It can be concluded that the present Bangladeshi student politics is an activity which is guided by and for the national political parties' competition, interests and outlook. It was only the student unity which 'campaigned and fought' for 1952's Mother Tongue Revolution, because Bangladesh was not an independent nation at that time. Therefore, no established national political parties exist in Bengal in 1952. Since its emergence in 1990, Bangladeshi students united and played a vital role in addressing the autocratic government.

According to *Wax (2007)* Student protestor movement is largely confused; students from private and public universities are sharing thoughts. Student leader believes that effective protesting comes from better coordination between student activists and members of youth wings of political parties, formerly known as student wings. In an environment that promotes high literacy rates and public education non-violent student unions will not fall for violent political dissent.

Hannan (2000) the disadvantages of present Bangladeshi student politics are manifold. The prime concern is regarding on the constraint as a result from student politics, that was placed by unrest and other inevitable circumstances in which it has deteriorated the quality of education.

Berger (1960) expressed his views about as, student politics is determined by the problems of generation, as the student body changes quite rapidly over time as it is depleted and replenished by successive age-cohorts with frequent regularity. Both the influence national historical traditions of student politics and the specifics of the Communist system was necessary to understand the phenomenon of student politics in Poland. The history of Polish student movement was characterized by the appearance of intergenerational conflict, a rebellion of the young generation of students versus the old ruling class.

Hyman (1969) the fact that post-war Poland was a Communist state had its effects on nature of student politics of the era. The Communist Party dictated Higher Education policy, engineering youth policy and applying various forms and degrees of repression, which conflicted the traditions and mores of student milieu. The traditional divide between town and gown carried less weight under communism than it did in other societies. Therefore, student union had more in common with their working-class age peers and were more capable of finding a mutual understanding.

Levyjun (1981) Student leaders learn how to recruit and deal in the political capital of power. Many student leaders move directly from party post in the university to party post in regional and national arena. Many students after getting admission in the university meet with friends and discuss the university environment. They also discuss the political issues, so they become part of the political party because they think that the affiliation of political party is very important for them to survive in the university.

2.15. Theoretical Framework

Concepts and their definitions, as well as existing theory/theories that are relevant to your research, make up a theoretical framework. The theoretical framework must demonstrate knowledge of theories and concepts relevant to the topic of the research study. The two relevant theories are being applied here in this research.

2.15.1. The Social Comparison Theory

The social comparison theory was proposed by *Festinger* (1954) who held that individuals evaluate themselves by comparing with others in a biased situation. According to the theory, we can say that social comparison can elevate an individual's self-confidence reasonably leads to self-improvement. The theory evaluates the assumption why students join the union which is considered as the political wing of a political party and also the wastage of time. Unions may be considered as a great source of socialization and the social as well as personal development. Apart from that freshman entering the university is not confident in doing activities; the students develop the sense of self-confidence as the result of socialization.

2.15.2. Application of Theory

Freshman student entering the university is not aware of the sub culture of university. The environment is new for him and the university education as well as life is completely a new chapter of his life. It is like the milestone in his life. Old students have passed this stage and are fully aware of the culture and they also have overcome the low level of confidence in the whole new environment. Freshman entering the university socializes with these unions and evaluate himself in the situation which is new for him but it is culture which has been the part of the institution. The social comparison and socialization with these social institutions develops the sense of confidence in the individual. The level of confidence grooms the personal self and blushes the personality of the individual leading to the self-improvement.

In Quaid-i-Azam University, students group themselves under the name of councils. These are the ethnic groupings in nature. Freshman entering the university are introduced with this system soon especially students residing in hostels. These groups get together on the weekly basis and every freshman is supposed to be present in that gathering. This not only introduces them with their peers but also the seniors. These gatherings are informal in nature but a great source of socialization and interaction with seniors belonging to same ethnic group is quite easy and build up confidence to interact in the environment of university. This confidence builds up, is key to their self-improvement and presentation of the self.

2.15.3. Social Awareness Theory

This is a theory about social understanding of different aspects of the society. The theory puts light upon the main aspects of the society such as social events that are taking place in the

society, social control and social communication process. Given away back in 1918 by Greenspan, the social awareness theory embodies the social aspect of the society. The collective meaning of social awareness is the ability of a person to understand people, their attitudes and responses and the social events and the processes which regulate these social events and processes. According to Greenspan, as an emphasis the core operation in any social event is interpersonal understanding. We all have to make them and create individual to individual connection on a positive attitude and response circle. This theory has many aspects. It has multi-dimensional parts. The main aspects which are multi-dimensional are social sensitivity (in this part of theory are mentioned the role taking and social side interference); the second part is the social insight (in which the sub parts contain the subdomains of psychological insight, moral judgment and the social comprehension); and the third is social communication (which embodies in itself the art of social problem-solving manner and referential communication). The social awareness is not an only component of a larger model of the personal competence but also includes physical competence, emotional competence and practical intelligence. Generally, the theories of social awareness and social cognition have a focus on how a person's motivation gets a practical form and changes into behaviour and what is the basic link between motivation and cognition. Let us suppose say a student who is self-regulated, will be described as motivationally and cognitively and behaviourally active and fast in the process of planning and goal achievement. This description of the goal attainment and adaptation to the societal needs and demands has been as evolutionary process. The primary process in the cycle of self-regulation is the very self-understanding, self-judgment, self-observation and self-reactions (*Eccles and Wigfield, 2000:54*). The self-worth of the individual is determined by the goals he keeps and the average work he does to get to these goals.

2.15.4. Application of the Theory

Social awareness theory helps us to understand the social and political aspects of the students in university campuses. According to Greenspan, the interpersonal understanding is the first thing that necessarily comes into concentration when it is time for social events. The political participation as an event is under concentration when it is time for social events. The political participation as an event is under concentration and the students who participate in politics have to understand the social cognition and the social sensitivity. With the help of social sensitivity aspect of theory which elaborates the role taking and social interference, we can

understand the leadership skills that are learnt by the university students during political participation. The social insight of the social awareness can be helpful in understanding the level of satisfaction of students with the educational program they are enrolled in and the decisions they make based on the morality they have. And with the referential communication, we can understand the minds of the students and the political leaders which they are inspired from and most importantly, the political gatherings they have and the reference they give during these discussions. The moral competence, the physical competence of the theory applies on the question asked by the researcher that which political party do you have affiliation with and how much you participate in political study circles respectively.

3 METHODOLOGY

Methodology is a methodical approach to doing research and solving research problems. The systematic process of gathering and rationally evaluating data for a specific objective is known as research. A research technique is methodical and deliberate, with the goal of producing data on a specific study issue. Research methodology is more than just data collection techniques; the approach used should be targeted towards reaching the phenomenon under observation, rather than the data itself. Methodology is a connected collection of assumptions that reflect how a researcher perceives reality, and how this reality is expressed via research is reliant on methodological choices; methodological decisions are indicative of what the researcher wishes to find.

