



Report on
**Student Participation in Campus
Democracy And Governance In India**

Presented by Liberal Youth Forum- India (LYF)



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**

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Welcome Note: Yavnika Khanna

At Liberal Youth Forum, we believe that youth are not only a nation's future but also its present. At our first-ever workshop for college students under our flagship Campus Pulse Project (CPP), we aimed to start grooming young student leaders for solving the challenges of the emerging India. With so many lofty goals in each of our minds, we realized that we have to first deal with the on – ground realities that stunt the proliferation of young leaders.

Our team felt that student leaders need to start from positively impacting their immediate environment, and colleges and universities provide the best incubators. College campuses are the natural environment for youth to start making a real difference. It's the college where, for the first time, youth get the power to vote their representatives democratically. The grooming would be apt at a time when they are learning about ideologies, socio- political setups and economic realities in their educational institutions. We realized that a democratic setup was needed to facilitate this. But there was a huge gap presently. We found that many campuses did not have elected student representation, that democracy in campus was even feared, or actively resisted in others. In institutions where there were councils, they were found to be ineffective by most students. The groups merely represent political propaganda, as evident from the high decibel election campaigns. How were we then to chart out the path from campus to Parliament that we started LYF with? What are the realities in this diverse, expansive nation? Were we all set to yield the "demographic dividend" without working democratic and accountable institutions at the primary level?

The idea of this report as a comprehensive research document came out of this crisis of lack of information. In our first year, we have been modest in our questions and scope. We have limited ourselves to asking questions only about campus elections and students' bodies on campus. We have restricted ourselves to about 15-20 colleges across each of the five regions of India, and have also spread these over professional and non-professional, strictly government and

partially aided colleges, in first and second tier cities. While the research is not meant to offer sweeping generalized conclusions, it is nevertheless meant to identify directions for future work on campus politics. It is also meant to reflect upon, and ultimately provide correctives to, legislations that govern campus politics in this country, and look forward towards regulations that derive from the facts on the ground.

This report is baby step towards probing the realities and suggesting a working plan to democratize our educational institutions. Nevertheless, we cannot rest on the novelty factor of the efforts. With your suggestions and encouragement, we want to continuously improve our endeavors towards building truly democratic, participatory and inclusive campuses in India. We welcome your suggestions, experiences, constructive criticisms and further proposals to take forward the issues addressed in this report.

15 May 2011, Yavnika Khanna, Founder Member and National Coordinator,
Liberal Youth Forum

Executive Summary

It is been almost four years since the Supreme Court gave the direction to implement Lyngdoh committee recommendation. We have attempted to observe the dynamics of student politics across the county face a deficit of young political leaders in a youthful nation.

Respondents

This study by Liberal Youth Forum (LYF) and Civitas Consultancy takes into consideration the various dimensions of the campus politics by analyzing the opinions of students, student leaders, student organizations, faculty, management and other stakeholders.

The study ensured a mixed representation of 78 higher educational institutions across 18 cities. We also attempted to have voices from private, aided, government and central universities specializing across disciplines: Arts, Science and Commerce, Law, Management, Engineering and Medical.

Key Findings

1. Students Support, Faculty and Administration Reject Student Elections

Our study shows that number of students who support student election is around 73 percent, clearly indicating a general consensus among the students to have a system of representation based on a democratic process. When it comes to the other stakeholders in campus, they face hindrance. Majority of the faculty we interacted with, are of the opinion that student politics distract students from academics: only 24% of the faculty supported for student election.

2. Nominations Not Student Elections are the Norm

Most of the institutions in the study (especially government colleges) have statutory provisions for formation of students' council through an election or nomination. In reality, arbitrary nomination systems are implemented by college authorities as a measure to curb political activity around campus elections. Nearly half of the colleges surveyed used nomination systems. Opposed to these, 69% of students and 52% of faculty surveyed preferred elections and

democratically elected student representations. In some prominent institutions there is a definite influence of the political parties in campuses. Student Organizations like NSUI, SFI & ABVP are active in many colleges and direct funding from the political parties to the candidates during campus elections is not uncommon.

3. Campaigning Efforts are Restricted in Most Institutions

In colleges with limited student political activity, the candidates prefer campaigning through small group meetings and interacting with students within the classes or the campuses. In some colleges like Salt Christian College in Dimapur, Nagaland the student candidates use the Assembly hall to make speeches before the candidates and garner voters support. In majority of the colleges, campaigning is restricted within the premises. In Delhi University (DU) and Mahatma Gandhi University (Kerala), candidates and their supporters move into the streets during election period, the campaigning is done under strict police surveillance during the elections. Student candidates and organizations use slogans, manifestos, posters, pamphlets, wall paintings, cut-outs and flyers during the campaigning. Student candidates in campuses like DU use multiple vehicles for the campaigning. Such a scenario is noted in large campuses. The JNU Model of election campaigning has an open forum for discussion and debate wherein the student candidates are thrown open to questions from the students.

Using loudspeakers, vehicles, animals, distribution of printed posters and pamphlets and eatables or other materials is prohibited by the colleges during the election period. But printed posters are very common in colleges in Kolkata. Big banners are put in the entry of the colleges like Ashutosh College of all the student organizations. They are particularly active during election time with huge amount of money spent on campaigning alone. During the day of election nearly 40% of the colleges allow campaigning through personal interaction and distribution of posters and pamphlets.

4. Violence during Student Elections is a Reality

Incidences of violence still occur around campus election. The use of muscle power by candidates' supporters usually lead to violence and skirmishes often happen during election time. When these skirmishes amount to damaging of

public or college property and hurting people, the police forces have to intervene. 21% of the respondents from the study accept that they have witnessed various forms of campus violence. Sometimes these violent acts go unnoticed as it occurs outside the campus.

5. Gross Violations of Financial Expenditure Limits is Common

Lyngdoh recommendations have prescribed the limit of Rs 5000 for campaigning. Majority of the colleges which follow the recommendations have imposed the ceiling limit on the financial expenditure for student elections on the student candidates. Nearly 41% of the colleges do not have specific provisions relating to ceiling of financial expenditure for student candidates. We have found that while the colleges prescribe such ceilings, the student candidates usually spend more than the specified limits. The financial expenditure of 18 % of student candidates is over Rs 5000 with nearly 29 % spending less than Rs 1500. Political party funding for candidates or student organizations is done through the indirect route. Nearly 12 percent of the respondents answered that the candidate is allowed to get support. Further, in majority of the cases even if they are not allowed, the political parties support the candidates. Even though many violations happen and are found out by the college authorities. Very few colleges take serious action. In 41 percent of the cases, no action is taken by the college where the ceiling limit is exceeded. In other cases, the student is disqualified for gross violation of the rules or guidelines provided by the college.

The committee had recommended the constitution of an Election grievance redressal Cell. Nearly 60 percent of the colleges where elections are done, have an observer or election grievance cell at place to hear and take appropriate action

6. Low awareness and Uneven Implementation of Lyngdoh Committee Recommendations

Only 39% of the students have heard of Lyngdoh recommendations. The Study found that less than 46 percent of the colleges where the study was conducted had implemented Lyngdoh Committee recommendations while 5 percent of the colleges had partially implemented it. It has been predominantly implemented and monitored strictly in states like Orissa and Assam and in major Universities

like Hyderabad and Delhi. In other states though it has been implemented it is not practiced stringently.

25 percent of the respondents wanted to be a student leader. Though the student leaders show lot of enthusiasm during the college days in politics, only a negligible per cent of them really think that politics could be taken up as a career. There is a considerable drop in the interest of the students on campus politics and views on socio-political issues.

Student organizations which have an established base have a major impact in the local politics. Many of the key members of students' councils are local members of the political party. While such organizations are not directly related to various political parties, they have a strong influence on them. Many of the colleges have however kept strict guidelines for preventing political parties to enter the campus directly especially during election time. This does not prevent parties to indirectly support the candidates standing for elections financially and otherwise. Winning an election in a college ensures entry to the higher rungs of the political parties in a few instances.

7. Ineffective Students Councils

Elected or nominated, majority of the student respondents were of the opinion that student unions are not the ultimate remedy for their issues. Merely 6 percent said that students unions could solve their issues.

Key issues which affect campus democracy are:

- Lack of management support and an enabling environment for students to get involved in democratic processes in the campus
- Restrictions for students' involvement in politics on campus
- Lack of a platform for developing awareness on campus democracy and governance processes
- Students' lack of interest and distrust in political and governance processes
- Violation of basic principles of non- violence, democracy, transparency and accountability in educational institutions
- End result of these dynamics are that student councils are not effectively concentrating on addressing students' issues

Suggested Solutions

Campus democracy is an enlivening concept which empowers the youth in contributing to the society. It acts as a precursor for change in the socio-political system of a country through the active involvement of youth in the democratic process. Student politics has been instrumental in moulding future politicians of the country. There is an emergent need for platforms where the youth can voice their concerns and drive positive changes in matters of governance.

