

CHAPTER - V.

Membership, Sympathy and Participation.

Introduction:

5.1 Political liberty is practically synonymous with democracy. It authorises citizens to share in the expression of the State's will and in the administration of its government. Democratic government means, in practice, a representative government, and a representative government is basically a party government. Party organisation is a natural and inevitable adjunct of government. Party has come to cover the field and affect the working of politics. Thus, the exercise of political liberty on the part of citizens is tantamount to a participation in party affairs.

5.2 This Chapter is planned to consider students' membership of parties, trade unions, and students' unions. An attempt is made to screen their sympathies for them, and also to reveal their participation in party activities. This will elucidate their political alignments, and disclose too their involvement in politics.

Membership of Party.

5.3 I have not made any distinction between cadre parties, devotee parties, and mass parties. The word 'party' is synonymous with mass party. The recruiting of members is a fundamental activity, from both the political and financial standpoints. Members are the very substance of a party, the stuff of its activity. Without members, a party would be like a school without pupils. Parties untiringly strive to

enroll maximum number of citizens as members, and use every ounce of their energy and spark of intelligence to gain their sympathies, and persuade them to participate in their manifold activities.

5.4 Table No.49 gives the distribution of the sample according to faculty and sex (males). Active and passive membership is also treated in this table. Out of 761 males, 16.55%, and of the 150 females, 4.00% (Not shown in table) are members of parties. It is quite explicit that parties, in their bid to register maximum number of members, do not spare student community. It is deplorable that they have unscrupulously infiltrated in student community in order to serve their political designs. It appears that students, at least some, fall prey to their winning and vigorous propaganda. It would not be presumptuous to say that parties should conscientiously keep their hands off students in the larger interest of our infant democracy. A low percentage of student members is not contrary to usual experience because it is a common observation that students are not members of parties in large number. A meagre percentage of female members is symbolic of their moderate interest in party politics. It goes without saying that males have comparatively more interest in party politics than females.

5.5 A detailed break-down of the table shows membership of males party-wise. I have considered below the percentages of the members in the descending order. Out of the 126 male and of the 6 female members (Not shown in table), the high percentage of the males (50.00%) and the females



(33.33%) is member of the Congress party. This at once parades how the Congress party is very popular among students. It would not be absurd to say that it is only the Congress party that commands the sizable backing of students. Evidently, it is not as much popular among females as among males. Next to the Congress party, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has 13.49% of the male members, and 16.66% of the female members on its roll. It is an indisputable proof that student community is not insensitive to burning problems of the day. It is alive to political happenings. Obviously, it is not a passive spectator but an active participant in current affairs. It may be noted that the Samiti has succeeded more in its appeal to females than to males. The Peasants and Workers party rallies round its banner 11.90% of the male members. It is apparent that this party does not seem to enjoy the confidence of females, as not a single female reports that she is a member of it. It is interesting to note that the P.S.P. lives more on the support of females than that of males. It has 3.17% of the male members and 33.33% of the female members. It is a surprise that the Socialist party does not have any male member. All the same, it is obliged by 16.66% of the female members. It is superfluous to point out that the Socialist party has a 'fair' support only. It may be said that the Socialism of the P.S.P. and the Socialist party does not seem to have a strong appeal to students. The Jan Sangh is patronised by 6.34% of the male members only. It has no female member. The Republican

party of India has 5.55% of the male members but has no female member. It is a revelation that Napoleonic efforts of the Communist party could net only 3.17% of the male members. It has no female member. The Swatantra party is favoured by 2.38% of the male members. It has no female member. The Lal Nishan Gat fares miserably as it has 0.79% of the male members. On the whole, non-response to this question is almost negligible because only 1.58% of the male members have not specified any party. In the end, it may be observed that it is only the Congress party that is very popular among both males and females. The Socialist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Muslim League are devoid of the patronage of any males; while the Communist party, the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party, the Lal Nishan Gat, and the Muslim League are ostracised by female members. This unequivocally discloses the position of these parties among both males and females. From the above analysis of party-wise membership it is broadly inferable that Centralist parties: the Congress party, the P.S.P. and the Socialist party, have the highest percentage of members 53.17% of the male members and 82.32% of the female members. Leftist parties: the Communist party, the Republican party of India, the Lal Nishan Gat, and the Peasants and Workers party, have 21.41% of the male members only. Rightist parties: the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra party, have 8.72% of the male members only on their rolls. Thus, it is the Centralist parties which are most popular among both males and

females. All the same, it may be pointed out that they are more popular among females. Both the leftist and rightist parties appear to have been discredited by females. It would not be out of place if it is commented that there is not much of danger from the rightist parties to our infant democracy as from the leftist.

Membership: Active & Passive.

5.6 Only in mass parties there is any formal machinery of enrolment, including the signing of an undertaking and the payment of a subscription. In fact, two kinds of enrolment can be distinguished: open and restricted. I have not treated them as they do not have relevance to our purpose. Within parties four concentric circles of participation exist: electors, supporters, 'caucus-men', and militants. Relations between these circles are not deliberately examined. However, I have treated militants and supporters separately. Militants are active members: they constitute the nucleus of each party's basic groups, on which its fundamental activities depend. The other members who do no more than provide a name for the register and a little money for the chest, are passive members.

5.7 Out of the 126 male members, 26.19% and 73.81%; and of the 6 female members, 16.66% and 83.34% are active and passive members respectively. It is needless to mention that the percentage of active members is lower than the percentage of passive members. Within the branch, for example, there is always to be found a small circle of members, markedly different from the mass, who regularly attend meetings,

share in the spreading of the party's slogans, help to organise its propaganda, and prepare its electoral campaigns. It should be recorded that the percentage of active male members (26.19%) is higher than the percentage of active female members (16.66%). It clearly means that males have more interest in active politics than females. It is perceptible that the P.S.P., the Socialist party, and the Communist party do not have active male members. In the remaining parties, the number of passive members is consistently larger than the number of active members. The Congress party has the largest number of active male members (19). Out of 6 female members, 5 are passive members and one who is an active member belongs to the Congress party.

5.8 A faculty-wise consideration of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male members (28.95%) is from the Post-graduate Classes. It convincingly means that males of the Post-graduate classes have more interest in party politics than their counterparts in other faculties. It is indeed a revelation that those prosecuting higher studies relish party politics; hence, the charge that educated ~~had~~ and especially highly educated people do not take^{to} politics seems to be empty. It is intriguing that males of the Law faculty (21.05% of members) evince less interest in party politics than males of the Post-graduate classes and of the Arts faculty (22.30% of the male members). The Commerce and Agriculture faculties have 17.94% and 17.64% of the male members respectively. The lowest percentage of the male members is from the Science faculty (7.11%). It means males of the

Science faculty have least interest in party politics. This may, I should believe, be attributed to their being primarily career-minded.

It is apparent that out of the 6 female members (Not shown in table), 5 belong to the Arts faculty, and one is from the Commerce faculty. It goes without saying that females of the Arts faculty have more interest in party politics than females of other faculties. It is plain that females of the Science and Agriculture faculties and of the Post-graduate classes are not members of any party. It is, therefore, inferable that they do not seem to have interest in party politics.

5.9 Table No.50 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 18.45% and of the 472 urban students, 10.38% are members of parties. How clear it is that rural students evince more interest in party politics than urban students. This is indeed astounding because cities are supposed to be the centres of party activities. They appear to have ceased to stimulate students to participate in party politics. It may be said that party politics has changed the venue of its activities. Rural areas seem to have become the target of party attention.

A further examination of the table shows that the percentage of the active members (30.60%) from urban places is higher than the percentage of the active members (23.37%) from rural areas. Naturally, the percentage of the passive members (76.26%) from rural areas is higher than the per-

tage of the passive members (69.36%) from urban places. It may be observed that though some students are members of parties, a large number of them from both rural and urban places can-not afford to be active members; they remain content with being passive members only.

5.10 A castewise treatment of the table demonstrates that some students of every caste from rural and urban places are members of parties. Thus, membership of parties is not markedly governed by the caste of students. It means party politics is a grazing ground for all. It is not the monopoly of any one caste. All the same, it must be placed on record that a Neo-Buddhist student from rural areas, and Gujars, etc. from urban places report that they are not members of any party. The case of a Neo-Buddhist student is peculiar one for he appears to be politically non-aligned. Gujars, etc. from urban places do not seem to have interest in party politics. It is observable that the percentages of rural members from every caste are almost consistently higher than the percentages of urban members from every caste. It could be said that students of every caste from rural areas are more interested in party politics than students of every caste from urban places. It is unequivocally plain that the lowest percentage of members is from Brahmins and others: 7.04% of the rural members and 6.89% of the urban members. It may be generalised that Brahmins and others appear to have least interest in party politics; or it may be said that they are gradually retreating from party politics; and 'the power vacuum' is being occupied by the non-Brahmins and others as is obvious from their comparatively higher percentages.

Further, it may be pointed out in particular that the percentages of Brahmins and other from both ~~and~~ rural and urban places are lower than the percentages of Marathas from both rural (20.89%) and urban (11.51%) areas. It evidently means that Marathas have more interest in party politics than Brahmins and others. In the end, it is encouraging to observe that the percentages of members of the minority communities from both rural and urban areas: Jains, Lingayats, Backwards and Scheduled Castes, Muslims, and Christians are fairly high. It is a matter of pride that they do not suffer from any inhibitions but dauntlessly associate themselves with party politics. Indian democracy deserves warm compliments for this phenomenal development.

5.11 Table No.51 deals with party-wise membership of students from both rural and urban places. I have considered below the percentages of students in the descending order. Out of the 81 rural members, and of the 49 urban members the highest percentage of members - 51.87% of the rural members and 46.94% of the urban members - belongs to the Congress party. This discovers the top popularity of the Congress party among students. However, it must be mentioned that it is not as much popular among urban students as among rural students. It means policies of the Congress party are better appreciated by rural students than by urban students. The Peasants and Workers party attracts more members from rural areas (16.05%) than from urban places (4.08%). It may be concluded that this party is not popular among urban students to the extent to which it is among rural students. It may, further, be inferred that this party seems to appeal only to

peasants, and Workers from rural areas. It obviously means that it lives largely on the support of rural places. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has 9.88% of rural members and 20.41% of urban students on its roll. Evidently, the Samiti was actively responded by both rural as well as urban students. But it is apparently not as much popular among rural students as among urban students. It may be said that urban students are more susceptible to burning problems; and thereby, more appreciative of the stance of the Samiti than rural students; or activities of the Samiti seem to have been confined mainly to urban places. The Republican party of India seems to live principally on the support of rural students as it has 8.64% of the rural members only. It appears that this party does not enjoy the confidence of its urban followers. It is worth noting that the Jan Sangh has more members from rural areas (7.41%) than from urban places (4.08%). Evidently it is more popular among rural students than among urban students. The P.S.P. is obliged by 1.23% of the rural members and 8.16% of the urban members. It obviously means that it is more popular among urban students than among rural students. As is observable that the Communist Party appeals more to urban dwellers than to rural people. This is borne out from the membership it has from rural (1.23%) and urban (6.12%) places. The Swatantra party has 1.23% of the rural members and 4.08% of the urban members. Clearly, it is more popular among urban areas than among rural places. It is interesting to notice that the Socialist party has 4.08% of the urban members only. It means it is not in the good books of rural members. The Lal Nishan Gat has 1.23% of the rural

members only, in spite of the fact that its activities are largely restricted to urban places. The Hindu Mahasabha does not have any member from rural as well as urban places. In the overall context, it may be observed that Centralist parties: the Congress party, the P.S.P. and the Socialist party have the highest percentage of members from both rural (53.10%) and urban (59.18%) places. This at once indicates their top-most popularity among students. However, they are more popular among urban students than among rural students. Leftist parties: the Communist party, the Lal Nishan Gat, the Peasants and Workers party and the Republican party of India have been patronised by 27.15% of the rural members and 10.20% of the urban members. How convincing it is that they are more popular among rural students than among urban students! It may be said that leftist parties are trying to turn rural areas into another breeding ground. Rightist parties: the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Swatantra party and the Muslim League have attracted 8.64% of the rural members and 8.16% of the urban members. It is apparent that they are almost as much popular among rural students as among urban students. On the whole, their performance is miserable in both rural as well as urban areas.