The distinction between quantitative and qualitative research approach becomes significant since it encompasses a variety of social research techniques. Furthermore, because it reflects the general orientation of the social study, the research plan becomes critical to be vivid. Because of changes in the underlying episteme of both techniques, quantitative research becomes entrenched with quantifications and computations that qualitative research does not. Some of the fundamental principles of quantitative research are as follows: it is deductive in character; its methods and standards are positivist in specific; and objective reality plays an important role. Qualitative research, on the other hand, is mostly dependent on the structure of words. That is, it is inductive in nature; inductive inquiry aids in viewing the world in an individualist fashion, and as a result, the truth does not remain constant. That is, as time passes, the reality changes as people's personal perspectives shift. Most of the time, both research methods (i.e., in a mixed-method research) are used in a research design, but it must be ensured that the outlines of the study are vivid. Because my research is inductive in nature, the sort of data I collect is qualitative, and my ontological position for the current study is social constructivist. As a result, the qualitative research strategy is the best choice for the current study.

A study design creates a framework that specifies the researcher's priorities. Each research design requires a unique approach to data analysis and collecting. Experiment design, longitudinal design, case study design, cross-sectional design, and comparative design are the five types of research designs. However, descriptive research design will be chosen because of its capacity to give a full and detailed explanation of the social phenomena under investigation, which is equally necessary for the current research (i.e. for this thesis work). It

might be used to provide answers to (who, what, when, where, why, and how). In other words, descriptive research designs were first focused on explaining in depth the character of the population being investigated, as well as the nature of the topic of nature.

3.1. Site Selection

I have chosen the site of Quaid-I-Azam university Islamabad for my research. I made this selection while keeping in view that being a student here, it was easy for me to take this process ahead. I was quite familiar with places and people here so approaching many with the help of others was not a big problem. Also, during COVID, travelling a lot was not a good choice. Thus, the feasibility and attached with it made me go for this option.

3.2. Sampling

I employed both probability and non-probability sampling for the purposes of this study. Non-probability sampling units are purposefully chosen to reflect certain characteristics of a group or community. In contrast to probability sampling, non-probability sampling does not aim to be statistically representative, which implies that the likelihood of picking each unit is unknown. Instead, demographic features are utilized as selection criteria. In probability sampling, each sampling unit has an equal chance of being chosen from the sample. A sample obtained by a researcher is representative, trustworthy, and generalizable to the community from which it was collected. In the following paragraph, I discuss the several forms of non-probability sampling that I utilized in this investigation. The qualitative data were gathered through face-to-face in-depth interviews with 20 selected participants who had previously served on councils and are now serving on councils.

3.3. Sample Techniques

Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling approach that is commonly employed for situations that are instructive and when the sample size is limited. Many factors influence the selection criteria used to choose responders using this sampling approach. The selection criteria include (but are not limited to) the study's objectives, existing body of information about the area of interest, hypotheses generated, and the area in which a certain UDC is specialized, as well as the expertise that specific UDC has on the research issue. I utilized purposive sampling for council members for the reasons stated above.

Stratified sampling is a sort of probability sampling approach in which the researcher separates the entire population into various strata based on gender, age, education, class, and ethnicity, among other factors, which reflect the full population but do not cross. A sample is generated from each stratum using simple random sampling and systematic random sampling. In my current research for council members, I employed this sampling approach to split my whole community into distinct strata based on education, ethnicity, and power hierarchy. Each stratum was selected using basic random sampling.

3.4. Data Collection

Data collection is known as a process followed by the method of gathering and measuring information on variables of interest, allowing one to answer stated research questions, test hypotheses, and assess the end results. Research data gathering is prevalent in all disciplines of study, including physical and social sciences, humanities, business, etc. The emphasis on assuring accurate and honest collecting stays the same, while techniques differ by field. The primary data collection techniques used in this research study were participant observation and semi-structured interviews, which were regarded as the most important and valuable sources of information.

3.5. Participant Observation

In participant observation, a researcher observes social environments in an unstructured manner, builds social realities via observations of various social settings and functions in natural environments, and makes no changes to those environments. These study techniques were used during my fieldwork. Furthermore, the incorporation of pre-existing and continuous participant observation makes a significant contribution in the study, including identification of the individual and contextual circumstances surrounding the phenomenon, enriching the conceptualization of the phenomenon, and increasing the trustworthiness of the findings in the participant observation. The researcher has attended council meetings, cultural events, study circles, and council strikes against the administration at the institution. Several visits to university council meetings and cultural events help researchers understand the phenomenon from an anthropological standpoint. Over a long period of time, the researcher was immersed in the everyday operations of university student governments through continuous participant observation. It gave me the opportunity to become an active observer, which aided in my understanding of students' political behavior and activities.

3.6. Rapport Building

The researcher's interaction with the community or individuals in a field environment is referred to as rapport building. This approach enables the researcher to be present in the surroundings, watch persons and social events without being observed, and analyze and capture the essence of the settings and people without affecting them. Furthermore, rapport building entails developing a trusting connection with the community so that respondents from that group feel comfortable providing information with the researcher and are certain that the information obtained and provided will be accurate and reliable.

3.7. In-depth Semi-Structured Interviews

Qualitative interviews include both semi-structured and unstructured interviews. These are less organized interviews than those were in survey research. The interview types utilized in the current investigation are discussed in the following paragraph. In-depth interviews, on the other hand, were one of the most important and valuable sources of information. Survey was not adequate to aid the entire knowledge of the depth of inquiry, so researcher has incorporated 20 semi- structured interviews to obtain insight in order to study the creation of power and explore the dynamics of students' politics and ethnic identification at university level. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format, with interview guidelines focusing on the aspects of interest.

3.8. Audio Recording

When capturing data in handwriting form was not practicable, audio recording was used. All participant-permitted individual interviews were recorded, transcribed, and coded with themes for thematic analysis. Furthermore, it allows researchers to collect data without wasting time and preserve it for future use in research references.

3.9. Informed Consent

The objective of the research and how it was carried out were described to interviewees. It was made very apparent to them that participation in the study was entirely optional, and that they may opt out at any time. The rationale for this study was clearly explained to them, and data collection, audio recording, and analysis were all described in detail so that they

understood what they were doing. When all participants confirmed that they understood everything, they were asked to sign a written consent form to participate in this study. The participant's consent was recorded, and notes on the dates of briefings and the people briefed will be kept.

