

Student Unrest At University Campuses

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By

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" When people say, what 's wrong with the younger generation', they should ask, 'what's wrong with the country'....so if you want to understand the students, you'd better try to understand the country.....they are like the country, only more so. "

Clark Kerr

Dedicated to

My Ammi and Abba Jan who gave me trust and confidence to achieve this goal

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ABSTRACT

The present study was undertaken in order to investigate the constellation of the social, personal-psychological and environmental factors which could lead to student unrest. A sample of 200 male and 200 female post-graduate students from four major provincial universities of Pakistan was taken. The data was collected from Punjab University, Lahore, Baluchistan University, Quetta, Bahauddin Zakryia University, Multan and Peshawar University, Peshawar. The instruments used to assess different variables included the unrest scale containing 23 items pertaining to three variables of unrest i. e., social, personal-psychological and environmental, a measure of importance of unrest variables and index of academic activities. The results indicated that social factors such as political interference and support of the student organizations by political parties has made the university administration ineffective. The corruption in the society lead to uncertainty among students about their future which serves as fertile ground for creating and maintaining unrest among them. It was found that the female students perceive more unrest at the campuses. It was also concluded that mostly the male students indulge in the political and non-academic activities. The results also indicated that the more the students were involved in the academic pursuits the lesser were their chances to indulge in political and subversive activities at the campuses. It was also concluded that the sutdents from families with less educated fathers were more sensitive to unrest. The specific circumstances of a campus were also found important. Highest scores on the unrest scale were found at the Punjab University, Lahore. Findings show that student unrest is less frequent at the campuses where the administration is in control of campus affairs.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Student unrest, sometimes also termed as student rebellion, student dissent, student revolt or student activism has become a recurrent phenomenon in the educational institutions of the developed and developing countries alike. In our opinion student unrest refers to all those activities of students in the educational institutions which adversely affect the academic atmosphere of the institution and divert students' attention away from the studies. This may include protests, strikes, demonstrations, tension between students and administration as well as students and teachers. Every year educational institutions are confronted with the problem of student unrest which causes a tremendous academic loss. In our country, the unrest among students has taken the form of an epidemic which not only results in the waste of academic hours but poses a major problem to the development of the nation.

The cycle of student protests starts with certain students' demands which are termed as genuine by the students but are regarded as difficult and unreasonable by the authorities. As a result of this conflict between students and the authorities students start protesting, boycotting classes, and holding demonstrations. This confrontation with the authorities, sometimes, leads to violent scenes within and outside the educational institutions and ultimately results in the closure of the educational institutions.

Over the last 15 years, the level of student violence at the campuses has increased at an alarming rate. The ban on student unions in 1984 was a turning point in the history of student violence. According to a report in Herald, 80 students were killed in clashes between student opponent groups during July, 1977 and August, 1988. Sixty of the students were killed after the ban on student unions, a measure introduced, ironically, to put an end to student violence. Three hundred students were injured during a period of seven years before the ban on student unions, while the number of injured soared to 700 during the four years following the ban.

The political exploitation and the support of regional ethnic groups during the martial law has promoted unhealthy trends of provincialism and sectarianism in the country. This stigma has also penetrated the universities and has misguided a section of student community. The violent battles between various ethnic group are the most recent manifestation of this malaise in the

educational institutions. The ethnic and sectarian violence has further divided the student community and has made the administrations of colleges and universities virtually helpless.

The problem of student unrest is highly complex and its reasons may vary from situation to situation. This variability makes it rather difficult to have a thorough understanding of this phenomenon. The unrest in youth may have multiple causes which may be categorized into personal, institutional, socio-cultural, political and economic components. In addition, the motivational causes may range from emotional problems in adolescence to the anxiety and insecurity caused by an overall socio-economic instability.

The young people of today are more mature and educated than the previous generations. They acquire more knowledge, experience and understanding at an earlier age than their predecessors. The greater freedom to discover and explore presents them with a diversity of situations, people and ideas. This has given them more courage to inquire and to reason. The behaviour and orientation of today's young generation has undergone a radical change. The students of today, are not satisfied with the traditional knowledge handed down to them in the usual authoritarian manner. They want to seek the truth in their own way and this applies not only to their academic life but also to their social and political activities.

The development of political and social sensitivity is for the youth, a derivation of their confrontation with life and of the disparities and contradictions that they notice and integrate between the professed values and ideas of society and the actual societal context. To construct a firm sense of identity and to fashion a set of values consistent with the self, consonant with one's history, and worthy of commitment, are the work of adolescence (Erikson, 1963). A young person has not only to respond to the changes occurring in his physical state and stature, but to encompass a rapidly expanding world as his psychological life space and his geographic environment enlarge in diverse ways. New extended perceptions of the world, the development of complex cognitive skills, and the emergence of different, intense affects typify the experiences of the youth. The adolescents' reactions to the societal context may, however, take variety of forms.

Universities are the seats of higher learning and acquisition of traditional and contemporary norms and values. Beside enabling the students to exercise their knowledge and skills in science and

technology, the universities also cultivate a sense of leadership in the young people. During this phase of discovery and exposure to the outside world the students may develop high ideals (some times even though unrealistic) and in their frenzy for change and novelty they may reject the society's values and traditions. Sometimes this may culminate into unrest as an expression of their dissatisfaction and disillusionment toward the rigid social system.

The problems of admission in educational institutions, the bulk of difficulties faced by the students in the educational institutions, and, above all, the looming spectral of unemployment breeds disillusion and anger in them. Protest for them becomes both an expression of disgust as well as a means of refuge. An over proportional students' enrolment in the universities has also led to the erosion of the traditional concept of a university and its environment. Institutions have become more heterogenous and relations between students and teachers have become loose and less cordial. In this impersonal atmosphere an ordinary student feels neglected and left out. Tourain (1968) thinks that the more modern and scientific a university becomes, the more it will be actively concerned with politics and ideologies. The number of young people in university will grow and this growth will be accompanied by greater and more frequent protests.

A possible cause of the student protests may be the bad living conditions in some of the universities. Students who must live in penury naturally turn against their universities and societies. And if, hundreds of thousands of university graduates can find no work commensurate with their skills, the chances for student militancy are further increased.

Another factor of student unrest may be of administrative nature. There is an overall lack of co-ordination and mutual understanding between the university administration and the students, also between students and teachers. In most of the cases the disciplinary problems are mishandled and the administration makes a mountain out of mole-hill. In our universities, two extreme situations exist. First, the administration has become surrogate either to the student unions or some powerful student political organization. Second, in some institutions the situation is just opposite, the administration has suppressed the students while taking draconian measures and adopting an uncompromising attitude.

The administration shows no interest in providing the students reasonable facilities,

especially, those pertaining to extra curricular and co-curricular activities. This aggravates further the tense student-administration relationship as the students find no outlet for their surplus energies and the opportunity for physical creativity and relaxation.

The ban on student unions has further frustrated and alienated the students. This has deprived them of the opportunity to discuss their grievances or to air their demands. As a result, a handful of unrepresentative activists get together and pressurize and blackmail the administration. In this context various political student groups have established themselves among the students. These political student groups spare no occasion to seek confrontation with the university authorities in order to establish their credibility and influence amongst the students. The students then also seek their help in order to solve their problems. This creates a competitive situation for the political student groups to win more students and, therefore, becomes a source of tension and conflict between them.

There are some well known political student organizations at the campuses working as nurseries for different political parties and are patronized by them. The political parties support these student organizations with money, literature and arms. These parties use students for their own aims and purposes without taking into consideration their future. Moreover, students are aware of their strength and under the support of political parties they use it to the best of their abilities. This indirect involvement of students in politics has disrupted educational process and peace of the institutions.

The student unrest, undoubtedly, causes disruption of the academic activities of the educational institution and can hardly be justified in societies where education is most needed. But in countries suffocated and crushed under military dictatorship, illiteracy, political and bureaucratic corruption, rising unemployment and gross social injustices, it is understandable that the repercussion of all these are likely to appear in the form of student revolt.

The moralists say that what young people do is influenced strongly by what they see their elders and teachers doing and in many respects the behaviour of the university youth is nothing but a reflection of the behaviour of their teachers and administrators.

Till recently student unrest or rebellion was considered as an isolated phenomenon without any social relevance and, hence, attracted little serious thought for research. In order to understand student unrest within our country, it is first necessary to study our country's internal socio-political conditions, as well as, the impact of international events upon our society.

Student Unrest in the National Context

The problems of students are intimately connected with the system of education which has its own shortcomings which breeds discontent. Moreover, students' problems have their roots in the socio-politico-economic background of the country. In Pakistan, the system of education and student unrest can be studied in different phases.

First phase starts with the dawn of Independence in 1947 and lasts till 1958, the imposition of the first martial law. It was the period of trial and error not only in the field of administration and government but also in that of education.

The second phase covers the next 13 years of the country's history, from 1958 to 1971 which includes the abrogation of the constitution twice by two military dictators, Field Marshal Ayub Khan in 1958 and General Yahya Khan in 1969. This phase constitutes an important era in the country's history as several reforms were introduced in the light of the recommendations of government reports on education.

The third phase began with the inception of a new representative government after the collapse of the Yahya regime in December, 1971. It was characterized by a spate of radical reforms enunciated in every phase of life. It gave a new approach to education in the changed situation of country which had to find new moorings after the humiliating defeat of 1971 and the separation of its Eastern Wing (East Pakistan).

During Bhutto Government revolutionary reforms were introduced in all the fields of life, especially in education. But, for some reasons, these attempts were not very successful and, therefore, they did not change the prevailing state of affairs. This had not only resulted in the deterioration of academic standards but also vitiated the campus peace. Students and teachers became vocal and managed themselves to organize into a force so that no progress could be made in the field of education unless their genuine demands were accepted.

The 1972 education policy was aimed at fulfilling peoples' hopes and aspirations, especially, those of students and teachers. Top priority was given to educational reforms and large amounts were allocated to educational expenditure from the primary to the university level. Education was made free up to class VIII and all colleges and schools which were being managed by private bodies were taken over by the government. In the colleges the tuition fees were reduced by about 50%. Students were given facilities for scholarships, freeships, transport etc. Teachers' status and position was enhanced and an ambitious programme was prepared for providing them with medical, residential and other welfare facilities. Students and teachers were given the right to participate in academic and administrative affairs of educational institutions through college councils, district and provincial educational councils, university syndicates and senates.

The policy was still in the process of implementation when general election held in March 1977, completely changed the political and social atmosphere of the country. Two weeks before the general election, all the educational institutions of the country were closed down in order to make preparation for the election. The results of the election, however, were violently challenged by the opposition parties. This led to a continuous spate of protests for about four months which ended with the fall of Bhutto government on July 5, 1977 and the imposition of martial law for the third time in the country. Soon after assuming the power as chief martial law administrator General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq called a conference of educationist. Students, political leaders, scholars and educationist were asked to review the system of education in the country. This was the start of fourth phase of educational development under the martial law government.

A National Education Policy was announced in 1978 in which the whole system was again reviewed and new changes were made with emphasis on the ideology of Islam and that of Pakistan. It was felt that without the support of a strong ideology, the soul of education will be dominated by the imposition of alien models, ideas, concepts and attitudes, which had uptill now formed the patterns of our educational system.

This phase ends with the death of Zia-ul-Haq on August 17, 1988, followed by the election held in November, 1988. As a result of this Pakistan Peoples Party came into power. Ban on student unions was lifted by the PPP government. The union elections were held in 1989 in educational institutions which also resulted in clashes between certain student groups.

The National Assembly was dissolved in 1990 and the elections were held which brought III Government in power. Student unions in the educational institutions were banned once again.

On July 1, 1992, by a ruling the Supreme Court of Pakistan ordered a ban on student politics and it would be possible for administration to expel all such students from the educational institutions who will take part in the political activities.

The Pakistani students had a tradition of struggle when they were actively involved in the movement for independence. Students were the key element in the national independence movement in 1947. They joined the hands with the political leaders and struggled for the independence by boycotting classes and coming out in the streets to demonstrate and to protest against the alien rule. After the achievement of independence in 1947, there was relative calm for a considerable period of time. The spreading economic and social deprivations of the masses did not bypass the students. The deprived and frustrated students sought the outlet of their feelings in confrontation with the authorities.

The dawn of independence was won in the wake of indescribable calamities, colossal loss of life and property and an unplanned massive exchange of population across the newly demarcated borders. This enhanced not only the existing political and economic problems of the new state, but also created the task of physical, emotional and psychological rehabilitation of uprooted human beings trying to begin a new life. The new country could not offer even a fraction of what the young and the idealistic had dreamed. As Faiz Ahmed Faiz said, "this is not the morning we had been waiting for", expressing the thoughts of young people. After three years of hopeful expectations, the first rumblings of students restiveness could be heard in the Dow Medical College, Karachi (Strike, 1951). In this strike the ostensible issue was the dismissal of two surgeons by the principal.

There was no organised students movement in the early years of independence. It was slowly and gradually that little unheard grievances of the students in different educational institutions forced them to form various associations. The students in Lahore formed an organization called as "Democratic Students Federation". The local authorities did not like the idea of this organisation and suspected it of taking part in "subversive activities". One of its leaders was arrested and externed from Lahore.

Educational problems in Karachi were in a worse shape and the socio-economic difficulties had worsened the students' plight in this big city. Karachi soon became the germinating ground for student activism. By the end of 1951, one could feel the symptoms of unrest growing among students. In October 1952, a students convention was held under the auspices of the Democratic

Student Federation (DSF) in Karachi which resolved:

"We demand free primary and secondary education and good cheap technical and higher education, free medical aid and security of employment".

It was only a beginning, and the students did not appear to restrict their activities to the academic field alone. They started expanding their interests to the socio-political life of the country. At the same time the students were attracted by the conflicting ideologies of Free World and Communism. Authorities suspected all protest demonstrations to be inspired by subversive elements. Students who could not hide their left-wing views were regarded as dangerous to the society and were put behind the bars. The student organizations, on the other hand, refuted these charges and grew more and more resentful and the gulf between the students and the authorities began to widen. The students accused the authorities of being unsympathetic and tyrannical, while the authorities called students rash, violent, subversive and easy-going who refused to work and were interested only in getting degrees.

Before the 1972 reforms could come into effect, the students demanded reduction in their tuition fees. This ought to be judged in the context of the general poverty of the people whose annual income per capita (1964-65) was 360 rupees. In addition to this the students were facing transport problems, and there were no physical, educational and medical facilities available in the educational institutions. Some of these problems could have been easily solved by a sympathetic administration, but no efforts were made to improve the situation which added to the students' worries and grievances.

Educational reforms were one of the most important battle cries in the fight for independence. The socio-economic set up of the country, the attitude of the ruling class, the general poverty and illiteracy of the people, its ideological conflicts and the lack of political experience of its leaders, stood in the way of a sympathetic consideration of these vital issues.

The political instability, absence of well organized political parties with sound social and economic programmes, the unethical crossing over of floors in legislative assemblies during 1952 to 1968 and the prevailing corruption and nepotism in government circles, made young students politically conscious and restive. The students' awareness aroused not only about the campus issues,

but also about the general political issues of the country. They became aware of their power of protest and demonstrations. Gradually student community began to realise that they could assert themselves as a powerful political force.

In this fevered state of affairs teachers and university authorities took a back seat, for they were made to feel that students had become more important personages. All pretence of discipline was cast aside as no teacher or authority dared to take action against any student leader who was associated with the political party in power. In the course of time, the atmosphere at the higher educational institutions became a law and order problem.

Discontent and frustration among student community was increasing day by day but problems of students were not studied in any great detail. Only adhoc solutions were proposed under pressure. Occasionally, commissions and committees were appointed to look into the problems of the students with reference to specific situations.

In December 1964, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan constituted a commission on students' problems and welfare. The commission consisted of four members, one judge from Supreme and one from High Court, one member each from Central Public Service Commission and West Pakistan Public Service Commission. The job assigned to the commission was to examine the provisions of the university ordinance, the existing facilities for the students, the adequacy of the recreational and welfare facilities and the matters affecting students' life and to suggest modifications and improvements. The commission noted in its report (1966) that the term (student) union was generally used in the sense of a bargaining agency. The student unions generally think that it was their duty to champion the cause of students through perpetual conflict with the administration. While appreciating the positive role played by the students in independence of the country, the report suggested that the students of the institutions of higher learning must learn to act as responsible persons. At the same time the educational institutions must devise a machinery for remedying as quickly as possible all legitimate grievances brought to their notice by the students. The student organizations must have an institutional character and the name student union be replaced by "council".

Commenting on the issue of unrest the commission reported that after the sheltered life in

schools, the freedom allowed in colleges confronted students with serious problems of adjustment. These students lack a proper direction, they fall an easy prey to the disruptive elements. In commission's view the administration's belief that all students' agitation was politically inspired was ill perceived and biased, implying that authorities had no considerations for genuine student problems.

The University Grants Commission, Islamabad, in order to study student problems, sat up a Study Group in May, 1974, comprising of senior academicians from the universities and degree colleges. A questionnaire comprising 25 items was circulated to solicit the views of students, teachers, administrators, parents and other interested elements of the society. The written enquiries were followed up by visits to all the universities and meetings with Vice-Chancellors, student union leaders, office bearers of academic staff associations and other individuals.

The group viewed the students' problems in the light of the physical facilities of the universities such as financial resources, libraries, scientific equipment, hostels, recreational, medical, sports, transport facilities. Various aspects and causes of student indiscipline were examined. The role of teachers and administration and the effects of external influences were also studied.

The recommendations of the Study Group included recommendations about academic standards, admissions, examinations, teacher selection criteria and physical facilities. The most important observation was the lack of communication between students, faculty members and the administration. The solutions suggested were based on "provisions of guidance to students at all stages". It was recommended to devise a detailed and continual institutional study of the problems of students, their needs, and their aspirations.

The University Grants Commission arranged a students group comprising of Presidents and General Secretaries of the Student Unions of nine universities of the country in September, 1981. The group tried to explore the causes leading to fall in academic standards and shortcomings of the existing educational system. The main cause of the failure of educational system found was the preparation of educational policies by the members of administration and bureaucracy who mostly were unaware of the problems of the students and the academic staff. It was recommended that

whenever a policy or major decisions about education are to be taken, the students and teachers should be consulted. Moreover, it was recommended that examination should be judiciously scheduled after completion of the academic period and frequent postponement of examinations should be discouraged. It was also recommended that opportunities for extra-curricular activities must be provided in the universities.

All these study groups and commissions were appointed occasionally to look into the problem of student unrest and in their reports they suggested some recommendations on the basis of their observations. Unfortunately, no sincere effort was made by any government or university administration to implement these recommendations. For example, a very important observation of a study group was the lack of communication between students, faculty members and administration. But no concrete measures were taken improve communication among them. So all such recommendations proved to be futile and students became more and more disgusted.

While considering the problem of student unrest, one should keep in mind that the society and education always interact with each other and the educational organizations and methods reflect the social norms and values. As higher education involves training of intellect and character of persons entering into responsible adulthood, the social values and attitudes become important factors in shaping the behaviour patterns of the students. The reactions, behaviours, and personalities of the youth are actually moulded by the sociological factors. This demands a thorough understanding of the social changes taking place in our society.

The political, social and economic milieu keeps on fluctuating. In our case, this milieu has almost always been full of problems. On account of these problems, the people of Pakistan today are feeling great frustration in almost every walk of their life. From the very beginning we are facing the shortage of food, illiteracy, poor health services and low productivity. Above all, however, there is a constant problem of a stable political government. Only stable political institutions can win the public trust. Unfortunately our political culture is marked by suspicion, jealousy, mistrust and mutual hostility. That is why all our institutions lack solidarity, cohesion and identification with the desires of the masses. Self-centred individualism coupled with the politics of ambush and ambitions has ruined our national soul, wasting our energies and making ourselves vulnerable to outside influences.

In this unfortunate atmosphere of political wrangling and governmental instability, it is not surprising that the social welfare programmes and the schemes of educational reforms have been neglected. The ignorance and poverty of the masses and the existence of small pressure groups of powerful vested interests stand in the way of balanced economic development.