Reasons for Membership.

5.12 It would be instructive to study the reasons that have prompted 16.55% of males and 4.00% of females to enrol themselves as party members. In all, I have offered nine reasons to students: personal benefit, suggested by elders, persuaded by friends, forced by party, attracted by party programme, to get job in future, influenced by the personality of the lea-

ders in party, Social work, and other. It may be mentioned that the reasons for active and passive membership are not considered separately, and the reasons advanced by ^{the} male and female members are not shown in the table.

5.13 Out of the 124 male members and of the 6 female members the highest percentage of the males (63.71%) and the females (50.00%) has become member because of the 'party programme'. This immediately demonstrates that the majority of students value party programme more than anything else. It means the first and foremost factor that weighs upon the minds of students is party programme. It is indeed commendable that the large number of students do bother party programmes before registering themselves as members. This, further, indicates that the majority of students are in the know of party programmes and are not markedly influenced by the personality of leaders. This obviously means that they do not suffer from the sheep-mentality or personality cult. Plainly, females are not as much motivated by the consideration of party programme as males. It is interesting and instructive to place on the record that 54.84% of the male and 33.33% of the female members have been party members in order to do 'Social Work'. These students have identified social work with party work, and seem to be under the impression that by associating themselves with parties, they could be more useful to society. It may be inferred that party activities have come to occupy the whole of our life, as social work and party affairs are made inseparable by them. However, this fusion should be deprecated, and the unholy alliance of social work and party activities should

be divorced in the larger interest of society. Obviously, females do not believe as much in social work as males. It is clearly perceptible that 23.38% of the male and 16.66% of the female members have registered themselves as members on account of the 'influence of the personality of leaders'. This unequivocally reveals that the personality of leaders matters considerably in politics. However, it may be said that joining party sheer by the influence of the personality of leaders is not at all encouraging, and, in the long run, this would deteriorate the health of democracy. It is a pleasant surprise that the personality of leaders hypnotizes more males than females. The primary consideration of 7.25% of the male members in joining parties is the 'personal benefit'. It is inferable that the association with party brings in some personal gains. It is unfortunate that parties are made a means impolitically to yield personal gains. Thus it is deducible that party politics is turned into a lucrative profession by some. On whatever scale it is practised, it is undoubtedly deprecatory. Further, it would not create devoted party workers but the Commercial army of self-seekers which would eventually imperil democracy. It is striking to note in this context that 4.83% of the male members report that they have enrolled themselves as party members in order to "secure service in future". Obviously, these students have the impression that the associations with parties will enable them to get job in future. If this is the case, it should be denounced and renounced otherwise it would demoralise and debilitate the public administration in the long run, and people would come to distrust and discard Public Service Com-

missions. At the same time, it must be regretted that parties stoop very low to attract members in this fashion.

4.03% of the male members state that they are 'persuaded into becoming party members by their friends'. It means politically indoctrinated students can prevail on their friends, and eventually help raise the membership of their party, or it may be remarked that the docility of some students can be exploited by some politic friends. It is very much disgusting and discouraging that 3.22% of the male members are simply 'forced to join parties'. This is another instance of how parties could unscrupulously stoop to 'conquer' members.

This anti-democratic practice should be stamped out once for all. It is worth noting that 2.41% of the male members confess that they have become party members 'at the suggestion of their elders' who seem to be politically aligned and awake, and, therefore, desire that their wards should too follow their political creed! Thus, in case of some students, politics begins at home.

Reasons For Non-Membership.

5.14 It would be very much in the fitness of things to investigate the reasons that have dissuaded 83.43% of males and 96.00% of females from registering themselves as party members. I have presented eleven reasons to students: lack of time, elders not permitting, friends not members, dislike for party regimentation, minor, fear of being branded as party man, fear of not getting government service, no attempts on the part of parties to make members, belief in non-party politics, disbelief in democracy and other.

5.15 Table No.52 gives the distribution of the reasons for non-membership according to sex. I have treated below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. Out of the 637 male non-members, and of the 144 female non-members the highest percentage of the males (42.54%) and the females (57.64%) has refused to become party member because they 'dislike party regimentation'. It clearly means that they refuse to give up their personal independence. It is a matter of pride and pleasure that they highly prize their individuality and ~~by~~ therefore refuse to enter the ranks of a party. Further, it must be placed on record that they are aware of regimentation in a party. It is a strongly held view among educated people that party regimentation is detrimental to individuality. There, may, however, be some who being intoxicated, as it were with the community spirit, throw themselves body and soul into collective action with a frenzied abandonment of individuality, which itself is an evidence of both a marked degree of mental instability and a certain desire for moral masochism. It is interesting to observe that females value their individuality more than males. It is worth noting that 34.22% of the male and 31.25% of the female non-members state that they are not members because of 'lack of time'. They seem to be conscientious students as entering the ranks of a party would prevent them from dedicating to their studies. This certainly does not mean ^{that} they do not believe in party politics. I should say that they desire to remain outside the real party community as they may consider their 'profession' incompatible with any over-rigorous commitment. Males are more particular about this than females. 29.91% of

the male and 22.22% of the female non-members express their regret that they are not party members because of their "minority". It obviously means that in the heart of hearts there is a desire to become party members on the part of those students. However, it must be said that what has actually come in their way of enrolling as party members is essentially a lack of general knowledge because minority is not considered scrupulously as a barrier to enter the ranks of party. This is more true of males than females. There are 11.30% of the male and 4.17% of the female non-members who are not members because they "believe in non-party politics". Apparently, they have come to distrust party politics; hence they switch over to "partyless" politics. It is inferable that the present party politics has nauseated these students. Therefore, they have unequivocally expressed their "no-confidence" in party politics; hence they have turned their back on it. Males have more such experience than females. 8.00% of the male and 11.80% of the female non-members are "not-permitted by their elders" to become party members. Naturally, these elders may be considered as politically neutral, or it may be said that they have some unpleasant experience of party politics; therefore, they do not suffer their wards to join party. It is quite natural that the percentage of female non-members is higher than that of male non-members because females are always imposed more societal taboos than males. Political immaturity becomes crystal clear when 6.12% of the male and 10.42% of the female non-members report irresponsibly that they are not members because their "friends are not members". By the by, it is worth commenting that friendship does influ-

ence the political behaviour of some to some extent. This is more true of females than males. It appears to be the experience of 6.12% of the male and 0.61% of the female non-members that the membership of party causes harm and hardship; hence they do not register as party members "for fear of being branded as party man". This is indeed deplorable that the association with certain party should become a handicap, and a cause for fright. On the other hand, it must be stated confidently that Indian Constitution authorises citizens not only to constitute associations but also to associate with them. Males are more afraid of being branded as party men than females. It is curious that 4.08% of the male and 0.69% of the female non-members accuse parties of "their failure to enrol them as party members". It distinctly means that these males and females would have registered as party members had the parties made serious attempts. Apparently, they believe in party politics but appear to be conceited as they long for being solicited by parties. Males suffer more from this complex than females. There are 3.45% of the male and 0.69% of the female non-members who are indisputably career-minded as they state that "party membership would come in their way of getting public service in future". This is an illustration of how some students are particular to get into civil service. It is deducible that they are not against party politics but they keep aloof from it in order that their chances to get into public office should not be marred. As expected, females are not as much career-minded as males. 2.66% of the male and 2.78% of the female non-members have expressed their "disbelief in democracy"; therefore, they refuse to be party members. Democratically, these stu-

dents should be inculcated in the values of democracy and especially of party democracy in comparison with other systems of government. There is no marked difference between the percentages of male non-members and female non-members. It may be observed in the end that the large number of males and females are not members because of "lack of time", "dislike for party regimentation", and "minority". Further, in the overall context, one is led to generalise that the ~~rea-~~^{diffi-}~~culties~~^{=later} reasons advanced by the non-members are not insurmountable; therefore, it would not be incongruous to maintain that had the difficulties mentioned above by non-members been removed, they would have entered the ranks of party. Thus, the students are not opposed to party membership on principle.

Sympathy For Party.

5.16 Citizens may or may not be members of a party but they may have sympathy for a certain party. The sympathisers are something more than electors and something less than members. Like electors, they give the party their votes, but they do not limit themselves to that alone. They are in agreement with the party; they show their political preferences. However, their relationship with the party have not been consecrated by the official and formal bonds of a signed undertaking and a regular subscription. It was considered very much pertinent to tap the political sympathies of students in order to discover whether they are politically neutral or alert. Further, this would also spotlight their political inclinations.

5.17 Table Nos.53 and 54 give the distribution of the sample

according to sex and faculty. Out of the 761 males, 81.47% and of the 150 females, 66.03% have sympathies for parties. It is evident that the majority of students are neither politically indifferent, nor neutral, but quite alive. It is convincing to maintain that they are conversant with party ideologies and programmes; otherwise they would not have been in position to indicate their sympathies for parties. Obviously, they have the necessary political know-how to extend their sympathies to political parties. A comparatively lower percentage of females is demonstrative of their moderate interest in party affairs.

5.18 A close examination of the tables reveals that out of the 620 male sympathisers, 29.68% and 70.32%; and of the 99 females sympathisers, 61.62% and 38.38%, have sympathies for one party and for more than one party respectively. Sympathy for more than one party is no surprise at all because in our country there are more than one rightist, centralist, and leftist party; hence sympathies of these students for more than one party should not be viewed as symbolic of their political immaturity and ignorance. All the same, it would not be presumptuous to hope that sympathies of 70.32% of the male and 38.38% of the female sympathisers would be definitized before long for one party. It is evident that sympathies of 29.68% of the male and 61.62% of the female sympathisers have been positively crystallised for one party. Being resolutely aligned with and loyal to one party, these males and females do not entertain preferential considerations for more than one party. They have come to like and love one and only one party. It is striking that sympathies of females are more definitized for

one party than sympathies of males. This may be attributed to their unflinching faithfulness to "one party".