3.10. Key Informants

Someone who is well-connected in the neighborhood and knows about the entire society is known as a key informant. His presence confirms the validity of data with valuable source of information. The main informant should be carefully chosen and come from the community. This is critical because if the key informant is from the community, he or she will be familiar with it. The researcher should take his time while selecting a person. I had selected two key informants from this entire place. Both of them were my seniors affiliated with councils. Being a part of it, they knew a lot about the people who lived in that region.

3.11. Data Analysis

This qualitative study used semi-structured interviews to analyze the formation of power and ethnic identities, as well as how these connections affected the political thought and behavior of students, which led to the exercise of power on campus. Furthermore, a questionnaire for semi-structured interviews relevant to the topic guides has been prepared, complete with open-ended questions and appropriate probing questions. All interviews were done and transcribed in Urdu before being translated into English by the researcher in the form of thematic coding with tables in 'Microsoft word' format, and comprehensive notes were collected during the field work. Transcribed interviews and written notes were carefully examined through iterative and repetitive re-readings. This made it feasible to obtain in more comprehensive grasp of each respondents' viewpoint and perspective.

4 LOCALE

4.1. Islamabad

Islamabad is one of Pakistan's most attractive and sophisticated cities. The city serves as the country's capital as well as a centre for popular attractions, institutes, infrastructure, and other specialisations. The population is ethnically diverse, and the languages spoken include Punjabi, Pashto, Pothohari, and Urdu. English is widely understood, with a tiny fraction of the population speaking it in Azad Kashmir, Baluchistan, Gilgit Baltistan, and federally administered tribal territories.

Islamabad has its unique culture, which is a result of residents migrating from various regions of the country. As a result, the city has a distinct religious and cultural variety. Here, for example, may be discovered the Indus Valley civilisation, Aryan prints, and cultural variations of Sonian. Aside from that, the city is honoured to base culture buildings, the shrines of mystics Sufis make the region rich in pre-Islamic cultural history.

4.2. Weather and Location

Islamabad's climate is classified as humid subtropical, with dry and warm waves in the spring and humid summers accompanying the monsoon. Winters don't last long, but they leave a chilly impact. Rawal, Simly, and Khanpur dams are well-known for providing artificial management of the region's microclimate. Islamabad, the metropolis of the famed Margilla hills, is located 33.43N 73.04 E of the Pothohar plateau. The region's distinctive and appealing topography increases the region's appeal to both locals and visitors. For example, to the northeast, the Murree hill station series begins, and to the north, the Haripur district. While the southwest include Rawalpindi, the total area of Islamabad encompasses 906 square kilometres. According to 2011 data, Islamabad has a population of 1.7 million people.

4.3. Education Sector

Islamabad has the highest literacy rate in Pakistan, at more than 80%. It also contains institutions that are very complex and advanced. Education is provided by both private and governmental institutions. Many chartered universities also provide a variety of curricula. The government seeks to increase literacy rates in Islamabad and to close the gender gap in literacy rates. Different religious institutions in Islamabad are trying to promote Islamic

education, such as Noor-ul-Huda, Idara-e-Ghafran by Mufti Rizwan, Jamia Fareedia led by Maulana Abdul Aziz (Lal masjid), Jamia Islamic, Jamia Faroogia, and Jamia Ayesha, a women's religious school.

4.4. Overview of University



Figure 1 Babul Quaid

Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU) was founded as Islamabad's university by an Act of the National Assembly passed in July 1967. Initially, QAU provided M.Phil and PhD programmes. Later, it was decided to launch an MSc degree programme for graduates from all areas of the nation, with regional quotas. Since 2010, the institution has now offered a BS (Bachelor of Science) degree programme in natural sciences and social sciences.

Initially based in a satellite town, Rawalpindi, the institution relocated to its permanent site in October 1971. The university has been renamed "Quaid-I-Azam University." QAU is acknowledged in Pakistan and worldwide as a higher academic standards school, and its alumni are accepted in universities and research institutions all over the world. QAU has also managed to make research collaborations with universities and other research organisations situated in the United States, Europe, and South Asia. Pakistan's higher education

commission (HEC) just named QAU the best public institution of higher learning in the country. QAU is striving for internationalisation by raising the level of factuality, curriculum, and research, and is committed to earn a respectable place among foreign universities.

QAU boasts a competent staff of instructors and researchers; more than 75 percent of the teachers possess PhD degrees and have worked at world-renowned institutions. The institution has the distinction of having a significant number of renowned scientists and educators on its faculty, many of whom have received national and worldwide acclaim. To meet the country's expanding educational and technical demands, the institution provides excellent education and training to those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. In all, the university's academic programmes comprise Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences, Faculty of Medicine (affiliated), Area study centre for institutes, centres, and schools, which include Faculty of Biological Sciences, Faculty of Natural Sciences, and a student body of about 5,500. Four facilities, nine other teaching and research Africa, North and South America, a centre of excellence in Gender studies, the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, the National Institute of Psychology, the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, the National Institute of Asian Civilization, and the computer centre, Quaid-i-Azam University (Once Islamabad University), named after Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Making its mark in worldwide academies and research fields, Quaid-i-Azam University has formed several partnership agreements with prestigious institutes and has received numerous accolades and honours, including the international peace award from Brussels. Having 10 male and female hostels, 19 academic buildings, and 14 study suites of visiting factuality residence, guest house, gymnasium, sports grounds, indoor and outdoor sports, health centre, shops, green House, herbarium, botanical garden, mosques, cafeteria and canteens, tea shops, tuck shops, banks, post office, and utility store, among others. The Quaid-i-Azam's perimeter encompasses 1700 acres of beautiful green area between the Margilla Hills in Islamabad, Pakistan's capital. (Source: by QAU Admin)

Being a Federal Institution in the public sector Quaid-I-Azam University admits students from all regions of the country based on the Approved Quota and also accepts international students. As a result, a pool of talent from all across Pakistan is drawn to the institute, and it might be designated as MINI Pakistan. This MINI PAKISTAN with a natural environment where cows and goats can be seen walking around huts, tuck shops, hostels, and the central library was the research site. This very unique character of the university drew me in to study

the student's perception of radicalization and the forces that promote radicalization. The university motivated me to research national issues, particularly those concerning ethnic and national identities. Students from all ethnic and regional origins give an excellent opportunity to gain a comprehensive understanding of Pakistan nationalism at one location. The university admits academically qualified students based on their academic achievement as indicated by their educational record and scoring, as well as their success in the departmental entry test.

4.4.1. Admission Quota

The university, as a federal institution, welcomes students from all throughout Pakistan. Admission to university is based on two factors: academic record and quota. There is a particular allotment for each province and zone with unique status. Foreign students are also accepted at the university.