There is a lot that needs to be done to give the Indian political system a youthful voice. At present, out of the 543 elected Members of Parliament, 30 are below the age of 35 and another 30 fall in the age group of 36 to 39. The need of the hour is additional representation of the youth (who constitute nearly one third of the population) in policy making. Campus democracy contributes to this cause by shaping an active citizenry that will participate in the growth of a successful democracy. This phenomenon is further advocated in educational institutions through campus elections and student politics.

It was almost four years ago that the Supreme Court gave it nod for the implementation of the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations. However, there is no concrete study that assesses the recommendations and its implementation. There is still a lot of groundwork to be done for proper implementation of the Committee guidelines. This Study is a revisit to the campuses, post the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations; an attempt to observe the dynamics of student politics across the country in the light of the emerging trend of mainstream politics. This Study takes into consideration the various dimensions of the concept of campus democracy by dissecting and analysing the opinions of students, youth leaders, student organisations, faculty members, managements and other stakeholders.

The colleges represented in this Study were divided into two broad categories: By programme (Arts, Science, Commerce, Law, Management, Engineering and Medicine) and by type (private, aided, government and central universities). The Study revealed that a majority of private colleges, especially those that offered professional courses, did not encourage campus elections.

The key issues that affect campus democracy are:

- Restrictions on students to get involved in the governance mechanisms to ensure student- friendly campuses (these may even be due to academic constraints)
- lack of platform to spread awareness on need for a vibrant campus democracy
- Lack of management's support

Academic constraints often impose limitations on students who desire to devote time to political activities. This Study revealed that the number of students who supported student election was around 73 per cent, indicating that there is a general consensus that a system of student representation, based on democracy would be favoured. A majority of the faculty members, however, felt that student politics diluted the spirit of academics and should be kept out of college campuses; only 24 per cent of them supported student elections.

There are mixed responses regarding campus elections across the country. The Study revealed that the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations were not implemented uniformly across the country. Moreover, there is low awareness of the Committee recommendations. Only 39 per cent of the students interviewed had heard of the recommendations. Less than 46 per cent of the colleges studied had put the same into practice, while 5 per cent had partially implemented it. In the states of Orissa and Assam, and in major universities, including Hyderabad University and Delhi University, the Lyngdoh guidelines were implemented and strictly monitored. In other states, they were not firmly practiced. It was also noted during the Study that there was a definite influence of political parties on college campuses. Student organisations like the National Students Union of India (NSUI), the Students Federation of India (SFI) and the Akhila Bharatiya Vidya Parishad (ABVP) are active and functional in several colleges and direct funding from political parties during campus elections is not uncommon.

There have been instances where student unions were instrumental in voicing concerns of the students. However, a majority of the students feel that student unions are not the ultimate remedy for their issues, with only 6 per cent stating that these unions could solve their problems. In a functional and effective

democracy, student organizations should genuinely work towards the cause of the students and act as incubators for young political leaders of the future.

Incidents of violence continue to take place during the period. 21 per cent of the respondents in the Study said they had witnessed various forms of campus violence. Some of those go unnoticed, as they take place the campuses. Although student leaders show lot of enthusiasm for politics during their college days, only a negligible per cent really consider taking up politics as a career. The fact that only 25 per cent students want to become student leaders shows that there has been a considerable drop in interest in campus politics and socio-political issues.

Campus democracy exists only when the student community is politically aware and contributes effectively and efficiently to the campus. There is an urgent need to educate the present student community about the country's political system as well as inform them about the social issues affecting the community. Moreover, this should extend to encouraging them and involving them to be a part of the socio-political system and express their views in a peaceful and constitutional manner.

SNAPSHOT of KEY RESULTS

Support for Students' Politics

- 73% students support student politics
- 24% faculty and management support student politics

Awareness about Lyngdoh Recommendations

- 39% students have heard of Lyngdoh committee recommendations
- 46% campuses have implemented Lyngdoh committee recommendations;
5% partially implemented it

Perception of Students' Union

- 19% of the respondents felt that the Students Council/Union were working for the development of the Campus
- Only 6% students believe that Students' Union can solve their problems
- 21% students reported that they had witnessed violence during Students' Union elections and 37% linked campus politics with violence
- 73% of the respondent students support election in colleges where nomination systems are in place
- Top Universities like DU where a mere 25-30% votes during the elections
- Campuses like Kerala University and Calcutta University have turnouts of 80-85%
- Nearly 41% of the colleges do not have specific provisions relating to ceiling of financial expenditure for student candidates
- Financial expenditure of 18 % of student candidates is over Rs 5000
- 29 % spend less than Rs 1500
- 12% candidates get financial support from political parties
- 41% campuses take no action if students violate Lyngdoh recommendations
- 60% campuses have an election grievance redressal cell

About the Authors

Liberal Youth Forum (LYF)

LYF is a registered trust formed with the objective of supporting and strengthening its members and constituent groups of the network for the realization of liberal ideals and democratic principles in India.

LYF is a movement of individuals, informal groups and formal associations collaborating to create access and choice in social, cultural, economic, political and environmental spheres for a freer India.

LYF's members believe in the power of human enterprise to overcome the shackles of poverty and to find full expression in a society founded on the principles of freedom and tolerance. LYF envision an India in which all citizens are equal before the law and have the opportunity to pursue their own happiness.

LYF is committed to the creation of a society where every citizen enjoys the basic human rights to property and livelihood, living life with dignity and personal responsibility. They believe that the youth of today can make this happen.

Website: www.lyfindia.org

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List of Abbreviations

AASU	All Assam Students Union
ABVP	Akhila Bharatiya Vidya Parishad
AGP	Asom Gana Parishad
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AISF	All India Students Federation
AISA	All India Students Association
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPI (M)	Communist Party of India Marxist
CR	Class Representative
CWG	Common Wealth Games
DUSU	Delhi University Students Union
DU	Delhi University
DSO	Democratic Students Organisation
EC	Election Committee
FGD	Focussed Group Discussion
GBM	General Body Meeting
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IC	Independent Consolidation
INC	Indian National Congress
JDA	Junior Doctors Association
JNUSU	Jawaharlal Nehru University Students' Union
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MNS	Maharashtra Navanirman Sena
NESU	North East Student Union
NSUI	National Students Union of India

JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
KSU	Kerala Students Union
SAC	Student Affairs Council
SC/ST	Schedule Castes/ Schedule Tribes
SCC	Supreme Court Cases
SFI	Students Federation of India
SIES	South Indian Education Society
SU	Student Union
TMC	Trinamool Congress
TMCP	Trinamool Chatra Sabha
NSU	National Students Union of India
UDF	United Dalit Front
UGC	University Grant Commission
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USDF	United Students Democratic Front
VC	Vice Chancellor
VP	Vice President
YFE	Youth For Equality

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1) Introduction

India is a nation of youth, where out of a population of 1.1 billion (2009), 75 per cent are under the age of 36, and 55 per cent below 25 (42 per cent under age of 34¹). The youth grew over 2 per cent in 2009, accounting for 459 million. Further, the nation is expected to add 241 million people to its work force by 2015. India's present literacy rate is over 65 per cent and expected to increase in the future. The growing Indian population and increasing work force are two important factors that have contributed to a GDP growth of 6.5 per cent in 2009, despite the world economic crisis scenario. Although India has the right combination of population, infrastructure, and economic growth to become a world leader, she can emerge so only with the help of visionaries who will sustain the economic growth and effectively manage her resources.

The education sector is a key contributor in developing visionaries; a fact the Indian government has realized. Government expenditure on education in the GDP has increased from 4.1 per cent in 2001 to 6 per cent in 2009. This has had a positive impact on the education system. The number of universities has increased from 27 in 1950-51 to 254 in 2000-01. Colleges have increased from 578 to around 16,885 during the same period. Student enrolment also shot up from 17.9 million to 72.4 million². In addition, the University Grants Commission (UGC), which has 42 central universities, 259 state universities, 130 deemed universities and 65 private universities under its purview, had estimated (in 2000-2001) that there were 92,27, 833 students in about 16,885 colleges across India. The above statistics point to the importance being laid by the government on education as a driver of growth.

However, a lot still needs to be done to give a youthful voice to the political system of the country. At present, out of 543 elected Members of Parliament, 30 are under the age of 35 and another 30 in the age group of 36 to 39³. The need of the hour is additional representation for the youth in policymaking. Campus democracy contributes to this cause by moulding a citizenry that will actively participate in the growth of a successful democracy.

¹ Census of India, 2001; C-Series Tables, censusindia.net, Sept 28, 2010, 18:30.

² University Grants Commission, http://www.ugc.ac.in/inside/ugc_recog_college.html, Sept 6, 2010, 10:30.

³ http://www.lokniti.org/KAS-CSDS_study_on_youths_in_indian_politics.html, Sept. 10 2010, 13:00.

This phenomenon is further advocated in educational institutions through campus elections and student politics.

2) Background of the Study

As per directions of the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India, The Lyngdoh Commission was appointed by the Ministry of Human Resources Development in 2005. It was necessitated due to a spate of writs and appeals in the Supreme Court on elections in institutions of higher education and related campus politics. Campus elections in various states were banned, as it was found by the Court that in a majority of colleges, students unions were associated with political parties. The Court also learnt that campus elections interrupted the normal functioning of educational institutions, as boycotts had become regular, even for minor issues. These were not peaceful ones, but forced on all students; again, with the support of political parties. A ban on campus politics first started in Kerala in 2003 with a verdict from the Kerala High Court⁴.