The influence of this instability is also reflected in our academic arena. The unpredictable political climate has negatively affected students resulting in their dissatisfaction and stimulating them to protests. It must be noted that students have almost invariably been more responsive to political trends, and to the opportunities for social change than any other group in the population.

It has been discussed earlier that student population cannot be separated from the social context because they do not live in a vacuum, but are influenced by the total environment. One feature of our today's society is the corruption and nepotism in every field of life. The victims of discrimination are usually the young men and women who are facing all the evils of corruption and nepotism with growing disillusionment. This has created in them a sense of frustration and discontent with the existing mode of life.

Student unrest is, more or less, a part of the growing pains of the modern society. Education has made the students conscious of their own rights and duties. They have started reasoning rather than accepting old age myths and platitudes. The mass media, the newspapers etc., have fertilized the minds of the youth with new ideas and a fresh approach to religion, politics and economics. They have been exposed to the evils of poverty, ignorance, inequality of opportunities and rigidity of our social and educational system. The institutions of higher learning have failed to meet the challenge of the new conditions which require revolutionary change in the structure and the traditional pattern of education.

Looking from a psychological perspective, a deep rooted insecurity and a bleak future of the university graduates may lead them to uncooperative and violent behaviour. It is rather unfortunate that many of our higher educational programmes are not career-oriented. Even those programmes which are career-oriented, for example, education in medicine, lack measures for the adjustment and absorption of the professionals in the economy of the country. Thousands of

graduates in medical science are jobless while at the national level we still need many medical doctors to meet our health needs.

Studenthood in itself is a tension creating period. Students are in a transition period between being dependent on their families for their needs and security and taking up new responsibilities in the near future. The insecurity about seeking job and entering a career affects not only educational pursuits of a student but also develops indifference towards education and educational programmes. This indifference leads a person to change his priorities and involvements. Knowing the fact that even when he carries a degree in his hands he may not be able to get a job or a suitable entrance in the socio-economic structure unless he has connections or uses unfair means; he develops a psychology in which his faith in straight-forwardness, fairness and merit dissolves. This has also lead to deterioration of academic standards in our country.

This psychological built-up has encouraged our students to get a recognition on campus as well as in the society not through talent and fair competition but through pressure techniques, unfair means and exploitation. This has lead not only to unrest and problems on the university campuses but also built a conviction that unless politics of force, demonstration and pressure tactics is observed, the administration would never notice their rational and justified demands. This psychology prevailing on our campuses has become a national malaise. A person who is frustrated and who does not see his problems taken care through fair and legal means is always pushed towards violent and unreasonable approach. All these sociological factors are causing restlessness and dissatisfaction among the students.

Student Unrest in the International Context

During the last four decades (1950-1990) student unrest has become a common feature of university campuses all over the world. Since the end of the second world war, students are becoming increasingly conscious of their inherent capabilities and responsibilities. The university is no more an ivory tower beyond the reach of the ordinary people and confined to the pursuit of learning for its own sake. Academic truth is linked with the socio-economic needs of the society, to produce, in Wordsworth's words "type of the wise who soar but never roam".

According to a United Nations' Study of Youth Problems (1969), there were reports of student demonstrations in 50 countries during 1960. The ebb and flow of student movement has continued with varying degrees of intensity throughout the world. The American universities have been a place of turmoil since the Berkley revolt of 1964-65. The period of 10 years from 1965-1975 is said to be the decade of student riots in the history of U.S.education. By the mid '60s' in U.S.A the impact of civil disturbances were felt at the university campuses. Student protests, accompanied by disruptive and destructive behaviours on the part of students, precipitated confrontation with administration and clashes with police. These campus conflicts were triggered by a variety of causes, but the major factors were the Vietnam war, civil rights of the minority students, the draft, free speech movement, dress and discipline codes etc.

The Vietnam War proved a great factor in mobilizing left wing militancy in the United States, Britain and France. The escalation of the war had a direct impact on student movements all over the world and, especially, in the United States, where it also meant sending young men into the armed forces and using them in Vietnam war as "cannon fodder"- a term used by Mark Rudd, a student leader of Columbia University. Emotions against the war were so strong that a student died after setting fire to himself at the University of California, as a gesture of protest against the United State action in Cambodia. He was carrying a sign "for God's sake end the war" (News Report: The Times, London, May 12, 1970).

The political activities of youth attracted the attention of researchers. Researches and surveys were conducted to know the real cause of these nationwide student disruptions. A research was conducted by the U. S. National Educational Association in 1964. A total of 1,219 teachers were requested to give their views about the incidents, extent and causes of student misbehaviour. The main reasons were found to be urbanization, disintegration of home, irresponsible parents and lack of training in spiritual and moral values. Incidence of activities like strikes, demonstrations and group protests were found ten times more likely to happen in urban areas than in rural areas. By the end of '1960s' another survey of 1000 administrators of educational institutions reported that majority of them experienced some kind of protest.

One survey reflected that in 1965, 24% of the students favoured withdrawal from Vietnam; by 1968 the percentage had reached 50. Over 40% students told in interviews in another survey in

1969-70 that they had changed their political views because of the war; of these 93% had moved to the left wing movement.

Peterson (1966) surveyed deans of students in all regionally accredited four-year colleges in the United States in the fall of 1965. He found that local issues of civil rights were most apt to provoke student protest. Complaints about food service and parietal rules governing personal conduct were cited as the next most frequent causes of student dissent. The Vietnam war ranked next, while educational reforms and issues of academic freedom were the categories least often cited as student concerns. Only the off-campus issues of civil rights, Vietnam war, and disarmament showed variation in protest by type of institution.

In the same way the French students' revolt of 1968 can be traced back to the Algerian war—the seven year war, with its sorry record of brutality and torture inflicted on a civilian population, which deeply troubled the French students. The student organisation (UNEF) became the principal channel for students' support of the Algerian National Liberation Front.

In Italy, it was the archaic university system that the students challenged. In Germany, it was the "consumer society" and the absence of political freedom. In France the explosion was delayed and for that reason was more violent when it came. It is obvious that each revolt came in response to some social and political change. The action, though directed specifically at the university, was also aimed at political and social issues and values.

Studies by Yankelovich (1972, 1974) tend to show that the Vietnam war was in part responsible for the emergence of new value systems which modified the attitudes of young people in the United States.

The impact of the two world wars and the world wide development of nuclear weapons have shaken the minds of the young people and forced them to revise the accepted ideas of political and social morality of an earlier age. The global tensions and power policies in an ideologically torn world of today and the economic and military interests of powerful countries have been instrumental in creating more problems of international nature today than the two wars and the scientific and technological advancement has yet not managed to solve these.

The U.S. report of the President Commission on Campus Unrest (1970) commented that race, the war and defects of modern university have contributed to the development of campus unrest, have given it specific focus and continue to lend it a special intensity.

While analyzing the situation all over the world, we see that the events which precipitated student activism vary from country to country but the basic targets and ideologies of these movements are common in many respects. Many of the battles put up by the students all over the world are for important liberal causes. The protesting students have been clubbed, tear gassed and even killed. Their direct action and confrontation, sometimes, leads to unreasoned militancy and radicalism. A kind of neo-colonialism of developed countries is today strangling the poor countries of the third world. The left movement in the United States has attracted some of the brightest students of its ranks whose emphasis is on the human capacity for love and they are the bitter critics of their country's policy towards the third world. On the other hand, the developing countries like Pakistan are confronted with the problem of making up what they have lost during long period of colonial subjugation. Left behind in the race of scientific and technological progress, we are forced with a bewildering situation in which we have to concentrate the task of more than two centuries in a period of decades in order to keep pace with the advanced world. The social, economic and political situation in our country is frustrating and has resulted in big crises and imbalance. Modern ways of technological and industrialised world have been super imposed on agricultural society with traditional attitudes causing much psychological conflict and emotional shock.

The young people in our society find themselves in a state of mental and spiritual turmoil, living in a world of Chaos and disorder where appearances are very different from reality, where there are deep moral cracks, frustration and demoralisation. Social system in itself, sometimes, is a structured form of systematic violence and disorder. A system which discriminates between the rich and the poor in the dispensation of justice cannot claim of impartiality and, hence, appears unconvincing and ineffective to the public. The social problems of the Pakistan have politicised the students much more than any other single factor. Students' views and behaviours are moulded by the inexorable pressures of the society in which they find themselves. Moreover, politics in Pakistan has made a great impact on the students' minds. The political instability, absence of well-organised political parties with sound social and economic programmes, the prevailing corruption and nepotism in every field of life and, especially, in government circles have made the young students

politically and socially conscious and restive. They feel that it is not only reform in the educational system which is needed but a revolution in the whole way of social thinking and living is required. They start protesting when they find that institutions of higher learning are becoming a part of unjust society.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO STUDENT ACTIVISM

The unpredicted change in the youth from the silent generation of the past to the 'protesting' students of the present have challenged sociologists and psychologists for explanations. The traditional historical forces previously associated with the emergence of radical youth movements, limited occupational and economic opportunities, the breakdown of traditional authority under the impact of industrialization, seem an insufficient explanation for the development of recent unrest. So a number of attempts have been made to explain this phenomenon of unrest in terms of sociological and psychological approaches.

Sociological Approach

A number of analysts have tried to analyze different modes of campus behaviour. These analyses range from those that place the responsibility for campus discontent on aspects of the social structure to some that see the university itself as the source. Still others argue that the specific political events are the principal energizing factors. These theories, of course, are not mutually exclusive as each of them seems to contain some validity.

The approaches which stress societal factors include the proposition that changes in child-rearing and educational practices have produced a generation of students who believe in equalization doctrines with an insistence on instant gratification. Such parents accepted the belief, as David Cohen has argued, that youth should not be restrained or coerced, that education should reflect the desires of the students and that education should give an opportunity of free choice to the individual. And it follows from this analysis that such students began to insist that the rest of the world should conform to the idealistic state of freedom and comparative equality which they had experienced.

There are, of course, other structural change theories which have been advanced to account for the growth in student discontent. These emphasize, particularly, technological determinants which supposedly have made life more difficult e. g., more population, more pollution, and more noise, or have opened the door to new vicarious experiences and instantaneous communication about events in other parts of the country and world through mass media.

The third approach stresses the role of specific politically relevant historical events as a catalyst which initiated the wave of unrest and protest. Basically it argues that revolutionary theorists like Bukunin and Blanqui, who stressed the revolutionary role of intellectuals and students as the inspirers, leaders and often mass troops of the revolution were correct.

Ross (1969) has classified the situations of student demonstrations or protests into five categories: political crises, economic insecurity, moral protests, the desire for educational reforms, and the need for emotional release or fun.

Firstly, in many countries student unrest has been closely connected either with political instability inside the country, or with the threat of an external enemy. As the university students form a captive audience, and have arrived at the age when they are supposed to take over the major share in the fight for survival, they can be easily mobilized for political action and can become extremely influential. Students in different countries vary in their degree of political interest, for example, in Europe students have tried to influence government policies or actions, and even within the Communist countries there have been recently strong student demonstrations against their respective governments. The birth of the Left Wing in the United States is said to have been due to the civil rights movement and the lack of a strong political wing through which the students could express their views.

Secondly, demonstrations may result from a change in a country's internal conditions--a change which may alter the occupational structure so that although new opportunities open up, entrance to them appears to be blocked to certain groups. This seems to be the main underlying cause of two student movements on the North American continent: that of the Negroes in the Southern United States, and that of the French-speaking Canadians in the Provinces of Quebec. Some conditions that led to protest demonstrations among these two groups included in the first

place that both had become rapidly urbanized at a time when the occupational structures of their countries were undergoing considerable change. Both the Negroes and the French-speaking Canadians moved to the cities in great numbers at a time when their countries were facing a decided decline in the need for unskilled workers. Thus, many were unemployed, or have not had the education or training that enables them to enter the skilled, semiskilled, professional, or higher business positions.

Thirdly, when aroused by a moral issue, university students often behave in a way that is deviant to their usual activities. The issue may have nothing to do with their own security. Indeed, it may be occurring in a distant country of which they know little; or it may be a phenomenon which has some remote but indirect bearing on their lives, such as ban-the-bomb movement. It may, on the other hand, be concerned with conditions in their own countries. Movements of this nature tend to arise in countries which are undergoing rapid change--change that may have been brought about by such new inventions as the atomic bomb. Elsewhere, the structure of a society may have changed so that the discriminatory treatment of people of another class or colour is seen in a new light. Some writers put it a little differently. They think that when rapidly changing conditions prevent a society's ideologies from keeping up with practical events, students often become disillusioned, and the only solution they can arrive at is to destroy as much of the existing system as possible. There is no doubt that agitators receive great satisfaction from the sense of unity with others who are fighting for a "worthwhile" purpose. For most students, however, a good deal of propaganda will normally be required to rise them to action for a cause that does not impinge immediately on their own interest.

Fourthly, the aim of many protest movements has been to protect the interests of students as students. This type of student indiscipline can lead to "positive" social change, even though the underlying cause of it may be to release tensions. This is the kind of collective action that is most likely to enlist the support of the largest number of students, for education problems may impinge on them all. The issues over which students, usually, react include dissatisfaction with university administration, bad conditions in hostels etc. The growing number of demonstrations about education shows that many of today's students are not content to allow their educational destiny to be determined by the authorities in the traditional way and the universities themselves must adjust to the changing conditions.

Fifthly, some of the student demonstrations become much more violent and destructive in nature, they would not be considered "indiscipline." These outbursts are likely to occur at a time when students are emotionally stirred up, as after a football match with a rival university; when usual controls over behaviour are at a minimum, and the students are ready for a more physically oriented release of their energies.

Many students join even the most serious demonstrations just for the fun, excitement, and release that this type of behaviour brings them. In this sense, organized student indiscipline, although disturbing to the educational authorities, the police, and the public, may be a much-needed safety valve for the release of student emotions.

On the other hand, Keniston (1965) has posited that intensification of technological change in the modern world has been at the expense of human values. The technological society stresses empiricism, pragmatism, efficiency, and production. The absence of articulated social goals and the deification of technological progress at the expense of social concerns has dehumanized the society. The very rapidity of change makes the past irrelevant to the present and the continuity with history that eases the task of identification and adaptation is weakened. The "generation gap" is widened by accelerating changes so that communication between generations becomes increasingly difficult. Patterns for the solution of today's problems cannot be found in the experiences of the past. The protest of youth against this "dehumanizing" process is a part of their struggle for identity and integrity. Keniston has also distinguished activists (who wishes actively to provoke changes in the style of political and social life) from students who are more oriented toward a search for new personal experiences.

Block, Haan and Smith (1970) have tried to explain adolescent political-social behaviours in terms of a typology of orientation of students toward socio-political action. They have distinguished three types of students involved in unrest-"constructivists", "dissenters", and "activists"-plus three other groups relatively uninvolved, those who are simply uninvolved "politically apathetic", those who are both uninvolved and rejecting of societal values "alienated" and those who conform to conventional modes, the "individualists". These three groups are characterized by the lack of interest in social and political affairs.

One group of young people, *politically apathetic* youth, is distinguished by its lack of political-social involvement and its readiness to accept the societal status quo. Judging from the studies of Katz and others (1968) on the 1960s' college generation, this group represents the majority of contemporary youth. These young people have identified with and accepted the values of their parents, which are largely within the mainstream of societal opinion. They have tended to handle whatever conflicts that have arisen from perceived discrepancies between their own and the larger world by minimizing the discrepancy and by retreating to their own small portions of society in which career, success, marriage, family and financial security are the overriding considerations. They tend to accept the status quo, perhaps with a pessimistic attitude about the possibility of change. Focusing primarily on their own individual lives, these young people are little concerned with the long-term problems of society. We may describe these young people as *politically apathetic*.

A second group, *alienated youth*, rejects the traditional values of society, rebels against institutional authority and does not participate in the political-social arena. These young people do not accept the prevailing leitmotifs of the culture. They reject its values, refuse its roles and elect to escape from the culture by opting out. Keniston (1965) studied alienated Harvard students in the late 1950s and found that these students had an egocentric and aesthetically oriented approach to life. They concerned themselves with a search for adventure, the creation of experiences and the pleasures of sentience and unmeditated responsivity. The alienated are relatively unideological. They live in the present and their personal present may have little continuity with their personal history. They value their individuality and freedom and distrust commitments that imply submission of the self to long-range, compromising goals. Their regard for self-expression, their pessimistic evaluation of society, their concern with existential experience and their patent refusals to accept the hypocrisies they project into adulthood combine to produce an adolescent subculture bent on escape from the conventional society and deeply involved with experiencing. Block et al. (1970) have confined the term *alienated youth* to include young people who are both uninvolved and rejecting of societal values.

Individualistic youth, compose a group who are involved with political-social issues and accept the traditional values and authority structure. Their political-social commitments are directed to maintain the status quo. Their activities include petitioning, letter-writing campaigns, active

support of conservative candidates and policies to reinforce the positions of traditional institutional authority. Although participating in demonstrations, these young people confine their activities to legal forms of protest and reject the tactics of civil disobedience. This group is not ideologically homogenous. The individualists are also termed as *obedient rebels* by Schiff (1964). *The constructivist youth*, are actively committed adolescents who occupy an intermediate position on acceptance and rejection of authority but are highly involved with political-social problems. They devote themselves to restitutive work in volunteer activities: in mental hospitals, in work with physically handicapped, in tutoring children from urban ghettos, and so on. Enlistment in the Peace Corps or Teacher Corps also represents a kind of commitment to effect social change in ways that involve working within the existing framework of society. Although these young people may have formulated an ideological position for themselves, they lack the zeal of the revolutionary but feel committed to work constructively to alleviate the ills of society. They are prepared to undergo discomfort, physical hardship, isolation, or even physical danger in order to contribute to the betterment of the human condition. They differ from the activists and dissenters primarily in that they tend to be task-oriented, do not categorically reject authority, and work in ways that do not necessarily challenge the institutions of society.

Activist youth, share with the constructivists a history of involvement in good works; but, unlike them, they have rejected major values of contemporary society and have dedicated themselves to fight, demonstrate and protest actively against policies and institutions of mainstream society that violate their sense of humane justice. Heterogeneous in ideology, they unite for action on common causes. Their rejection of authority extends to their selective willingness to engage in civil disobedience in the face of possible arrest and incarceration. They are not optimistic about the effects their protests will have on society. Although their protests seek to dramatize social issues, their behaviour is based on a concern for personal integrity and authenticity. They deplore the dehumanizing forces of a technological society and reject authoritarianism and centralism in favour of a commitment to participatory democracy in which political power is placed in the hands of those affected by decisions. Unlike the apathetic, conforming adolescent for whom social concerns are irrelevant, a substantial part of the lives of the young activists is regulated and determined by the issues of current concern.

A final group of active protesters, *dissenters*, share the preceding group's commitment to

radical action but lack any history of involvement in constructive social effort. They are specialists in protest. There are indications that the dissenters may arrive at their posture of antagonism by a psychological route that is quite different from that of the activists. As angry rebels, they may correspond more closely than the activists to popular conceptions.

If we analyze the typology given by Block et al., we find that the "constructivists" if they are implicated in social and political affairs, remain very conformist in not rejecting traditional values. Like the politically apathetic group and the individualists, the constructivists strongly identify with the social and political values of their parents. On the other hand, the "activists" and the "dissenters" reject traditional values and revolt against the socio-political system. The activists might be seen as altruists fighting for a more equitable society, while the dissidents are clearly more politicized and centre their energy on protesting against well-established institutions and the politics which direct them. The dissenters appear more rebellious against the political and social ideologies of their parents than do the activists.

Lipset (1972) has identified many aspects in the situation of the group which facilitate mass activity. Young people are more available for new political movements than adults. As new citizens, as people entering the political arena, they are less committed to existing ideologies, they have few or no explicit political commitments, they have no previous personal position to defend.