Regional Quota For Bachelor's And Master's Programme	
Merit	7.5%
Punjab (including Federal Area of Islamabad)	50%
Sindh	19%
Sindh including Karachi (Rural 60% and Urban 40% of 19%)	
Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa	11.5%
Baluchistan	6%
Gilgit Baltistan / Federally Administered Tribal Areas	4%
Azad Kashmir	2%

Figure 2 Regional Quota at QAU

(Source: qau.pk)

The Quaid-I-Azam University invites talented students. The institution also values students who actively participate in their study, obtain an overall educational experience, and effectively complete their university goals. In a culturally diverse educational environment, students are free to pursue their study and extracurricular interests. The pupils are of all ages, from various areas and backgrounds, as well as from many nations across the world. Quaid-i-

Azam University has been broadening its horizons, exploring new worlds, improving lives, producing leaders, and sending graduates to conquer their chosen corners of the globe.

4.4.2. Academic Programs

Admission to various programmes at the institution is based on previous qualifications. The most fundamental degree programme at the institution is the BS, which may be completed in any of the numerous disciplines available. For individuals who have completed a two-year bachelor's degree, the institution provides a two-year master's degree programme in a number of areas. M.Phil. programmes are available for people who have earned their bachelor's or master's degrees. PHDs are awarded to people who have finished their MPhil or have demonstrated exceptional research abilities. The university offers admission on its programs in following four faculties:

1. Natural Sciences
2. Biological sciences
3. Social sciences
4. Medical (Affiliated)

4.5. Historical Background of Student Council at QAU

Initially, students were assigned to councils based on their ethnicity. First and foremost, 'Raj Kumar Ajava' established the Mehran Council in 1983. ISO was also a member of Mehran Council, and as a result of this, students from different cultures began to turn them into council. Saraiki Council was formed in 1987, while Pashtun Council was formed in 1989. The Punjab Council took a stance on this platform in 1993. Gilgit Baltistan students united throughout the next decade. Baloch council was founded in 2004 with only four students.

4.5.1. Making of Quaidian Student Federation (Q.S.F)

The Quaidian Student Federation represents the unification of all councils. When students were in critical condition, they announced in 2007 that student problems must be resolved. They comprised the QSF's supreme body. It was created to govern over the councils with strict rights requirements. Each council's QSF consists of twelve members, including the

chairman and general secretary. It also comprises the honourable and impartial member from each council's senior members.

4.5.2. Manifesto of QSF

In 2011, students took the initiative to legitimise the council system once more. The vice chancellor, 'Masoom-ud-din Yaseenzai,' then instructed the students to draft a new constitution.



Figure 3 Location Main bus Point At QAU

- Council system will legally remain under QSF.
- QSF will be the only student representative body.
- The all other political and religious elements would be discouraged.
- QSF will inculcate and promote the sense of brotherhood, integrity and cooperation among the students.
- The decision of QSF body regarding any matter related to the students will be the final one.
- The tenure of QSF elected or selected representative body would be one year.

4.5.3. Punjab Student council

Punjab has a regional admission quota of 50%, therefore Punjabis make up most of the university's student body. Punjab Student Council, founded in 1993, is the representative organisation of students from Punjab. With a horse in its monogram, Punjab Council should advocate Punjabi students' demands to authorities and protect their rights against any policy or legal injustice. In order to entertain Punjabis and others, the Council organises introduction

workshops, welcome parties, goodbye parties, and yearly musical events. The council also sees itself as a representation of Punjabi culture.

4.5.4. Mehran Student Council

Mehran Student Council bears the distinction of being a pioneer among student councils, having been founded in 1983. The chairman of Mehran council may be seen wandering about the campus while wearing a cultural cap and shawl that is distinctive in its style, occupied by the protocol of 3 to 10 individuals. Mehran council, despite its small size, is highly controlled and structured, and it has several features that set it apart from the other student councils in its operation. Mehran council has an own method of demonstrating, representing, and exhibiting their culture. To reconcile and promote ethnic identity, a unique day is celebrated across the world in the name of Sindhi cap and Ajrak.

4.5.5. Pashtoon Student Council

The Pashtoon Student Council, which was founded in 1989, is celebrating its silver jubilee year. The Pashtoon council is unique in that the chairman is chosen/elected from among the juniors by the council's general body. The selected chairman is trained in this manner, and he is taught the chairman, secretary general, treasurer, and 7 to 8 additional members. Pashtoon student council has a robust fund structure and provides financial help to low-income students so that they can continue their education. Pashtoons are deeply concerned with not just their culture and traditions, but also with their language. Pashtoon culture includes Rubab Attan and folk dancing.

4.5.6. Baloch Student Council

Baloch student council found its way to the platform of council system in 2004 with the motto "Educate the Balochs." Few in number and quota, but recognised in life and well organised in association and communication, these Baloch are the beauty of QAU because of their rich and magnificent culture. Wearing cultural clothing and dancing on flutes of folk music, they perform 'Chaap' (their cultural dance) in various forms and patterns. Baloch kids are proud of their heritage, culture, and history. Baloch council, like other councils, was made up of a representative body. The Baloch council currently has 12 members from several departments.

4.5.7. Seraiki Student Council

Since its establishment in 1987, the Seraiki student council has seen numerous ups and downs on its journey to the position and prestige it presently enjoys. Despite ethnic deprivation and political reservations, Seraiki prefer to have excellent connections with all other groups because they are enrolled and accepted on Punjab's assigned quota. Their beautiful language is unique in its ability to strengthen relationships. Seraiki student council also works hard to protect and defend students' rights, as well as to present student demands to the university administration.

4.5.8. Gilgit Baltistan Student Council

Gilgit Baltistan Student Council, founded in the late 1990s, represents students from Chitral, Hunza, and the Kailash area. Balti students enrich the ethnic attractiveness of the institution by enriching its culture, diversifying its language, and specialising in folk dancing. Proud of their culture and living amid the stones and mountains, most of the poetry reflects a strong sense of belonging to this region. Gilgit Baltistan students demonstrate their culture in both material and immaterial ways. They exhibit a range of costumes, traditional dances, and a solid blend of music as a group.

5 DATA COLLECTION

5.1. Inter-Ethnic Relationships

Inter-ethnic relationships are those which encompass a very huge range of encounters, among people and groups of diverse origins which are existing in the modern-day societies. In other words, these relations describe the preservation of national, cultural and religious boundaries between groups and collectives on the one hand, and to processes of cultural development, innovation and societal transformation on the other. However, inter-ethnic relations can also be taken as relating to failed or successful forms of diversity management also linked with the social identities. (*Charles Westin, 2010*)

In Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, the ratio is divided among people from all regions of the country. Due to quota system, a huge diversity is being seen between students here. To one's view, the form of inter-ethnic relationship between them is consistent on harmony and conflicts at the same time. I took interviews of 25 students, including both the council members and non-council members. Out of which 15 were from student councils and the other were 10 in total. This theme can further be related to few more divisions.