5.19 A detailed break-up of the tables shows sympathies of males and females for one party. I have considered below their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 184 male and of the 61 female sympathisers for one party the highest percentage of the males (51.63%) and the females (52.45%) has sympathy for the Congress party. This at once and indubitably discloses the top-most popularity of the Congress party among students. The Socialism of the Congress party seems to have a strong appeal to student community. It is plain that it is slightly more popular among females than among males. It may be noted with interest that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti enjoys sympathies of 11.95% of the male and 24.58% of the female sympathisers. This signifies how the student community is alive to burning issues. It is needless to mention that the Samyukta Maharashtra Sam Movement is more appreciated and responded to by females than males. The P.S.P. attracts the sympathies of 8.15% of the male and 1.64% of the female sympathisers. Evidently the P.S.P. is more popular among males than among females. The Communist party has sympathies of 5.98% of the male and 3.28% of the female sympathisers. It is astonishing that this party has both meagre number of members and sympathisers, considering its dynamic appeal to indiscreet youth. Apparently, it is more liked by males than by females. The Peasants and Workers party could attract 5.98% of the male and 8.20% of the female sympathisers. It is pleasant that the Peasants and Workers party enjoys sympathies of females more than that of males.

All the same, it may be said, that the Peasants and Workers party gets only the sympathies of females, but not their membership. There are 5.43% of the male and 3.28% of the female sympathisers who extend their sympathies to the Jan Sangh. Evidently, it is preferred more by males than by females. It would not be out of place if it is disclosed that not a single female has entered the ranks of the Jan Sangh. The Socialist party attracts the sympathies of 4.35% of the male and 3.28% of the female sympathisers. It should be a matter of pleasure for the Socialist party that if it has no male member, it has at least, male sympathisers. Thus, in matters of sympathies, the Socialist party wins the confidence of males more than that of females. The Swatantra party attracts the sympathies of 1.63% of the male sympathisers only. It is convincing that this party has miserably failed in its appeal to females for none of them has sympathies for it. It is distinctly noticeable that the Republican party of India has 1.08% of the male sympathisers only. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Lal Nishan Gat have 0.54% of the only male sympathisers each; while the Hindu Mahasabha has 3.28% of the female sympathisers. The Lal Nishan Gat has none. It is quite conspicuous that the Muslim League does not have sympathies of either males or females. In the overall context, it is discernible that number of the male sympathisers for one party broadly corresponds to the number of party members. Centralist parties: the Congress party, the P.S.P. and the S.P. have sympathies of the highest percentage of male (64.13%) and female (57.37%) sympathisers. Leftist parties: the Com-

munist party, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party, and the Lal Nishan Gat enjoy sympathies of 13.58% of the male and 11.48% of the female sympathisers. Rightist parties: the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Swatantra party get sympathies of 7.60% of the male and 6.56% of the female sympathisers. It is superfluous to point out that only the Centralist parties are popular among the majority of students. It is evident that even in the matter of sympathies both rightist and leftist parties fare badly, and especially the rightist parties. The consistently lower percentages of females demonstrate that they are not as much sympathetic towards party politics as males. It may be observed in the end that rightist and leftist parties do not pose a danger to Indian democracy, at least presently.

5.20 A faculty-wise treatment of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male sympathisers is from the Post-graduate classes (98.68%). How clear it is that the males of the Post-graduate classes have more interest in party affairs than their counterparts in other faculties. It is gratifying that those prosecuting higher studies are politically alive and alert. Next to the Post-graduate classes the males of the Law faculty (84.16%) have sympathies for parties. It is interesting to record that the males of the Law faculty have less interest in party affairs than the males of the Post-graduate classes. The males of the Arts faculty (82.87%), and the Commerce faculty (82.69%) seem almost unanimous in their sympathies for parties. The percentage of the male sympathisers from the Science faculty is 77.85%. It shows

their comparatively moderate interest in party politics. The lowest percentage of the male sympathisers (76.44%) is from the Agriculture faculty. This obviously indicates their comparatively least interest in party affairs but it may be remarked that their moderate interest in party politics may be attributed to their age; after all they are the students of the First Year B.Sc. Agriculture.

In respect of females, it is explicit that the percentages of the female sympathisers from the Arts and Science faculties and the Post-graduate classes are lower than the percentages of the male sympathisers from these faculties; while the percentages of the female sympathisers of the Commerce and Agriculture faculties are higher than the percentages of the male sympathisers from these faculties but the number of the females in these faculties is so meagre that their percentages should not be compared with those of the males of these faculties. Therefore, it may be observed that males of every faculty have more sympathies for parties than females of every faculty. It follows from this that males from every faculty, are politically more alert and alive than females of every faculty.

It is noticeable that the percentage of the female sympathisers (75.00%) from the Post-graduate classes is higher than the percentages of the female sympathisers from the Arts (66.97%) and Science (54.91%) faculties. It is needless to mention that cent per cent of the females of the Commerce and Agriculture faculties have sympathies for parties. The lowest percentage of the female sympathisers from the Science

faculty may be ascribed to their moderate interest in party politics.

In the end, two observations can be made; first, the Congress party alone gets sympathies of almost largest number of males and females from every faculty, and, secondly, sympathies for parties are not markedly governed by faculty as is obvious from the considerably high ~~er~~ percentages of sympathisers from every faculty.

5.21 Table Nos.55 and 56 give the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students 85.20% and of the 472 urban students, 73.10% have sympathies for parties. How encouraging and explicit it is that the majority of rural and urban students do extend their sympathies to parties. It obviously means that they are in the know of party positions; otherwise, they would not have been in position to express their sympathies for parties. Secondly, it may be said that they are alive to party politics. It goes without saying that the higher percentage of rural students may be attributed to their political interest and knowledge. This is indeed startling that even in respect of sympathies, the percentage of rural students is higher than that of urban students. One is, therefore, driven to infer that the political interest of urban students is gradually on the wane; while that of rural students is on the increase. This phenomenon may largely explain the transfer of political scene from urban places to rural areas.

5.22 A close scrutiny of the tables discloses that out of the 374 rural sympathisers, 27.27% and 72.73%; and of the 345

urban sympathisers, 41.45% and 58.55% have sympathies for one party, and for more than one party respectively. It is seen sympathies of 27.27% of the rural sympathisers, and 41.45% of the urban sympathisers have been decidedly definitized for one party. It means these students owe allegiance to one party, and they do not have preferential considerations, for more than one party. All the same, it must be mentioned that this decisiveness is to be found more among urban students than among rural students.

5.23 A detailed break-down of the tables reveals sympathies of rural and urban students for one party. I have treated below the percentages of the rural and the urban sympathisers in the descending order. Out of the 102 rural and of the 143 sympathisers for one party the highest percentage of, rural (57.84%) and urban (47.55%) ~~in~~ sympathisers have sympathies for the Congress party. This instantly parades how the Congress party alone is at the pinnacle of its popularity among both rural as well as urban students. However, it may be placed on record that the Congress party is more popular among rural students than among urban students. It is undoubtedly instructive to know that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti attracts sympathies of urban students (20.28%) more than that of rural students (7.84%). Thus, it may be inferred that the demand of the Samiti could not command ~~the~~ sympathies of rural areas to the extent of sympathies of urban places; or it may be remarked that the stand of the Samiti is not as much understood and appreciated by rural places as by urban areas. In any case it may be generalised that rural areas are not totally

indifferent towards the burning issues of the day. The Peasants and Workers party attracts sympathies of more rural students (8.82%) than urban students (4.89%). This explicitly means that its appeal is better felt by rural students than by urban students; it may be said that the activities of the party seem to have primarily confined to rural areas. The P.S.P. gets sympathies of 7.84% of the rural sympathisers and 5.59% of the urban sympathisers. Thus, it enjoys the confidence of rural students more than that of urban students. Further, it may be inferred that this party appears to have been striving to popularise its position among rural areas. The Socialist party secures sympathies of 4.90% of the rural sympathisers and 3.49% of the urban sympathisers. It is slightly more popular among rural areas than among urban places. It is worth noticing that the Communist party attracts the sympathies of urban students (6.99%) more than that of rural students (2.94%). In the first place, it may be commented that, on the whole the Communist party, in spite of its herculean efforts at infiltrating into students, gets sympathies of few of them. Secondly, its activities seem to be largely restricted to urban places; or it may be that its position is not as much appreciated by rural students as by urban students. In this context, it would be worth while to expose the position of the Lal Nishan Gat which fares miserably bad. It has only sympathies of 0.98% of the rural sympathisers. Thus it may be maintained that it fails to win sympathies of urban students. Truly speaking, it has almost been ostracised by

both rural and urban students. The Jan Sangh is obliged by 1.96% of the rural sympathisers and 6.99% of the urban sympathisers. It is plain that this party is more popular among urban places than among rural areas. The Hindu Mahasabha has sympathies of 0.98% of the rural sympathisers and 1.39% of the urban sympathisers. Obviously, this party is almost doomed in both rural and urban places. It is a revelation that the Republican party of India gets sympathies of rural students only (2.94%). It is intriguing as to what has dissuaded urban dwellers from even extending their sympathies for this party. The Swatantra party lives on the sympathies of urban students only (1.39%). It has no sympathisers from rural areas. Thus this party appears to have failed in its appeal to rural students. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that Centralist parties: the Congress party, the P.S.P., and the Socialist party are most popular among both rural and urban places. However, it may be mentioned that they are more popular among rural areas (70.58% of the sympathisers) than among urban areas (56.63% of the sympathisers). Rightist and leftist parties have meagre percentages of the sympathisers from both rural as well as urban places. Rightist parties: the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh are less popular among rural students (2.94% of the sympathisers) than leftist parties: the Communist party, the Lal Nishan Gat, the Peasants and Workers party and the Republican party of India (15.68% of the rural sympathisers); while rightist parties: the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra party; are more popular among urban

students (11.75% of the sympathisers) than leftist parties: the Communist party and the Peasants and Workers party (4.89% of the sympathisers).

5.24 A castewise treatment of the tables shows that the high percentage of rural and urban students of every caste has sympathies for parties. It means sympathies of students are not governed by caste. It follows from this that all castes are politically alive and alert as they indicate their sympathies for parties. It is superfluous to mention that party politics is no longer the exclusive preserve of one caste. It has become a breeding ground for one and all castes. A glance at the tables conveys that the percentages of rural students of every caste are almost higher than the percentages of urban students of every caste. It means all castes in rural areas are politically more alive and alert than their counterparts in urban places. By the by it is worth mentioning that the percentages of Backward and Scheduled Castes from rural (90.48%) and urban (100.00%) places are the highest. This at once discovers the political awakening among these Castes. Further, it is a wonder that Neo-Buddhist student, who is a case of non-response through and through, for the first time, departs from his political neutrality and expresses his sympathies for the Republican party of India. The comparatively lower percentages of the rural and urban sympathisers are from Christians (80.00%) and Muslims (58.33%) respectively.