Another factor which facilitates student political involvement is the physical situation of the university which makes it relatively easy to mobilize students. The campus is the ideal place in which one can find large number of people in a common situation. New ideas which arise in response to a given issues may move readily among the students, and find their maximum base of support.

Students are also more available because of the lesser commitment they have to their "occupational" role as compared to adult. Max Weber pointed out that political activity, to a considerable extent, is a function of the extent to which job requirements are dispensable.

Linked with this is the factor of "responsibility". As compared to other groups, students simply have fewer responsibilities in the form of commitments to families and jobs. The students

at the upper levels of the education are biologically adult but are not constrained by the social obligations as the nonstudent population of the same age is. they are not burdened with the responsibilities of a family, the allegiances to an employer and the loyalty to the interests of one's own social group. Thus, the existence of punitive sanctions against extremist activism is less likely to affect students than those with greater responsibilities to other.

Another sociological factor which makes students readily available for organized "deviance" is their situation as socially marginal man whose status and future are not yet determined. They are in transition between being dependent upon their families financially and psychologically and taking up their roles in jobs and families. They feel insecure as the future prospects seem bleak to them. They look for an explanation for their insecurity and proceed to seek solutions through ideologies of radical movements.

Psychological Approach

Psychologists have tried to take account of the personality traits of the protestors or activists in order to explain their degrees of involvement in protests and revolts. They have looked at such factors as variations in the way different groups of students have been reared by their parents i. e., in a permissive or authoritarian atmosphere as well as investigating family relationships, student intelligence, sociability etc. Flacks, Westby and Braungart (1967) report that leftist activists tend to be the offspring of permissive families as judged by a child-rearing practices, and of families characterized by a strong mother who dominates family life and decisions.

Some of the psychologists believe that youth still resemble Aristotle's portrait of 2500 years ago that;

"they have exalted notions because they have not yet been humbled by life or learnt its necessary limitations".

Some contemporary psychologists see a special contemporary disposition toward excessive anxiety and commitment in the strain of adolescence. During this stage of personality development, the individual is faced with the need to establish a personal identity and select an adult role. The very openness and freedom to choose alternative paths are characteristics of a modern society which

face the modern youth with more ambiguous, ego-threatening period than that which confronted his predecessors, who were much more likely to have an identity and career handed over to them. The reaction of youth to this state of uncertainty has been well described by Erikson (1968).

"Clearly the adolescent looks most fervently for men and ideas to have faith in, which also means men and ideas in whose service it would seem worthwhile to prove oneself trustworthy.....

The adolescent now looks for an opportunity to decide with free assent on one of the available or unavoidable avenues of duty and service, and at the same time is mortally afraid of being forced into activities in which he would feel exposed to ridicule or self-doubt.

.....The adolescent's willingness to put his trust in those peers and leading or misleading, elders who will give imaginative, if not illusory, scope to his aspirations is only too obvious" (pp.128-129).

Allport (1961) while analyzing the changes in personality that accompany " maturing" suggested that youth are inherently less able to handle ambiguity, to accept their weaknesses as well as strengths, tend to overreact to stimuli, and lack a high capacity for tolerance.

Some of the psychoanalytic theorists have explained student rebellion in terms of oedipal rebellion. These theorists see the rebel as blindly striking out against the sundry surrogate for a powerful, authoritarian father (such as university, government police); other see him attacking surrogates for a weak, ineffectual father; still others see the cause of revolt in insufficient parental responsiveness.

Feuer (1968) has explained students activism in terms of Oedipal Rebellion. This explanation see the underlying force in all student revolts as blind, unconscious oedipal hatred of fathers and older generation. Feuer finds in all student movements an inevitable tendency toward violence and a combination of "regicide, parricide and suicide". A decline in respect for the authority of the older generation is needed to trigger a student movement, but the force behind it comes from "obscure" and "unconscious" forces in the child's early life, including both intense death wishes against his father and the enormous guilt and self-hatred that such wishes create in the child.

The idealism of student movements is, thus, only a "front" for the latent unconscious destruction and self destructiveness of underlying motivations. Even the expressed desire of these movements to help the poor and exploited is explained psychoanalytically by Feuer. Empathy for the disadvantaged is traced to "traumatic" encounters with parental bigotry in the students' childhoods when their parents forbade them to play with children of other races and lower social classes.

Later on Feuer (1969) in his scholarly but tendentious historical analysis of student movement that is coloured by his early embitterment with student protest at Berkley, combines a psychoanalytic view of inevitable underlying generational conflict with hypothesis that destructive youth movements erupt when the adult generation has become "de-authorized" for historical reasons. When the established generation is discredited, the grounds for protest or alienation is laid.

Van Woodward (1976) observes that most psycho-analytical explanations have a tendency to hypothesize unconscious or irrational causes as the real motives behind a revolt and thus, appear to deny the validity of youth's own explanation of their motives and take an unfriendly or even hostile approach. This would seem, especially, characteristics of the oedipal rebellion hypothesis. In general these picture the youthful rebel as acting out a psychodrama of familial origin, displacing the conflicts of family onto society and acting out psychic conflicts in external behaviour.

Erikson (1956) on the other hand, sees the modern student passing through a "psychosocial moratorium" a period between adolescence and adulthood when the young are free from conventional social or work roles. These years offer them golden opportunities to defend their identities and perfect their moral senses and ethical capacities. Uncumbered by families or job and protected by immunities, the young dare to risk punishment for breaking laws and conventions and defying authorities. In so doing they speak out their moral insights, identify with the oppressed, and seek an inner libration, as authentic selfhood, a true identity.

The opponents of this theory, on the other hand, see the same deferment of adulthood as a prolongation of adolescence and a debilitating combination of pre-cautious instruction and prolonged dependency, one that joins premature sophistication with a lack of responsibility. This dangerous combination tends to induce inclinations towards self-delusion, blindness to the worth of institutions and annihilistic irresponsibility.

Bettelheim (1969) suggests that the frustrations of modern young people in their prolonged

dependent status and delayed adult responsibility when they have little opportunity to deal with consequential matters of the real world is the underlying dynamic of activism.

Flacks (1967) has proposed that within middle class society there is a segment of well educated families whose stress upon democratic, egalitarian principles, on permissiveness, on values other than achievement does not accord with the prevailing values and expectations in the occupational sphere. Young people reared according to these values should find it difficult to accept the traditional social values that require submission to authority, competition, ambition and self control. Their questioning of these social norms, instigated by their parents, has been reinforced by their experiences in progressive schools or campuses and by their reading.

Flacks suggests that abstract concern with democratic and egalitarian values of the parental generation has become the personality traits of young. So youth engaged in protest are not rebelling in a conventional sense but are expressing the values according to which they have been reared. Further, the non authoritarian stance of their parents released these young people to react to the problems and significant people of their own time.

Moreover, Flacks has stressed the importance of permissive, democratic child-rearing practices in the development of the young activists. But the considerable degree of discontinuity between generations, especially, in matters of discipline in child-rearing, leaves difficult problems concerning authority in its wake. Parents who try to raise their children, at least, partly in contrast to the way they themselves were raised do not have the assurance of established models, of having learned their own parental role from the reciprocal position of being a child. They are more likely than traditional parents to be uncertain, and inconsistent. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that neither parents nor their children, nor modern society generally, have been able to keep consistently clear distinction between rational authority and inhibiting authority.

RESEARCH STUDIES ON STUDENT ACTIVISM

In spite of the proliferation of literature on students and their protests, there exist few concrete data on the ideological attitudes of students or on their positions taken vis-a-vis the university, the political and social system and cultural and moral values. Nor have many resource efforts been undertaken to understand the role of the students as a dynamic force in the changing world of education and politics. Therefore, some researchers have tried to understand and explore the phenomenon of student activism and unrest from different angles.

Family Background

One of the major themes in the research on student protests seeks to explain it by relating it to the family background characteristics and socio-economic conditions of student protestors.

Sharma (1978) tried to relate family background characteristics of student activists to the student protest. Comparing the family backgrounds of activists with those of non-activists, the salient features of activists' families found were relatively high status, slightly distinguishable authoritarian ethos, marked political moorings and little evidence of leftist leanings.

Dunlap (1970) noted minimal difference in social background between protestors and non-protestors.

Socio-economic conditions also create in students a sense of frustration, so it appears as a factor of unrest. A study by Westby and Braungart (1965) compared the membership of two student activist organizations, the leftist students for peace (SENSE) and the conservative Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). It was found that the average income for families of SENSE students was \$12,232; for YAF families, it was \$6,625. One fifth of the YAF members came from working-class families.

In a Harris poll survey conducted in 1970, it was found that while 62% of leftist students and 14% of conservative students came from the groups fairly low on the socio-economic scale.

In several studies the distinctive family background and personality characteristics of student activists were identified and it was found that mostly they have upper-middle class composition (Flacks, 1967; Dunlap, 1970; Kahn & Bowers, 1970, Braungart, 1971; Tygart & Holt, 1971).

In some studies, it was found that parents of activist students themselves tended to be politically liberal (Solomon & Fishman, 1964; Flacks, 1967; Kenistan, 1968).

Academic Achievement

Some researches have been undertaken to investigate student activism with reference to their academic achievements.

Aswal (1985) tried to identify relationship of student activism to their faculties and academic achievement. Activism showed an insignificant relationship with the academic achievement at undergraduate levels but it revealed a significant relationship with the academic achievement at post-graduate level. Furthermore, activism was retained high among the students of arts faculty in relation to other faculties.

Activist students were found to possess high degree of autonomy and intellectual disposition and came from the field of humanities and, especially, the social sciences in disproportionately high number (Watts & Whittaker, 1966; Commens, 1974; Sampson, 1970; Somers, 1965).

In a study by Peterson (1966) institutional characteristics such as type of institution, size, percentage of faculty with doctorates, region, percentage of student body living on campus and percentage of student body belonging to "student left organizations" were examined against fact and incidence of organized student protest between July, 1964 and June, 1965. Eight hundred and forty nine deans of 1,000 institutions were asked to report protest by issue; variations in relationship between institutional characteristic and protest seemed to occur both as a function of the particular issue and of the particular characteristic, but a number of these relationships were substantial. Variation in incidence of student protest was marked when institutions were grouped by type : for example, 6% of teachers' colleges in the national sample reported protest concerning Vietnam war in contrast to 61% of the independent universities. Also the proportion of Ph.D.'s on the faculty (considered a crude measure of institutional quality) was related positively and significantly to protest overall campus issues. Such differences among types of institutions suggest that there may be strong institutional or educational environment factors associated with organized student activism.

It was found in some studies that not only did the parents of student activists achieve higher educational levels, but the students themselves had strong intellectual orientation and superior academic research in their colleges and universities (Flacks, 1967; Heist, 1965). Heist found in his thorough studies of intellectual disposition and academic achievement among FSM (Free speech movement) participants at Berkeley that the FSM sample scored higher on the intellectual scales in the Omnibus Personality Inventory than did the random sample. He also found that the cumulative grade point averages of FSM participants, computed after the semester, exceeded the all-university undergraduates' grade point average.

This view of activist students is challenged by Kerpelman (1970), who used two objective measures -- a vocabulary test and a measure of "academic ability" -- and found no significant

difference between students who belonged to activist organizations of the left or right and those who did not.

Personality Characteristics

A consideration of personality characteristics with reference to unrest and activism has also revealed some interesting findings.

Heist (1965) found that the FSM (Free Speech Movement) students at Berkeley presented themselves as intellectually committed, active, expressive young people who are independent and relatively free from their cultural and institutional past. Specifically, FSM members received significantly higher scores on scales reflecting non-authoritarian attitudes and independence of authority, scepticism about conventional religious beliefs and a tendency to reject them, tendency to express feelings and impulses directly, and four intellectual disposition: theoretical orientation, thinking introversion, estheticism and complexity.

In another study Smith, Haan, and Block (1970), found FSM members significantly more critical, curious, idealistic, individualistic, impulsive, informed, moody, perceptive, rebellious and restless and compared to the randomly selected sample who were found, conventional, optimistic, practical, responsible, ambitious, considerate, self-controlled and orderly.

Kereplman (1972) reported that personality and attitudinal variables that seemed to predict activism in '60s' failed as predictors in early '70s'.

Fisher and Pierce (1976) have argued that the pre-1967 protestors were more pacifist and moralistic while the post-1967 protestors were more actively destructive.

Studies by Braga and Doyle (1971) found that activists did have higher degree of social intelligence than the non-activists. They scored high in cognition of behavioural system, behavioural units and behavioural implications. The studies also revealed that students in the humanities and social sciences had a greater degree of social intelligence than students enrolled in the sciences or in professional courses. Most student activists came from the humanities and social sciences implying that social intelligence leads one to be actually sensitive to the shortcomings of the society.

Green, Bush, and Hahn (1984) presented a large sample (300-500 students each year) of

the four undergraduate classes with a structured interview during the academic years 1973-1974, 1974-1975 and 1975-1976. The interview contained a series of items selected to determine level of behavioural activism and a variety of attitudinal, personality and familial variables shown to be relevant in previous research. Students were classified as activists or non-activists on the basis of their score on the activism instrument. Analyses examined the effects of cohort, year in college and activism on the other variables. The most notable finding was the greater likelihood of non-activists to participate in national and campus politics, with participation declining over years of measurement. These and other findings were quite different from those reported in the earlier literature. It was concluded that developmental designs which permit separation of cohort and year-of-measurement effects are critical in research on such changing social phenomenon.

Using a ranking procedure, Flacks (1967) found, that dedication to work for national and international betterment and interest in the world of ideas, art, and music were ranked as most important personal values for his activist students. Those scoring low on activism tended to place marriage and family and career in the highest ranked positions of importance.

Parental Child-Rearing Practices

The part played by parental child-rearing practices in producing student activists and dissenters has been the subject of much controversy.

The parents of activist students have been found to be more permissive than those of non-activist students. Parents of activists were described by their children as more lenient, less intrusive into the lives of their children, and milder disciplinarians than those of the non-activists (Flacks, 1967). Confirmatory data were obtained from the parents themselves: parents of activists rated themselves as more permissive than did parents of non-activists.

In another study (Block, Haan, & Smith, 1969; Smith, Haan, & Block, 1970), Free Speech Movement (FSM) participants described both parents as less authoritarian and more permissive. They perceived their parents as having a closer effective relationship them and as placing less emphasis on prohibitions, restrictions, and punishment. They were found to be encouraging in their children independence, responsibility and self expression.

Most of the researches discussed above have been carried out to investigate the phenomenon of activism with reference to the family background, socio-economic status, parental

influence, academic achievement and students' personality characteristics, such as talent, leadership, intellectual strength and ideology etc. These researches have examined some or a combination of the above mentioned variables.

While taking into consideration the family background, the origins of student activists were found in the economically, educationally and socially privileged strata of American society. Whether measured by family income, parental occupational prestige, socioeconomic indices, or the amount of parental education, the families of actively committed students were more advantaged than those of other college students (Braungart, 1966; Westby & Braungart, 1966; Flacks, 1967; Smith, Haan, & Block, 1970).

When we consider academic achievement, not only did the parents of student activists achieve higher educational levels but the students themselves had strong intellectual orientation and superior academic records in their colleges and universities (Heist, 1965; Flacks, 1967).

As far as child rearing practices are concerned, the parents of activist students do appear to have been more permissive than those of non-activist students. Parents of activists were described by their children as more lenient, less intrusive into the lives of their children and milder disciplinarians than those of the non-activists (Flacks, 1967).

These activist students have been found superior students from socially and educationally advantaged homes. To a large extent, their political values and social ideals were consonant with the values of their parents who themselves were politically liberal. They were non-conventional in their moral judgements. The activists described their parents as permissive and stressing a rational approach in their child-rearing practices. Perhaps because they had been reared in child-centred homes where communication and understanding were important, these young people came to value dialogue and to expect that social institutions, like their parents, would listen and be responsive to their problems.

As far as measuring techniques are concerned different activism scales, psychological tests and inventories and interview techniques etc., were utilized. Aswal (1985) used activism scale and academic achievement of the students was rated in terms of the divisions obtained from matric to post-graduation level. Green and Bush (1984) utilized structured interview technique to determine level of behavioural activism and variety of attitudinal, personality and familial variables. In some of the studies psychological inventories or tests were used to assess the academic achievements and

intellectual abilities (Heist, 1965; Kerpelman, 1970).

In spite of ever increasing student unrest in Pakistan, there is very little literature available in this regard. Student unrest may be a common feature of educational life in both advanced and developing countries of the world but the causes are not identical because conditions, circumstances and social setups are not the same. Discontent and frustration of our students is increasing day by day. It appears that we have lost communication with them. There is no single institution where problems of students have been studied in detail. Only adhoc solutions have been found under pressure. Occasionally, commissions and committees were appointed to look into the problems of the students but their studies were more in the nature of a review of student attitude and the problems faced by them in a period of unrest or in a particular situation. These studies don't represent a continuous research study of the problems and difficulties of the student community or an objective analysis of student attitudes and responses. For example, in a study Iqbal (1983) tried to identify the causes of unrest among the post-matric male students of D.I.Khan City. As a first step randomly selected sample of 80 male students from various post-matric institutions of D.I.Khan city were interviewed. The main causes of unrest were outlined on the basis of which 25 objective type questions were developed. This questionnaire was distributed to 400 male students of Gomal University, Government Degree College and Government College of Science and Agriculture.

Main findings of the study included that academic, socio-economic problems and political issues of the country lead the students to strikes and violence etc. Almost all the respondents (98.7%) had taken part in the strikes and boycotts during their student life in one way or the other. Majority of the students (81.61%) felt that strikes, boycotts and riots were very much helpful in solving their problems related to their academic life. According to 67.73% respondents strikes and violence were usually initiated by students from rich families (jagirdar and industrialists etc.). Moreover, it was found that students had about 8 hours leisure time at their disposal daily which they spend in gossiping and strolling with friends.

Major findings of this study, however, does not identify the specific underlying socio-economic, academic and political causes of student unrest which was the main aim of the study. The descriptive nature of response categories and direct questions about the involvement of the students in strikes simply reflect a layman's knowledge about the dominant attitudes of the students in abstract figures. No indepth statistical procedures were carried out to analyze the data. A lot of generalizations were derived from rather a very simple analysis i. e., frequencies and percentages only. Such an analysis can not accurately predict or explain a phenomenon from a perspective of

an objective social research. In the light of such abstract figures concrete conclusions and recommendation can not be formulated.

Like any other social problem the present issue of students under consideration has its roots in a number of social, economic, political and environmental factors. Thus, the problem of unrest needs to be investigated from all possible angles and prevailing social conditions in different parts of the country are also to be included in the research plan. Students from all over the country should be given a chance to point out the variables which they perceive as the underlying causes of unrest. Keeping in mind these objectives the present study was planned. Guidance was also taken from the relevant literature and the research studies conducted in different countries.

The present study was the first of its kind in Pakistan in which an attempt was made to discover the causes behind the phenomenon of unrest from a broad perspective and the major factors playing a significant role in student protests, demonstrations or in violent behaviour. As the problem of student unrest is of complex nature so no solitary factor could contribute toward it. A number of causal variables can be logically assumed; the obvious political slogans used by some student organizations, rebellious attitude of the university students towards teachers and administration and never ending problem of unemployment for the youth in the country throw light on some variables that can be logically linked to this issue of unrest. Besides, the peculiar problems of physical facilities at the campuses and mishandling of such problems by the administration could be another contributory factor. But above all caution must be given to the possible close association of students' problems and prevailing social conditions as no community can exist in isolation from rest of the society. Moreover, every university student has a family background, has a specific educational and mental level before getting admission in a university. The problem of student unrest affects the entire academic atmosphere of an academic institutions. However, it is the student community which is perhaps the worst victim in the end. Not only the academic life is disrupted but it is their future that is also, sometimes damaged beyond repair. Therefore, the current study included in its sample only student community who could best explain various causal factors which lead to unrest. In the past, emphasis was placed on collecting opinion from teachers or some selected student leaders who were not the representative of the student community. In the present study, it was assumed that ordinary students can give a more objective and reliable view of the problem of student unrest. An attempt was made to find out how this problem was seen and interpreted by the students and what caused unrest in their opinion.