5.1.1. Role of External Factors

From the total count, 7 students had the idea that the form of inter-ethnic relationship existing in the university is largely dependent on the involvement of external factors. One explained an event arranged by one of the council bodies. He said that "Although it was a cultural program, but I would say that the culture was political too". He further told that as expected, there happened a clash between two groups. The negligence of administration was also blamed for the consequences being seen. One of the council members shared through his experience that "Administration is responsible for creating reasons of fights among students, either intentionally or due to lack of interest". This statement was clarified by him by an event happened two years back, where an external group created a scene for fight on purpose, among two ethnic groups. Two class fellows, a girl and a boy were sitting together, and they arrived there. Then they tried to blame it to be a case of harassment and the problem was exaggerated out of no reason.

Few examples explain certain events, which put light on the aspect. One is taken from the non-council member and other from the council member.

Example 1

It's more like a part of culture to people here, and they are being brain-washed and supported by higher authorities i.e., the organizations of their ethnic belonging. Although I am a Pashtun, but I can claim that, because of this external influence, more like PTM has on Pashtun students is triggering these thoughts among rest of the community. I have seen my other Pashtun friends, who were with me in the very first semester. They belonged to North Waziristan, and they asserted that situation is getting better back in their area. But right after they spent some time in councils, I met them again and this time they had a completely changed set of thoughts. It felt as if they were aimed to deliver the message of 'Manzoor Pashteen' to other Pashtun fellows. He literally invested energy in changing their minds in any way possible, working as the mouth priest of these active organizations. These feelings of hatred are not brought along with students but are being injected by some dominant groups to promote their personal interests.

Example 2

I can tell you an event when there happened a fight between two class fellows, a Sindhi and Baloch. It started at the bus point where they were leaving for a departmental trip. Although there were teachers and staff present there, but nobody made a move to make it stop. It should have been dealt as a clash among two class fellows not among two ethnic groups. The point of difference is intentionally escalated. Thus, the negligence of administration led this event at an extreme level, many of them were badly injured and hundreds of students from both communities were rusticated by the university administration. Then 'jirga' was arranged among their tribal heads. But to their own purpose, major political figures came to the university, offered these students an entry ticket to their party along with the funding and used soft power to convince them. It was to promote their thoughts and interests into the general student body by exploiting them. No wonder how many of them fell into their trap and worked under their instructions as paid puppets. These factors satisfy the interests of elite or extremist bodies and play a major role in encouraging the concept of separatism from opposite communities.

5.1.2. Influence of one's Background

While interacting with my respondents, 4 of them told to believe that one's background and socialization play a huge role for these events to come to the surface. One of them said, "It all

starts from our homes”. He further explained it that the image of other communities is built and jokes are made to mock at them.

Example 1

Although the basic purpose of councils is to gain rights but the factor of exploitation overcomes. It is quite clear that minorities in Pakistan are being marginalized. People in provinces like KPK and Baluchistan are even deprived of their basic rights. However, Punjab enjoys all reserves more than those minorities. It creates a feeling of hatred for all Punjabis in them. Thus, it is being seen that when they come to university, they bring along that mind-set about them. I think, it is the major factor leading towards conflicts and grievances against opposite community. Also, it occurs as these minorities have nationalism at the level of extremism. Thus, the ground reality is that ethnic differences are indigenous.

Example 2

In my view, the sense of differentiating each other basically comes in us from our homes. In the backgrounds we belong to, we get a certain environment. Thus, our ideas and thoughts grow from its influence and impacts our current student life here. After getting a platform, cultural practices and adaptations are increased within the university premises. As there is no unity at provincial level, it continues here in the institution too. Every group needs a separate body for maintenance of its identity. Also, I would only feel free and comfortable in a sitting where people are aware of my language, culture and norms. Now aside from the opposite provinces, the problem prevails in the same communities too. I can recall an inter-community conflict that raised when students from Waziristan demanded to have only their major representation in Pashtun council. But the Pashtuns from Quetta asked to settle it onto 50% seats for both. But that idea was rejected and led to a situation where they both completely boycotted university. Then a 'Jirga' was arranged in their own areas along with locals to resolve the issue.

5.1.3. Attack on Opposite Groups

It was noted that 9 people described the events where they confronted attacks of different forms from opposite group’s members. It is further classified into two different types. The respondents explained their experiences of either physical or verbal assault.

Verbal Attack

When one uses offensive words to attack or hurt other's emotions, for the sake of self-satisfaction, most likely against the opposite body, is considered to be counted as verbal attack. While discussing this, 4 respondents described events where they confronted these harsh comments of both member and non-member of council.

Example 1

I have faced biased behaviour from some students of opposite communities. Difference of cultures and language creates communication gap which also leads to some clashes when one's not able to deliver his message exactly. I remember certain events, but I will go on with this one. Once, I was sitting in the Central Library and a group of girls was also there. They came and asked about some books, when I spoke up, they started making fun of my accent and threw Pashtun jokes too. It made me feel really bad, but I ignored them. Although they made comments in another language, but I somehow understood it. Another day, I was moving within university with a female friend and a Punjabi was laughing at us and said: "look at the size of 'shalwar' he's wearing, I wonder how they carry its weight, "Is aik shalwar mein hum 5 log puray ajayn". (Five of us can fit into that one trouser). Also, look at him and the girl, I don't understand how they get girls."

Example 2

From my experiences, most often Punjabi and Sindhi are being seen throwing jokes at Pashtun community just for their personal fun and satisfaction. They have made stereotypes about whole community and build our negative image. I often faced these scenarios, once was when some Punjabis were sitting at canteen. As I came there, they all started to throw jokes at me in Punjabi but I understood it and stayed calm. The opposite community intentionally attacks first which later results in violence and rivalry. Although I'm in council, yet I've heard people mocking me for what I wear and the appearance. But I try not to react as I am not ashamed of my identity. Another day, I was sitting on huts with my other Sindhi friends. We were talking in Sindhi language and laughing out loudly. On the next table, there were few members from Pashtun council. One of them said: "They are all mad and stupid people as belong to such background."

Physical Attack

The action of hitting another person against the will or with the intention to cause bodily harm is considered as a physical attack. Students shared experiences where they came across

such situations. One said, “It starts from nowhere and ends on injuries”. He further called it as the extreme state of conflict among opposite bodies.