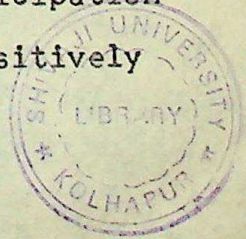
A close look at the tables demonstrates that only the Congress party transcends the caste barriers except those of

Backward and Scheduled castes, and Neo-Buddhists. It is intriguing that these castes ~~should~~ supremely ostracise the Congress party. Further, it is seen that some parties get sympathies of particular caste only. Therefore, they may be branded as communal parties without any exaggeration and prejudice. The Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha get sympathies of Brahmins and others only; while ^{the} Republican party of India is obliged by Neo-Buddhists and Backward and Scheduled castes; and the Peasants and Workers party enjoys sympathies of non-Brahmins only. Obviously, these parties have come to be identified with definite castes; hence they should be banished from our public life to make India safe for the healthy democracy. The unholy alliance of caste with politics is deprecatory, even cancerous. Therefore, we should destroy once for all this illicit relation of caste with politics with all the might we command; otherwise our infant democracy will be devoured by casteism and communalism.

Participation In Party Activities.

5.25 Victory is the first law of politics, and to this and all other laws are subordinated. The party organisation operates incessantly, partly because victory in parliamentary elections is otherwise impossible, but also because in the modern state there are many local elective offices to fill. So the organisation, the machine, the caucus, the workers are always on the watch for movements of their opponents, and for the opportunity to "swing" over blocks of votes.

It is deliberately proposed to study the participation of students in party activities in order to learn positively



not only their involvement but also their political affiliations. It will, further, reveal to what extent members, non-members, and sympathisers take part in party activities.

5.26 Table Nos.57 and 58 deal with the participation in party activities according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 47.69% and of the 150 females, 17.33% participate in the activities of the parties. How crystal clear it is that almost half of the males, and one-fifth of the females are active participants in the activities of parties. It is deplorable that these students actively associate themselves with parties, and parties in their turn, ~~should~~ suffer them to do so. It may obviously be generalised that parties in their grand design to seize power, get the sizable support from student community. It is earnestly to be admonished that this political cohabitation should be proscribed forthwith in order to save Indian democracy. Participation of citizens in active politics is very much democratic but that of student community is incontestably anti-democratic; hence all parties should once for all resolve that they will never have any intercourse with students. It is noticeable that females are not involved in active party politics to the extent to which males. All the same, it appears that females are not restricting themselves to "hearth" alone but gradually taking to "field" also.

5.27

	Members	Participants	Sympathisers
Males	16.55%	47.69%	81.47%
Females	4.00%	17.33%	66.03%

On the whole, it is seen from the chart that the percentages of the male and female sympathisers are higher than the percentages of the male and female members and participants. Thus, a large number of males and females choose to be sympathisers. The percentages of the male and female participants should not be underestimated for a glance at the chart will convince that they also form a sizable number. As expected the percentages of the male and female members are lowest comparatively. Obviously, few students afford to be party members. Further, it is explicit, that the percentages of ^{the} female members, participants, and sympathisers are consistently and markedly lower than those of males. This may, therefore, be viewed as symbolic of their moderate interest in party politics. However, it may be said that they do not keep aloof from active political life, and this may be treated as a good augury.

5.28 A close view of the tables shows that out of the 363 male participants, 46.56% and 53.44%; and of the 26 female participants, 76.92% and 23.08% participate in the activities of one party and of more than one party respectively. Participation in the activities of more than one party does not mean political irresponsibility and ignorance on the part of these students for in our country there are more than one rightist, centralist, and leftist party. It is conspicuous that the percentage of the female participants in the activities of one party is higher than that of the male participants. It means a large number of ^{the} female participants are loyal to one party, and appear to be more choosy than males.

5.29 A detailed composition of the tables discloses participation of males and females in the activities of one party. I have treated below their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 169 male and of the 20 female participants in the activities of one party, the highest percentage of the males (44.96%) and the females (35.00%) participates in the activities of the Congress party. This at once parades how this party is most popular among students, and how its activities involve the largest number of the participants. It is not necessary to mention that it is not as much popular among females as among males. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has 13.01% of the male participants and 15.00% of the female participants. It is clear that students are actively involved in the burning problems of the day. It is interesting to record that the appeal of the Samiti could net more females in its activities than males. 6.50% of the male participants only have taken part in the activities of the Republican party of India. The Peasants and Workers party attracts 4.73% of the male participants only. 4.14% of the male participants only report that they have partaken in the activities of the P.S.P. The forceful and vigorous appeal of the Communist party could attract 3.55% of the male participants only. The Jan Sangh is obliged by both 2.95% of the male participants and 5.00% of the female participants. The Lal Nishan Gat has 0.59% of the male participants only. It must be placed on record that surprisingly high percentage of males (18.93%) and females (45.00%) has refused to specify the party; one cannot ima-

gine what has deterred them from mentioning the name of a party. In the overall context, it is seen that not a single male takes part in the activities of the Socialist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Swatantra party; while no female partakes in the activities of the P.S.P. the Socialist party, the Communist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Republican party, and the Lal Nishan Gat. Obviously, this shows how these parties do not enjoy the patronage of males and females. It may be observed in the end that the highest percentage of male (49.10%) and female (35.00%) participates in the activities of centralist parties: the Congress party and the P.S.P. Leftist parties: the Communist party, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party, and the Lal Nishan Gat have 15.37% of the male participants only; while Rightist parties: the Jan Sangh only, have 2.95% of the male and 5.00% of the female participants. It is needless to comment that rightist parties are almost ostracised by students. The percentage of the male participants in the activities of leftist parties should not be dismissed as meagre and thereby negligible, because Communism is a "Cancer" that must be operated out in order to preserve the health of Indian democracy. It is encouraging to notice that females do not seem to fall prey to the designs of leftist parties.

5.30 A facultywise consideration of the tables shows that the highest percentage of male participants. (58.82%) is from the Agriculture faculty. This is indeed puzzling taking into account the percentages of the male members and the sympathisers from this faculty in comparison with the percentages of

the male members and the sympathisers of other faculties. All the same, this may, I should believe, be attributed to their place of origin that is, rural areas which have become of late the nucleus of political activities. There is almost no difference between the percentages of the male participants of the Law faculty (57.89%) and the Post-graduate classes (57.90%). This makes interesting and instructive reading because more than half of the males of the Law faculty and of the Post-graduate classes are active participants in the activities of parties. It clearly signifies that the majority of those prosecuting higher studies not only like politics but also are engaged in active politics. It is indeed a good omen that the intellectuals-in-making do not refrain from active politics. The percentage of the male participants (53.24%) from the Arts faculty is not small at all for more than half of the males are involved in the activities of parties. It is explicit that the percentage of the male participants from the Commerce faculty (47.43%) is higher than the percentage of the male participants from the Science faculty (38.73%). It is discernible that males of the Science and Commerce faculties are not involved in the activities of parties to the extent to which males of other faculties. It is worth to mention that the percentage of the male participants from the Science faculty is the lowest comparatively. It naturally implies their least interest in the activities of parties; it may be ascribed to their being career-minded or conscientious students. On the whole, it may broadly be generalised that the high percentage of males of almost every

faculty is engaged in the activities of parties; hence it may be said that faculty does not intensively influence the participation of males.

In respect of females, it is observable, that females of the Commerce faculty and of the Post-graduate classes do not partake in the activities of parties. One female from the Agriculture faculty reports that she is an active participant in the activities of parties; while the percentages of the female participants from the Arts ~~faculty~~ (17.43%) and ~~the~~ Science (19.35%) faculties are far lower than the percentages of the male participants from these faculties respectively. It is interesting to note that the percentage of the female participants of the Science faculty is higher than the percentage of female participants from the Arts faculty. On the whole, it may be inferred that females from every faculty give almost cold response in matter of their participation in the activities of parties.

5.31 Table Nos.59 and 60 are devoted to the participation in the activities of parties according to place of origin, and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 51.48%, and of the 472 urban students, 34.53%, are participants in the activities of parties. It goes without saying that the percentage of the rural participants is considerably higher than the percentage of the urban participants. It unequivocally signifies that rural students are heavily involved in active politics; urban students appear to have developed sickness for the activities of parties. It may be said that rural students are more susceptible and vulnerable politically

than their counterparts from urban places. The large scale involvement of rural students in the activities of parties expounds the fact that rural areas appear to have become a hub of party politics.

5.32 A close view of the tables further discloses that out of the 226 rural participants, 41.60% and 58.40%; and of the 163 urban participants, 58.28% and 41.72% take part in the activities of one party, and of more than one party respectively. Undoubtedly, urban students owe more allegiance to one party than rural students. This shows that they are more clear about their participation in the activities of political parties than rural students. It is seen that there are more political infidels among rural students than among urban students.

5.33 A detailed composition of the tables shows the participation of rural and urban students in the activities of one party. I have considered below their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 94 rural and of the 95 urban participants in the activities of one party the highest percentage of rural (53.20%) and urban (34.74%) participants is engaged in the activities of the Congress party. This at once displays how the largest number of the rural and urban participants are involved in the activities of this party. Thus, the Congress party appears to be at the zenith of its popularity. The democratic socialism of this party seems to be exultant in involving the largest number of the rural and urban participants in its activities. It is needless to mention that the Congress party is more popular among rural students

than among urban students. The Republican party of India attracts the participation of 8.64% of rural and 1.05% of urban participants. Plainly, this party lives largely on the support of rural following. It is difficult to understand as to why urban students do not participate in the activities of this party. Like the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party draws more participants from rural areas (5.32%) than from urban places (2.10%). This indicates that the activities of this party seem to be confined more to rural areas than to urban places. It is a matter of education to record that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti secures the participation of 4.25% of the rural and 22.11% of the urban participants. It is convincing to maintain that the demand of the Samiti was better understood and appreciated by the urban participants than by the rural ones. However the small percentage of the rural participants is, it must be borne in mind that the demand of the Samiti has reached into the hearts of rural people. The Jan Sangh gathers 4.25% of the rural and 2.10% of the urban participants. It is discernible that this party is better rooted in rural areas than in ~~urban~~-p urban places. 3.18% of the rural and 6.31% of the urban participants state that they are occupied with the activities of the P.S.P. Evidently, the P.S.P. has more moorings in urban places than in rural areas. A propulsive propaganda of the Communist party could not succeed in netting a good catch as 2.12% of the rural and 4.21% of the urban participants report that they partake in the activities of this party. The Lal Nishan Gat could persuade 1.06% of

the rural participants only. This shows the isolation of this party in both urban and rural areas. It is astonishing that the percentage of the rural participants (15.96%) not specifying the party is lower than the percentage of the urban participants (27.37%). On the whole, it may be observed that it is Centralist parties: the Congress party and the P.S.P. which are most popular among both rural (56.38%) and urban (41.05%) participants. All the same, it is discernible that centralist parties are more popular among rural places than among urban areas. Leftist parties: the Communist party, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party and the Lal Nishan Gat have 17.14% of the rural and 7.36% of the urban participants. It is plain that they are comparatively more popular among rural areas than among urban places. Rightist parties: the Jan Sangh, attract a meagre percentage of the rural (4.25%) and the urban (2.10%) participants. But it may be said that they are more popular among rural areas than among urban places. Once more, it may be seen that political activities are better understood, appreciated and responded to by rural students than by urban students. It may be indisputably said that rural areas have become the centre of political activities. In the end, it may be noted that the Socialist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Swatantra party do not have the percentage of the rural participants, while the urban participants too do not oblige the Socialist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Swatantra party and the Lal Nishan Gat. This immediately discloses the popularity of these parties in both rural as well as urban places.