The main purpose of the present study was to know about the constellations of social, personal-psychological and environmental factors which contribute toward student unrest. It was assumed that various sections of the students would differently perceive the causes of unrest at the university campuses. These differences would be greatly determined by their personal and academic goals. It was also assumed that local circumstances, the attitude of the institutions' administration and the extent of the outside interference will affect the campus peace and students' involvement in unrest and disturbances.

Similarly, some other possible contributors of unrest were thought to be the provincial/regional circumstances. These circumstances were assumed to play a role in formulating personal and psychological characteristics of the students which in turn would affect their perception of the causes of unrest. The unrest scale used in the current study was a measure of the perception and opinion of the students about the underlying causes of unrest at their campuses.

METHOD

METHOD

PILOT STUDY

Instrument Development

The pilot study was conducted to develop instruments to be used in the main study. Two scales were developed i.e., an unrest scale and an index of academic activities. The unrest scale was developed for the measurement of four major variables of unrest and index of academic activities to measure students' participation in the academic and non-academic activities.

Unrest Scale

A questionnaire consisted of 23 items was developed to measure the opinion of the students about the social, psychological, environmental and personal causes of student unrest. This questionnaire was termed as unrest scale.

As a first step, a randomly selected sample of 10 male, 10 female students and 10 teachers of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad were given a preliminary questionnaire (see appendix A). The students belonged to M. Sc. third and M. Phil. first semester. They were asked to indicate social, environmental, psychological and personal causes which in their opinion could lead to unrest among university students. The causes of unrest so generated were categorized under four major categories respectively. A pool of items was generated by formulating these causes in the form of statements. These statements were formulated in such a way that each described either students' attitudes or some common social issue related to the four major types of causes or variables of student unrest. Thirty items were selected from this pool of statements for the questionnaire. Only those statements were selected which seemed to be related to the measurement requirements of the study.

Moreover, four items were included in the questionnaire based upon the information provided by a survey report on "politics on campus" published in a daily newspaper "The Muslim" in its Friday edition of 17th July, 1992. These items included: (1) political parties exploit students

to achieve their goals, (2) students from feudal background mobilize other students to demonstrate their power, (3) emotional immaturity of the students is the cause of disturbances at the campus and (4) students resort to violence to solve their problems.(see appendix C).

As a next step, these 34 items pertaining to the social, psychological, personal and environmental causes or variables of student unrest at the campuses were given to three experts, who were requested to evaluate these statements for the understanding of their content, grammar etc.,. In the light of these suggestions some of the statements were modified, whereas, others were changed. Four statements were excluded from the instrument as they were rejected by the experts as not relevant. The questionnaire, hence, contained 30 items.

The statements so generated were subjected to empirical evaluation in another study. The questionnaire was given to a randomly selected sample of 12 male and 12 female students belonging to M.Sc. and M.Phil. of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and 13 male and 13 female students of Punjab University, Lahore to test the suitability and relevance of these statements to the four types of causes or variables of student unrest. The items were listed under the respective categories i.e., social, psychological, personal, and environmental and presented to the subjects. The subjects were asked to indicate to what extent an item was characteristic of a particular category (cause/variable) of student unrest. Response to each item was given on a four point rating scale with '1' as "not at all relevant", '2' as "relevant to some extent", '3' as "relevant to greater extent" and '4' as "absolutely relevant". (see appendix C).

The data was analyzed to find out the extent of relevance of each item to its category. The response categories; "not at all relevant" and "relevant to some extent" were merged into one single category '1' and "relevant to greater extent" and "absolutely relevant" into another category '2'. Then frequencies of these two categories were computed for each item.

A 60% or above consensus of the subjects on category "2" was taken as the criterion for the final selection of the items. Seven items could not qualify this criterion and, hence, were discarded. Four statements close to the criteria of 60% were also selected as they appeared useful according to the objectives of the study. The final unrest scale consisted of twenty three items, 11 items belonging to social, 8 items belonging to personal-psychological and 4 to environmental categories.

The items selected were arranged in a random order with a five point rating scale printed beside each item. The five rating categories ranging from "1" through "5" indicated the degree of agreement or disagreement to be expressed toward these items. The category of '5' was labelled as "strongly agree", '4' as "agree", '3' as "undecided", '2' as "disagree" and '1' as "strongly disagree". The score of a subject on this scale was sum of individual scores on all the items. (see appendix D).

Index of Academic Activities of Students

A short questionnaire consisting of nine items was constructed to measure the academic activities of students at the campus. This measure was regarded as an indicator of students' academic goals.

First of all, a simple questionnaire consisting of two parts i.e., academic activities and non-academic activities was prepared.(see appendix B). This questionnaire was given to a randomly selected sample of 15 male and 15 female students of M. Sc., third and M. Phil., first semester of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. They were asked to mention separately all those activities which in their opinion could be categorized as academic and non-academic. The academic and non-academic activities mentioned by the students were formulated in the form of statements generating 14 items pertaining to academic and 15 items pertaining to non-academic activities.

Then, these statements were given to three experts who evaluated them for the understanding of their contents, grammar etc.,. The statements were modified according to the suggestions given by the experts. One item was dropped as it was considered inappropriate by the experts.

A questionnaire comprising of 13 items pertaining to academic and 15 items pertaining to non-academic activities was given to a randomly selected sample of 12 male and 12 female post-graduate students of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and 13 male and 13 female post-graduate students of Punjab University, Lahore, to test the suitability and relevance of these items. The responses of the subjects to each item were recorded on a four point rating scale. Each item was scored according to the following four categories. '1' as "not at all relevant", '2' as "relevant to some extent", '3' as "relevant to greater extent" and '4' as "absolutely relevant". (see appendix C).

In the analysis of the data the categories "Not at all relevant" and "relevant to some extent" were merged into category '1' and "relevant to greater extent" and "absolutely relevant" into category '2'. Two different analyses were performed to select the items. First, a score of 60% and above in the category '2' for each item was taken as the selection criterion of a statement on the basis of frequency analysis. Second, item analyses were performed separately for academic and non-academic activities to find out the items significantly indicative of a particular activity. However, more weightage was given to the first criteria. Consequently, four items were discarded from the academic activities and eight from the non-academic activities. While compiling the items of the two scales it became apparent that the scale of non-academic activities was redundant, hence, it was not further processed. The nine items fulfilling the selection criteria were retained to constitute the scale called as index of academic activities. Each item of this scale was to be judged on a four point rating scale, where category '4' was labelled as "always", '3' as "frequently", '2' as "sometimes" and '1' as "never". The score of a subject on this was sum of the scores of all the items. (see appendix D).

The general instructions, instructions for the above mentioned scales and a personal information questionnaire were prepared. A final try out of the questionnaire was conducted on three male and three female students of Quaid-i-Azam University to test the understandability of the instructions and the items of the scales. None of the subjects reported any ambiguity or difficulty in understanding the items or the instructions of any of the two scales.

MAIN STUDY

Sample

The main study was conducted on a randomly selected sample of 400 post-graduate students from four universities of Pakistan. From each university 50 male and 50 female students were included in the sample. The subjects were in the age range of 19-23 years and they were studying in M.A./M.Sc. final year. An attempt was made to give equal representation to the students from social and natural science faculties. The universities selected for the study were Baluchistan University Quetta, Punjab University Lahore, Bahauddin Zakryia University Multan and Peshawar University Peshawar.

Instruments

Instruments developed in the pilot study were used in the main study. These were as follows:

1. Unrest Scale

The unrest scale consisted of twenty three items which pertained to three empirically determined causes or variables of student unrest namely, social, environmental and personal-psychological. There were eleven items related to the social (item No. 2, 3, 11-15, 17-19 and 22), four to environmental (item No. 4, 7, 8 and 20), and eight to personal- psychological (item No. 1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 16, 21 and 23) variables of student unrest. (see appendix D).

The responses of the subjects were recorded on a five point rating scale reflecting the degree of students' agreement or disagreement to each of these items. The five scoring categories of the scale were "strongly disagree" as '1', "disagree" as '2', "undecided" as '3', "agree" as '4' and "strongly agree" as '5'. The score of a person on this scale was sum of the individual scores on all the items. The score of a subject on different variables of unrest scale i. e., social, personal-psychological and environmental was sum of individual scores on all the items divided by the number of items pertaining to the corresponding variable.

2. Measure of Importance of Unrest Variables

A direct empirical measure was taken to find out the subjects' opinion about the most important causes of student unrest. This measure was thought to serve two main purposes; first, to know about four major causes of student unrest and second, to find out the category of most dynamic and influential variables (causes) of student unrest.

The subjects were asked to recall and imagine a situation of student unrest at their campus e. g., strikes, boycotting classes, demonstrations, clashes between rival student groups etc.,. Then they were asked to analyze this situation by identifying the four major reasons of this unrest amongst the 23 items they had already answered. Next, the subjects were asked to arrange these causes in order of their importance and relevance in contributing toward this unrest; the most important to be placed at the first position, followed by the second most important and so on. (see appendix D).

3. Index of Academic Activities

Index of academic activities measures the personal goals of the students to what extent they are academic in nature. It consists of nine items each depicting a specific academic activity. The responses of the subjects were scored on a four point rating scale which reflects the extent of their participation in these activities. The scoring categories of the scale were "never" as '1', "sometimes" as '2', "frequently" as '3' and "always" as '4'.

Total score for each individual was computed by adding the individual score of all the items.

4. Personal Information Questionnaire

A questionnaire was given at the end to get some personal information from the subjects. This information included the age, subjects of study, monthly income of the parents, divisions obtained in Matric, F.A./F.Sc. and B.A./B.Sc., residential status, education and occupation of the parents and the students' organization to which the subjects belonged.

Procedure

The data was collected from four major universities. Permission for the data collection was sought from the administration of each of the universities. The subjects were approached in their respective departments and an attempt was made to randomly select 10-15 subjects of both sexes from each department. The questionnaire was administered to the subjects in small groups.

Before administering the questionnaire subjects were assured that all the information provided by them will be kept confidential and will be used only for research purposes. The subjects were told that the purpose of the study was to know about their problems related to their academic environment. Then, they were instructed to read the general instructions which threw more light upon the nature of the study and what was expected of them. The subjects were told that the questionnaire was comprised of different sections related to different aspects of student life. They were instructed to read the instructions of each section before answering the questions and seek, without any hesitation, the help of the researchers if anything was unclear to them. They were also instructed to choose only one category for each item they think could best reflect their opinion. At this stage, if there were any questions by the subjects, these were answered.

The scales were presented to the subjects in a booklet form comprising of general instructions, followed by the unrest scale, measure of importance of unrest variables, index of academic activities, and the personal information questionnaire.

Then, the subjects were told to begin the questionnaire by reading first the general instructions. As a first step the subjects attempted the items of unrest scale. Each item was to be responded on a five point rating scale having categories "strongly disagree", "agree", "undecided", "disagree" and "strongly disagree". (see appendix D).

After the subjects completed the unrest scale they were asked on the next page to imagine a situation of student unrest at their campus such as strikes, boycotting classes, demonstrations, violence etc., and try to find out four major causes or reasons of this unrest amongst the 23 items which they have answered before. After listing these causes, they were asked, on the same page, to arrange these variables in a rank order regarding their importance in this unrest situation. The

most important was ranked at the first position, followed by the second most important and so on. (see appendix D).

The extent to which subjects participated in academic activities was measured with the help of nine item of the index of academic activities. The subjects expressed the extent of their participation in an academic activity on a four point rating scale ranging from "1" to "4" with rating categories "never", "sometimes", "frequently" and "always". (see appendix D).

At the end the subjects filled in a questionnaire to provide some personal information. This information was about their age, subject of study, monthly income of their parents, divisions obtained in Matric, F. A./F. Sc. and B. A./B. Sc., their residential status, education and occupation of their parents and students' organization to which they belonged.

At this stage subjects were again assured that every information provided by them will be kept confidential and will only be analyzed for research purpose. This was necessary as the information asked also included the sensitive issue of students' belongingness to any student political organization.

After completion of the task by the subjects the questionnaire was quickly checked to ascertain whether or not any question or information was left out by the subjects. The subjects were then requested to complete the information if it was found incomplete. The subjects took approximately 30-45 minutes to complete the entire booklet.

RESULTS

RESULTS

The total scores and means of female and male subjects of different universities were computed on all the items of unrest scale. The three items with highest mean ratings have been mentioned.

Table 1: Total scores and means of female and male students of Baluchistan University, Quetta on items of unrest scale.

Items	Female		Male	
	Total Score	Mean	Total Score	Mean
1	183.00	3.66	176.00	3.52
2	195.00	3.90	179.00	3.58
3	201.00	4.02	157.00	3.14
4	173.00	3.46	193.00	3.86
5	183.00	3.66	197.00	3.94
6	198.00	3.96	166.00	3.32
7	184.00	3.68	191.00	3.82
8	175.00	3.50	146.00	2.92
9	216.00	4.32	196.00	3.92
10	183.00	3.66	207.00	4.14
11	208.00	4.16	200.00	4.00
12	210.00	4.20	190.00	3.80
13	229.00	4.58	216.00	4.32
14	169.00	3.38	159.00	3.18
15	220.00	4.40	215.00	4.30
16	193.00	3.86	171.00	3.42
17	185.00	3.70	155.00	3.10
18	212.00	4.24	202.00	4.04
19	206.00	4.12	179.00	3.58
20	221.00	4.42	203.00	4.06
21	188.00	3.76	176.00	3.52
22	225.00	4.50	196.00	3.92
23	212.00	4.24	175.00	3.50

Table 1 shows the means of female subjects of Baluchistan University, Quetta which indicate that the item 13 (4.58) "the overall prevailing injustice in the society has damaged the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit" received the highest mean rating followed by the item 22 (4.50) "political parties exploit students to achieve their goals" and item 20 (4.42) "the current

examination system is faulty".

Table 1 further indicates that the means of males, like females are highest on item 13 (4.32). However, they rated item 15 (4.30) "the political instability in our country causes tension among various student organizations" and item 10 (4.14) "majority of students have financial problems" as the second and third highest respectively.

Table 2: Total scores and means of female and male students of Punjab University, Lahore on items of unrest scale.

Items	Female		Male	
	Total Score	Mean	Total Score	Mean
1	197.00	3.94	214.00	4.28
2	219.00	4.38	224.00	4.48
3	208.00	4.16	205.00	4.10
4	162.00	3.24	140.00	2.80
5	183.00	3.66	190.00	3.80
6	178.00	3.56	160.00	3.20
7	205.00	4.10	201.00	4.02
8	190.00	3.80	209.00	4.18
9	215.00	4.30	214.00	4.28
10	182.00	3.64	173.00	3.46
11	210.00	4.20	227.00	4.54
12	232.00	4.64	223.00	4.46
13	229.00	4.58	219.00	4.38
14	198.00	3.96	174.00	3.48
15	204.00	4.08	212.00	4.24
16	190.00	3.80	171.00	3.42
17	207.00	4.14	194.00	3.88
18	208.00	4.16	215.00	4.30
19	197.00	3.94	195.00	3.90
20	218.00	4.36	226.00	4.52
21	182.00	3.64	170.00	3.40
22	213.00	4.26	206.00	4.12
23	195.00	3.90	166.00	3.32

Table 2 shows that mean score of the females of Punjab university is highest on item 12 (4.64), "students are uncertain about their future" followed by second highest on item 13 (4.58),

"the overall prevailing injustice in the society has damaged the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit" and the third highest (4.38) on item 2 "student unions are patronized by political parties".

The means of males in Table 2 indicate that item 11 (4.54), "the current educational policies are ineffective" received the highest mean rating followed by item 20 (4.52), "the current examination system is faulty" and item 2 (4.48), "student unions are patronized by political parties".

Table 3: Total scores and means of female and male students of Bahauddin Zakryia University, Multan on items of unrest scale.

Items	Female		Male	
	Total Score	Mean	Total Score	Mean
1	177.00	3.54	199.00	3.98
2	212.00	4.24	225.00	4.50
3	200.00	4.00	188.00	3.76
4	159.00	3.18	143.00	2.86
5	168.00	3.36	183.00	3.66
6	155.00	3.10	136.00	2.72
7	190.00	3.80	199.00	3.98
8	150.00	3.00	147.00	2.94
9	213.00	4.26	188.00	3.76
10	179.00	3.58	174.00	3.48
11	197.00	3.94	213.00	4.26
12	222.00	4.44	226.00	4.52
13	235.00	4.70	218.00	4.36
14	185.00	3.70	186.00	3.72
15	222.00	4.44	201.00	4.02
16	190.00	3.80	166.00	3.32
17	179.00	3.58	191.00	3.82
18	214.00	4.28	219.00	4.38
19	213.00	4.26	202.00	4.04
20	208.00	4.16	218.00	4.36
21	158.00	3.16	154.00	3.08
22	217.00	4.34	195.00	3.90
23	184.00	3.68	157.00	3.14

Table 3 shows that item 13 (4.70), "the overall prevailing injustice in the society has damaged

the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit" received the highest mean rating from the female subjects of Bahauddin Zakryia University, Multan. The item 12 " students are uncertain about their future" and item 15 (4.44), "the political instability in our country causes tension among various student organizations" were given the second highest rating whereas, item 22 (4.34), "political parties exploit students to achieve their goals" had the third highest mean rating .

Table 3 indicate that male subjects of the same university gave item 12 (4.52), "students are uncertain about their future" highest mean rating followed by item 2 (4.50), "student unions are patronized by political parties" and item 18 (4.38), "different ethnic groups and political parties secretly support students by providing them with weapons".

Table 4: Total scores and means of female and male students of Peshawar University, Peshawar on items of unrest scale.

Items	Female		Male	
	Total Score	Mean	Total Score	Mean
1	216.00	4.32	193.00	3.86
2	191.00	3.82	213.00	4.26
3	227.00	4.54	218.00	4.36
4	178.00	3.56	168.00	3.36
5	202.00	4.04	193.00	3.86
6	153.00	3.06	146.00	2.92
7	220.00	4.40	194.00	3.88
8	164.00	3.28	171.00	3.42
9	213.00	4.26	211.00	4.22
10	195.00	3.90	211.00	4.22
11	214.00	4.28	216.00	4.32
12	223.00	4.46	227.00	4.54
13	225.00	4.50	217.00	4.34
14	172.00	3.44	154.00	3.08
15	203.00	4.06	202.00	4.04
16	174.00	3.48	172.00	3.44
17	206.00	4.12	189.00	3.78
18	197.00	3.94	193.00	3.86
19	181.00	3.62	203.00	4.06
20	216.00	4.32	205.00	4.10
21	166.00	3.32	154.00	3.08
22	205.00	4.10	215.00	4.30
23	173.00	3.46	164.00	3.28

The means of females of Peshawar university in Table 4 show that item 3 "the prevailing corruption in the society has given rise to corruption in our academic institutions" was given the highest mean ratings (4.54) and item 13 (4.50), "the overall prevailing injustice in the society has damaged the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit" and 12 (4.64), "students are uncertain about their future" received the second and third highest mean ratings respectively.

Table 4 also shows mean scores of males of the same university. The mean scores indicate that male students rated item 12 (4.54), "students are uncertain about their future." as the highest, item 3 (4.36), "the prevailing corruption in the society has given rise to corruption in our academic institutions" as the second highest and item 11 (4.34), "the current educational policies are ineffective" as the third highest in the rank order.

Table 5: Frequencies and percentages of male and female students of Baluchistan, Punjab, Bahauddin Zakryia & Peshawar universities on items of unrest scale.