Example 1

We enlist cultures from superior to inferior, thus it creates hatred and conflicts while calling other’s cultural difference as absurd. A few days back, I was sitting with my friends at a spot near bank. It is where usually Punjab Council’s members are being seen. After a while, some Punjabi boys came and started starring us badly for sitting at their place. My council-member friend asked him to stop but he resisted. Then use of abusive language started and they got into a physical fight in the name of power. I remember another event when I was standing in a long line outside the bank. It was my turn next, and a boy just came and asked me to let him go first. I refused and he started misbehaving that I am the senior vice chairman of Sindh council student, and it is mandatory for you to listen to me. He further commented that “you must be a Baloch and therefore a foolish”. He even grabbed my collar and tried to threaten me to be ready for the consequences.

Example 2

Although we try our best to stay away from any kind of violence but only when the situation gets out of hand. In such case we need to fight for personal defence. I can narrate two events when I got into a conflict with my class fellows. Once the person was Sindhi and the other time Gilgiti. Although it should have been dealt at personal level, but both time, their communities were being called and I had no option but to make my community appear at the place too. Another time, some Sindhi boys were beating the chairman of our Pashtun council. I was passing by and rushed towards them to help him. But one threw chair at my back and I got injured too. Once a boy from Sindh council allegedly hit car of Saraiki council’s member with his car. We were sitting in the hostel when four to five Saraiki Boys came to beat that Sindhi. After that, in return, Sindhi students almost 8-10 in number attacked at Saraiki council’s Chairman and did beat him so badly that he got hospitalized. It happens only due to the hatred for opposite groups.

5.1.4. Involvement of Girls

Another factor for fights, that came in from 10 respondent’s views, is the involvement of a girl in some form. One claim that “There is no other evident reason for conflicts as this”. But

another countered this statement by saying, "A number of other factors are involved in it more like personal issues. But they are covered up by the misuse of identity tags".

Example 1

I strongly believe that the fights between communities is actually due to girls. Almost for 60-70% of the whole number, the real attraction is that as soon as he would get any prominent council's seat, people specifically girls would start to notice the person within 24 hours. Even those boys who are dying to have any girls around them, but never get a chance, get towards council to make an impression on them. Well, I have no problem in putting it out that a person with council's affiliation would tell others not to even see a girl he likes. Now, if the reaction comes from any opposite community, it leads to a bigger situation. The power is exploited in this way. Therefore, our council doesn't allow the members to get into a fight on personal basis that actually is most of the times, related to girls.

5.2. Need of Separate Councils

The existence of separate bodies of councils is of major concern to all. Almost all of the non-council members considered it as a useless activity to be divided. However, the council members had a different stance regarding this subject. 12 of respondents commented and data is collected from both council and non-council members in this regard.

Example 1

It's my third year in university and I never felt the need for myself to join these groups. As I have realized that there are certain diversions which don't let all councils agree on a single agenda and have localized their system functioning based on their own unique needs. In a way, I see it a good thing to exist but only if they are focused on the same plan. But what we see is that e.g., a Pashtun council or Punjab Council or any other body will only work for their own community's students. They won't even give a shit about general student body rights or issues. Although I somehow feel Punjabis are a bit privileged than others, but I see every other community as a sufferer under this system as their backgrounds. To be very honest, it's stupid of them to believe that by subscribing themselves to a particular nationalistic ethnic narrative they can secure the identity. Rather it would be appreciable if we do that through our other identities like being a student, a responsible citizen or other productive academic activities. All of them should produce better understanding and negotiate with each other as communication is the key to it. Also, they should give equal

representation to every identity and work as one rather than being lost in divisions. The functioning of QSF would be activated and no need for separate bodies would be left. However, the diversity is beautiful and differences have to come along. We need to produce capability in ourselves to accept it.

Example 2

As far this issue is concerned, our council is always willing to help every student but to a certain point. It is the responsibility of a certain group to entertain its own people as any problematic situation would be blamed on us for being the opposite group and it is not manageable. During COVID's first wave, there was an issue of students from Gilgit, as they couldn't give online exams due to connectivity problem. They contacted us for help and told that the department is not cooperating with them. Although they were of another ethnic group, but we took a step considering them as fellow quaidians. Also, they were girls so we couldn't say no because of respect. Technically they should have gone to their own community, but they failed to provide any assistance and then came to us. But when we took a stand, the people from their community started to misguide them about us, out of jealousy. The need for separate councils prevails as a student from Punjab would have different issues compared to a Baloch. When students come here from their far-off hometowns, they feel all alone here. So, the attraction of ethnic group i.e., council in such case is obvious. A person from your own area would be able to understand you and your problems way better than others because of personal association with the same background. Thus, its existence make you feel somehow like *Home away from Home*.

Example 3

The major part of quota system in university is for students of Punjab. This unfair system provides us a reason to maintain our ethnic identity within the premises of this place. Well, every group wants its problems to be resolved first, rather than standing with others too. All have different concerns and issues; thus separate bodies work better in this scenario. Our own council won't be able to take stand for other community's student because we face a lot of issues. We need to handle them to facilitate our community and the other one isn't our responsibility. I can only get into it if I have personal close terms to the person and would not represent my council's identity. However, I must need to inform my cabinet members so that I don't get stuck in some kind of a troubled situation. Also, his achievement of any form

would only benefit his own community not mine, which is not my job. It is not really possible for all councils to be replaced with a single one. It is because each of them believes to be superior than others. They want their culture to be promoted more and a sense of competition is among them. Whenever we sit with seniors, they discuss that the 'now form' of council is quite worst. There was a relationship of peace among communities before and everybody cared for each other.

5.3. Misuse of Power

When someone with a position, unfairly gets benefits by exploiting others, it is known as the misuse of power. The students in the university are seen doing it in many ways such as harassing other female students because of drug usage, illegally occupying hostel rooms after degree completion and not paying bills on huts. The respondents who spoke on this were 10 in total. The examples taken shows that non-members have different views than council members. One of them said "In my view, when students get some power by becoming a part of council, they enjoy their authority by teasing others. They facilitate students quite less than they cause problems by misusing their power."