5.34. A Castewise consideration of the tables reveals that both rural and urban students of every caste are participants in the activities of parties. This explicitly signified that all castes have access to party politics which is no longer the preserve of any particular caste. It is encouraging to note that all castes have interest in active politics. All the same, it may be placed on record that a Neo-Buddhist student from rural areas reports that he does not participate in the activities of any party. His is the typical case of Non-response. The percentages of Brahmins and others, Jains, Marathas, Muslims, and Christians participants from rural areas and are higher than the percentages of the participants of these castes from urban places, while the percentages of Gujarati etc., Lingayats, Intermediate Hindus, and Backward and Scheduled castes participants from urban places are higher than the percentages of the participants of these castes from rural areas. Further, more than half of the students of Jains Marathas, Backward and Scheduled castes, Muslims and Christians from rural areas are participants in the activities of parties: while more than half of the students of Intermediate Hindus, and Backward and Scheduled castes from urban places take part in the activities of parties. Thus, urban students of almost all castes are not involved in the activities of political parties to the extent to which the students of almost all castes from rural areas. The highest percentages of the rural and urban participants are from Christians (80.00%) and Backward and Scheduled Castes (Cent per cent); and the percentages of the rural and urban participants from Muslims

(73.33% ~~1~~ and ~~41.66%~~), Jains (65.62%, and 38.23%), Lingayats (41.37%, and 50.00%), Backward and Scheduled Castes (52.38% and 100.00%) and Gujars etc. (28.57%, and 30.00%) are respectively considerably high. This convincingly demonstrates that the minority castes are "grazing on the ground" of party politics uninhibited: this is indeed encouraging and enlightening. In respect of Marathas, and Brahmins and others, it is observable that the percentages of the Marathas participants from rural (59.70%), and urban (43.63%) places are almost double the percentages of the Brahmins and others participants from rural (30.97%) and urban (21.67%) area. In this context, it is worth reporting that the percentages of the Brahmins and others participants from rural and urban places are lowest. This categorically discovers that the majority of them seem to be loath to entangle themselves in the activities of parties; or it may be said that they are gradually seceding active politics or shall I say that they are bidding adieu to politics altogether. It would be platitudinous to say that Marathas are politically more involved and committed than Brahmins and others.

5.35 A detailed break-up of the tables, further, demonstrates the number of participants in the activities of each party according to caste. It is only the Congress party that has patronage of the majority of castes from both rural and urban areas. This party seems to be above the parochial caste considerations as it enjoys the confidence of almost all castes. All the same, it is a revelation that Backward and Scheduled castes, and Neo-Buddhists do not have either

sympathies for or participate in the activities of this party. Rest of the parties have few participants from few castes; and some of them are obliged by particular castes: The Jan Sangh has participants only from Brahmins and others; the Republican party of India interests the participants from Non-Brahmins and others, and specially from Backward and Scheduled castes; and ^{the} Peasants and Workers party too attracts the participants from Non-Brahmins and others. It is highly deplorable that ^{these} ~~some~~ parties have come to be identified with particular castes. It is apparent that some parties in India are so unscrupulous and perverse that they, in their madness to capture power, brazen-facedly stoop to prostitute the caste patriotism of some people. It is saddening that participation of few students is influenced irrationally by caste considerations. If these students are not cured of this malignant malady, Indian democracy would be eaten away by it in the long run.

Participation in Political Activities.

5.36 After eliciting the "confessional statements" regarding participation of students in the activities of parties, it was envisaged to pinpoint the actual activities in which students are involved largely. All political activities are not deliberately enumerated here; only an attempt is made to spot-light to what extent students are roped in important political activities. This will once more establish the political involvement of students. I have offered ten activities to students: morcha, procession, demonstration, strike, hartal, picketing, satyagraha, political movement, trade

union activities, and other.

5.37 Table No.61 deals with participation of males and females in the political activities. I have treated below their percentages in the descending order. A glance at the table shows that the number of participants in the activities of political parties, and in the political activities is the same. Out of the 363 male and of the 26 female participants, the highest percentage of the males (67.77%) and the females (65.38%) associates with "processions". Thus, the largest number of males and females is angled by processions. They are simply fascinated towards them. It may be educed that students constitute the sizable number of processionists. Apparently, the percentage of the male participants is higher than that of the female participants. Naturally, males seem to be more attracted towards processions than females. "Political movements" too attract a large number of the male (43.80%) and the female (38.46%) participants. It is worth recording that political movements find favour with students. They do not as much appeal to females as to males. "Morchas" are joined by 36.36% of the male and 15.38% of the female participants. It goes without saying that morchas are not as much popular with students as processions and political movements. Females have less fascination for morchas than males. It is explicit that a call to observe "hartal" is responded by 24.79% of the male and 34.61% of the female participants. It is a common observation that hartal is largely made successful by students. It is interesting that the percentage of the female participants is higher than the percentage of the

male participants. It means hartals are observed more by females than by males. As expected "strikes" do not have much appeal to students. Only 8.26% of the male and 7.68% of the female participants are involved in strikes. It is sad that students have fallen prey even to political strikes. This is largely true of males than of females. "Trade union activities" could muster 14.32% of the male and 11.53% of the female participants. Generally, students are not supposed to have any association with trade unions but they seem to interest themselves in any political affairs. The higher percentage of males indicates that they have more interest in trade union activities than females. 13.49% of the male and 3.84% of the female participants report that they take part in "demonstrations". Evidently, females do not have as much attraction for demonstrations as males. "Satyagraha" is favoured by 8.81% of the male and 11.53% of the female participants. Though satyagraha is comparatively more popular among females than among males, its former grandeur is certainly declining now. 7.16% of the male participants only state that they participate in "picketings". Females have clearly refused to associate themselves with picketings. It may be observed in the end that processions and political movements are the most popular political activities among students, and morchas and hartals occupy the second place. This observation is, I should believe, very much in consonance with usual experience. It is plain that students are in every political happening and affair.

Reasons For Participation.

5.38 When the involvement of students in the activities of

parties is established, it was thought indispensable to investigate the reasons which have induced them to participate. It must be made clear that the reasons advanced by those who have taken part in the activities of one party are treated here. In all, I have presented fifteen reasons to students: suggested by friends, requested by party, forced by party, encouraged by elders, attracted by the personality of leader, party programme, out of self-conviction, to become leader, personal benefit, to raise self-prestige, to get job in future, social services conscientious citizens, friends participate, and other.

5.39 Table No.62 gives the distribution of the reasons for participation according to sex. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. Out of the 169 male and of the 20 female participants in the activities of one party, the highest percentage of the males (50.88%) and the females (30.00%) has participated "out of self-conviction". This immediately discloses that students are not at all pressurized externally but they have volunteered themselves to participate; their self-conviction solely propels them to do so. This is largely true of males than of females. In a democratic state citizens are authorised to participate in political affairs which are veritably coterminus with party affairs. It is gratifying that 46.74% of male and 20.00% of the female participants partake in the activities of party as they are "conscientious citizens". It means these students would like to share in the expression and administration of state's will. The higher percentage of

males is symbolic of their being more conscientious citizens than females. A sense of "social service" allure 33.13% of the male and 25.00% of the female participants to take part in party activities. It is educible that these students are principally inspired by the sense of social service. It is apparent that they are under impression that social service is commensurate with party activities, consequently, they dedicate themselves to party activities. This is largely true of males than of females. Party swims and sinks with leaders it prospers and perishes with them. Leaders are the undisputed architects of party. They are the beacon that charts the course of party activities. 28.99% of the male and 25.00% of the female participants take to party activities because of "the personality of leaders". Explicitly, they are charmed by the personality of leaders, therefore they throw themselves with heart and soul in party activities. Besides, it follows that the personality of leaders matters very much in party politics; hence, leaders should have unimpeachable personality. It is amazing that males are mesmerized more by the personality of leaders than females! Party programme is a charter of pledges. It is always propagated and publicized in order to win the mass of members, supporters and electors. There are 24.25% of the male and 5.00% of the female participants who participate in party activities by the considerations of "party programme". It signifies that they highly prize party programme than females. 8.28% of the male and 15.00% of the female participants state that they are "encou-

Thus, these students are not opposed to participation on principle, but they only love to be solicited by party; and once

raged by elders" to take to party activities. Obviously, the elders of these students seem to be political-minded, and politically committed; therefore, they cheer their wards to partake in party activities. All the same, it must be said that the elders of these students are irresponsible citizens who induce their wards to take to active politics. At the same time, it may be borne in mind that some students fall prey to the encouragement of their elders. This is largely true of females than of males. Thus, when encouraged females would always do what is expected of them. There are 6.50% of the male participants only who have un-reservedly stated that the primary motive in participating in party activities is to "become leaders" eventually. They seem to be under belief that participation in party activities would make them leaders finally. It also signifies their political aspiration. It is a revelation that 5.91% of the male participants are brutally frank when they declare that they take part in party activities with a ulterior motive of making "personal gains". It is unfortunate that these males have identified the participation in party activities with the "lucrative profession". If participation yields personal gains it must be strongly despised. It signifies that some parties endeavour to win the following in this fashion. This is an instance of how parties, when they stoop to conquer, would do anything with utter disregard for all canons of civil behaviour. There are 5.91% of the male and 10.00% of the female participants who have responded to "request by party" to participate in party activities. Thus, these students are not opposed to participation on principle, but they only love to be solicited by party; and once

entreated they surrender. This is largely true of females than of males. Even "suggestion by friends" exerts influence on the political behaviour of students, as is evident from the report of 4.73% of the male and 5.00% of the female participants that they take part in party activities at the suggestion of their friends. So, association with friends deserves attention in the study of political behaviour. Males and females seem to be almost equally vulnerable to suggestions of their friends. It is interesting to observe that 4.73% of the male participants only report that they take part in party activities in order to "raise self-prestige". It clearly means that association with certain parties elevates the importance of people; otherwise these males would not have dreamed of participating in party activities. Thus, a ulterior motive of males becomes intelligible. There is one more example of what an association with friends can do; 2.95% of the male and 5.00% of the female participants report that they are participants in party activities because their "friends are participants". This, further, discloses not only the influence exercised by an association with friends but also the sheep-mentality of these students. Females are more influenced by the participation of their friends than males. 2.36% of the male participants state that they take part in party activities with a view to "get service in future". It means participation in the activities of certain parties guarantees service. This is how parties recruit commercial participants in their activities. Only one male (0.59%) participant protests that he is "forced by party".