There was widespread public opinion for and against student unions and boycotts, and the Court felt the need for an inquiry that would probe into the minute aspects of campus democracy and politics. It, therefore, mandated that a guideline be formed, upon which, a framework of student representation would exist in India. Although the Supreme Court decided against ruling out a democratic process of election from college campuses, it was perturbed by the violence and unnecessary boycotts. It, therefore, directed the Human Resource Development Ministry to constitute and appoint a committee that would conduct in-depth study on campus election and report necessary suggestions to the court, before the final verdict was issued⁵.

The committee leader, J M Lyngdoh (former Chief Election Commissioner) travelled across India and gathered inputs from eminent personalities, scholars, educationalists, functionaries and administrators, student community, student organisations, political parties,

⁴ University of Kerala v. Council, Principals, Colleges and Others; (2006) 8 Supreme Court Cases 304.

⁵ University of Kerala v. Council, Principals, Colleges and Others vide Order on 12th December, 2005.

individuals, and the public. He then prepared a report and submitted its recommendations to the Supreme Courtⁱ.

The study report was based on the following grounds:

- 1) Criminalisation of student elections
- 2) Financial transparency in such elections
- 3) Eligibility criteria for student candidates
- 4) Formation of grievance redressal forums⁶

Salient features of the Lyngdoh Committee report are⁷:

1. Student democracy and political education without jeopardising academic atmosphere⁸
2. The need for student elections⁹
3. Disassociation of student organisations, elections from political parties¹⁰
4. Specific eligibility criteria for candidates¹¹
5. Election expenditure¹²
6. Code of conduct for candidates and administrators¹³
7. Law and order during the elections¹⁴

Some of the key recommendations of the Committee are as follows:

1. There should be no interference from any political party, persons not affiliated to university and student organisations with political affiliations¹⁵
2. The eligibility criteria to contest in elections should mention academic performance, no subject arrears, involvement in extracurricular activities and a minimum of 75 per cent attendance in class¹⁶

⁶ Ibid p 9, Terms of Reference.

⁷ Id p 37.

⁸ Id p 41 (6.1).

⁹ Id.

¹⁰ Id p 44 (6.3).

¹¹ Id, p 48 (6.1).

¹² Id, p 49 (6.6).

¹³ Id, p 49 (6.7).

¹⁴ Id, p 49 (6.9).

¹⁵ Ibid p 18.

¹⁶ Id, p 48 (6.5.5)

3. The limit on election expenditure should be Rs 5,000, with a report on the expenditure incurred to be produced within two days of announcement of the election results¹⁷
4. The method of conducting elections can be direct (presidential), indirect (parliamentary), nomination, and hybrid, based on the circumstances prevalent in the campus. In case of adverse ones, the committee recommends the nomination method, subject to a gradual shift to the election method within a period of five years¹⁸
5. A grievance redressal cell needs to be established to address conflicts that arise out of elections. This forum should comprise of the dean, an administrative officer, and two graduating students; a boy and a girl each¹⁹
6. The committee recommends that the election process be conducted within 6-8 weeks of commencement of the academic year and be completed within 10 days²⁰
7. The need to create a regulatory body similar to the Election Commission comprising non-partisan faculty members who will oversee the voting process

3) Objectives

A situation analysis to assess the political climate in campuses in India, by considering viewpoints and perspectives of multiple stakeholders in diverse universe of higher educational institutions in India, specifically in the light of *Lyngdoh Committee report recommendations on Campus Politics*.

The study aims to understand the prevailing concept of campus democracy educational authorities, campus leaders, and other stakeholders responsible for democracy, dynamics of students politics and level of involvement of students in governance processes in their colleges/ institutions/universities.

¹⁷ Id, p 49 (6.6.1)

¹⁸ Id, p 40 (6.1)

¹⁹ Id, p 68 (6.8)

²⁰ Id, p 47 (6.4.1)

4) Methodology

This Study is conducted specifically to understand the concept of campus democracy in various campuses across India. Hence, a case study method was employed and primary data was collected from respondents through the interview method. The purpose of the survey was to provide scientifically gathered facts and materials to come to the right conclusion.

4.1 Data Collection

Primary data collection was carried out through questionnaires (offline and online) in different colleges in South, East, West, North, North-East and South zones of the country. The information was collected from students, student leaders, faculty members, management representatives, and those involved in campus politics.

A structured personal interview method (incorporating the case study method) was used for the offline questionnaires. Questionnaires were framed for each category of respondents, duly filled and signed by them. The online questionnaires were uploaded on a website and sent to selected candidates.

This Study employed the interview and focus group discussion methods, taking into consideration several variables under study. Keeping in mind the kind of information sought, the questionnaire was divided into five different categories: General study on campus democracy, eligibility criteria for student candidates, election campaigning procedure, election grievance cell, view point of faculty and election financial expenditure. The data collection was carried out over a period of two months -- July and August. Various events that took place on college campuses during this period were documented in the form of photos and video recordings.

The RTI Act was also used in several universities, the replies of which were gathered and analysed. Information relating to student unions, elections, and implementation of Lyngdoh Committee recommendations were procured from 78 colleges through this method. (See Annexure V)

The Study covered government, aided and private colleges from tier I, II and III cities of India. They included colleges for arts, science, commerce, management, law, medicine and engineering, and several universities. The study covered 78 colleges in five zones: North 17, west 15, south 25, east 11 and north east 10.

The completed questionnaires were entered into a database and analysed thereon. The final analysis was done with the help of tables, graphs and pie charts.

5) Observations and experiences on different accounts of campus democracy

5.1. Category of colleges

The colleges represented in this Study were divided into two broad categories: By programme (Arts, Science, Commerce, Law, Management, Engineering and Medicine) and by type (private, aided, government and central universities). (See Table 2)

Table 1: Percentage of respondents (by programme)

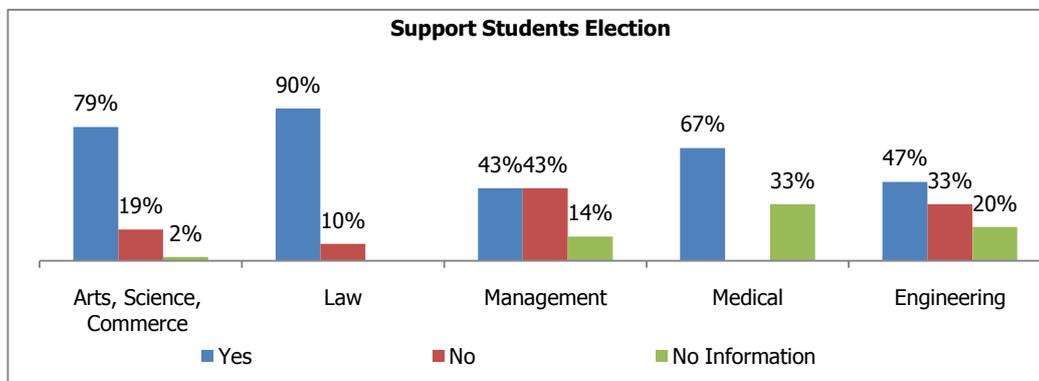
Category	Aided	Central University	Government	Private
Arts, Science, Commerce (Integrated)	64	50	63	47
Law	7	30	17	7
Management	7	0	4	17
Medical	14	0	0	3
Engineering	7	20	17	27
Overall	100	100	100	100

Table 2: Percentage of respondents (by type)

Category	Arts, Science, Commerce (Integrated)	Law	Management	Medical	Engineering	Total	Total
Aided	9	1	1	2	1	14	18
Central Universities	5	3	0	0	2	10	13
Government	15	4	1	0	4	24	31
Private	14	2	5	1	8	30	38
Overall	43	10	7	3	15	78	100

The nature of subjects taught in colleges is an important factor to assess the status of campus election. The Study revealed that Arts colleges had a more vibrant student participation in campus politics than those that offered professional courses, owing to the fact that the management does not support conduct of student election or campus politics in professional colleges (See Graph 2). It has been observed that academic load of career-oriented courses like engineering and management was found to be a major reason why students stayed away from campus politics.

Graph 1: Number of respondents who support students unions (in percentage)



Based on these categories, the Study assessed the level of vibrancy of student politics and the existence of campus democracy in colleges across the country.