Example 1

From my experience, I can claim that cabinet members specifically ours, are very less into drugs than the general body. As they are being prominent and arrange functions for the body where drugs are freely being provided so the for that council is blamed. "Jiski chatri k neechy hoga, naam usi ka ayega". (The one who is working as a head will be blamed for any consequences). Although I personally know a number of chairmen who never even touched a cigarette but are being knows as drug addicts. It is due to the bad image being made and also as they don't do any effort to make it positive in front of people. But we do have soft and positive sides in real, opposite to that. I would like to clear that if you're getting involved in drugs addiction, it is completely your own decision. In my tenure, I never even touched them and nobody even asked me for it. It's all about who really want to do it. On the other hand, our council has some rules and restrictions. Our students are strictly prohibited from doing drugs as it the root cause of many problems. Those who create scenes are not into their senses after doing drugs. Thus harassing girls is based on an individual action not on council. In my view, the girls sometime do weird comments that give them space for that. But even if any member does, the cabinet deals him with very harshly. And if he repeats this action, we

completely disown him. I personally don't even do a gathering with my female class fellows as our council has a lot of restrictions I can surely claim that students from our council never do corruption with people, working at daily wages like on huts etc. But some students from other councils are always seen doing that. Well some of us with do own weapon legally, because of the political background, while travelling towards their area, keep it. But none of us would ever show up with a weapon during a fight within the university. We are completely aware of the fact we are keeping it. Students from BS mostly are being seen involved in doing misuse of power. In the beginning they are not even able to give an order of food at huts. But later, after getting into council, they realize that there is nobody to question them. Thus they do anything they want with the confidence that the people behind would manage to deal with any situation. The violence is only being seen due to lack of maturity. *Being a chairman is not having authority but responsibility.* I remember when a Punjabi and a Saraiki student got into a fight, I along with Punjab's senior member, managed to resolve the conflicts at the minimal level possible. It is the right way to deal with such situations rather than taking it among groups. Few months back, I myself too was beaten by Sindhi boys. Although I wasn't involved into that fight and it was only between them and two boys from Saraiki community. But it happened due to the conspiracy by that other group and the prominent members from council were beaten to take a revenge.

Example 2

Well, the decision is individual based and on his economic resources to get into drugs. It would be very subjective thing to say but as far as I have observed students within councils are more into drug addiction. The environment and surroundings of council play a major role in this. It is a kind of trend they follow, when they sit in their group gatherings. It creates the illusion of power, although giving them no power in real. But they enjoy that illusion and interlink that drugs intake with power precisely. But in the wrong way the use of power is seen often. Like once a few students from council's affiliation misbehaved with a female teacher in the class, but she just remained silent and ignored them. They stand outside the girls hostel being drunk and tease them badly. Few months back, an incident was even reported in FIA. Also, some of them don't even pay money after eating food from huts and leave. They asked them to note it down or say that we'll pay it later, but they just never do that. We know that there exists a beast in every human. Whenever one gets space and some power, he does everything he wants even if it's illegal in the law. However, any student getting allotment in QAU boys' hostel is most likely to get towards drugs. The availability is

for everybody if you can afford it without having link with council. As the administration is weak, so these activities are open for all. But the majority seen wealthy enough are from councils. The seniors from our Pashtun council even after graduating doesn't leave their rooms. Thus they stay there illegally and get violent if anybody asks them to spare it. Most often, now boys only join council to impress girls or to exploit them in any way possible. Thus, in order to control it, there should be female representation in every group. It is quite clear that the fights between male students is often due to females, but being covered up. Also, it reaches to physical violence because a student believes that other students from his community would handle any issue. So he does exploitation of power with no fear. Some do fights only because they want to seek attention from public. The freedom and authority is always misused, thus also by council members. The seniors from our Pashtun council even after graduating doesn't leave their rooms. Thus they stay there illegally and get violent if anybody asks them to spare it. The power is in hands but no sense of responsibility to take things further, smoothly.

5.3.1 Behaviour of Teachers

Teachers play a major role in the proper working of an institution. But their attitude towards the student councils' existence differs in general. 5 of my respondents share their experiences in this regard. One said about teachers from opposite communities that, "*Wo humain tang nazari sy dekhty hain*". (They look down upon us).

Example 1

When I was being seen with council, a teacher called me in his office and asked to quit it immediately. He even started to throw points at me sarcastically within the class. Then he intentionally failed me and I had to do an extra semester. A number of chairmen and other students are being dropped or not passed in MPhil interviews. The only reason they do it is the community-based hatred and to have hold on power. There always is seen a conflict between Punjabi and Pashtun. Behind any Pashtun student, a Pashtun teacher would be present. The same goes with the remaining ethnic groups as they are confident of the fact that nobody can take stand against them. Though we don't really have to face this issue on the basis of our ethnic identity. I would say that the faculty is selfish, they never supported us during our strike for rights. However, if they ever face any issue then they come to us for help. Otherwise, they keep blaming them for all of the negative happenings in the university.

Few years back, all of the faculty members called out a strike and asked students to join it as well for their own demands.

Example 2

I personally never faced biasedness from teachers and staff on the basis of ethnic identity. It is because I tried my best not to show my council's identity. They have made certain assumptions about a student with council's affiliation. They are of the view that council is only a waste of time and made to do useless activities and fights. Thus, I maintained my grades and there was no space left. Although I have seen that most of the cases are being seen where teachers are found to have biased behaviour against either any council student or from a council of community that is different to his own identity. I don't think a teacher should be biased on ethnic basis if a student is performing well in academics. However, this type of relationship is most often observed within university premises.

5.4. Attraction towards Council

Councils are more likely to attract any new student coming from a far off area due to its unique form of existence. But later, the scenarios make one take decision differently. Aside from the other points, a very functional output is generated by being a part of council body. While interviewing the council seniors, 10 of them strongly agreed to the idea of personality grooming. One said, "Pind ka jahil tha ab jo bhi hun isi ki wajha sy hu". (I was a clueless person from village but now I have groomed due to councils).

It majorly includes factors like the idea of togetherness, identity protection, personality grooming, learning politics, helping people of same background, making known by all and the influence. However different things in this regard were heard.

Example 1

I belong to the backward area of Waziristan. Thus, it was difficult for me to get all the details of university admission and process. I had no idea about any process like how to get seat in hostel and admin work. Whenever I asked for help from my senior Saraiki from council, they would even skip their class and reach there instantly. So, council helped and guided me in all this procedure from getting admission to allotment in the hostel. Also, if a student from our community faces financial crisis, being unable to pay fee for a semester. Then students in council would personally make a collection for him. I personally found that being a student,

other communities helped me but never in the hard times. It was only the group of people from the same belonging and identity who were even more concerned than me. These productive moves were quite attractive to me. Thus, I decided to join council in order to facilitate more students. A person gets into council for his ethnicity but later he comes to know that it also functions for general student's empowerment.

Example 2

I personally joined council because this university seems like a savage crowd consisting of a larger number of bodies. If one doesn't keep up with his personal identity, it would be lost in such a massive gathering, leading towards existential crisis. Now, if people recognize me, it's only because of the identity I got from my council, and it is based on my specific ethnicity. I belong to a village of Sindh. I always wore desi typical "shalwar kameez". But before coming here, I assumed this university as a place where you must wear jeans and shirts. Thus, till two semesters I kept up with it until I realized those assumptions were wrong. After becoming a part of council, that cultural adaptation provided the real comfort by wearing those dresses and having sittings in groups and interactions like we do have in our village system. It makes one know the details of a number of things happening around. Also, it helped me groom my personality. I got respect from students of all communities and most particularly from administration staff. I really enjoy this and that these people listen to whatever your demands are. Another thing that the mind-set we had brought about them is changed after doing sittings and interactions daily. I have now made friends in other councils too.