It means parties resort to force to get clienⁿtele when peaceful and persuasive ways do not deliver goods.

On the whole, it may be observed that the majority of students participate in party activities because of "self-conviction", being "conscientious citizens", sense of "social service", "personality of leaders", and "party programme". These reasons categorically indicate that students are not forced externally to participate; and they could be regarded as politically mature to decide the course of their action. Rest of the reasons have mustered but few participants among whom some are guided by ulterior motives; "to get service in future", "to raise self-prestige", "to secure personal gains", and "to become leader"; and others fall prey to "suggestion by friends", "request by party", "forced by party", "encouragement by elders", and "participation of friends".

Reasons For Non-participation.

5.40 It would be revealing to scrutinize the reasons that have inhibited 52.29% of the male and 82.67% of the female non-participants from participating in party activities. In all, I have proffered eleven reasons to students; lack of time, elders not allowing, friends not participating, no liking for party politics, fear of being branded as party-man, fear of not getting government service, belief in non-party politics, not paid by party for participation, disbelief in democracy, government servant, and other.

5.41 Table No.63 gives the distribution of the reasons for non-participation according to sex. I have treated below the percentages of males and females in the descending order.

Out of the 398 male and of the 124 female non-participants, the highest percentage of the males (50.76%) and the females (58.87%) has categorically expressed its "aversion for party politics". So the dislike for party politics has restrained these males and females from participating in party activities. There appears to be something basically wrong with party politics; therefore, they have come to disdain and discard it. It is educible that had these males and females not developed distaste^s for party politics, or had the party politics been "clean" and healthy, they would have taken part in party activities without hesitation. Evidently, females dislike party politics more than males. It means they have more unpleasant experience with party politics than males. The "lack of time" has incapacitated 39.70% of the male and 34.67% of the female non-participants to participate in party activities. It is not an over-statement that participation in party activities eats away lot of time; and it may be that these students are conscientious and therefore, reluctant to prodigalise their time unproductively on party activities. They may be regarded as minute-men, who would utilise their time for study. On the whole, it is discernible that these students are not opposed to participation in party activities on principle. Males are more short of time than females. There 8.79% of the male and 4.83% of the female^{non-} participants who refrain from participating in party activities because of their "belief in non-party politics". Their disgusting experience with party politics seems to have converted them into champions of partyless politics. Thus, a section of student

community maintains staunchly that politics should be made "clean" by purging off parties from it. This is largely true of males than of females. Association with friends widely affects the behaviour-pattern; this is obvious from the report of 8.54% of the male and 6.45% of the female non-participants who do not take part in party activities because "their friends do not participate". Thus, man is known by the company he keeps. Besides, it may be said that these students do not have their own opinion about participation; they follow their friends like sheep. Interestingly, males follow their friends more than females. 8.29% of the male and 12.90% of the female non-participants state that their "elders do not allow" them to partake in party activities. It appears that elders are so conscientious that they are opposed to their wards' indulging in party activities. All the same, it may be recorded that these males and females do respect the desires of their elders otherwise, they would have defied them and participated triumphantly in party activities. Females are restrained more by their elders than males. "Fear of being branded as party-man" simply frightens away 5.27% of the male and 0.80% of the female non-participants from taking part in party activities. It appears that association with certain parties has adverse effect upon the interest of these males and females; therefore, they refuse to identify themselves with such parties. It means that they are not opposed to participation on principle. Evidently, males are more afraid of being branded as partymen than females. 4.77% of the male non-participants only report that they do not participate in party activities because of "fear of

not getting government service". These males are obviously careerist and do not like to blemish their prospects by associating themselves with party activities. There are 2.76% of the male and 1.61% of the female non-participants who have clearly expressed their "disbelief in democracy" thereby dissociating with party activities. Plainly, these students have identified democracy with party. If parties become "stainless", I should think, they would come to trust democracy. Males distrust democracy more than females. Only 1.25% of the male non-participants grumble that they have to abstain from participating in party activities because they are "government servants". It means they are keen about taking part in party activities; had they not been government servants they would have been participants; or had the government allowed them to participate they would have done so. One male (0.25%) reports ^{that} he does not participate in party activities because he is not paid to do so by any party. It means besides voluntary participants, parties may collect commercial participants to swell their number. This is an illustration of what party can do unscrupulously to attract participants. On the whole, it may be observed in the end that the majority of students do not participate in party activities owing to "lack of time", and "dislike for party politics". All the same, it may be maintained that the difficulties advanced by students for their non-participation are not insurmountable altogether. Therefore, it is inferable that if the difficulties stated above, were ridded, these males and females would have become participants; they are not opposed to

participation on principle.

Trade Unions.

5.42 An institution of Trade Union, though of recent origin, has become a force to be reckoned with. It has carved out an influential place in social and economic life of our country. The early trade union period synchronised with the immediate post-war political aspirations, culminating in the Swaraj movement. Naturally and inevitably, the leadership for infant trade union movement was furnished by the political upsurge and hence Indian trade unions assumed a deep political colour. Thus, political movement and labour movement are interlinked and have advanced more or less simultaneously, the latter always being under the patronage of the former. It goes without saying that parties have been employing the voice and strength of labour for political ends. In view of this, it was felt imperative to take cognizance of trade unionism. This would show the involvement of students in trade unions, and spotlight their political alignments.

Membership of Trade Union.

5.43 As expected a very few students are members of trade unions. Only 15 males have reported that they are union members. There is no case of female member. Since the percentage of the male members (1.97%) is miserably meagre, it is not displayed in table. It is explicit that students do not appear to be keen on registering themselves as union members; or it may, I should think, be observed that they do not seem to have any concern with trade unions. The absence

of female members may be treated as symbolic of their disinterest in trade unions.

A detailed examination of the sample discovers that the Kamgar Union and the Bank Union have three male members each on their rolls; while the Sakhar Kamgar Union, the Municipal Kamgar Union, and the Kolhapur Zilla Kamgar Union attract two male members each. The Post and Telegraph Employees' Union, the Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh, and the Taluka Shikshak Sangh are obliged by one male member each.

A faculty-wise treatment of the sample ~~disc~~ discloses that out of the 15 male members, eleven are claimed by the Arts faculty, and four belong to the Commerce faculty. These faculties have union members because out of three Arts Colleges two; Gopal Krishna Gokhale College, and Kirti College; and Commerce College are morning Colleges. That is how these students are enabled to learn and earn; while earning their bread they associate themselves with trade unions.

A place-of-origin-wise consideration of the sample indicates that out of 439 rural students 1.82%, and of the 472 urban students 1.48% are union members. This categorically proves that rural students are more involved in trade unions than urban students. It means rural students have more interest in trade unions than urban students.

A castewise treatment of the sample shows that from rural areas three Brahmins and others, one Jain, one Lingayat, two Backward and Scheduled Castes, and one Muslim are Union members; while from urban places one Jain, ~~three~~ three Mara-

thas, one Lingayat, one Intermediate Hindu, one Backward and Scheduled caste are union members.

Sympathy for Trade-Union.

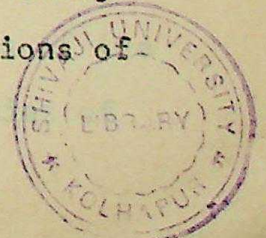
5.44 It would undoubtedly be a matter of education to learn whether or not students have sympathies for trade unions because this would not only throw light upon their knowledge of trade unions but also reveal their political inclinations. I have not knowingly provided students with the names of trade unions as their number is more than fifty; therefore, I have asked students-if they have sympathies for trade unions-to state the name of a party to which a trade union is affiliated. It is a common knowledge that in India trade unions are almost avowedly or unavowedly party unions.

5.45 Table Nos. 64 and 65 give the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 66.48% and of the 150 females, 52.67% have sympathies for trade unions. This at once highlights the interest of the majority of students in trade unions. It would not be presumptuous to state that they are fairly familiarised with the activities of trade unions; otherwise, they would not have extended their sympathies to trade unions. It is certainly no exaggeration to comment that they possess the requisite political know-how to express their sympathies for trade unions. A comparatively lower percentage of females is suggestive of their moderate interest in trade unions.

5.46 A close look at the tables shows that out of the 506 male sympathisers, 46.44% and 53.56%; and of the 79 female

sympathisers, 60.75% and 39.25% have sympathies for trade unions of one party and more than one party respectively. Sympathies for trade unions of more than one party sound paradoxical but it is not certainly preposterous for the simple reason that in our country there are more than one rightist, centralist and leftist party; hence, one is led to generalise that sympathies of students for trade unions of more than one party should not be treated as indicative of their political greenness and inexperience. It is plain that sympathies of 46.44% of the male and 60.75% of the female sympathisers have been unequivocally crystallized for trade unions of one party. Being loyally ~~attracted~~ attached to trade unions of one party, these males and females do not think of trade unions of more than one party. It is remarkable that sympathies of females are definitized more for trade unions of one party than that of males. This may be ascribed to their unwavering loyalty to "one party".

5.47 A detailed composition of the tables further shows sympathies of the males and the females for trade unions of one party. I have considered their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 235 male and of the 48 female sympathisers for trade unions of one party, the highest percentage of the male (34.89%) and the female (47.84%) sympathisers has sympathies for trade unions of the Congress party. This immediately and undoubtedly displays the top-most popularity of trade unions of this party among students. Evidently, they are more popular among females than among males. It may be noted with interest that trade unions of



the Peasants and Workers party enjoy sympathies of 31.81% of the male and 29.12% of the female sympathisers. It is surprising that the rating for this party is all time high considering the percentages of the male and female party members, sympathisers, and participants. It is plain that trade unions of this party have fascinating appeal to students; obviously, they are more popular among males than among females. Trade unions of the P.S.P. attract sympathies of 8.51% of the male and 8.32% of the female sympathisers. Apparently, they are almost as much popular among males as among females. Trade unions of the Communist party get sympathies of 8.08% of the male and 2.08% of the female sympathisers. The percentages of the sympathisers for the Communist party are smaller than the percentages of the sympathisers for its unions. It clearly signifies that trade union activities of this party are better appreciated by males and females than its other activities. All the same, it is evident that females do not extend their sympathies to trade unions of this party to the extent to which males. The Jan Sangh attracts sympathies of 5.10% of the male and 2.08% of the female sympathisers for its trade unions. Clearly, trade unions of this party enjoy sympathies of males more than those of females. The Socialist party secures sympathies of 4.68% of the male and 4.16% of the female sympathisers for its trade unions. Trade unions of this party have no male member but have both the male and female sympathisers. Apparently, trade unions, of this party are almost as much popular among males as among females. Trade unions of the Republican party of India have 2.55% of the male and 4.16% of the female sympathisers. Obviously, in the matter of sympathies females excel males. Trade unions of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Swatantra party get sympathies of

0.85% of the male sympathisers each; they do not have female sympathisers. Trade unions of the Lal Nishan Gat win sympathies of 0.85% of the male and 2.08% of the female sympathisers. In the overall context, it is seen that trade unions of centralist parties: the Congress party, the P.S.P., and the S.P. have the highest percentage of the male (48.08%) and the female (60.32%) sympathisers. The higher percentage of the female sympathisers indicates that females are more appreciative of trade unions of centralist parties than males. Trade unions of leftist parties: the Communist party, the Republican party, the Peasants and Workers party and the Lal Nishan Gat have 43.29% of the male and 37.44% of the female sympathisers. This at once reveals that in matter of trade union activities of these parties males and females in large number extend their sympathies to trade unions. This abnormal rise in the percentages of males and females may be attributed to the militant character of leftist unions^{ism}. It would not be presumptuous to observe that if the labour movement is not won over from leftist parties once for all, it will pose a danger to our democracy in the long run, because males and females do not as much like other activities of this party as trade union activities. Trade unions of rightist parties: the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Swatantra party have sympathies of 6.80% of the male and 2.08% of the female sympathisers. This proves that these parties and their trade unions fare miserably bad even in respect of sympathies.