The Study identified the following key issues as bottlenecks for campus democracy:

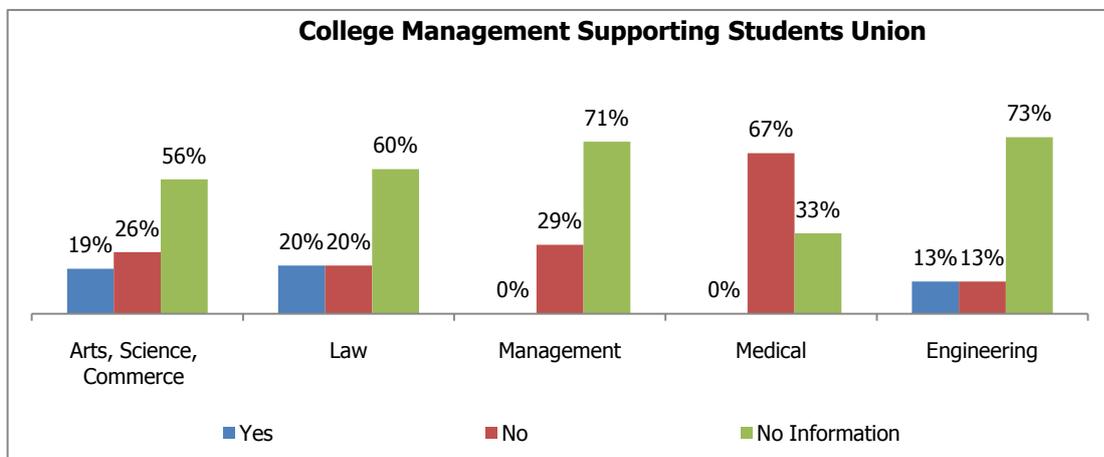
- 1) Academic constraints
- 2) Lack of interest
- 3) Restrictions on student activities on college campuses
- 4) Lack of a platform to spread awareness on campus democracy

- 5) Parental pressure
- 6) Lack of management support

It was observed through the Study that academic constraints often impose limitations on students who desire to devote time for political activities. Most respondents felt that they did not have adequate time to take part in any political activity owing to fixed exam schedules and the fear of performing badly in the same. A lack of interest in student politics is clearly visible among science, engineering, medical and management students. It is evident that the student's level of interest in the subject depends on the type of college he/she studies in. (See <http://youtu.be/6onaZufMyMM>)

The Study also revealed that 24 per cent of college managements did not support student unions (See Graph 2, Table 6), indicating that colleges are not keen on providing platforms for student representations, as envisaged and affirmed in the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations. Interestingly, about 71 per cent students support campus elections (See Graph 1). This implies that there is a general consensus among students that a system of student representation based on a democratic process of election is necessary.

Graph 2: Number of college managements that support student unions



6.1.1 Departmental politics

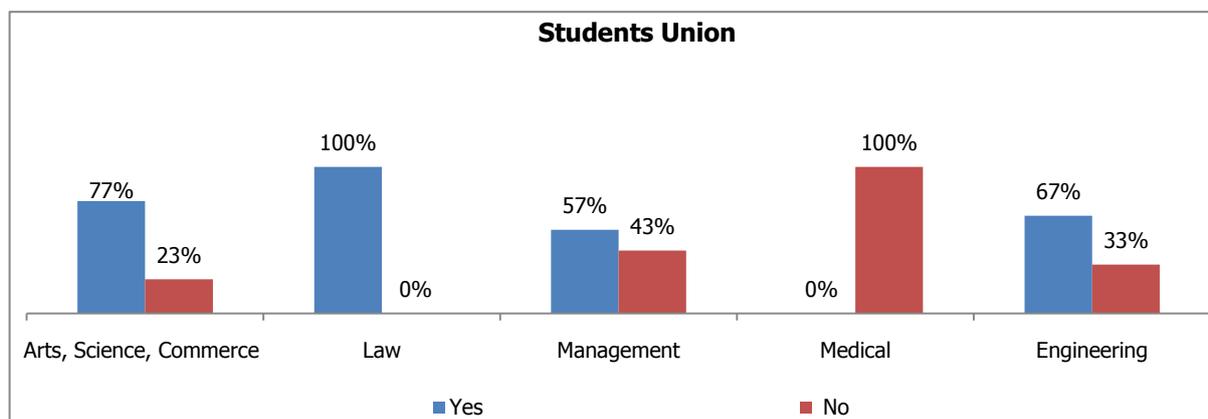
Student and departmental politics go hand in hand. Department wise activities/politics are a regular feature in integrated colleges that have a huge number of students. Though less than 29 per cent of the colleges have only Departmental Associations, they have a considerable influence on the major student elections taking place in the university/college concerned (See Graph 4). For eg: Presidency college, Kolkata, has Arts

and Science departments. Student leaders are elected on the basis of arts and science constituencies. Organisations like the SFI that has a considerable foothold in the college, select their candidates, turn wise, from the two departments. Some of the larger universities provide for representation systems for the university as a whole and for each department. Magadh University, Bodh Gaya, Bihar, has a university students union as well as departmental unions²¹. This has been instrumental in sustaining the representative system in the college. Many students are actively involved at the departmental level and able to contribute to the student community more efficiently.

6.1.2 Category vs. Campus Politics

The Study broadly assessed that engineering, medical and management colleges do not have vibrant campus politics. Tables 1 to 4 illustrate the divide existing in student representation and support for various representative systems. The Study found that the above category of colleges have a low percentage of student representation (students unions, councils) when compared to colleges that offer arts, science, commerce and law programmes (Graph 3).

Graph 3: Number of colleges that have students unions



Major factors causing this trend are academic constraints, enormous workload and rigid exam schedules. Students are more focused on academic pursuits and are reluctant to invest their time on politics, within or outside their colleges. The managements in such colleges have greater control over the students, especially as they are the decisions makers with regard to grades and attendance. There have been instances where students have

²¹ Magadh University, Bodhgaya University, Applied on 20 July 2010. RTI Received on 20 August 2010.

formed groups in protest of the management's failure to provide certain facilities or quality education or against suppression of student demands.

Personal story¹ 1 Dr Avinash Kumar, Chatrapati Shahuji Maharaj Medical University . In contrast, prominent medical varsities like All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), Delhi, has a well-structured election process, and candidates are allowed to conduct meetings and use handmade posters, pamphlets, banners and bit notices with the name of the candidates, for the purpose of campaignsⁱⁱ. (See <http://youtu.be/zmS6kmfR05Q>)

6.2. College affiliation

Colleges affiliated to universities are required to follow the procedure and systems prescribed by that university. However, it does not prevent them from forming a system of their own. The constitution of student councils, mode of elections, restrictions in student representation, and related details are left to the colleges. The Supreme Court had observed that colleges had the freedom to form a student representation system of their own. In fact, most colleges, especially private ones, neither have election systems nor student councils. It is left to the discretion of the college to have a system for student representation. For instance, many of the colleges affiliated to Kerala University follow the Presidential form of election.

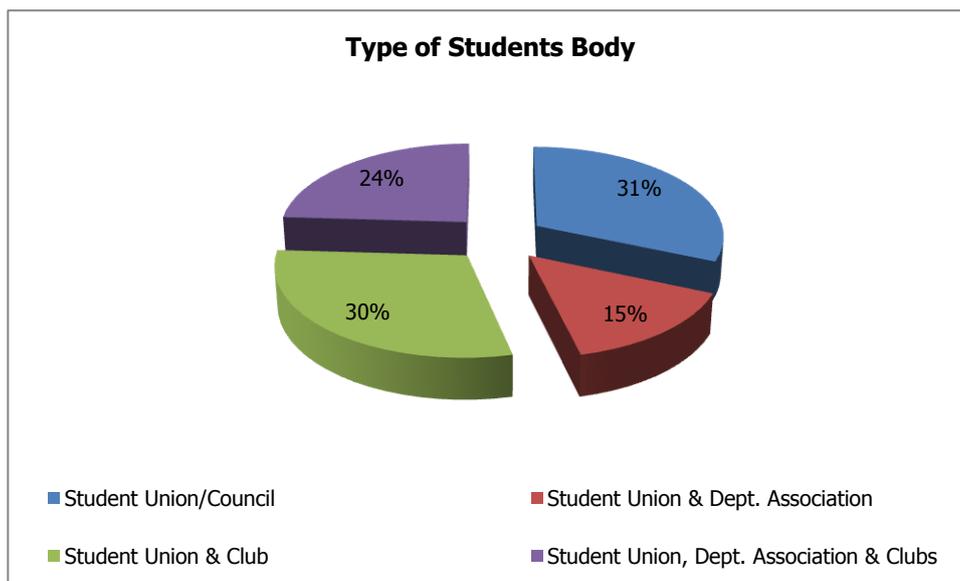
7) Student body structure and types

A student council is the main representative body of students, and student representation is a key feature of campus democracy. This Study traces the existence of different types of student groups in campuses across the country. Further, an analysis of the effectiveness of such groups was done on the basis of the responses received.

Several colleges have departmental associations and department wise groups or committees, in addition to student councils/unions. These associations are either elected or unanimously selected by the students, or nominated by the faculty members. Other types of student groups, such as reading forums, quiz, sports and other clubs also form an integral part of a campus. These forums help mould student opinions, especially those related to socio-political issues. These groups have a huge effect on the student political system, as they spread political awareness. The Speakers Forum at Sacred Heart College, Kochi, for example, has produced a large number of student leaders. Debates and discussions on socio-political issues also help form a vibrant polity and active citizenry.