Items	1		2		3		4		Total(%)
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Females									
1	8	4.0	1	0.5	5	2.5	13	6.5	
2	3	1.5	13	6.5	10	5.0	7	3.5	
3	8	4.0	11	5.5	13	6.5	8	4.0	
4	1	0.5	2	1.0	2	1.0	1	0.5	
5	5	2.5	10	5.0	10	5.0	8	4.0	
6	11	5.5	11	5.5	10	5.0	17	8.5	
7	3	1.5	8	4.0	3	1.5	7	3.5	
8	6	3.0	5	2.5	12	6.0	5	2.5	
9	11	5.5	8	4.0	15	7.5	11	5.5	
10	3	1.5	3	1.5	3	1.5	4	2.0	
11	6	3.0	4	2.0	12	6.0	14	7.0	
12	31	15.5	22	11.0	15	7.5	17	8.5	42.5
13	22	11.0	15	7.5	10	5.0	12	6.0	29.5
14	8	4.0	6	3.0	7	3.5	8	4.0	
15	9	4.5	3	1.5	11	5.5	6	3.0	
16	2	1.0	3	1.5	1	0.5	4	2.0	
17	6	3.0	4	2.0	9	4.5	12	6.0	
18	7	3.5	10	5.0	7	3.5	10	5.0	
19	8	4.0	3	1.5	0	0.0	5	2.5	
20	12	6.0	19	9.5	16	8.0	15	7.5	31.0
21	3	1.5	6	3.0	2	1.0	1	0.5	
22	17	8.5	25	12.5	16	8.0	8	4.0	33.0
23	10	5.0	8	4.0	11	5.5	7	3.5	
Males									
1	2	1.0	8	4.0	8	4.0	10	65.0	
2	22	11.0	18	9.0	14	7.0	13	6.5	33.0
3	8	4.0	5	2.5	7	3.5	3	1.5	
4	2	1.0	0	0.0	2	1.0	3	1.5	
5	10	5.0	13	6.5	11	5.5	7	3.5	
6	4	2.0	6	3.0	8	4.0	8	4.0	
7	1	0.5	6	3.0	4	2.0	5	2.5	
8	6	3.0	10	5.0	12	6.0	15	7.5	
9	7	3.5	5	2.5	6	3.0	9	4.5	
10	10	5.0	8	4.0	7	3.5	7	3.5	
11	9	4.5	4	2.0	10	5.0	10	5.0	
12	35	17.5	23	11.5	12	6.0	13	6.5	41.5
13	13	6.5	14	7.0	8	4.0	9	4.5	
14	8	4.0	7	3.5	5	2.5	7	3.5	
15	7	3.5	11	5.5	10	5.0	8	4.0	
16	4	2.0	7	3.5	10	5.0	6	3.0	
17	2	1.0	3	1.5	6	3.0	2	1.0	
18	7	3.5	15	7.5	13	6.5	9	4.5	22.0
19	7	3.5	2	1.0	6	3.0	8	4.0	
20	0	0.0	13	6.5	17	8.5	14	7.0	22.0
21	0	0.0	4	2.0	8	4.0	4	2.0	
22	30	15.0	15	7.5	9	4.5	20	10.0	37.0
23	6	3.0	3	1.5	7	3.5	10	5.0	

Table 5 shows the frequencies of subjects' responses to rank order the four items from unrest scale in terms of their importance in student unrest. The rank order 1 indicates that this item has been regarded as the most important contributor toward student unrest. The other positions indicate the gradual decrease in the importance of the items toward student unrest. The overall rank order of items was computed by adding the four rank percentages of each item. The highest total percentages have been shown in the last column.

The data in Table 5 indicate that female respondents of our national sample rank ordered the item 12 "students are uncertain about their future" at the first position regarding its importance toward student unrest. They rated the item 22 "political parties exploit students to achieve their goals" as the second most important item of student unrest followed by the item 20 "the current examination system is faulty" and the item 13 "the overall prevailing injustice in the society has damaged the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit" as the third and fourth most important items of student unrest respectively. The data in Table 5 also show that the sample of our male students mentioned item 12 "students are uncertain about their future" as the most important cause of student unrest. Similarly, they rank ordered the item 22 " political parties exploit students to achieve their goals" as the second most important cause of student unrest. The item 2 "student unions are patronized by political parties" was regarded as the third most important and item 18 "different ethnic groups and political parties secretly support students by providing them with weapons" and item 20 "the current examination system is faulty" as the fourth most important causes of student unrest.

Table 6: Frequencies and percentages of political and non-political students of Baluchistan, Punjab, Bahauddin Zakryia & Peshawar universities on items of unrest scale.

Items	1		2		3		4		Total(%)
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Political									
1	2	3.3	1	1.6	5	8.2	4	6.6	
2	3	4.9	2	3.3	2	3.3	3	4.9	
3	4	6.6	1	1.6	5	8.2	2	3.3	
4	2	3.3	1	1.6	2	3.3	1	1.6	
5	4	6.6	3	4.9	4	6.6	2	3.3	
6	2	3.3	1	1.6	4	6.6	5	8.2	
7	1	1.6	3	4.9	1	1.6	2	3.3	
8	1	1.6	1	1.6	4	6.6	1	1.6	
9	1	1.6	1	1.6	2	3.3	1	1.6	
10	4	6.6	5	8.2	0	0.0	4	6.6	21.4
11	2	3.3	1	1.6	4	6.6	3	4.9	
12	6	9.8	7	11.5	3	4.9	4	6.6	32.8
13	5	8.2	5	8.2	2	3.3	1	1.6	21.3
14	4	6.6	2	3.3	0	0.0	3	4.9	
15	2	3.3	3	4.9	5	8.2	1	1.6	
16	0	0.0	3	4.9	3	4.9	2	3.3	
17	1	1.6	1	1.6	2	3.3	2	3.3	
18	1	1.6	4	6.6	1	1.6	3	4.9	
19	5	8.2	3	4.9	1	1.6	4	6.6	21.3
20	0	0.0	4	6.6	4	6.6	5	8.2	21.4
21	0	0.0	2	3.3	3	4.9	2	3.3	
22	10	16.4	6	9.8	1	1.6	3	4.9	32.9
23	1	1.6	1	1.6	3	4.9	3	4.9	
Non-Political									
1	8	2.4	8	2.4	8	2.4	19	5.6	
2	22	6.5	29	8.6	22	6.5	17	5.0	26.6
3	12	3.5	15	4.4	15	4.4	9	2.7	
4	1	0.3	1	0.3	2	0.6	3	0.9	
5	11	3.2	20	5.9	17	5.0	13	3.8	
6	13	3.8	16	4.7	14	4.1	20	5.9	
7	3	0.9	11	3.2	6	1.8	10	2.9	
8	11	3.2	14	4.1	20	5.9	19	5.6	
9	17	5.0	12	3.5	19	5.6	19	5.6	
10	9	2.7	6	1.8	10	2.9	7	2.1	
11	13	3.8	7	2.1	18	5.3	21	6.2	
12	60	17.7	38	11.2	24	7.1	26	7.7	43.7
13	30	8.8	24	7.1	16	4.7	20	5.9	
14	12	3.5	11	3.2	12	3.5	12	3.5	
15	14	4.1	11	3.2	16	4.7	13	3.8	
16	6	1.8	7	2.1	8	2.4	8	2.4	
17	7	2.1	6	1.8	13	3.8	12	3.5	
18	13	3.8	21	6.2	19	5.6	16	4.7	
19	10	2.9	2	0.6	5	1.5	19	5.6	
20	12	3.5	28	8.3	29	8.6	24	7.1	27.5
21	3	0.9	8	2.4	7	2.1	3	0.9	
22	37	10.9	34	10.0	24	7.1	25	7.4	35.4
23	15	4.4	10	2.9	15	4.4	14	4.1	

Table 6 indicates that politically affiliated students rated item 22 "political parties exploit students to achieve their goals" as the most important contributing variable toward student unrest. They categorized the item 12 "students are uncertain about their future" as the second most important cause of student unrest. The item 10 "majority of the students have financial problems" and 20 "the current examination system is faulty" were considered as the third most important causes of student unrest. They regarded the item 13 "the overall prevailing injustice in the society has damaged the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit" and 19 "proper religious teachings are lacking in our education" as the fourth most important causes of student unrest.

Table 6 also shows that politically non-affiliated students rank ordered the item 12 "students are uncertain about their future" as the most important cause of student unrest. They listed item 22 "political parties exploit students to achieve their goals" as the second most important cause of student unrest. The item 20 "the current examination system is faulty" and item 2 "student unions are patronized by political parties" as the third and fourth most important causes of student unrest respectively.

Table 7: Three way between-within subjects analysis of variance on the unrest scores of subjects for the sex, universities and type of unrest variables.

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p
Between Subjects					
Sex	4.48	1	4.48	10.18	.002
Universities	7.24	3	2.41	5.48	.001
Sex x Universities	1.40	3	0.47	1.06	.365
Error	172.72	392	0.44		
Within Subjects					
Unrest Variables	41.57	2	20.79	112.14	.0001
Sex x Unrest Variables	0.46	2	0.23	1.23	.292
Universities x Unrest Variables	8.76	6	1.46	7.88	.0001
Sex x Universities x Unrest Variables	1.81	6	0.30	1.63	.137
Error	145.31	784	0.19		
Total	383.75	1199			

The results in table 7 show highly significant main effects of sex, $F(1,392) = 10.18, p < .002$; universities $F(3,392) = 5.408, p < .001$; and type of unrest variables $F(2,784) = 112.14, p < .001$. The results also show a highly significant interaction between the universities and the type of unrest variables.

Table 8: Mean values of female and male students of Baluchistan, Punjab, Bahauddin Zakryia and Peshawar Universities on Social, Personal-Psychological and Environmental variables of unrest scale.

University	Sex	Social	Personal-Psychological	Environmental
Quetta	F	4.11	3.89	3.77
	M	3.72	3.66	3.67
Lahore	F	4.32	3.81	3.88
	M	4.17	3.65	3.88
Multan	F	4.17	3.56	3.54
	M	4.12	3.39	3.54
Peshawar	F	4.08	3.73	3.89
	M	4.09	3.61	3.69

Table 8 shows that means of female respondents from Baluchistan University, Quetta are 4.11, 3.89 and 3.77 on the social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest respectively. The mean of male students from the same university on social variables is 3.72, on personal-psychological is 3.66 and on environmental is 3.67.

Table 8 also shows that mean score of females from Punjab University, Lahore is 4.32 on social, 3.81 on personal-psychological and 3.88 on the environmental variables of unrest. The male respondents have obtained a mean score of 4.17, 3.65, and 3.88 on social, personal-psychological and environmental variables respectively.

The data in Table 8 further show that female students of Bahauddin Zakria University, Multan scored a mean score of 4.17 on social, 3.56 on personal-psychological and 3.54 on environmental variables of unrest. The mean scores of males from the same university are 4.12, 3.39 and 3.54 on social, personal-psychological and environmental variables respectively.

Table 8 also depicts the data of respondents from Peshawar university. The data show that females obtained mean scores of 4.08, 3.73 and 3.89, whereas, males got mean values of 4.09, 3.61 and 3.69 on the social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest

respectively.

The results in Table 8 further indicate that mean values of females of our national sample are higher on the social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest scale as compared to the mean values of male respondents. The data depicts that females of Punjab university have got highest mean score on social (4.32) while females of Baluchistan and Peshawar universities got the highest scores on personal-psychological (3.89) and environmental (3.89) variables of unrest scale respectively.

Table 9: Mean scores of students of four universities on the unrest scale.

Universities	Unrest Scale
Quetta	3.80
Lahore	3.95
Multan	3.72
Peshawar	3.85

Table 9 shows that means of students of Baluchistan university, Quetta on unrest scale is 3.80. The students of Lahore university show a mean score of 3.95 and the mean score of students of Multan and Peshawar university are 3.72 and 3.85 on the unrest scale respectively.

The data indicate that the students of Punjab university, Lahore scored highest on the unrest scale followed by Peshawar, Baluchistan and Bahauddin Zakryia universities.

Table 10: Mean scores of Female and Male students of four universities on unrest scale.

Sex	Unrest Scale
Female	3.89
Male	3.76

Table 10 shows that females have higher mean score (3.89) on the unrest scale as compared to males (3.76).

Table 11: Mean scores of students of four universities on social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest scale.

Type of unrest variables	Mean
Social	4.09
Personal-Psychological	3.65
Environmental	3.73

Table 11 indicates that means of our national sample on social variables is 4.09, on personal-psychological is 3.65 and on environmental variables is 3.73. The data indicates that the unrest variables belonging to the social category of variables were rated highest. This was followed by the ratings on environmental and personal-psychological categories of variables.

Table 12: Mean scores of female and male students of Baluchistan, Punjab, Bahauddin Zakryia nd Peshawar universities on index of academic activities.

University	Sex	Academic Activities
Quetta	F	21.64
	M	20.86
Lahore	F	21.40
	M	20.04
Multan	F	21.22
	M	21.18
Peshawar	F	19.70
	M	20.60

Table 12 shows that female students of Baluchistan University, Quetta have obtained mean scores of 21.64, on the index of academic activities. The mean scores of male respondents of the

same university were 20.86 on the index of academic activities.

The data of respondents of Punjab university, Lahore in Table 12 indicate that for females the mean score on the index of academic activities was 21.4. The mean scores obtained by the male students of Punjab university, Lahore were 20.04.

The results in Table 12 further indicate that female students of Bahauddin Zakryia university, Multan got a mean score of 21.22 and male students a mean score of 21.18 on the index of academic activities.

Finally, Table 12 also indicates that female and male students of Peshawar University obtained a mean score of 19.7 and 20.6 on the index of academic activities respectively.

Table 13: T-tests on social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest scale and index of academic activities between female and male students of Baluchistan University, Quetta.

Variables	Means of Females	Means of Males	df	t	p
Social	4.10	3.72	98	4.15	.0001
Personal-Psychological	3.89	3.66	98	2.33	.022
Environmental	3.76	3.66	98	.81	.421
Academic Activities	21.64	20.86	98	1.01	.316

Table 13 shows that females and males from Baluchistan University, Quetta significantly differ from each other on social $t(98) = 4.15, p < .0001$, and personal-psychological $t(98) = 2.33, p < .02$ variables of unrest. All other results are insignificant.

Table 14: T-test on social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest scale, and index of academic activities between female and male students of Punjab University, Lahore.

Variables	Means of Females	Means of Males	df	t	p
Social	4.22	4.17	98	.83	.409
Personal-Psychological	3.80	3.64	98	1.83	.070
Environmental	3.87	3.88	98	-.04	.966
Academic Activities	21.40	20.04	98	1.96	.052

The results in Table 14 show a significant difference between females and males of Punjab University, Lahore on academic activities $t(98) = 1.96, p < .05$. All other results are not significant.

Table 15: T-test on social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest scale, and index of academic activities between female and male students of Bahauddin Zakryia University, Multan.

Variables	Means of Females	Means of Males	df	t	p
Social	4.17	4.11	98	.65	.518
Personal-Psychological	3.56	3.39	98	1.58	.119
Environmental	3.53	3.53	98	.00	1.00
Academic Activities	21.22	21.18	98	.05	.957

Table 15 depicts the means and t-values of females and males of Multan university on social,

personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest, and the index of academic activities. The results indicate that none of the t-values is significant.

Table 16: T-test on social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrestscale and index of academic activities between female and male students of Peshawar university, Peshawar.

Variables	Means of Females	Means of Males	df	t	p
Social	4.08	4.08	98	-.06	.948
Personal-Psychological	3.73	3.61	98	1.18	.242
Environmental	3.89	3.69	98	1.51	.136
Academic Activities	19.70	20.60	98	-1.25	.215

Table 16 shows the means and t-values of females and males of Peshawar university on social, personal-psychological, environmental variables of unrest, and index of academic activities. The results indicate non-significant t-values for all dependent measures.

Table 17: Mean scores of students of four universities on unrest scale with levels of their father's education.

Levels of father's education	Unrest Scale
Illiterate	85.54
Primary-Matric	90.34
Inter-Graduation (F.A-B.A)	89.23
Post-graduation (M.A. and Professional)	89.24

Table 17 shows that mean scores on unrest scale of our national sample is highest in the father's education category of primary to matric (90.34). Second highest mean scores fall in the

category of illiterate (85.54). The mean scores in the father's education categories of intermediate-graduates and post-graduates are almost equal (89.23 and 89.24).

Table 18: One Way Analysis of Variance on the unrest scores of the subjects from four universities for their father's education.

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F	p
Between Groups	690.74	3	230.25	3.12	.025
Within Groups	29199.65	396	73.74		
Total	29890.39	399			

Table 18 shows significant difference in the students' perception of unrest depending upon their father's education $F(3, 399) = 3.12, p < .025$. The students whose fathers have minimum education are more perceptive of unrest at their campus.

DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION

This study was undertaken to investigate the social, personal-psychological and environmental causes of student unrest at the university campuses. The findings have shown that the social causes were considered as the most important contributors towards student unrest. There was a difference in male and female students' perception of unrest; females perceived more unrest at the campuses. There was an obvious difference between male and female students' involvement in political activities and mostly male students indicated their involvement in such activities. A relationship between father's education and unrest scores of the students was also found. The students whose father education was from primary to matric perceived more unrest at their campuses than those whose fathers were illiterate or highly educated.

The mean ratings of our national sample on the items of unrest scale reveals highest scores on item 13 "the prevailing injustices in the society has damaged the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit". A high score on this item across the four universities implies that the overall unjust society has influenced the perceptions and behaviours of our students. The results also show the second highest ratings by the respondents from three universities on the item 12, "students are uncertain about their future".

Next important items of unrest scale which received the highest mean ratings by the respondents were about the political instability in the country and the exploitation of the students by the political parties i. e., "the political instability in our country causes tension among various student organizations" (item 15) and "political parties exploit students to achieve their goals" (item 22).

Other important items mentioned by the students were the faulty examination system and their financial problems i. e., "the current examination system is faulty" (item 20) and "majority of the students have financial problems" (item 10).

The highest mean ratings on the item referring to prevailing injustices in the society indicate that students are well aware of what is going on around them. The students do not live in vacuum, but they are influenced by the whole environment in which they live. Thus, it is necessary to

understand, explain and interpret the phenomenon of unrest in the context of our social set up. Unfortunately, people of our society today are facing great frustration in every walk of life due to various social, political and economic problems. Corruption and nepotism has become a common feature of every government and private institution of our society. The prevailing corruption and nepotism in every field of life has damaged the confidence of our young generation to strive on the basis of their own abilities and merit. The educational institutions are prone to corruption like other institutions in the country. Examination branches of certain universities are the best or perhaps the worst examples of foulplay. When students know the fact that they won't be able to get jobs without some political connections or unfair means even if they have a first class degree in their hands, their faith in fairness and merit dissolves. Such injustices disappoint and frustrate the students who then try to get recognition in the society not through talent or fair competition but through unfair means and exploitation. The unanimous opinion of the respondents from the three provinces of our country about the social injustices is alarming as it indicates a general discontent of the students with the society. This discontent arises from a realization of the weakness of the society, its backwardness, inefficiency, and dissatisfaction with the present leadership and way of life. This mistrust of our young generation in our social system makes them hopeless and uncertain about their future.

The results indicated the second highest mean ratings on the item referring to the student's uncertainty about their future which means students are hopeless and their future seems dark to them. This deep insecurity and bleakness of future on the part of the university graduates may lead to uncooperative and violent behaviour. The rising graph of unemployment is one of the important problems of our society for some obvious reasons. Firstly, the number of jobs available are less as compared to the degree holders. Secondly, since last many years there is a constant ban on the employment but institutions are producing a number of degree holders every year. The government has never seriously considered this problem or taken any step in order to solve this problem and, hence, the uncertainty and hopelessness about future is increasing among the students.

As the future prospects appear bleak to the students, they easily get involved in non-academic or antisocial activities. This may have a negative impact on the academic activities at the campuses. The students with little hope and bleak prospects about their future not only suffer mentally and psychologically but become involved in antisocial and delinquent behaviours. The clinicians have reported a high prevalence of depression and anxiety among the younger generation. The

hopelessness and uncertainty about the future can lead to depression and suicidal tendencies (Emery, Steer, Beck, 1981; Minkoff, Bergman, & Beck, 1973; Weissman, Beck, & Kovacs, 1979; Wetzel, Margulies, Davis, & Karum 1980). The suicidal incidents among the young people are also on increase and there is a considerable dark figure which never come to the limelight because of social stigma and religious considerations.