In respect of females, it is discernible that the per-

5.48 A faculty-wise treatment of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male sympathisers is from the Post-graduate classes (86.85%). This is an unambiguous indication that males of the Post-graduate classes evince more interest in unionism than their counterparts in other faculties. It is worth commenting that those pursuing higher studies relish the activities of trade unions. The Arts faculty occupies the next place as it attracts 70.86% of the male sympathisers. It is apparent that the lawyers-in-making lag behind the males of the Arts faculty in their sympathies for trade unions. This is evident from the percentage of the male sympathisers (68.41%) from the Law faculty. The percentage of the male sympathisers (66.02%) from the Commerce faculty is not markedly less than that of the male sympathisers from the Law faculty. In the light of the percentages of the male sympathisers from the Post-graduate classes, the Law, the Arts and the Commerce faculties the percentage of the male sympathisers (60.08%) from the Science faculty is low. This may be taken as suggestive of their comparatively moderate interest in trade unionism. All the same, it may be made clear that the lowest percentage of the male sympathisers (47.05%) is from the Agriculture faculty. This manifests their comparatively least interest in trade unionism but, in all fairness, it may be pointed out that their moderate interest in trade unionism may be ascribed to their immature immaturity in age; after all they are students of the First Year B.Sc.(Agri.).

In respect of females, it is discernible that the per-

centages of the female sympathisers from the Arts and the Science, faculties, and the Post-graduate classes are lower than the percentages of the male sympathisers from these faculties; and the percentages of the female sympathisers of the Commerce, and the Agriculture faculties are higher than the percentages of the male sympathisers from these faculties but the number of females in these faculties is so meagre that their percentages should not indeed be compared with those of males of these faculties. Therefore, it may be observed that males of every faculty have more sympathies for trade unions than females of every faculty. It follows from this that males from every faculty are politically more alert and alive than females.

It is observable that cent per cent females of the Commerce, and the Agriculture faculties have sympathies for trade unions.. The percentage of the females sympathisers (75.00%) from the Post-graduate classes is considerably high. It means females prosecuting higher education do not turn their back even on trade unions; they are politically aware. It is amusing that the percentage of the female sympathisers (51.61%) from the Science faculty is higher than the percentage of the female sympathisers (49.53%) from the Arts faculty.

In the overall context, two observations can be made: first, it is trade unions of the Congress party alone that enjoy sympathies of almost the largest number of males and

females of every faculty, and secondly, sympathies for trade unions are not decisively influenced by faculty as is evident from the considerably high percentages of the male and female sympathisers from every faculty.

5.49 Table Nos.66 and 67 give the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 71.07% ~~and~~ and of the 472 urban students, 57.85% have sympathies for trade unions of various parties. Evidently, the large number of students from both rural and urban places extend their sympathies to trade unions. It indicates their interest in and knowledge about trade unions. It is indeed amusing that there is a wide disparity between the percentages of rural and urban students. This may be attributed to the deep interest of rural students in trade unions. Generally, the activities of trade unions are confined to cities where industries and factories are located; hence, urban students are supposed to be in the know of trade union activities. But they do not have sympathies for trade unions to the extent to which rural students. This may be because urban students seem to be indifferent towards trade unions, and rural students seem to be attracted towards them when they come to urban places for their higher education. Whatever explanation may be advanced the fact remains that urban students have less interest in trade unions than their counterparts from rural places.

5.50 A close examination of the tables reveals that out of

the 312 rural sympathisers, 41.99% and 58.01%; and of the 273 urban sympathisers, 55.71% and 44.29% have sympathies for trade unions of one party and of more than one party respectively. It is observable that sympathies of 41.99% of the rural and 55.71% of the urban sympathisers have been positively crystallized for trade unions of one party. It obviously means that they have definitely come to owe their allegiance to one party only, and do not have preferential considerations for trade unions of more than one party. In the end, it may be recorded that this decisiveness is more noticeable among urban students than among rural ones.

5.51 A detailed composition of the tables further shows sympathies of the rural and urban sympathisers for trade unions of one ~~one~~ party. Examination of sympathies would reveal their political inclinations as well as the popularity of parties. I have considered below the percentages of the rural and urban sympathisers in the descending order. Out of the 131 rural sympathisers and of the 152 urban sympathisers the highest percentage of the rural (36.64%) and urban (37.50%) sympathisers has sympathies for trade unions of the Congress party. This at once discloses how trade unions of this party are most popular among ~~with~~ both rural as well as urban students. All the same, it is seen that they are more popular among urban students than among rural ones. It is interesting to note that trade unions of the Peasants and Workers party get sympathies of 32.05% of the rural and 21.73% of the urban sympathisers; the percentages for membership, sympathy, and participation of this party are considerably low; it is apparent that

trade union activities of this party appeal more to students than its other affairs. It goes without saying that trade union activities of this party are more popular among rural students than among urban students. There are 8.40% of the rural and 8.55% of the urban sympathisers who have extended their sympathies to trade unions of the P.S.P. As there is no marked difference between the two percentages, it may be said that trade unions of this party are ~~more~~ as much popular among rural students as among urban students. Trade unions of the Jan Sangh secure sympathies of the urban (15.14%) more than rural sympathisers (6.86%). It is explicit that trade unions of this party are more popular among urban students than among rural students. Trade unions of the Socialist party attract 4.58% of the rural and 4.61% of the urban sympathisers. Obviously, trade unions of this party are almost equally popular among rural and urban places. It is surprising and instructive to observe that trade unions of the Communist party gain sympathies of 4.58% of the rural and 9.21% of the urban sympathisers. Apparently, trade unions of this party are better appreciated by urban students than by rural students. 3.82% of the rural sympathisers only report that they extend their sympathies to trade unions of the Republican party of India. Trade unions of the Swatantra party rally 1.52% of the rural and 0.66% of the urban sympathisers. Trade unions of this party are more popular among rural students than among urban students. Trade unions of the Lal Nishan Gat have sympathies of 0.76% of the rural and 1.32% of the urban sympathisers. Plainly, trade unions of this

party are more popular among urban students than among rural students. In the overall context, it would be worthwhile to observe in the end that trade unions of centralist parties: the Congress party, the Socialist party and the P.S.P. are most popular among rural as well as urban students. All the same, it may be mentioned that trade unions of these parties are slightly more popular among urban students (50.66% of the sympathisers) than among rural students (49.62% of ^{the} sympathisers). It is amazing that ~~all~~ the percentages of the rural (41.21%) and urban (32.26%) sympathisers for trade unions of leftist parties: the Communist party, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party, and the Lal B Nishan Gat are considerably high. It goes without saying that trade unions of these parties are liked more by rural students than by ~~among~~ urban students. Trade unions of rightist parties: the Jan Sangh, and the Swatantra party are obliged by a meagre percentage of the rural (8.38%) and the urban (15.80%) sympathisers. Evidently, trade unions of these parties are more popular among urban students than among ~~stud~~ rural students.

5.52 A castewise treatment of the tables reveals that the high percentage of rural and urban students of almost every caste has sympathies for trade unions of parties. It obviously signifies that sympathies of students are not influenced by caste. It follows from this that all castes are in the know of trade union activities.

A close look at the tables discloses that trade unions

of the Congress party only transcend castes barriers except those of Backward and Scheduled castes. Further, it is discernible that trade unions of some parties get sympathies of particular castes. Obviously, such trade unions may be characterised as casteist without any bias. Trade unions of the Jan Sangh attract the sympathies of only Brahmins and others from rural areas; but one Maratha, and one Intermediate Hindu along with Brahmins and others from urban places extend their sympathies to trade unions of this party. Trade unions of the Republican party of India live on sympathies of only rural students of Backward and Scheduled castes and of Christians. Trade unions of the Peasants and Workers party have sympathies of non-Brahmins students from rural and urban places. It is unfortunate that even in respect of trade unionism some students have casteist bias.

Student Associations.

5.53 Political parties are communities with general aims; they provide complete and coherent systems of thought about society; they aim at a total organisation of national and even international life. This breadth of aim drives away from them many people who would agree with them on some particular issues but not on the whole. Some modern parties have a brilliant idea to set up, alongside the party, a series of "doubles" - ancillary organisations-with restricted aims. Ancillary organisations can assume the most diverse shapes, carry on work in most varied fields, and bring together most dissimilar people. Obviously, ancillary organisations are the various bodies, created by the party itself and controlled by it; they make

possible wider participation. Among other ancillary organisations Youth Associations are set up by some parties. It is in fitness of things to learn to what extent students are involved in such organisations.

Membership of Student Association.

5.54 Table No.68 gives the distribution of the sample according to faculty and sex (males only). Since the number of female members is considerably small, it is not shown in the table. Out of 761 males, 9.21% and of the 150 females 1.33% are members of student associations. The low percentages of males and females reveal that student associations have failed to attract students in large number; or it may be said that the low percentages are suggestive of their least interest in student associations. This is more true of females than of males.

5.56 A detailed examination of the sample discloses that out of the 70 male members, 55.73% have reported to be the members of student associations outside Kolhapur. It means "outsiders" in Kolhapur are more involved in student associations than those dwelling in Kolhapur. The Kolhapur Zilla Vidyarthi Sangh has 31.43% of the male members: this is the highest percentage. It is evident that the K.Z.V.S. is more popular than other student associations. The Kolhapur Zilla Yuvak Congress attracts 8.57% of the male members; while 4.28% of the male members report that they are members of the Kolhapur Dalit Vidyarthi Utkarsh Mandal. Only two females have reported that they are members of the K.Z.V.S. This again shows that the K.Z.V.S. is most popular among

males and females.

5.56 A facultywise treatment of the sample shows that except the Agriculture faculty all faculties have patronised student associations. The highest percentage of the male members (15.78%) is from the Law faculty. It indicates how students of the Law faculty are involved in comparatively larger number in student associations. It is seen that the percentage of the male members (14.38%) of the Arts faculty is higher than that of the male members (10.52%) of the Post-graduate classes. It may be said that the Post-graduate students do not as much relish the activities of student associations as students of the Law and Arts faculties. The Commerce faculty has been obliged by 8.97% of the male members. Their lower percentage (males) may be because the activities of student associations are not "lucrative". The lowest percentage of the male members (3.55%) is from the Science faculty. This at once reveals how students of the Science faculty have least interest even in the activities of student associations. It is noticeable that the female members belong to the Art faculty. Other faculties have evidently been ostracised by females.