Active discussion groups such as the Presidential debates at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) that discuss the political views of students and ideologies of student organisations help in nurturing future leaders. Student issues and queries are also addressed by student organisations. Such forums spearhead the cause for a vibrant polity. Unfortunately, such forums are not common, as most discuss only apolitical topics.

Graph 4: Types of student groups (in percentage)



Graph 4 shows the manner in which various student bodies exist in colleges that have a greater role to play in moulding a politically active citizenry. Colleges that have departmental associations and various clubs, in addition to major student unions/councils are largely effective in the making of a vibrant polity. Colleges have Reading Clubs, Nature clubs, Music Clubs, Film Clubs, etc., while departments in large Universities form associations. These associations have their own President/ Chairman and secretaries. As Graph 4 reveals, 24 per cent of the colleges have student unions, department associations and clubs. While the methods of functioning may differ, it was largely observed that these forums provided students with a platform to redress their issues.

The Study puts forth two prominent questions: Do colleges take the initiative to provide students with discussion platforms, and are the students able to utilise the same? In Graph 4 we see that nearly 30 per cent of the colleges allow non-political forums to exist with freedom to students to organise, discuss and debate on relevant topics. However, the topics of discussion are often subject to the scrutiny of the college management. The Study

observed through personal interviews with the students that while students agreed that it was alright for faculty members to control and manage such forums, they sought the freedom to choose the discussion topics.

7.1 Campus politics: While 25 per cent of the students who were interviewed for this Study felt that it was their right to be a part of campus politics, 19 per cent did not support the combination of politics and academics. An equal percentage of students supported campus politics as a democratic form of student representation that created future leaders. Eleven per cent felt that campus politics would lead to the formation of a vibrant student polity (Table 3), especially in campuses like JNU, where the youth take part in campus matters and strongly voice their opinions on socio-political issues.

These inputs cannot be viewed in isolation, as they contribute in measuring how well democratic principles are ingrained in the student community.

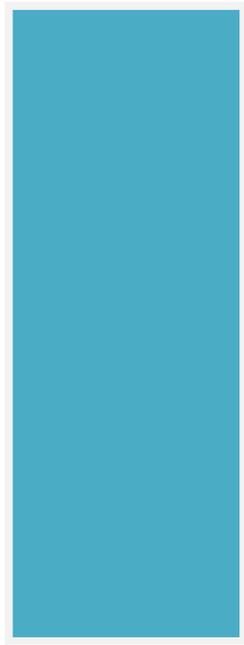
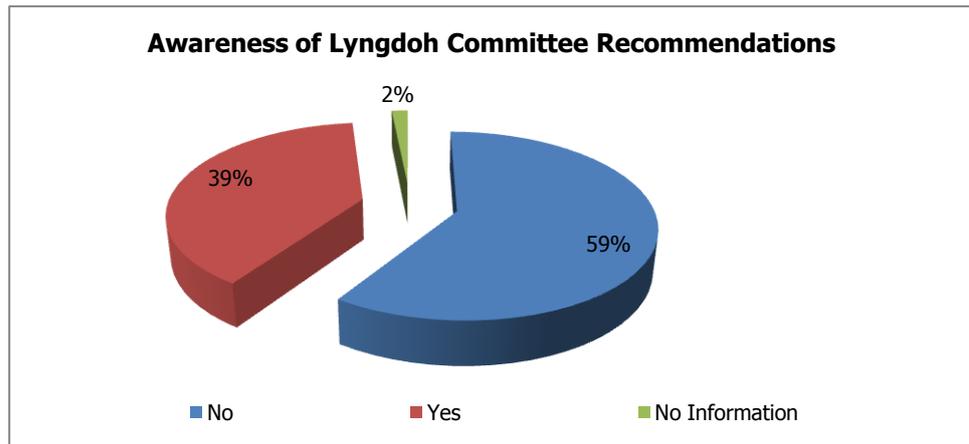
Table 3: Students’ opinions on campus elections

Students’ opinion on Campus Election	Percentage
Campus sans politics is not democratic	8
Dissatisfied/cynical with it because it does not raise and address campus issues	5
It creates future leaders	12
It is the right of the student	25
It leads to a vibrant campus	11
Oppose it, as academics should not be combined with politics	19
Oppose it, as it is violent	13
No information	7

48 percent of the students consider student politics in a positive light with nearly 8 percent strongly believing that a campus without politics cannot be considered as democratic. The underlying message is clear in terms of support for campus politics as represented in Table 3.

Awareness of Lyngdoh Committee recommendations: Even in colleges where a proper electoral system exists, with or without the participation of student organisations, students are not aware of the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations (Graph 5). Only 39 per cent of them had even heard of it. Very few knew about the same in detail. This includes student leaders and members of student organisations.

Graph 5: Awareness of Lyngdoh Committee recommendations



However, the state in which Lyngdoh Committee recommendations were adopted and implemented varies. Thirty eight per cent of the colleges/universities have not implemented the recommendations, while around 14 per cent have only partially implemented it (Table 4). Many universities and colleges have sent their responses to the government on the same. Universities like Hyderabad University serve as a model. In fact, they have framed a successful model code of conduct for student elections in the light of the recommendations.

Table 4: Percentage of colleges that have implemented the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations, partially or otherwise

Category	Yes	No	Partially	No Information
Arts, Science, Commerce	47	33	19	2
Law	70	10	20	0
Management	14	86	0	0
Medical	0	100	0	0
Engineering	33	40	7	20
Total	42	38	14	5

8) Factors determining campus democracy

Students form the major component of campus democracy. A vibrant polity needs a politically aware and participative student community. Student participation is integral to the existence of a democratic system. Student politics exists to raise and address the demands of the students.

Several factors determine what campus democracy is all about, highlighting the existence of campus politics:

8.1 Ideology: Student organisations are the major stakeholders in campus politics. Each organisation has a definite ideology that they adhere to and promote. The level of acceptability of their ideologies and principles might defer. Major players like the NSUI, ABVP and the SFI, supported by the Congress, the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Communist Party of India (Marxist), respectively, have a significant influence in several colleges, including major universities. Depending of the local political scenario, relatively minor student organisations also make their presence felt in several popular colleges.

A large number of regional student groups also function in colleges. Many of them are non-political organisations. The All Assam Students Union (AASU) is a major non-political party that functions as a major pressure group to the government. They are largely involved in social issues as well. The AASU (Personal Story2 5) strongly opposed the construction of mega dams, under the Subansiri Lower Hydro electric project. They were also active in financially supporting the farmers in buying farm equipment and potato seeds. With considerable support from the people, they widely influence the policy making process in Assam, and the North East in general. "AASU is a non-political organisation committed to the cause of students and the people of Assam. We have been actively highlighting social

issues, especially for people who have been affected by various governmental policies. Being a youth organisation, students have a large role to play in governance,” says Samujjaya Bhattacharya, Advisor to AASU, and President of the North East Students Unionⁱⁱⁱ.

8.2 Caste and religion: Student groups based on caste and religion are not an uncommon feature in colleges, especially in northern India. In Bihar, Chattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi, caste and religion are major criteria for selection. Major universities like Delhi University (DU), Banaras Hindu University (BHU), and Magadh University have groups that garner the support of students by their caste or religion. This phenomenon is largely considered an extension of the Indian political system. Dalit groups like the United Dalit Front (UDF), which has supporters in major universities like JNU, support the cause of reservation based on backwardness, Youth for Equality (YFE), an anti-reservation group has also been active in several campuses. Reservation is a much debated topic of discussion in student circles, especially when it has a direct impact on student admission and examinations.



YOUTH FOR EQUALITY

Do you know?

- Government is using 1931 Caste census for determining Backwardness in 2007.
- According to Mr. Fakirbhai Vaghela, Chairperson, National commission for schedule Castes:-
"Majority of the atrocities against Dalits are by OBCs, not by forward castes."
Still our govt. is treating unequals as equals.
- Don't you think government is encouraging suppression of the under-privileged?
- In 2005, MBBS admissions in Tamil Nadu, 86% seats were cornered by reserved category.

According to National Institute of Educational Planning & Administration report 2003

- In 8269 primary schools- no teacher
- In 115267 primary schools- single teacher
- In 62996 schools- no school buildings.
- In 70739 primary schools- no classrooms.
- In 95003 primary schools- single classrooms.
- In 84848 schools- no black board
- In more than 100000 schools- no electricity
- Only 34.6% of government schools have safe drinking water. 13.2% have urinal, 4.9% have urinal for girls.(source- NCERT)
- 79% SC/ST students leave school before class 5.

Still instead of reforming primary and secondary education, the government is impatient to implement reservation in institutes of higher education.

DESPITE THIS, WHY ARE WE SILENT?

BECAUSE WE DON'T VOTE

Why politics is ruining academics? Because we don't vote!
Why Political forces repeatedly neglect us? Because we do not vote!
Why right people are not at right places? Because we do not vote!

So Friends, the need of the hour is to break your silence and CASTE YOUR VOTE & MAKE YOUR VOTE COUNT to choose the right person.

PLZ DO NOT VOTE THEM WHO DO NOT COUNT YOU!