It is generally observed that studenthood, in itself, is a tension creating period. The students are in transition between being dependent on their families for income, status and social security and taking up the new roles in near future in jobs and families. In the case of male students, their families have so many expectations from them. They are aware of the fact that they have to take the responsibility of supporting a family in near future. When future seems insecure to them, they become tense and frustrated. A person who is frustrated and does not see his problems taken care through fair and legal means may be pushed into agitation and violence.

The uncertainty about one's future not only affects one's psychological well-being but also affects ones motivation and setting up of future goals. A person who is uncertain about his future has little motivation to pursue future goals which ultimately leads to resignation, loss of interest and alienation. If such a person happens to get some chance in the future, he is more likely to do his job half heartedly and with little enthusiasm. The people who undergo the periods of uncertainty become socially anxious, loose self-confidence, find it difficult to set long term goals and are inconsistent and not firm in persuasion of these goals. They also become increasingly egocentric and if they get any opportunity, they exploit it only to the benefit of their ownelves, and even at the public or national cost. A hopeless and frustrated person also tries to get things done by hook and crook as Nevid (1983) has pointed out that being hopeless might reduce one's inclination to respond in a socially desirable manner.

The lack of motivation and interest may also lead to deterioration of academic standards. The students become less interested to acquire knowledge for the sake of learning but are interested in its outward expression i.e., academic degrees without acquiring the corresponding amount of learning. Pakistani society is a very status conscious society. The status value of education is high but it does not represent a corresponding love for learning. Students are interested only in degrees and use every unfair mean to get it. The deteriorating academic standards, the ever growing

irrelevance of the education with the practical life, increasing number of university graduates, a constant ban on the employment, the rising unemployment among the young qualified graduates, corruption, nepotism and political and bureaucratic monopolization of the job opportunities are the important factors which contribute towards uncertainty of students. Not only these factors have made the students hopeless but also have shaken the confidence of the young generation to expect reward on the basis of merit. The students of today are uncertain about their future as they see little prospects of jobs after the completion of their studies. The unprecedented corruption in the society, the political appointments, nepotism and neglect of merit take away the last hopes of an ordinary student to find a job on the basis of his qualifications. There are frequent examples that third divisioner, unqualified and non deserving persons were appointed purely on political considerations. Such practices have shaken the confidence of majority of the students to compete on the basis of merit and to expect justice from the society. This frustrates the students who then indulge in subversive and non-academic activities.

The results have further indicated the students' concern about instable and unpredictable political environment of the country as the item "political instability of the country causes tension among various student organizations" received third highest mean ratings. Political instability of the country directly or indirectly affects the students as they are an important part of the society. Unfortunate and frequent dissolution of National Assembly and change of government again and again also have an impact on academic institutions. Academic institutions are closed whenever new elections are to be held in the country which result in the wastage of the precious time of students. Whenever political scene changes certain consequences are bound to occur. With the change of government, job or employment policies also change as new government tries to handle the problem of unemployment in its own way without considering the consequences for a common man. Any ongoing scheme may be instantly abolished with the change of the government. This increases the uncertainty and frustration among students. The administration of the universities, to some extent, are under control of government whether provincial or federal. With the change in government the administration may have to face unnecessary pressure to favour one or the other student organization. The consequences for the students with the change of government are obvious. The policies may be changed because of which certain relaxations or facilities may be withdrawn.

Moreover, in this unfortunate atmosphere of political wrangling and governmental instability, it is not surprising that the social welfare programmes and the educational reforms should have been neglected. The uncompromising and unaccommodating attitude of our political leadership has produced an eccentric atmosphere which has left a lasting impact on the minds of the public. The whole society is undergoing a period of frustration. The students are only emulating their leaders. Being more youthful and obviously more emotional, they fall an easy prey to the idea of using force against the one who disagrees. This may be one of the reasons that student organizations do not hesitate in using arms against their rival groups.

The results indicated the next important mean ratings on the item referring to the exploitation of the students by the political parties who use them for their own purposes which means that the student population is well aware of the fact of exploitation of their community by the political parties. The politicization of education is not a phenomenon peculiar to our country. Education even in Europe or America is not certainly politically neutral. But in these countries, education is not an enduring feature of the political landscape and only occasionally does it assume major significance. In our country, on the other hand, the entire educational system is an inextricably part of a process involving political manoeuvring among political parties and bureaucratic power.

Almost all political parties in our country have established and organized their student wings. These political parties not only support the student organizations with money but also provide them weapons. These student political organizations, on behalf of their parties and leaders, interfere in the administrative and academic business of the educational institutions. Such circumstances create many problems for the academic staff and the administration of the university. The accumulation of weapons and their display has become part of the educational activities with the courtesy of these student organizations. The confrontations between various political student organizations in the past, which resulted in the death of many students, are the outcome of this patronization. The record is full of violent clashes between the members of the student organizations on petty issues which have led to the deaths of students and miseries for their families. It is increasingly reported by the administration of different universities that student activists of different student organizations interfere in their administrative activities. The incidence of mishandling of the university administrative and academic staff are the example of this interference. Under these

circumstances an ordinary student finds it very difficult to pursue the normal academic activities without being harassed by the student activists.

The political instability in the country also has an impact upon the student wings of various political parties. That student organization is considered strong whose political affiliation lies with the government in power. Moreover, the government policies regarding student unions also have a direct effect on the students and academic environment of the institutions. One government lifts ban on the student unions, the other prohibits students to take part in political activities. On the other hand, the purpose of the student unions to provide the students a platform and an opportunity to work collectively for their own benefit has been misused. The student unions have become the nourishing grounds for political activities, favouritism of politically like minded and the harassment of politically different minded or ordinary students. The union elections are no more contested on the basis of ones intellectual calibre, ability to lead, and the moral integrity but on the basis of political support, bribery and nepotism. As a result of this, an ordinary student has virtually lost the opportunity to contest student union elections in his individual capacity. In this situation the majority of the students, who want to participate in elections as a co-curricular activity, are dragged into the politics. These student organizations interfere in everyday academic and administrative affairs of the university with the blessings of their political parties. This patronization sometimes causes tension among various student organizations which then leads to unrest and violence at the campus. This may lead to the closure of the institutions for which majority of the students are the sufferers without any fault of their own. The majority of the students included in our sample have expressed their anger and disapproval over the politicization and militarization of the educational institutions. However, they were unable to undertake anything against politically motivated students.

Politicization of education in Pakistan has become so extensive as to be a major debility. Decisions about or effecting education in too many instances are the product of political priorities rather than the needs of learning and skill development. The admission at the university level is a matter of considerable interests for the groups of all political persuasions. Students have traditionally been an important factor in the political affairs of the country, indeed often decisive one. They were involved in the overthrow of Ayub Khan, in the secession of the East wing and in the fall of Bhutto regime. They are thought to be one of the most important political forces, and probably, the most vital, in the country even today. This may be the reason of patronization of the

student organizations by different political parties which then use them for their own goals without taking into consideration their future. Students' involvement in the political activities is one of the key reasons of deterioration of the academic standards at the university level.

The patronization of student by the political parties has aggravated the problem to such an extent that in some educational institutions of our country, as it was reported by the respondents from a university that a particular politico-religious student organization de facto runs the university administration and completely controls the students' activities at the campus. Although the sentiments of majority of the students run high against their acts of violent interference and domination, they find themselves helpless to do any thing against these well organized institution of repression.

The results have also indicated students' dissatisfaction with the current examination system and increasing use of unfair means in the examinations. The system of examination is, generally, recognized as one of the most unsatisfactory features of our higher education. The current examination system has certain weaknesses which make it easy to use unfair means. There may be a number of reasons of this faulty examination system. Firstly, the old system of examination may have outlived its efficacy and, hence, may not be as such appropriate under the changed circumstances. Secondly, the prevailing corruption, nepotism and the use of unfair means may have eroded the credibility of this examination system. Thirdly, the updated course contents and the increasing relevance of the practical work may not suit the subjective system of examination. Fourthly, students' intelligence and creativeness is not the subject of judgement in our examination system. Application of knowledge is not the main aim of our examination system rather it demands only cramming and reproduction. It appears to be a memory test rather than a test of their creativity or intelligence. The students are taught some material for a particular period of time and then they have to reproduce it as such in the examination. This makes the system more vulnerable to cheating. Hence, our current examination system is not only ineffective in judging the actual potential of the students but makes it easier to use unfair means. There may be one or more than one of the above mentioned reasons of dissatisfaction of students with the current examination system.

The impact of the malpractices in the examinations has already appeared in the form of deteriorating academic standards and highly inflated marks. The students admitted in the universities

on the basis of these marks are mostly unable to cope with the studies. In their disgust and helplessness such students again seek refuge in nonacademic activities, become active in the political student organizations and try to achieve their goals again through unfair means. There is accumulating evidence that student violence in connection with the malpractices and the use of unfair means in the examinations is on increase. There are organized groups, the so called "Buty mafia" who help the students in cheating and in the use of unfair means on the payment of a specific amount. In most of the cases this is done with the active support of the invigilatory and the supervisory staff. These and other such practices have discredited our examination system to such an extent that the foreign universities and educational institutions are no more recognizing our academic degrees. If the students qualify for the foreign scholarships or higher studies, then they find it extremely difficult to cope with the changed academic realities in the foreign universities.

Among the most frequent education related issues to provoke agitation is the examination system. Usually a group of the students not serious about their studies demand for the delay of the examination and a number of serious students are the sufferers. On the other hand, the examination sections of the certain universities are also the reason of this delay in examination. They do not announce results in time and the schedules of the next examinations get disturb and, thus, the postponement of examinations delays the academic session and the students not only loose their precious time but the long unproductive intervals lower their motivation and weaken their interest in their studies. This may be an important reason for the increasing use of unfair means in the examinations. The students who are not well prepared for the examination, find the use of unfair means an easy and non-laborious way to get good marks in the examination.

Moreover, the tampering of the results and corruption at all levels related to the conduct of examination disappoints and discourages an honest student to rely upon his abilities and intellect. There are also many reported cases that the hardworking and intelligent students, who took the examinations honestly, secured less marks than the incompetent and non-deserving students who used unfair means in the examinations. An irresponsible attitude of our authorities toward such practices has marred the belief of the majority of the students to trust the objectivity of our examination system. This causes resentment in them which ultimately ignites their feelings. Therefore, the prevailing disillusionment of the students about the examination system may be one of the reasons of student unrest at the campuses.

The practice of tampering with the results and award lists and the use of spurious, non-genuine or fake degrees is another aspect of the prevailing corruption in the society. There are many reported cases that a considerable number of students were able to win seats in the educational institutions on the basis of these fake degrees while deserving students could not get admissions.

Admission to the universities is again tied with several other undesirable features of the society. Pressures from MPAs and MNAs for candidates not fit for admission, quota system for the residents of certain areas, bribery and corruption further complicate this issue. It is a usual practice that during the process of admissions in the universities the merit is not strictly followed. There is no such policy to judge the students' potential and talent at the time of admission. With the exception of one university, only marks obtained in the B.A./B.Sc. examination are considered to prepare the merit list for admission in the universities. In such a situation students want to secure high marks in B.A./B.Sc., and use every possible mean to achieve this goal. Once such students get admission in the universities they can not cope with the studies which results in the deterioration of academic standard. At the same time, this is unfair to a talented student who might not be able to secure high marks due to some unfavourable circumstances or any personal mishap at the time of examination. Such students can not get admission on the basis of B. A./B. Sc. marks alone in the subject of their choice. This situation makes them hopeless and frustrated. The inefficient and non deserving students admitted in the educational institutions remain a constant source of trouble and agitation.

The results further indicate that the respondents have given next highest mean rating to the item related with the financial problems of the students i.e., majority of the students have financial problems. Most of the students, in our society, are financed by their parents. In many cases the students have to take up some kind of part-time work in order to meet their financial needs and to continue their studies. The universities do not have enough scholarships to provide them financial assistance. Some of the intelligent and hardworking students have to discontinue their studies because of the financial problems. This financial pressure badly affects the students belonging to the middle and lower classes. A student having financial problem may not be able to give proper attention to his studies and for most of his time is busy in exploring the venues to meet his financial requirements. This may serve as a good opportunity for the political student organizations to exploit the needy students who may fall victim to student politics because of their financial difficulties.

Political parties help such students with money and utilize them for their own purpose without considering their future and precious time.

The financial problems of the students is an indication of the financial problems of the universities. Recently, drastic cuts have been made in the scholarships for the students and the tuition fees, hostel and transport charges have been increased. This may have increased financial problems for the students. The perception and the awareness of students about their financial problems may frustrate them which can become a cause of student unrest at the campuses. In this regard one can mention the loud voices, recently raised by different student organizations against the overburdening of the students financially. The financial difficulties of the students in fact reflect the overall financial difficulties of the universities. The step motherly attitude of the government in allocating financial grants to the universities has starved them of the required money. The universities are unable to meet their recurring expenditure, hence, they are cutting drastically upon the research, hostel, transport, books, journals and scholarship funds. As a result, M.Phil. and Ph.D. scholarships have been withdrawn which has increased the financial problems of the student community. The education in Pakistan suffers from lack of money, insufficient books, lack of building capacity, inadequate laboratories etc. The education facilities that do exist are rudimentary. In higher education facilities and incentives for research and academic achievement are minimum. There is a general feeling that the educational system of Pakistan has completely collapsed. There may be three major reasons for this collapse. Firstly, the government is not investing enough resources in education. Secondly, the quality of teachers is poor i.e., efficient, dedicated and trained teachers are lacking. Thirdly, society is indifferent to intellectual pursuits and is interested in education only as a screening device for the limited job opportunities.

In a cross-methodological comparison, the stability of the reasons of unrest at the campuses was also tested. The students were asked to rank order the four items of the unrest scale in order of their importance to an unrest situation. The results of this analysis shown that when students were asked to think about a situation of student unrest at their campuses and to indicate four major causes of this from the list of 23 items already rated by them, the female and the male students from the four universities rank ordered the item 12 "students are uncertain about their future" as the most important cause of student unrest at the campuses and the exploitation of students by the political parties (item 22) as the second most important cause of student unrest.

The female and male students gave different causes as the third and fourth most important reasons of student unrest. The female respondent mentioned the faulty examination system (item 20) and the prevailing injustices in the society (item 13) as the third and fourth major reasons of student unrest respectively.

The male students of the four universities indicated the patronization of the student unions by the political parties (item 2) as the third most important reason of student unrest at the campuses. They indicated the faulty examination system (item 20) as the fourth major cause of student unrest. This was also mentioned by the female students as the third cause of unrest implying that the students, in general, are dissatisfied with the current examination system which remains a source of discontent and disturbance for them.

The agreement among the students from the four universities of Pakistan about an uncertain future unearths the social reality in which our young generation and the future responsibility holders of our nation are dwelling. The responses of the students regarding their uncertainty about the future indicates their dissatisfaction and disappointment with the present socio-political system because of the reasons discussed previously.

Again the agreement on the exploitation of the student community by the political parties ranked as the second most important cause of unrest is an indication that students are well aware of this exploitation and openly disapprove the dirty politics of the political parties. This is an indication that the majority of the students have become fed up with the activities of the so called student organizations which on behalf of their parties create hooligism and have militarized the academic atmosphere of the institutions.

The ranking of the faulty examination system as the third major cause of student unrest by the female students show their concern about the increasing unrest and violence associated with the examinations. As mentioned earlier, there may be some faults in the examination system which result in student unrest. However, the indication of this reason exclusively by the females points out to some additional factors which could be of concern for them. It has become a usual practice that students demand the postponement of the examination or award of grace marks on the one or the other pretext. The female students are usually the spectators and also the major sufferers.

Majority of the female students want to complete their studies in the normal time period due to some personal reasons. There are many reported cases that marriages of some of female students were either delayed because of the postponement of the examination or they were married and then were unable to complete their studies.

In addition, the use of unfair means in the examination and the hooligism is mostly perpetrated by the male students. There could be many reasons for non indulgence of female students in such affairs. Firstly, female students lack courage and the means to indulge in these practices. Secondly, they are not expected to be an earning hand for their families so good grades are not expected from them. While on the other hand, male students have to get good jobs to run their families in the future, hence good grades are important for them. Thirdly, there is social acceptance for such activities of the boys while the same activities are not expected of the female students. The female students who do not use unfair means feel cheated as the male students, sometimes, secure good marks as compared to them by using unfair means in the examinations. This causes disappointment and frustration among the female students as they have to bear the consequences of the activities carried out only by the male students. The inferences drawn from the responses of the female students are indirectly supported by the data as the male students have mentioned the faulty examination system as fourth and least important cause of student unrest while female students have ranked it as the third important cause of unrest.

The female students indicated the prevailing injustices in the society as the fourth important factor of student unrest. The responses of females indicate that they are more sensitive to the injustices of the society. The females, in our society, experience these injustices in each and every walk of their life. In most of the cases, the differential treatment of females by their families regarding their educational career and marriages, and their discrimination in the professional career, are the examples of the injustices of the male dominated society which make them more sensitive to injustice. In the currently changing circumstances and because of the increasing education and awareness among females, they have become more sensitive and vocal against these injustices.

The male students of the four universities, on the other hand, have indicated the patronization of the student unions by the political parties as the third important cause of unrest at the campuses. It is a well recognized fact that in the past when student unions were not banned at

the campuses, the union elections were fought under the banners of different political parties. In that situation an ordinary student virtually lost the opportunity to contest union elections in his individual capacity and those who had this courage were dragged into politics. Now a days when student unions are banned, different student organizations are working openly under the names of different political parties. These student wings are so strong that they openly interfere in the academic and administrative affairs of the university. In some institutions the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that the university administration becomes helpless.

The male students were also of the opinion that different ethnic groups and political parties provide weapons to student organizations which they mentioned as the fourth major cause of student unrest. The increasing political, ethnic and communal tension in the society has cast its impact upon the educational institutions as well. The gulf between various political organizations has widened, and armed clashes between their members have already cost the lives of a number of students. The majority of the students believe that this happens because the political parties and different ethnic groups provide the students with weapons. Once these weapons are available to the students, these are used by them in the conflicts. It has been observed that the student leaders of some student organizations carry and openly exhibit these weapons at the campuses. This not only appears ridiculous in an academic atmosphere but scares a common student, and agitates the opponents. Moreover, there were also many occasions on which armed student leaders had interfered in administrative and academic business. As this was indicated by the majority of the male students of the four universities, it seems that they are seriously concerned about this problem. Their concern is because of the fact that they become directly or indirectly involved in such clashes. The reports show that in many such incidences it were the innocent male students who were either injured or lost their lives.

The difference in the responses of politically affiliated and non-affiliated students of four universities to rank order the items of unrest scale as the causes of unrest was also explored. The politically affiliated students rank ordered item 22 " political parties exploit students to achieve their goals" and item 12 " students are uncertain about their future" as the first and second most important causes of student unrest. They ranked ordered two items " majority of the students have financial problems" (item 10) and " the current examination system is faulty"(item 20) as the third most important causes of student unrest. The politically organized students also ranked the items

13 and 19 i. e., the "overall prevailing injustices in the society has damaged the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit." and "proper religious teachings are lacking in our education." as the fourth important cause of student unrest.

The politically non-affiliated students rank ordered the "uncertainty of students about their future" (item 12) as the most important and "the exploitation of students by the political parties to achieve their goals" (item 22) as the second most important causes of student unrest. They also rank ordered the faulty examination system (item 20) and "the patronization of student unions by the political parties" (item 2) as the third and the fourth most important causes of unrest at the campuses.

It is important to note that some causes of student unrest have been persistently indicated by both the politically affiliated and non-affiliated students. Although these causes were given different ranks by the two groups regarding their importance in student unrest they, nevertheless, can be regarded as the four most important underlying causes of student unrest. The exploitation of students by the political parties and the students' uncertainty about their future occupy the top two positions regarding the causes of student unrest. It has been discussed previously that students have become too sensitive about the political interference and their exploitation by the political parties. Again the selection of this cause and the highest ranking given to it demonstrate the serious concern of the students about this issue. The uncertainty of the majority of the students about their future as one of their prime concern and as a cause of student unrest indicates the circumstances which are faced by the students.