5.57 Table No.69 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 12.07% and of the 472 urban students 4.02% have reported that they are members of student associations. It goes without saying that even in respect of student associations rural students unequivocally evince more interest than urban students.

A close view of the table further discovers that out of the 53 rural members, 64.15% and of the 19 urban members 26.31% state that they are members of student associations outside Kolhapur. It is safe to infer that these "outsiders" have retained their association with student organisations outside Kolhapur even when they have come to Kolhapur for higher studies. Obviously, this is more true of rural students than of urban students. A glance at the table conveys that it is the K.Z.V.S. which is most popular among both the rural (24.53%) and the urban (57.89%) members. It is apparent that this association is more popular among urban students than among rural students; even the K.Z.Y.C. is more popular among urban students (15.78% of the members) than among rural students (5.66% of the members). It is surprising that the K.D.V.U.M. gets membership only from rural students. (5.66% of the members). It means the Dalit (suppressed) Vidyarthi (students) from urban places do not seem to believe in the Utkarsh (ameliorative) activities of this Mandal. It is plain that student associations run in Kolhapur have more urban members than rural members.

5.58 A castewise treatment of the sample shows that students of Muslim, Neo-Buddhist, and Gujar, etc. castes from rural areas; and of Lingayat, Intermediate Hindus, Backward and Scheduled castes, and Christian castes from urban places have not patronised any student association. The percentages of Brahmins and others, Jains, and Marathas from rural areas are higher than those of from urban places. On the whole, there is nothing markedly observable regarding the castewise

treatment of the sample except that the percentages of Brahmins and others from both rural and urban places are lowest, and ^{the} K.D.V.U.M. draws membership from only Backward and Scheduled castes.

Reasons For Non-Membership.

5.59 It would be a matter of education if reasons for non-membership of student associations are investigated, when 89.35% of males and 98.66% of females refuse to be members. In all, I have presented seven reasons to students: lack of time, elders not allowing, friends not members, party politics in student associations, no liking, no attempts by student associations to enrol members, and others.

5.60 Table No.70 gives the distribution of reasons for non-membership according to sex. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. How revealing it is that 46.47% of the male non-members and 24.82% of the female non-members state that they have not registered themselves as members because of "party politics in student associations". It is deplorable that parties have not spared even student associations. This is an illustration of what parties can do when they stoop to conquer; they madly and unscrupulously infiltrate in student associations, it is safe to generalise that they simply like to prostitute student associations for the realisation of their grand designs. It is a matter of satisfaction that at least these ~~cons~~ conscientious students have come to disrelish staunchly party politics in student associations. At this juncture, I would like to place on record the results of my investigation into party politics

in student associations. The said student associations are unavowedly affiliated to parties. Before independence the K.Z.V.S. functioned almost as an ancillary organisation of the Congress party but after independence its character is largely altered because there are both anti-and pro-Congress factions in it. However, it may be made clear that it is more inclined to anti-congress parties as is evident from its involvement in the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement, the boundary dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore, and the Goa issue. ^{The} K.Z.Y.C. is reported to be affiliated to the All India Youth Congress which in its turn, though not directly affiliated to the Congress party basks in the smiles of the Congress party. The K.D.V.U.M. is reported to have warm and high regard for the Republican party of India but it does not indulge much in active politics. Thus, it becomes explicit and convincing that there is party politics in student associations which are not purely dedicated to the amelioration of student community. Evidently, females have less of this experience - party politics in student associations - than of males. "Lack of time" deters 34.12% of the male and 35.17% of the female non-members from becoming members of student associations. They appear to be conscientious students as entering the ranks of student associations would handicap them from devoting effectively to their studies. This positively does not mean that they do not believe in student associations. I should say that they desire to remain outside the real student organisations as they may consider their "profession" incompatible with any over-rigorous commitment. There

There is not much of difference of opinion among males and females regarding this. There are 22.50% of the male and 11.72% of the female non-members who grumble that student associations have "not made any efforts to enrol them as members"; hence they could not join student associations. This at once discovers the desire of these students to become members. It would not be out of place here to record the findings of my investigation into student associations in Kolhapur that these associations are not that active to attract a large number of students as members. Males complain against the inactivity of student associations more than females. 20.59% of the male and 31.03% of the female non-members have expressed their "dislike" for student associations; hence they are unable to register themselves as members. Females dislike student associations more than males. It means student associations have not succeeded in winning the confidence of a large number of females. It is interesting to note that 10.00% of the male and 17.93% of the female non-members state that they are not members because their "friends are not members". This is the proof of what friendship can do; it governs the behaviour of at least some students. Obviously, friendship influences the behaviour of females more than that of males. There are 3.08% of the male and 13.79% of the female non-members who are "not allowed by their elders" to become members. It means elders of these students are certainly scrupulous as they desire to keep their wards away from student associations. Females are prohibited more than males. In the end it may be observed that the reasons stated by students are not insurmountable except

"no liking". Had the difficulties mentioned by students been eliminated they would have become members of student associations.

Sympathy For Student Association.

5.61 Since the majority of students are not members it would be instructive to learn their sympathies for student associations. This would disclose not only the popularity of student associations but also the political leanings of students.

Table No.71 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 54.39% and of the 150 females, 42.00% have expressed their sympathies for student associations. This immediately shows that the large number of students are not totally unconcerned with student associations. The fact that they have sympathies directs one to maintain that they are in the know of student associations; otherwise they would not have been in position to extend their sympathies. The comparatively lower percentage of the female sympathisers may be attributed to the fact that student associations have failed in winning over females in large number.

5.62 A close view of the table shows that out of the 414 male sympathisers, 82.59% and 17.38%; and of the 150 female sympathisers, 87.28% and 12.69% have sympathies for one student association, and for more than one student association respectively. It is clear that 17.38% of the male and 12.69% of the female sympathisers are divided in their sympathies for student associations; their sympathies are not simply definitized for one student association. This is more true of males than of females.

5.63 A detailed break-up of the table further reveals sympa-

thies of the male and the female sympathisers for one student association. Out of the 342 male and of the 55 female sympathisers for one student association, the highest percentage of the males (79.82%) and the females (72.72%) has sympathies for the K.Z.V.S. This at once and categorically demonstrates the top-most popularity of this organisation among both males and females. It may, I should think, safely be inferred that the largest number of males and females are attracted towards this association which has been an instrument of anti-Congress parties. It is superfluous to say that females are not as much sympathetic towards this association as males. The K.Z.V.C. has 19.00% of the male and 27.27% of the female sympathisers. This association which clandestinely owes allegiance to the Congress party does not get sympathies of large number of students. It goes without saying that this association enjoys the confidence of females more than that of males. It is clearly discernible that the K.D.V.U.M. has 1.17% of the male sympathisers only. This immediately floodlights its low popularity among students.

5.64 A facultywise consideration of the sample discloses that the highest percentage of the male sympathisers is from the Arts faculty (62.22%). This is demonstrative of the fact that males of this faculty have more interest in student associations than their counterparts in other faculties. The Law faculty attracts 57.89% of the male sympathisers. It is apparent that males of this faculty evince considerable interest in student associations. Males of the Post-graduate classes (57.27%) and of the Commerce faculty (55.12%) seem to be al-

most unanimous in their sympathies for student associations. The Science faculty secures sympathies of comparatively lower percentage of males (45.85%). The lowest percentage of the male sympathisers is from the Agriculture faculty (41.17%). Though in the overall context, this percentage is the smallest it must be appreciated that the male sympathisers of this faculty belong to the first year B.Sc.(Agri.); hence it could not be said that a pretty large number of males have interest in student associations.

In respect of females it is discernible that the highest percentage of the female-sympathisers (75.00%) hails from the Post-graduate classes. This shows how the highly educated females have interest in student associations. It is interesting that the percentage of the female sympathisers from the Science faculty (48.39%) is higher than the percentage of the female sympathisers from the Arts (40.36%) and the Commerce (20.00%) faculties. It is worth noting that the percentage of the female sympathisers from the Science faculty is higher than that of the male sympathisers. A female from the Agriculture faculty does not extend her sympathies to any student association.

In the end, it may be observed that faculty does not markedly govern sympathies of males and females because students of almost every faculty have unreservedly expressed their sympathies for student associations.

5.65 Table No.72 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students 57.40% and of the 472 urban students, 47.67% have sympathies

for student associations. Obviously, the large number of students from both rural and urban places extend their sympathies to student associations. This displays their interest in and knowledge about student associations. However, it is seen that there is a wide disparity between the percentages of the rural and the urban sympathisers. This may be attributed to the deep interest of rural students in student associations. It is verily surprising that even in respect of sympathies for the student associations run in Kolhapur proper rural students have more interest in them than their colleagues in urban places.

5.66 A close examination of the sample shows that out of the 252 rural sympathisers, 82.53% and 17.45%; and of the 225 urban sympathisers, 83.99% and 15.99% have sympathies for one student association and for more than one association respectively. It is observable that sympathies of 82.53% of the rural and 83.99% of the urban sympathisers have been definitely ~~definitized~~ definitized for one student association. It means they have positively come to owe their allegiance to one student association only; they do not ~~pre~~ have preferential considerations for student associations. In the end, it may be placed on record that this decisiveness is slightly more noticeable among urban students than among rural students.

5.67 A detailed break-down of the table further reveals sympathies of the rural and the urban sympathisers for one student associations. Out of the 208 rural sympathisers 82.69% have sympathies for the K.Z.V.S. and of the 108 urban sympathisers 74.60% extend their sympathies ~~m~~ to the K.Z.V.S. This at once

discloses the top-most popularity of the K.Z.V.S. among both rural and urban students. Thus a big majority of students from rural and urban places have interest in the K.Z.V.S. All the same, it is noticeable that the K.Z.V.S. is more popular among rural students than among urban students. The K.Z.V.S. attracts 15.86% of the rural and 24.86% of the urban sympathisers. It goes without saying that this association is more popular among urban students than among rural students. The K.D.V.U.M. draws almost negligible percentages of the rural (1.44%) and the urban (0.52%) sympathisers. It is needless to say that the K.D.V.U.M. is more popular among rural students than among urban students.

5.68 A Castewise treatment of the sample shows that the large number of students of every caste from rural and urban places have expressed their sympathies for student associations; hence it would be safe to observe that caste does not influence sympathies of students. A close view of the sample further shows that the K.Z.V.S. and the K.Z.Y.C. have sympathies of almost all castes from rural and urban places. It is only the K.D.V.U.M. that gets sympathies of only Backward and Scheduled castes from rural places; and only one urban Maratha has obliged it. It is seen that a Neo-Buddhist student from rural places, and Backward and Scheduled castes students from urban places have reserved their opinion. Clearly, they have adopted neutral posture in expression of their sympathies for student associations.