We can hear
The sounds of freedom
See the lights of hope
As we walk on the path of justice
.....its time for action together

Reach us at: North Campus: 9873850568, 9911738450, 99906569 South Campus: 9313509958, 9211649, 995318650 West Campus: 9811548797, 9990562278, 9868578749 East Campus: 9868700361, 98739871, 98182086 Central Campus : 9818552848, 9911445513, 9911765750

Email: youthforequality.du@gmail.com Visit: www.youthforequalitydu.blogspot.com

Figure 1: Poster of Youth for Equality, a students' forum against reservation

Universities like Lucknow University tackles the issue of caste and religion based groups by restricting the formation of any forums. The Dean of the College makes daily checks of the campus to ensure that students do not get together and form groups^{iv}.

9) Formation of the student council



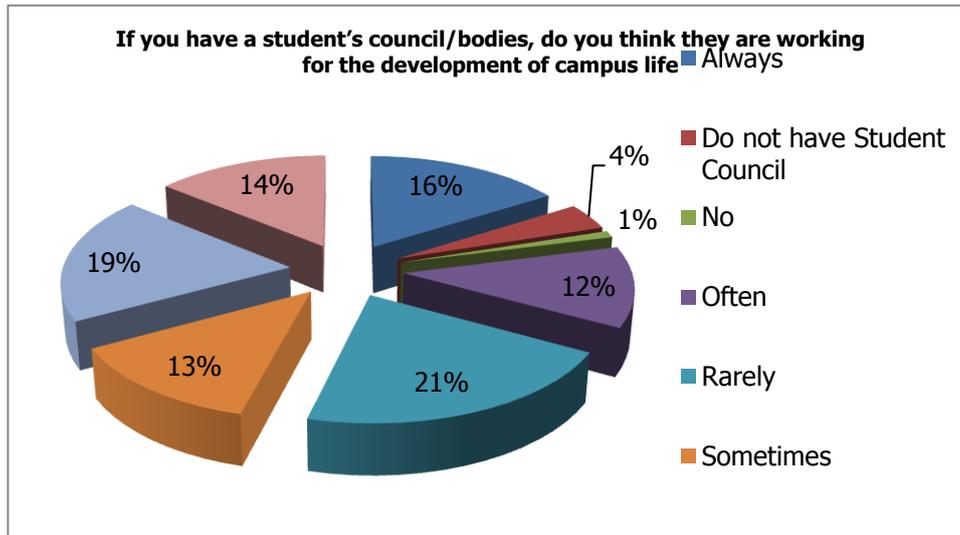
This Study revealed that colleges, especially those run by the government, have statutory provisions for formation of a student's council. These provisions also decide the method of formation -- election or nomination. With states like Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh imposing a ban on student elections, the situation of campus democracy looks quite dim. However, the Study found that in nearly 78 per cent of the colleges, the student unions/councils were formed either through election or nomination.

Figure 2: "The Student's Union has become inactive after the ban," Abhinav Pratap Singh, student Lucknow University'

A student council's responsibility lies in voicing the concerns of students and addressing their demands. The effectiveness of a student's council in redressing the grievances of the students is of vital importance. An analysis of functioning of students councils reflected mixed responses, especially in colleges where vibrant student politics existed. Twenty one per cent of the respondents said the students' union was not working towards their development, while 13 per cent found them efficient, sometimes (Graph 6). This clearly

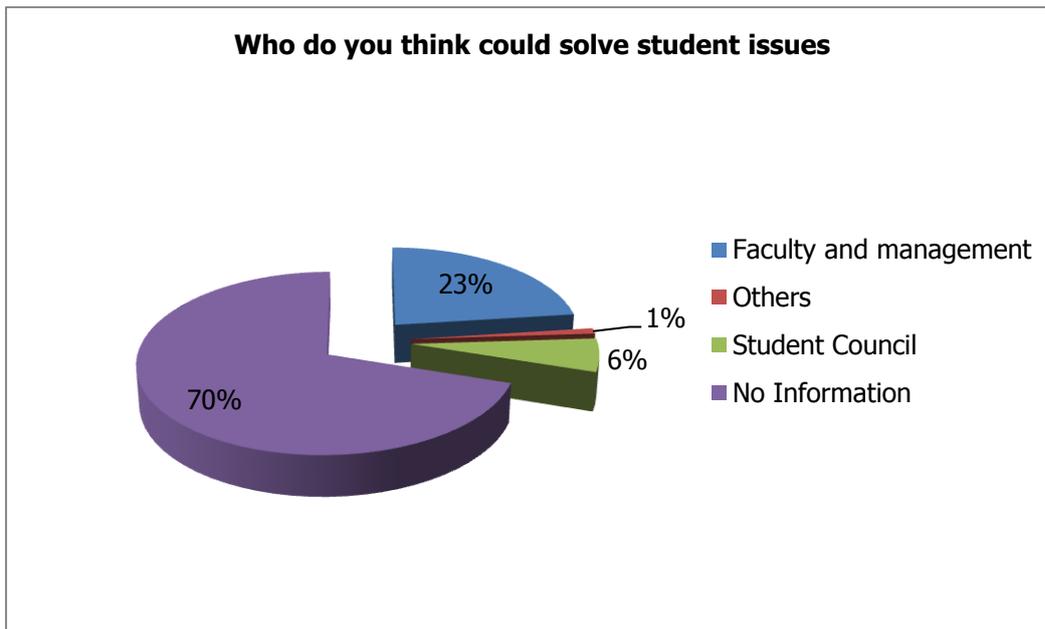
portrays the student community's views regarding the existing student representation system.

Graph 6: Respondents View on Whether Students' Council Works Towards the Development of Campus Life



The Study revealed that students sought a proper student body/council that would represent their concerns before the college management; one which truly stood for their interests. Only 16 per cent of the respondents felt that the student's council/union was working towards the development of the Campus while 13 per cent respondents sometimes think the council works for a better campus life (Graph 6). However, only 6 per cent of the respondents felt student issues could be solved by such councils, indicating that they sought a better functioning council (Graph 7).

Graph 7: Student Responses on Who Could Solve Student Issues



Campus democracy is built on the concept of equal representation. Groups and associations with different ideologies should be allowed to co-exist. It has been observed that where a particular student organisation, group or association dominated, the chances of addressing the demands of the student community were guided by the ideologies and interests of the said party. Umeshchandra College in Kolkata that is dominated by the SFI, for example, has a student council that is selected by their organisation's executive committee. This committee selects people from among their own members organisation for the posts of secretaries. Personal Story2 1...)





Figure 3: A scene from Umeshchandra College, Kolkata

10) Student elections vs. Student nomination

10.1. Student elections - Its relevance in a democratic system

The need for free and fair elections is vital to a democratic system. Campus elections are important for a vibrant campus polity, as that is when students get a chance to elect the representatives of their choice. The criteria for the choice differ. However, most students seek to elect a person who can stand up for student issues and is concerned with the development of the campus and student life. Student elections are important in strengthening the democratic process of the country. It is here that the youth are given an opportunity to experience the working of a democratic process. It gives them firsthand experience on how to conduct and manage an electoral system. The process encourages them to become leaders and learn the basics of student politics. Political bigwigs like former Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, senior BJP leader Sushma Swaraj, (CPI-M) General Secretary Prakash Karat, Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) chief Lalu Prasad Yadav continue to be politically active because of a strong understanding of the political system; something they learnt from their involvement in student elections.

Table 5: Percentage of colleges having election/nomination (by programme)

Programme	Election	Nomination	None
Arts, Science, Commerce	49	37	14
Law	70	30	0
Management	0	43	57
Medical	0	0	100
Engineering	33	33	33
Overall	42	35	23

Table 5 shows the percentage of colleges that follow an election/nomination system. Forty two per cent of the colleges follow the election process of determining student representation. Lyngdoh Committee had recommended that a representative council be determined through election. Nomination was to be used only as an interim measure,

reviewed every two years. None of the medical colleges where the study was undertaken had provisions for student representation through election or nomination. At the same time, 57 percent of Management colleges and 33 percent of the Engineering colleges did not have a student's body.

Students' interest in student elections: The number of students who vote is low in many colleges, including those in top universities like DU, where a mere 25-30 per cent turnout is the norm. A candidate who gets around 8,000 votes is a clear winner (Source: Delhi University^{vi}). The chances of using money and influence, therefore, increase in such scenarios. The Delhi University Students Union (DUSU) elections conducted on September 3, 2010, saw a mere 35 per cent student turnout²². (For more details see..Personal Story 1) In contrast, in politically active colleges in Kerala University and Calcutta University, the voter turnouts are usually 80-85 per cent.

The need to educate students on their franchise and involve them in political framework, within and outside the campus, is an important factor of campus democracy. Disinterest in elections has a larger effect on the level of political awareness and participation in democracy. The fact that a majority of the students oppose and equate campus politics with violence (37 per cent, Table 3) and show disinterest in becoming student leaders (25 per cent) points to the imminent need to improve the existing situation. Nafisa J, faculty member at Kalina campus, Mumbai University says,(See Personal Story2 4) "The Lyngdoh Committee recommendation on leadership training for students is laudatory, but impractical, as these skills cannot be taught in classes."^{vii} The education system, especially college managements, has to take concrete steps to ensure that students are involved in the political process through democratic representation. Providing them with adequate platforms to express their thoughts and impart principles of democracy is vital to build a vibrant citizenry.