5.5 Role of Councils in Struggle for Students' Rights

Like any other body, students have their demands which are essential for administration to provide to them. They are basically known as the student rights. In this university, student councils are considered responsible to get these rights for the general body of students. These include making voice for basic fee and hostel issues, productive study circles arrangements, against administration, speaking for harassment of girls by faculty, health and other necessary availabilities for life here. A council member also told that,"

8 of respondents, both from council and non-council responded on this matter. One of the council member told that for those with poor financial backgrounds, "Council arranges a meeting and collects fund to pay their fee by themselves."

Example 1

As far as I have observed, the student councils in our university are more responsible for creating divisions among ethnic groups rather than taking up a stand for general student's rights. I rarely noticed them all gathered at one point for a positive move. It would have been better if they all work together and don't behave differently with different ethnic identities. But sometimes they also utilize their power and authority in positive way by speaking up for student's issues. They just give a call to their community for any activity. In the last protest, they demanded for reducing the fee and internet facilitation during COVID-19. They were not allowed to enter in any official site. Guards had locked the doors so they broke them down and entered inside. Later, they all gathered outside VC's house and broke down the items there. Thus, VC ended up listening to them and students left the place then. The concept of violence comes in the way as authorities ignore these issues in first place. For making administration convinced on the demands, they get towards it. In such case, their violent behaviour seems almost reasonable. They come up to surface for global issues too but mostly linked with their own political agendas. Few months back, councils including Pashtun, Saraiki and Baloch Student Council arranged a protest outside Islamabad Press Club. I was also a participant to this protest. The purpose was to make a voice for a student from Karachi who got harassed by her professor. However, it's quite a big deal for students coming together at such platform.

Example 2

Council's existence is very important for student survival. A council's member would have references with administration, provost and in every other department which is unlike for a normal student. Few weeks back, I settled an issue of fee instalment of our student because him being alone couldn't put pressure on the administration but a council's representative can. Otherwise "*Wo humain baich khayn*". (They would eat away our rights). The executives from our council work well to facilitate students in any way either in education or culture. We often do arrange student's study circle, seminars and a number of conferences on some important topics. We also often arrange functions for students' entertainment and development. Our council has a proper constitution to work accordingly. We always try to keep up with the basic rules and regulations of the university. But if they become a hurdle towards studies or freedom of students, they have to be altered accordingly. Like when new students from our areas come here, due to less number of hostels, no seat is allotted to them

in the beginning. Being new and from a backward background, also due to less commercialization around this university area, a number of issues are being faced by them. They have to suffer for a proper space and food resource. Thus, we break rules and keep them with us illegally in our rooms. What we do is that seniors get together in some rooms and even make rooms empty for juniors and accommodate them illegally. If any of us is about to graduated, he would make sure to give it to a student from same background. For that, references are a must and council performs its function there. A few months back a girl who was in serious condition was taken immediately to medical centre. But she died due to the staff's negligence. Then councils raised voice about the event and after that administration had to take actions. The facilities were improved, new ambulances were added, staff had to face strictness in work timings and efforts. That step from a larger body made it possible. We cannot leave our people on their own, it's our responsibility because administration of university is failed to do it.

6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Interethnic relationships at QAU are regulated through the ethnic student bodies; it formulates in group bonding for students coming from all parts of Pakistan. This gives refuse to the newcomers to find support network in the name of ethnicity. However, it also creates a competitive environment among interethnic groups. That may affect the classroom environment and learning context. Ethnic identities are remarkable driving force that regulates the interdependence among students. It could be a positive element for students when we try to understand the communal dynamics within a student council. Student Councils have hierarchical structure and it gives power to few individuals who are elected or selected for certain posts of the council. Chairman of the council is assumed to be the face of a council and often his title 'chairman' replaces his name as his call sign among students. He has huge responsibility of the whole community over his shoulders and blamed for any incident that his community's people are involved in. Thus, the misuse of power is seen in the form of student's personal behavior and action more than a community. Other than administration, the attitude of teachers also urges them to take a bold step. However, their struggle in getting rights for students is accepted by all expect in a few cases. They form separate councils because each body tries to cover small group as a convenience. It is also because they are able to easily understand each other, more attracted towards known backgrounds and put efforts to address the issues then.

It is understood that students must have their representation in any form. The basic purpose is to get their basic rights and necessary facilities. The students are young and energetic; they also need any platform to vent out that energy. As student unions are banned in Pakistan, so these councils on ethnic bases are being formed. For that, the students get attached with councils of their own ethnic groups. At the same time, we cannot ignore the factor that ethnicity could possibly create chaos in any institution where ever students have their representative bodies. It would not be wrong to say that ethnicity has direct relation with these student bodies. However, the variation in its form can be observed from institution to institution depending upon the nature of federation bodies of students. The major factor seen to be responsible for the ethnicity-based councils and the issues attached with it is the negligence of administration. Students get more often into fights, harassing girls or misbehaving with faculty after the use of drugs. The administration being aware of the situation has left the space for the availability of these things for students. Thus, students

come in power. If you clearly examine the above discussion you will come to know where ever students' bodies will be in power, administration will be weaker. Students' lust for power and misuse of power at mean time directly corresponds to weak administration. It is further enhanced by numerous factors more like, unconcerned faculty failing to assist students and the ignorance towards students' issues. Although the student politics started many years ago here, but there used to exist a single body, working all together under Quaidian Student Federation (QSF). They worked for the rights of students and everybody was living in harmony and peace with each other. Nobody would differentiate other on the basis of his ethnic background. But now in the council's system, students are getting detracted from their real agenda. Even they do work for students' benefit but the destruction caused by ethnic differences is taking over. It is making them involved more into letting each other down because of ignorance of authorities. Apart from all that, the need of student bodies cannot be ignored at all. It is because still these are functioning as an alliance to students for getting basic rights. The negligence towards their problems make them get to the path of violence, resultantly. Thus we can conclude that the contemporary form of students' grouping in the Quaid-i-Azam University, needs to me amended more positively and constructively. These councils when being made on ethnic basis automatically creates differences leading to conflicts, rivalry and violence among the diversity of groups found here. The other external and hidden factors are also playing their role in it. The only possible mechanism to save the institution is the student unions. The government should immediately remove the ban and system should be revived. It not dealt seriously these problems would get to another extreme level and can possibly lead towards the destructive nature that would badly effect institution in the long run.

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