Both the groups of the students have also given importance to the faulty examination system as one of the reasons of student unrest. It seems more apparent that students are not at all satisfied with the current examination system and the conduct of examinations. The reasons for all this have been discussed previously.

The politically affiliated students have rank ordered the financial problems as one of the important causes of student unrest. Interestingly, the financial problems have not been given any importance by the politically non-affiliated students as the cause of student unrest. It strengthens our previously drawn inference that students with financial problems fall an easy prey to different

political parties. The financial problem of the students may be regarded as an indicator of their socio-economic status which may create in them a sense of frustration. These findings of our study seem to be consistent with the study carried out by Westby and Braungart (1965), who pointed out that most of the members of the student activist organizations belonged to the families whose average income was low and most of them were working class families.

Politically non-affiliated students have not mentioned financial problem as a cause of unrest at the campuses. But this should not mean that those who are not politically affiliated have no financial problems, but rather this is not a genuine cause of student unrest in their opinion.

The politically non-affiliated students rank ordered the patronization of student unions by the political parties as fourth major cause of student unrest. The support of the student organizations and unions by the political parties has encouraged the politically organized students to create disturbances at the campus under the umbrella of union activities. A fruitful co-curricular activity, which has to inculcate qualities of leadership, problem solving, decision making and sense of tolerance in students, has been turned into political agitation and violence.

The prevailing social injustices in our society have been frequently targeted by the students. This phenomenon is so wide spread in the society that it has not even spared our young generation. A person who faces injustices in such a young age and even before coming into practical life, cannot treat others with justice. As discussed earlier, such individuals become anxious, self-centred, opportunist and spend their energies in personal gains and pursuits than to work for the national cause.

The lack of proper religious teachings in education as a cause of student unrest mentioned by the politically active students is, particularly interesting. No doubt, our youth lacks basic guideline to human behaviour. Religion in our society, has been so misinterpreted, dogmatized and quarrelled over that young people feel it has no substantial help to offer them and so they blunder on blindly in ignorance at the mercy of their own hidden urges and emotions. It should be noted that neither the female nor the male students and the politically non active students indicated this. Additional analyses revealed that majority of the politically active students belonged to a particular politico-religious group. Hence, the rank ordering of this cause of student unrest by the politically

active students was virtually dominated by the responses of the members of this particular student organization. In one of the visited university this group virtually dominated the student and administrative affairs. This political group of students is active in organizing some commendable religious activities at the campuses and is also vocal for reorganizing the whole educational system on religious patterns. There are also frequent occasions that the same student organization shows intolerance and commit excesses against the ordinary students or students' groups, who want to organize some funfair or musical show. Under religious slogans they propagate and actively pursue the segregation of sexes at the campuses. In this pursuit during their so called "week of purification" they harass and physically mishandle innocent students who in pursuit of their curricular and co-curricular activities may be seen together with their female class-fellows. The majority of the ordinary students regard such activities as an act of oppression and terrorism. They frequently resent such activities which they regard as mollified and based upon the subjective, narrow minded and misinterpreted approach. This shows that the mentioning of lack of religious teachings in our education is lob-sided and has been indicated by the students of a particular politico-religious group.

Another interesting fact was revealed by further analysis that number of politically affiliated male students was approximately three times greater than the female politically active students. As regards the reason, it may be argued that firstly male students join student political organizations under the quest of identity and authority which are the key characteristics of our males and their dominant role in the political life of the country. Secondly, male students carve their way to the national politics through these organizations. There are many members of our National and Provincial Assemblies who were student leaders during their educational lives. Thirdly, sometimes male students become a member of student organization under the pressure of their peer groups.

As mentioned earlier, the items of unrest scale were categorized into three major categories or variables, namely social, personal-psychological and environmental. The analysis of the rank ordering of these items by the female and male students and the politically affiliated and non-affiliated students indicates that majority of the items given the highest positions belong to the social category i.e., pertaining to the society or social circumstances. The students have listed six social items (excluding repetition) and one each of the personal-psychological and environmental variables as the major causes of student unrest at the campuses.

The majority of the items belonging to the social variable of unrest as indicated by the students are about the political interference by the political parties. This shows that politics and the political activities have turned so ugly that these have not spared the sanctity of the educational institutions. Our political leaders have no hesitation to exploit and use the innocent students for their goals. They do not realize that by doing so they are not only ruining the career of the young people but they are also playing with the future and fate of the nation. A number of evils of this political interference in the educational institutions have appeared in the form of confrontation between different student organizations, violence and deaths at the campuses, sabotaging of academic and administrative functioning of the universities, use of unfair means in examination, corruption and nepotism in admissions and other undue favours. Despite repeated protests and calls by the students, academic staff and the administration of the universities to end this practice our politician seem to have not yet realized the gravity of the situation.

Some other social variables pertain to the societal injustices, corruption and lack of future prospects for the students. These reactions of the students show that they perceive society as unfair, unreliable and corrupt. Their confidence in the objective reward criteria of society has been lost. The majority of the social causes of student unrest are of this type which point out toward the impact of negative developments in the society upon the student community and, hence, on the campus atmosphere. All these social variables indicate the evils of the society which have spread to our campuses and diverted the attention of our young generation away from the studies. The indication of these social evils by the students also show that they are fully aware of these malpractices in the society and are deeply concerned about them. But one should not ignore the fact that this awareness may also create tension and frustration in our youth. They have lost the confidence and courage to tackle the problems of social life in a positive manner.

The results of three way between-within analysis of variance show that female and male students differ in their perception of student unrest implying that female and male students perceive the phenomenon of student unrest at the campuses with varying intensities. The results further indicate that the three types of variables i.e., social, personal-psychological and environmental of student unrest (the causes of unrest) differ significantly from each other which means that students have given relative importance to these causes regarding their role in student unrest. These differences in the mean scores of the students from four universities have also been explored with

reference to the rank ordering of these variables of unrest scale i.e., social, personal-psychological and environmental which support the mean ratings of the students on these variables. The highest rating has been given to the social variable followed by the environmental and the personal-psychological. This cross-method consistency of the results makes our inferences and the inferences of the results more credible.

The dominance of social variable in the perceptions of students as the cause of student unrest shows an increased awareness of our young generation about the social evils, the corruption, nepotism, disregard of merit, social injustices and especially, the exploitation of the students by the political parties. It seems that unless sincere and concerted efforts are made to end this political interference and remove the injustices from the society the situation in our educational institutions is unlikely to improve in the long run.

The importance of environmental variables second to the social indicates that the educational institutions themselves have major contribution in creating unrest among the students. The issues and problems related to the university environment which cause unrest among the students may be the unsympathetic and indifferent attitude of the university administration toward the students' problems, ineffectiveness of the university authorities to minimize the outside influence, residential and transportation problems and above all, the faulty examination system of the universities. It was observed during data collection that majority of the students were dissatisfied with the attitude of the university administration towards their demands. It seems that there is a lack of mutual understanding and communication between the administration and the students community. The students from almost all the universities complained about administrations' unsympathetic attitude toward their genuine problems and demands. According to them, university administration was little interested in solving these problems and providing them reasonable facilities of accommodation and transport. The number of buses in every university was far less as compared to the strength of students, same was the case with hostels. The students coming from other cities were facing a lot of accommodation problems.

Most of the respondents have mentioned the current examination system as one of the important causes of unrest at the campuses. In many cases, the unrest situations created by the students were because of examinations which again points toward the weaknesses of university

administration. The students were dissatisfied and deeply concerned with the flaws in the present examination system, the reasons of which have been already discussed.

The results further indicate that the mean score of the female respondents from the four universities is higher than those of the male respondents on the unrest scale. This means that females have more strong perceptions of the phenomenon of student unrest as compared to male. It should be noted that as the unrest scale deals with students perceptions and their opinion about the causes of student unrest, a high score on this scale means an increased concern of the respondents about it. The concern of female students about the unrest at the campuses is because of their sufferings without their active involvement in such activities. Some unrealistic demands are usually raised by the male students who waste their time in political activities and then demand the postponement of the examination. If the institutions are closed or examinations are postponed, then the female students are mostly confined at home. As the activities of the females out side their homes are restricted so they do not know how to occupy their time. As already discussed some of the female students have to discontinue their studies as they get married or their marriages are postponed. In both the cases they suffer without any role and fault of their own. In the case of strikes and boycotting of classes they are also forced by the male students not to attend the classes. This aggravates their grievances as the decisions are imposed upon them.

The findings have also suggested that the students from four universities differ significantly in their perceptions of student unrest at the respective institutions. The students of the Punjab University, Lahore, have obtained highest mean scores, the second highest of the students of the Peshawar University followed by the students of the Baluchistan University, Quetta and Bahauddin Zikryia University, Multan. This indicates that the students of Punjab University perceive an extreme situation of student unrest at their campus. The least concern about the student unrest at their campus has been shown by the students of the Bahauddin Zakryia University, Multan. These findings reflect the actual circumstances prevailing at the campuses of these universities.

It was generally observed during data collection that majority of the respondents from the Punjab University were more concerned, angry and critical over the political interference in the student and administration's affairs by a particular politico-religious student wing of a political party. They narrated tales of excesses committed by this student group. The administration was at

times being totally paralysed by them. They openly displayed and at many occasions used the weapons against differently thinking students. The empirical data supported these reactions of the students which implies that the situation at the Punjab University campus was the most volatile and dangerous. In students' opinion it was the political interference and the use of force by a particular student group which was the main cause of student unrest at their campus. The recent violence in November, 1992, perpetrated by the same politico-religious student group at the Punjab University not only paralysed the entire functioning of the university and holding of the examination but also took human life. A too much of neglect and an attitude of irresponsibility shown both by the university and the local administration has made the situation worse.

The second highest score of students of Peshawar University on the unrest scale also indicates that the situation at Peshawar University was also not stable. These perceptions of students about the unrest were because of an ongoing confrontation of the students with the university administration over a number of issues e. g., increases in the tuition fees, hostel dues and the overall attitude of the administration toward the students. There were also incidences of confrontation between various political student organizations. Moreover, the students of Peshawar University are usually provoked by the ethnic and politico-religious parties and they create disturbance. During data collection similar situation was observed when students demonstrated for Babri Mosque and the university was closed.

The mean scores of the students of Baluchistan University, Quetta on the unrest scale are, to a greater extent, similar to those of from Peshawar University. However, the unrest circumstances may be different in the case of Baluchistan University. In Baluchistan University there exist many student wings belonging to different ethnic parties e. g., Baloch and Pathans in addition to other political groups. The confrontation between various political and ethnic student organizations at the Quetta University is a usual phenomenon. Therefore, there prevails mostly a tense atmosphere. This again has to do with the interference of the political parties in the student affairs. There was a strike by the students of the science faculty for the acceptance of their demands during our data collection. These incidences create an atmosphere of tension at the campus because of which unrest prevails among students.

The lowest mean unrest scores of the students from the Bahauddin Zakria University, Multan indicates that in comparison to other universities they perceived relative calm at their campus. There were no major issues of discontent at this university which could lead to a situation of student unrest. The political activism at the university was not so salient and the students did not give much importance to the role of political student organizations. In addition, university administration seemed to have a strong hold over administrative affairs with no interference by student organizations.

Generally speaking, the individual mean scores of the students of four universities on the unrest scale are above 3, which is an indicator of students' perception of unrest at their campuses.

The results regarding the mean scores of the students from four universities on the index of academic activities show that female students from three universities i.e., Baluchistan, Punjab and Bahauddin Zakryia have scored higher on the academic activities scale as compared to the male students. However the situation is just the opposite in the case of Peshawar university, where the male students have higher mean scores on this scale. This means that, overall, female students are more involved in academic activities as compared to the male students. These results support our previous arguments that male students are mostly involved in student unrest as compared to the females. In most of unrest situations the female students are the passive observers and despite their non participation they suffer the most. The higher scores of females on the academic activities scale and the unrest scale show that they are more academically oriented and show more concern about the unrest at the campuses.

The results of t-tests between male and female students of different Universities on three variables of unrest scale and index of academic activities indicate that female and male students of Baluchistan University significantly differ from each other on the social causes of student unrest. It may be inferred from the higher mean score of females of this university that females give more weight to the social causes of student unrest than the male students. This may be because of the reason that females are more sensitive to any outside influence which affects the peace of the educational institution. As majority of the female students of Baluchistan University do not actively participate in politics, they may regard such influences as undesirable and nonacademic.

There is also a significant difference between female and male students of the same university on the personal-psychological causes of student unrest. The mean scores of females are higher than the mean scores of males implying that the females have perceived significantly more personal-psychological reasons of student unrest. The personal-psychological reasons of unrest at the Baluchistan University indicate an immature and emotional approach of the students to deal with their problems. The overall frustration, lack of future perspective and low motivation of student may also be the precipitating factors, but at the same time it would be appropriate to discuss these findings in the cultural perspective of Baluchistan and the training modes of its male members. Majority of the people here still hold to their old tribal traditions. Being emotional about petty issues is a salient feature of the tribal culture. Such issues become matter of "prestige" and of "life and death" for them. The male students brought up under such circumstances when come to the university show the same behavioural pattern. Their general emotional approach may be a cause of disturbance at the campus.

The results of t-test between female and male students of Punjab University, Lahore on the three variables of student unrest and academic activities have shown a significant difference between female and male students on the index of academic activities. The females have high mean scores than the males which indicates their interest and concern about their studies and hence, their involvement in educational activities. This is an indirect indication of their lack of participation in the non-academic and political activities. The cultural barriers in restrictions of the society on the females provide them little opportunities to participate in extra-curricular activities. They have little choice but remain to confine themselves to their studies and, hence, they give more time and attention to it.

The results of t-tests between female and male students of Bahauddin Zakryia University, Multan and Peshawar University on social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest scale and index of academic activities show nonsignificant differences between the two groups on these two scales.

The results of one way analysis of variance on the unrest scores of the subjects from four universities for their father's education suggested a relationship between the level of father's education and scores on unrest scale. The students from different family backgrounds regarding

their fathers' educational level differed in their perception of student unrest. The students whose father's education was from primary to matric have obtained highest mean score on the unrest scale and students whose fathers were illiterate have obtained the least mean score on the unrest scale. It means that the students of less educated fathers perceived more unrest at the campuses as compared to other groups.

Here, it would be appropriate to discuss the results in the context of our social set up. Parents with education from primary to matric probably represent lower middle socio-economic class. This group is probably more affected by the prevailing social and economic upheavals of the society as compared to other classes. Students from such a background could hardly afford higher education and those who fortunately get this opportunity are likely to be more concerned about the wastage of their time. Therefore, their concern about issues related to the unrest is self-evident than those students whose careers do not depend upon the completion of their studies. Further analysis has revealed that the average monthly income of this group was the lowest as compared to other three groups. This again supports our interpretation that under the given financial constraints, the students coming from such families want to complete their studies in time to be able to contribute toward the financial betterment of their families. Hence, they can ill afford the wastage of time which means extra financial burden upon their families.

On the other hand, the students belonging to the families with illiterate fathers have obtained lowest unrest score which implies their least perception of unrest at their campuses. The illiterate fathers most probably come from agricultural background or from business community. The owners of agricultural lands and property are usually not educated but their socio-economic status is high. The students from these homes are not much concerned about the problems related to the unrest. Disruption in studies or delay in examinations probably does not influence their concern about future. They have well established family careers to take up in the future. Although the average monthly income mentioned by the students belonging to this group is not as high as it was expected but at the same time we should not ignore the fact that mostly students included in the sample did not know the exact amount of monthly income of their families and hence, they mentioned only the estimated amount.

Concluding the discussion it may be said that the findings of our study do not support the general impression of the students as the sole perpetrators of unrest at the campuses. Usually, the students are held responsible for all the disturbances at the educational institutions. The findings have pointed out that the problem of unrest at our campuses has been created and maintained by a number of social factors such as "political interference", "corruption in the society", "an uncertain future of the students" etc. This means that an overall deteriorating social circumstances have cast their shadow upon the peaceful academic atmosphere of our educational institutions. The outside interference in the affairs of the universities and the organized and well planned exploitation of students by all the major political parties of the country has divided the students into different groups and has made the university administration virtually ineffective. The different forms of corruption, nepotism, disregard of merit, lack of justice etc., have severely damaged the faith of the students in the social system and have made them uncertain and insecure about their future. This pre-mature psychological pressure on the tender minds of our youth has made them disoriented and pushed them out of the track. They have lost their concentration in their studies and have become pre-occupied with irrelevant and bizarre matters. All this piles up aggression and creates feelings of revenge in them. The revengeful response of the student community has manifested itself in the form of perpetual unrest at the campuses, the use of ugly and dirtiest practices during the education and examination.

The rank ordering of the variables of student unrest unambiguously indicate the dominant impact of the social forces of our society on the deteriorating situation at the campuses. The politicians, the government functionaries and the holder of positions of responsibility should not think that the corruption in the society is going to be confined to their circles. The perceptions of the students about the ills of the society should be an eye opener to all the responsible persons of the country. The earlier we realize it the better it will be for the welfare of the society and the future of our country.

The important findings of the study suggest that mostly the male students are involved in political as well as other non-academic activities. Therefore, the male students lag behind the female students in academic activities and achievement. The patriarchal and male-oriented structure of our society facilitates male persons to enjoy more liberties and to violate the norms of the society deliberately and with impunity. These social circumstances in the society also encourage the male

students to cross the boundaries of discipline and decency in the educational institutions. Indiscipline has become a general complaint in our public, private and governmental organizations. It seems that people have little sense of social responsibility and are bringing up their children in a kind of social vacuum. So another important cause of student unrest in our country may be the wrong child rearing practices. Parents do not fulfil their responsibility to teach and discipline their children. They have reared a generation of youth who are unable to tolerate the slightest frustration, tension or environmental pressures. When young persons brought up in such an environment enter in the colleges or universities they become aware of many social problems and become easily frustrated. Sometimes this frustration exhibits itself in the form of violent and uncompromising behaviours.

The female students seem to distinguish themselves in disapproving not only the political interference but negative role of student wings of the political parties in the educational institutions. The females are more concerned about their studies. They do not have liberty to indulge in such activities because their role is thought to be confined to home. They are not, usually, thought as the earning members so less importance is given to their higher studies and those who luckily get this chance try to prove their worth by showing extraordinary performance. The males in our society, on the other hand, play a dominant role in everyday affairs, the male students seem to be mastering this role taking abilities in the educational institutions. The problem, however, lies in the cognizance and realization of this goal. They play a leading role, as far as, the political and other non-academic activities are concerned, but are usually found behind the curtains when the emphasis is shifted to the educational activities and academic achievement.

The findings also indicate that our educational machinery has failed to utilize the surplus energy of the students. They have lot of leisure time to indulge in purposeless and non-academic activities at the educational institutions. Our findings suggest that more the students are involved in the academic pursuits the lesser are their chances to indulge in political and subversive activities at the campuses. The educational and academic requirements have become less rigorous, so that the students have become less bothered about them. The burden of this also lies on the shoulders of the teachers and administration. They should involve them in constructive activities in order to consume and utilize their spare time and energies in a healthy manner. It may be said that if the students are involved in their education and the system of education demands hardwork and efficiency from them, then the chances of their indulgence in the political and non productive activities are lessened.

The financial problems of the students also play a crucial role in creating the disturbances at the campuses. The recent withdrawal of scholarships has aggravated the multiple problems for the students. Many students become members of student organizations just to seek financial help.

It was also found that students with less educated parents perceived more unrest at the campuses. The average monthly income of their families show that these students belong to lower socio-economic class. So they have to face many problems including the financial problems.