10.1.1 Election Campaigning

Student elections are usually held within 1-3 months after colleges commence. The Study learnt that the campaigning methods differ in colleges. In colleges that have limited political activities, the candidates conduct personal campaigns – they interact with students in classes or outside. In Salt Christian College, Nagaland, (See Personal Story2 7) candidates use the assembly hall to make speeches and garner voters' support^{viii}. In a majority of the

²² <http://www.delhielections.com/2010/09/04/786817/low-turnout-at-dusu-elections/index.html>

colleges, campaigning on campus is restricted. While campaigning in big colleges like those of DU and Mahatma Gandhi University, Kerala, move on to the streets, it is conducted under strict police surveillance^x. Instances of skirmishes with the police have taken place outside the campuses.



Figure 4: A scene from BJB College, Bhubaneswar

Electoral candidates and student organisations use slogans, manifestos, posters, pamphlets, wall paintings, and flyers during the campaigns. Student in campuses like DU use vehicles for the same. The JNU model of election campaigning includes an open forum for discussion and debate, wherein the student candidates face questions from the voters. Such discussions are vital to winning the election. In fact, the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations considered the JNU campaigning process as a model to follow²³. JNU student candidates limit their campaigning material to handmade posters and leaflets, with restraint on expenditure.

²³ Id p.47 (6.2.1).



Figure 5: A scene of student political activity in Delhi University

Sticking of posters, wall paintings, banners, etc., are common during elections. (For more detail see..Personal Story 3 While several colleges have banned cut-outs on campuses, student candidates have put up the same at college and hostel entrances. Such cut-outs are common during events like Fresher's Day, an evening where the new students are welcomed by their seniors. This Study learnt that colleges did not object to the use of handmade posters, pamphlets and wall postings outside the campus. However, processions, rallies, use of vehicles, animals and loudspeakers are restricted or not

allowed. The Study found that colleges were against the use of such campaign models.



Figure 6: Election banners in Capital Law College, Bhubaneswar



After the ban on student council elections in places like Lucknow (Lucknow University), major student organisations have become inactive. Though they smear the campus' walls with posters and writings, the same is not allowed on the premises. The formerly active student polity has now reached a dead end after the ban.



Figure 7: Wall paintings on the front wall of Lucknow University

Case Study: Instances of defacing and destroying of posters and wall paintings take place in colleges. Student organisations often use such techniques to malign other groups. The University of Hyderabad had to issue an Order against destroying of posters during elections, with penalty for those who did so. While such restrictions do serve as preventive measures, they do not stop student political groups from being at loggerheads with each other.

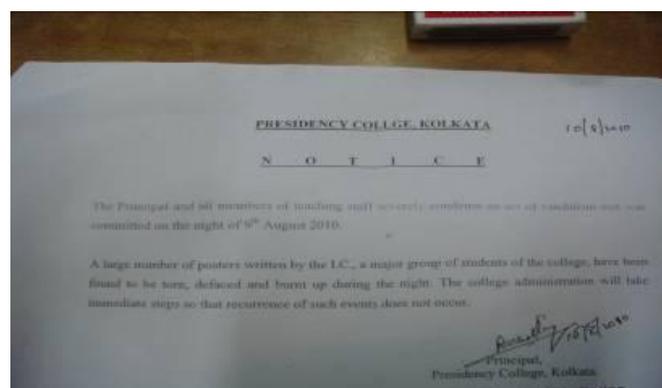


Figure 8: A notice issued by the management of Presidency College, Kolkata, against maligning of posters

Independent Consolidation, (See Personal Story2 2) a non-political student organisation, insisted that the Principal issue an order preventing the party in power to stop destroying and maligning wall posters. Such instances went unchecked since they do it during the night making it difficult to trace the culprit

In the past, processions and group speeches were a regular feature of student elections. However, several colleges have restricted the same on college campuses. Debates, discussions and personal interaction are the permitted methods of campaigning. Even in colleges that hold a relatively mild form of election, candidates go to classrooms and talk to students about what they plan to do if elected as representatives. Class representatives talk to their classmates. In Kalina Campus, Mumbai, students go to each classroom and ask for votes.

Campaign trends vary according to the existing student political system. Colleges with active student organisations have hectic campaigns. With political parties indirectly supporting them, the elections are frenzied with posters and banners donning the college campuses. In some colleges, elections are glamorous events, with poster and creative banners showcasing the names and faces of the candidates. (See <http://youtu.be/w6ON3Gy7VN0>) The use of caste or religion is made indirectly. Although this is expressly prohibited in the Election Code of Conduct of Universities, caste and religion continue to influence voting patterns.

10.1.2. Mode of campaigning: The use of loudspeakers, vehicles, animals, distribution of printed posters and pamphlets, and eatables is prohibited by colleges during elections. College authorities depute personnel to keep a check on violations. However, it is difficult to measure the violations taking place; especially when the major contenders are guilty of the same. For example, money and cosmetics were distributed to attract voters in DUSU elections. Interestingly, in spite of media reporting, the authorities failed to stop it. It was only after the Courts ruling on violent campus elections that the Code of Conduct was enforced and the erring candidates were reprimanded. In 2009, seven candidates' nominations were cancelled citing violation of the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations.^x

The use of printed posters is very common in colleges in places like Kolkata. Big banners are installed at the entrance of Ashutosh College, Kolkata (See Personal Story2 3). Student organisations are particularly active during elections and a huge amount of money is spent on campaigning alone, which goes unaccounted (The exact amount was not available).

Figure 9: A scene in front of Asutosh College, Kolkata

10.1.3 Role of political parties:

Political parties support student candidates and organisations indirectly. The DU election is an apt example here, as several political parties operate from outside the campuses. However, select members of the parties manage to enter and make speeches.

Student organisations also invite party leaders to their colleges in order to win the support of the students. However, this is not



allowed during elections and most of them abide by the rule. "Inviting political leaders to interact with students is a worthwhile step to make students aware of the larger political framework. It also encourages students to be a part of the political system they belong to. However, when steps are taken for the sole purpose of securing votes or showing off their prowess, they need to be curtailed", says Prof K C Abraham^{xi}.

Several universities and colleges do not allow outsiders to enter their campuses during elections. In Vyara College, Surat, it is mandatory that the students display their Identity Cards at the polling booths, with strict checking by election officers.^{xii} Campaigning at the

time of elections is also prohibited. Bogus voters were reported in the Senate election of Panjab University.²⁴ Generally it's the Election Commissioner who manages the elections and is assisted by staff to check that only students with valid identities are allowed to vote. While there are specific posts of Proctor in universities like Delhi and Aligarh whose role is to act as Election returning Officers overseeing the entire election process in the college; Returning Officers are appointed from among the faculty members by the Dean or Principal to manage the election process. A code of conduct is then issued by the concerned authority.

This Study noted that political parties constantly observed the student elections process in colleges. The student community form a major vote base for these parties during general elections. As students who are above 18 years of age are entitled to vote, political parties reach out to them with membership campaigns, ideological speeches, discussion and awareness sessions. Major student organisations like the NSUI conduct membership drives with massive advertising to encourage students to join them. National parties are encouraged to support their students' division, while ensuring adequate student participation.

Political parties lend indirect support to students and student leaders, as several of them are their members. In states like Kerala, students are given posts in local committees and invited for meetings. Orientation and study classes are also a common feature. These orientation classes are different from the leadership training envisaged in the Lyngdoh recommendations. These meetings propagate the parties' ideologies and help the students understand the same. Some meeting are held to determine who would contest various posts in the colleges.

The Study revealed interesting facts related to financial expenses of student candidates and organisations. These expenses are sometimes met by the political parties. "Political parties usually support candidates from influential and rich families. The election costs are also shared by them. Even in colleges where student elections do not take place, political parties try to find some sort of an entrance; they even offer to fund college fests and other activities. Money is used to attract students to join political parties", says Mahesh R, a law student at Delhi University.^{xiii}

²⁴ http://www.indiaedunews.net/Punjab/Lukewarm_response_to_Panjab_University_senate_elections_6053/, Sept. 19 2010, 11:10.

Political parties and student organisations often interfere in issues related to fees, admission and examinations. In fact, course fees are often decided taking into consideration the larger political ramification. Major political parties in Kerala included college issues in their election agendas, such as the subject of self-financing colleges levying fees and money being taken for admission. Boycotts, walkouts, rallies and processions are common methods used by student organisations to show their dissent.^{xiv} There have been instances when such protests have turned violent, forcing the police to intervene.

10.1.4 Campus politics vs. local politics

Campus politics is directly related to the local political scenario. When a specific political party dominates at the local level, it is evident in college campuses as well. Colleges in Mumbai, for example, have been considerably influenced by the Maharashtra Navanirman Sena (MNS), who are widely supported in the area.