Finally, it may also be said, that specific circumstances of a campus have much to do with the student unrest. The four different universities included in our sample differed from each other in this regard. The worst kind of circumstances ripe for any unrest were found at the Punjab University, Lahore. The responses of the students of this university showed the highest score on the unrest scale indicating that they were the most affected by this plague. Their responses also indicated the highest degree of political interference in the university affairs. The increased politicization of the students and academic affairs and a total control over the academic and administrative affairs of the university by a specific political student organization had created a sense of insecurity and helplessness among the students. They had lost their belief in the objectivity of the decisions made by the university administration. The manipulation of every day affairs and rampant corruption in every nook and corner of the campus had totally shaken the trust of the students and the teaching community in exercising their will and right of expression. They have also lost faith in the provincial government's ability to get hold of law and order at the campus. The students' interference and indulgence in activities which do not fall in their preview could be damaging not only for them but may jeopardize the peace and tranquillity of the entire educational set up. The motivation of the students to indulge in such activities to a lesser or greater extent depends upon the attitude of the university as well as the local administration toward these activities. If the things are tolerated by the administration and they are given free hand the students have the ability and the potential to carry it to any extent. The varied degree of politicization of a campus and the extent of student unrest at different university campuses support our interpretation. The student unrest was found less frequent at the campuses where the administration was in control of campus affairs.

As regards the limitations of the study it may be said that the instruments developed to assess the perception of unrest at the campuses and academic activities should have been in Urdu as students at many universities, especially, coming from Urdu medium of instructions, faced difficulty in understanding some of the statements.

Finally, some implications can be derived from the findings of the present study in order to devise a strategy to deal with the problem of student unrest in future. Firstly, a radical change in the present way of learning and imparting education will bring a pleasant effect upon the atmosphere at the campuses. By increasing the workload upon the students their involvement in academic activities will be increased.

Students should be provided with some opportunities of extra curricular activities at their institutions in order to use their surplus and directionless energies in a more begetting manner. This will keep them away from other activities. This change may, however, require much efforts and take some time, but the likely outcomes would be positive and durable.

Secondly, our examination system is irrational and stereotypical and does not conform to the changing necessities, therefore, it needs radical changes. It needs to be carefully analyzed, flaws should be identified and efforts should be made to eradicate these flaws. The students who use unfair means in examination should be punished properly.

Thirdly, the rules of admission at all levels, especially, at the university level should be made more transparent. The merit should be strictly followed but the strategy to ascertain merit should be changed. The university should not totally rely upon the marks obtained in B.A and B.Sc., rather their talents and potentials should be judged at the time of admission through admission test and interview.

Fourthly, the courses taught at the higher levels are terribly at variance with the realities of the practical life. With the passage of time, the courses and the syllabi of higher education has remained the same. The students, after the completion of their education often find themselves misfits for the jobs they are appointed. The old syllabus which does not take into account the necessities and realities of the present day practical life should be revised in the light of new

intellectual, moral and social requirements. The controversy of medium of instruction in our education is another problem. After forty seven years of independence we have not been able to decide which medium of instruction we should adopt in our education. The students coming from the urdu medium of instruction have to face a lot of problems at higher level of education which results in the deterioration of their academic performance.

Fifthly, much of the mess prevailing at present in the educational field can be done away with purposeful educational planning in the light of our national ideology and objectives. Planned education is a good solution to reduce unemployment of the educated youth which is threatening the future of youth. The government circles must give sympathetic consideration to this problem and take some drastic measures to bring the youth out of this darkness, pessimism and frustration so that they can make best use of their potentials and talents to serve the nation. This would lessen their concern about an uncertain future.

The government should invest more in educational sector, with the result that there will be more funds and facilities available for students. The economic upheavals of society would then, to some extent can be neutralized. Talented students should be awarded scholarships. More parttime job facilities be available to make student more independent and self reliant. All these efforts would be helpful in order to solve the financial problems of the students and to discourage the increasing trend of becoming members of students' political organizations to get financial help.

Moreover, the university administration should try to take some measures to minimize the outside influence in the university affairs. There is a need for sincere and concrete efforts on the part of universities and local administrations to end the political interference in the academic institutions and political exploitation of the students by the political parties. The students should not be allowed to establish their organizations affiliated with different political parties. The university authorities should make some serious efforts in order to remove the injustices at least from the educational institutions so that the lost confidence of our youth in the fair play and objectivity should be restored. It is the moral duty of our leaders and political parties to keep the students away from the dirty politics. The political parties and leaders should realize the damage done because of their interference in academic institutions. They should realize their duty towards young minds of the nation and abstain from exploiting the energies of the students for the attainment of their political goals.

SUMMARY

Student unrest has become a recurrent phenomenon of our educational institutions which undoubtedly causes disruption of academic activities of the educational institutions. The problem of student unrest is of highly complex nature and may have multiple reasons which may vary from situation to situation. The problem can not be dissociated from the prevailing social, political and economic conditions of the society. The possible role of psychological factors and particular aspects of an institutional set up also cannot be ignored.

Considering the importance of the role of society, personal and psychological aspects of students' personality and variables related to campus environment, the present study was undertaken to investigate the social, personal-psychological and environmental factors which contribute toward student unrest at the university campuses. The study was designed to understand the perceptions of the students about the problem of unrest and its causes. There has never been a comprehensive research carried out in Pakistan, especially, with reference to the unrest at the university campuses. The study is the first of its kind tapping the perceptions and opinions of students about unrest.

In order to develop instruments for the research a pilot study was conducted. The subjects were 12 female and 12 male students of M. Sc. third and M. Phil. first semester of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and 13 female and 13 male students of Punjab University, Lahore. On the basis of analysis of the data of the pilot study two scales were constructed; namely an unrest scale and an index of academic activities. The unrest scale consisted of 23 items covering three major categories of unrest variables, i. e., social, environmental and personal-psychological and the index of academic activities consisted of 9 items pertaining to the students' participation in the academic activities at their institutions.

In the main study the unrest scale was used to determine social, environmental and personal-psychological causes of student unrest. A direct empirical measure was used to measure the importance of these unrest variables. Index of academic activities was used to measure the academic goals of the subjects. A personal information questionnaire was also used to get necessary demographic information from the subjects.

A sample of 100 post-graduate students including 50 female and 50 male students was taken from each of the four major universities of Pakistan. The age range of the subjects was between 19-23 years. The scales were presented to the subjects in a booklet form. The subjects were approached in their departments and questionnaire was administered in the form of small groups.

For the statistical analysis the total scores and means of female and male students of different universities were computed on all items of the unrest scale. The rank ordering of the items of the unrest scale by the female and male students and politically affiliated and non-affiliated students was analyzed to find out the relative importance of three different types of variables. The analysis indicated that social variables were the most pertinent to the unrest at the campuses.

A three way between-within subjects analysis of variance on the unrest scale for the sex, universities and type of unrest variables indicated a highly significant main effects of sex and types of unrest variables. The female students perceived more unrest at the campuses than the male students. The social variables were judged by the students as the major contributors towards the unrest.

The results of t-tests between female and male respondents of different universities on the three variables of the unrest scale i.e., social, personal-psychological and environmental variables of unrest scale, and on the index of academic activities indicated that female and male students of Baluchistan University, Quetta significantly differed from each other on the social and personal-psychological variables or the causes of unrest. The female and male students from Punjab University, Lahore significantly differed from each other on the index of academic activities.

Moreover, the results of one way analysis of variance on unrest score for different categories of father's education showed a significant difference indicating that students from families with less educated fathers were more perceptive of the unrest at the campuses as compared to the illiterate and more educated.

It was concluded that the social factors such as political interference and support of the student organizations by the political parties has made the university administration ineffective. The corruption and injustice in the society serves as bad precedence for the students. Students' perceptions of these social ills create in them a feeling of uncertainty and insecurity which

ultimately contribute towards student unrest. Second, it was concluded that mostly male students are involved in political and non-academic activities. Female students disapprove such activities and therefore, show a better academic performance. Third, more the students' involvement in academic activities lesser are their chances of indulging in the political and subversive activities. The less rigorous teaching criteria, low educational standards, demands for the postponement of examinations, cheating are all factors contributing towards unrest. Fourth, the specific circumstances of a campus were also found important. Highest scores on unrest scale were found at the Punjab University, Lahore. Findings further revealed that student unrest is less frequent at the campuses where the administration is relatively in control of campus affairs. Fifth, the students whose fathers were little educated perceived more unrest at the campuses.

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**Appendix Pilot Study
(A, B & C)**

We are carrying out a research to discover underlying factors leading to student unrest at University Campuses. We will be highly obliged if you can list possible social, psychological, environmental and personal factors which in your opinion contribute towards student unrest.

Social Factors:

(e.g., any political change within society)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Psychological Factors:

(e.g., uncertainty about future, lack of motivation)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Environmental Factors:

(e.g., change of policies of university administration, problems at the campus)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Personal Factors:

(e.g., any problem related to health or any financial problem, interpersonal problems)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

We are conducting a research to know about the academic and non-academic activities of the students at the educational institutions. You are requested to list all those activities which could be regarded as academic i.e., related to the educational objectives of the students at the university. These activities could be purely academic as well as related to curricular and co-curricular activities. Please also list those activities which, in your opinion, cannot be regarded as academic one. these activities could be of the type which hinder the academic achievements of the students, result in the wastage of their time and has little to do with their intellectual, moral and physical development. We are thankful to you for your cooperation.

Academic Activities:

Non Academic Activities:

(You can use back page as well)

Instructions

National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad is an institution which is engaged in teaching at M.Phil and Ph.D level. Besides, the institute carries out research on various issues and problems related to an individual and society.

The aim of this study is to discover students' problems. These problems could be of different types and may either directly or indirectly affect students' academic environment. We want to gather information about these problems in order to classify them under different categories. For this purpose we need your help. You will be given different sets of statements related to different types of students' problems. You have to indicate the extent to which these statements are relevant or not relevant to that problem category. You are requested to answer these statements in the order these are presented. Before evaluating the statements in each category, please carefully read its instructions. Please, do not leave any statement in any of these categories.

We assure you of the confidentiality of the information given by you and we will use this information only for research purpose.

We are thankful to you for your cooperation.

National Institute of Psychology,
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Index of academic activities

There are various academic activities taking place at the university campus which are related to the educational objectives of the students. These academic activities have been formulated in the form of statements. We are interested in knowing to what extent following themes formulated in the form of statements are characteristic of academic activities as related to a student's life. You are requested to indicate the extent to which these statements are relevant or not relevant as an academic activity to a student's life. Please, put a cross (X) under that alternative following each statement which best represents your opinion. Before evaluating each statement carefully read it.

	Not at all relevant	Relevant to some extent	Relevant to greater extent	Absolutely relevant
1. I participate in Seminars held at my department.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. I consult library for my academic work.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. I go on academic trips arranged by my department.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. I involve myself in research projects being carried out at my department.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. I do my class assignments.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. I participate in class discussion.	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. I attend my classes regularly.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. I take part in essay writing competitions.	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. I visit book fairs held at our campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. I attend conferences related to my subject.	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. I participate in quiz programmes.	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. I attend workshops related to my subject.	_____	_____	_____	_____
13. I attend social gatherings held at the campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Index of non-academic activities

Sometime students are involved in activities which have no relevance to the educational objectives set by an educational institution. These activities may hinder the academic achievements of the students, and result in the wastage of their time called as non-academic activities. These non-academic activities have been formulated in the form of statements. We are interested in knowing to what extent following themes formulated in the form of statements are characteristic of non-academic activities as related to a student's life. You are requested to indicate the extent to which these statements are relevant or not relevant as non-academic activities to a student's life. Please put a cross (X) under that alternative following each statement which best represents your opinion. Before evaluating a statement read it carefully.

	Not at all relevant	Relevant to some extent	Relevant to greater extent	Absolutely relevant
1. I participate in the political activities at the campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. I have friendship with the opposite sex.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. I watch T. V.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. I go to the cinema.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. I take active part in student strikes.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. I wander around just for the sake of fun.	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. I attend musical concerts.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. I go on excursion trips along with my class fellows.	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. I gossip with my friends.	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. I go on hiking or jogging competitions.	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. I read newspaper daily.	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. I spend some of my time in offering prayers.	_____	_____	_____	_____
13. I volunteer my services for my ethnic organization.	_____	_____	_____	_____
14. I visit funfairs.	_____	_____	_____	_____
15. I bunk classes.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Items of social variable of unrest scale

There are various social issues or events which either directly or indirectly influence students' academic environment at the campuses. These social events have been formulated in the form of statements. We are interested in knowing to what extent following themes formulated in the form of statements are characteristic of social events as related to students' life. You are requested to indicate the extent to which these statements are relevant or not relevant as social events to a student's life. Please, put a cross (X) under that alternative for each statement which best represents your opinion. Before evaluating a statement read it carefully.

	Not at all relevant	Relevant to some extent	Relevant to greater extent	Absolutely relevant
1. Student Unions are patronized by political parties.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Students are uncertain about their future.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Class differences in the society lead to conflicts among students.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Different ethnic and political groups secretly support students by providing them with weapons.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. The political instability in our country causes tension among various student organizations.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Present education is purposeless.	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. The current educational policies are ineffective.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. The prevailing corruption in the society has given rise to corruption in our academic institutions.	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. The overall prevailing injustice in the society has damaged the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit.	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. Some teachers have biased attitude towards certain students.	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. Proper religious teachings are lacking in our education.	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. Political parties exploit students to achieve their goals.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Items of environmental variable of unrest scale

There are various environmental issues or events which either directly or indirectly influence students' academic environment at the campuses. These environmental events have been formulated in the form of statements. We are interested in knowing to what extent following themes formulated in the form of statements are characteristic of environmental events as related to students' life. You are requested to indicate the extent to which these statements are relevant or not relevant as environmental events to a student's life. Please, put a cross (X) under that alternative for each statement which best represents your opinion. Before evaluating a statement read it carefully.

	Not at all relevant	Relevant to some extent	Relevant to greater extent	Absolutely relevant
1. Students face residential problems at the campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Innovative course material is lacking for students.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. University administration is ineffective.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. The current examination system is faulty.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Teachers do not provide enough guidance to the students.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Students from feudal backgrounds mobilize other students to demonstrate their power.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Items of psychological variable of unrest scale

There are various psychological issues or events which either directly or indirectly influence students' academic environment at the campuses. These psychological events have been formulated in the form of statements. We are interested in knowing to what extent following themes formulated in the form of statements are characteristic of psychological events as related to students' life. You are requested to indicate the extent to which these statements are relevant or not relevant as psychological events to a student's life. Please put a cross (X) under that alternative for each statement which best represents your opinion. Before evaluating a statement read it carefully.

	Not at all relevant	Relevant to some extent	Relevant to greater extent	Absolutely relevant
1. Majority of the students follow the behaviour of certain student activists.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. The students have little opportunity to express their desires.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. The general frustration prevailing in the society has also frustrated the student community.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Genuine needs of the students are generally ignored by the university administration.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Items of personal variable of unrest scale

There are various personal issues or events which either directly or indirectly influence students' academic environment at the campuses. These personal events have been formulated in the form of statements. We are interested in knowing to what extent following themes formulated in the form of statements are characteristic of personal events as related to students' life. You are requested to indicate the extent to which these statements are relevant or not relevant as personal events to a student's life. Please, put a cross (X) under that alternative for each statement which best represents your opinion. Before evaluating a statement read it carefully.

	Not at all relevant	Relevant to some extent	Relevant to greater extent	Absolutely relevant
1. Majority of the students have financial problems.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Majority of the students are not serious about their studies.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Personal conflicts among the students create many problems at the university campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Antisocial activities of the students are on increase at the campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Parents do not provide guidance to their children.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Non-demanding nature of course work at the post-graduate level provides an opportunity to the students to indulge in student politics.	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. Emotional immaturity of the students is the cause of disturbances at the campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. Students resort to violence to solve their problems.	_____	_____	_____	_____

**Appendix Main Study
(D)**

Instructions

National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad is an institution which is engaged in teaching at M. Phil. and Ph. D. levels. It also carries out researches on various issues and problems related to the individuals and society.

The aim of this study is to know in detail the problems of university students. These problems could be of different types and may also differ from student to student and from situation to situation. The understanding of students' problems under different circumstances will provide us insight into the complexity and multiplicity of these problems at the educational institutions. Your views regarding different social and personal issues affecting the academic life at the campuses will help us in understanding students' perceptions of the problems. Therefore, the information which we are seeking from you includes your likes and dislikes, participation in various activities at the campuses, and your future perspective.

All the above mentioned things have been formulated in the form of statements. A rating scale has been provided beside each statement to enable you to indicate to what extent each statement is applicable or not applicable to you. Furthermore, these statements have been classified into different sections. As the nature of these statements differ from section to section, these are to be answered differently. Therefore, before answering the statements in any of these sections, please carefully read its instructions. You are requested to answer these statements in the order these are presented. **DON'T** leave any of the statements in any of the section unanswered.

As this study is of complex nature, we would like to contact you again. Therefore, we require your particulars. We assure you that the information given by you will be treated as strictly confidential and will be used only for research purposes.

We are thankful to you for your cooperation.

National Institute of Psychology,
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Unrest scale

There are different types of issues or events which either directly or indirectly affect a student's life at the campus. These issues have been formulated in the form of statements. If you agree or disagree with a particular statement then select the appropriate category to indicate the extent of this agreement or disagreement. Please, put a cross (X) under that alternative following each statement which best represents your opinion about it. Before evaluating a statement read it carefully.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undeci- ded	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	The students have little opportunity to express their desires.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	Student Unions are patronized by political parties.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	The prevailing corruption in the society has given rise to corruption in our academic institutions.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	Students face residential problems at the campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	Genuine needs of the students are generally ignored by the university administration.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6.	Majority of the students are not serious about their studies.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7.	Innovative course material is lacking for students.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.	University administration is ineffective.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9.	The general frustration prevailing in the society has also frustrated the student community.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10.	Majority of the students have financial problems.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11.	The current educational policies are ineffective.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12.	Students are uncertain about their future.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undeci- ded	Agree	Strongly Agree
13.	The overall prevailing injustice in the society has damaged the confidence of students to compete on the basis of merit.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
14.	Present education is purposeless.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
15.	The political instability in our country causes tension among various student organizations.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
16.	Students resort to violence to solve their problems.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
17.	Some teachers have biased attitude towards certain students.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
18.	Different ethnic groups and political parties secretly support students by providing them with weapons.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
19.	Proper religious teachings are lacking in our education.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
20.	The current examination system is faulty.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
21.	Non-demanding nature of course work at the post-graduate level provides an opportunity to the students to indulge in student politics.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
22.	Political parties exploit students to achieve their goals.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
23.	Emotional immaturity of the students is the cause of disturbances at the campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Measure of Importance of Unrest Variables

Now we would like to ask you to analyze a situation of "Student Unrest" (e. g., strikes, boycotting classes, demonstrations, violence etc.) at your campus with the help of these 23 issues related to students' life. Which four major issues do you think would contribute towards "Student Unrest". Please, go through these issues quickly and list only four major ones in the following:-

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

Now arrange these according to their importance towards "Student Unrest" in such a manner that the most important one comes at the top, followed by the second most important and so on.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

Index of Academic Activities

There are different activities going on at the campuses. These activities have been formulated in the form of statements. You are requested to put a cross (X) under that alternative which can best indicate the extent of your participation in that activity. Before evaluating a statement carefully read it.

	Never	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
1. I participate in seminars held at my department.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. I consult library for my academic work.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. I go on academic trips arranged by my department.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. I do my class assignments.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. I participate in class discussion.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. I attend my classes regularly.	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. I attend conferences related to my subject.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. I attend workshops related to my subject.	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. I attend social gatherings held at the campus.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Personal Information Questionnaire

PE() No. _____

Name: _____

Departement/Institution: _____

Age: _____

Sex: _____

Monthly income of parents: _____

Division obtained in:

Matric: _____ F. A./F. Sc.: _____ B. A./B. Sc.: _____

Where are you living at present?

Home: _____ Hostel: _____ Relatives/Friends: _____

Father's Education: _____

Father's Occupation: _____

Mother's Education: _____

Mother's Occupation (if any): _____

To which organization of students do you belong? _____