Figure 10: Scene in front of Kalina Campus, Mumbai

Colleges with active student organisations tend to have a strong impact on local politics. Several key members of student unions are from political parties. While such organisations are not directly related to political parties, they are strongly influenced by them. The Study found that colleges have kept strict guidelines for preventing political parties (local or otherwise), and strangers from entering the campus. In DU, for example, the student who wins the election is given a chance to interact and take pictures with leaders of major national political parties.

Case Study: A student from SIES, Mumbai who had lost her library card got a duplicate one made, only to find that her lost card had been misused and someone had issued books in her name. The librarian fined her Rs 400 for not returning the books on time. Infuriated, the girl returned with four Maharashtra Navanirman Sena party workers, who barged into the Principal's office and demanded action. The Principal asked the student to file a written complaint, assuring proper action would be taken. However, the fine was not levied and the student was advised not to resort to such actions, as there was a proper grievance redressal system in place.

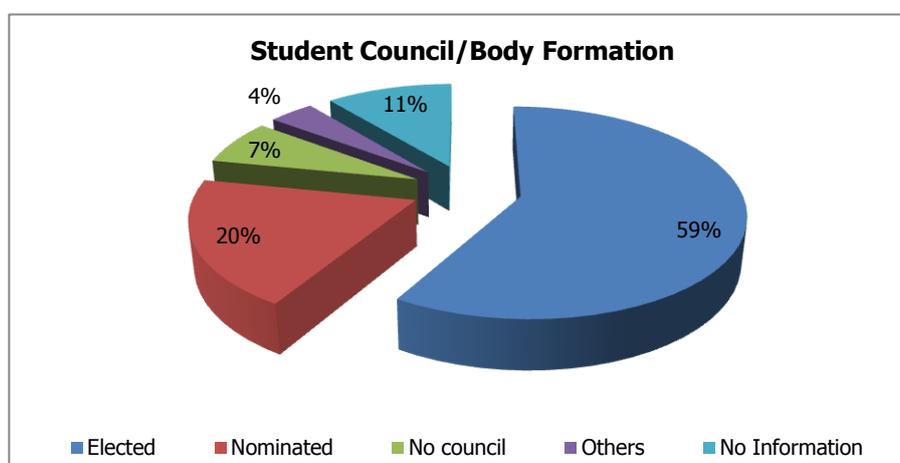
The local political situation has a major influence on the political system in a college. State parties have their own students groups and many of them try to enter colleges through unscrupulous methods. Regionalism is also an important criterion in campus elections. Colleges in the North East strongly support such regionalism. The AASU believes in working for the Assamese population and strongly opposes groups that pose threats to their regional interests. The Union attracted national attention for submitting a memorandum in 1985 called the AASU Accord to the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to protect their regional interests. There was considerable infiltration of Bangladeshi immigrants, posing a serious threat to the Assamese population. The Accord was to protect such infiltration and preserve the cultural interest of the population. According to Simanta Takuria^{xv}, General Secretary, AASU and the All Guwahati Students Union, "AASU stands for a unified Assam and the students of Assam are active upholding the same. They work in the larger interest of the Assamese community." (See **Error! Reference source not found.**) In fact, unions like the Bodo students union and the All Nepali Students Union (ANSU) are also region-based groups. (See <http://youtu.be/iuegO9mNixY>)

The MNS, for example, is vociferous in upholding the Marathi population. The local region has a major role to play in campus politics, especially where there exists strong regional groups with a considerable support.

10.2 Student Nomination

According to the Lyngdoh committee recommendations, the nomination system was to be used in exceptional cases as an interim measure.²⁵ The Lyngdoh Committee sought the formation of a democratic system of student representation. It recommended an electoral with a proper structure -- a Chairman/General Secretary and other secretaries. However, most colleges now opt for the nomination method of student representation. In fact, nearly 7 per cent of the colleges have no student groups at all.

Graph 8: Type of formation of student council



In colleges that are prone to large-scale violence and political interference during elections, the election system has been replaced by nomination, as a solution to ending the hassles. Lucknow University and Mumbai University are examples of the same. The Gymkhana Committee in Karnatak University, Dharwad, follows the nomination process, wherein the Class Representatives of the Post Graduation Department are selected from each class²⁶.

"The nomination system is preferred over elections, as the latter usually causes violence. The college management found it hard to keep up a peaceful academic atmosphere on campus. With the nomination system in place, the situation is peaceful and the college management is in control," Dr M S Joshi, faculty at Government Engineering College responded to the survey^{xvi}. The nomination system was implemented by college managements as an effective measure to control the student representation process. The

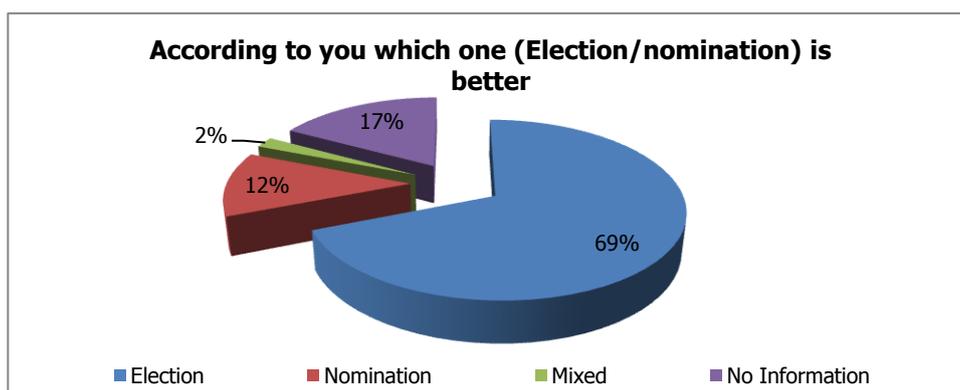
²⁵ Ibid p 40 (6.1.3).

²⁶ Karnatak University, Dharwad, RTI Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 24 August 2010.

recommendations, however, suggested an election system instead of nomination to select student representatives.

The Study revealed that in some colleges, students who secured the highest grades were automatically selected to the student council by the college authorities. Nearly half of the colleges surveyed used the nomination method, while less than a quarter elected their representatives. Students, however, did not support the nomination system, with about 69 per cent in favour of elections (See Graph 9). Of the total respondents, only 12 per cent wanted the nomination system. The students, however, wanted a system of election that was free of political interference, with about 30 per cent opposing any such interference (See Table 1). Students in colleges like SIES, Mumbai,(For more details see.Personal Story 5...) felt that faculty members and the management nominated those students who did favours for the college. The student who finds the highest number of sponsors for college fests is preferred.

Graph 9: Student responses on choice of student representation

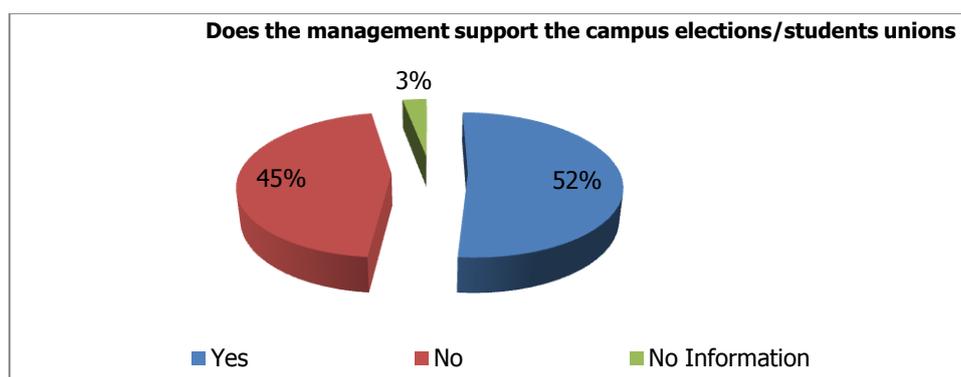


10.3 Support system of the management/faculty: The student council is a formal body, selected or elected from among the students. Most college managements take the student council into confidence with regard to college issues. This includes conducting of fests, organising programmes, exam schedules and facilities for the students.

A separate fund is allocated to the student's council to conduct meetings and arrange programmes, and college managements assist them in the same. Nearly 85 per cent of the colleges that were surveyed were found to allocate funds to their students unions on a regular basis. Allocations of funds are done by the management and the expenses incurred are submitted by the concerned student representative. Generally colleges, including private ones, provide support to student council activities. However, problems arise when student council members try to use the said fund for other purposes. Allegations were raised against

the student's council of a Kolkata college, when the allocated fund was used for a function by a student organisation. Such instances are exceptional, and financial assistance for student union activities is important for the development of a vibrant campus.

Graph 10: Management/Faculty's Response on Support for Students Union/Elections



Fifty two per cent of the management/faculty respondents of the Study said they supported the representing bodies (Graph 10). However, the study shows that only in 15 per cent of the colleges has the management taken steps to form student unions. (See Graph 2, Table 6 and Graph 10)

Table 6: Number of Colleges (in per cent) Where College Managements Support Student Unions

College management supporting Student Unions	Yes	No	No Information
Arts, Science, Commerce	19	26	56
Law	20	20	60
Management	0	29	71
Medical	0	67	33
Engineering	13	13	73
Total	15	24	60

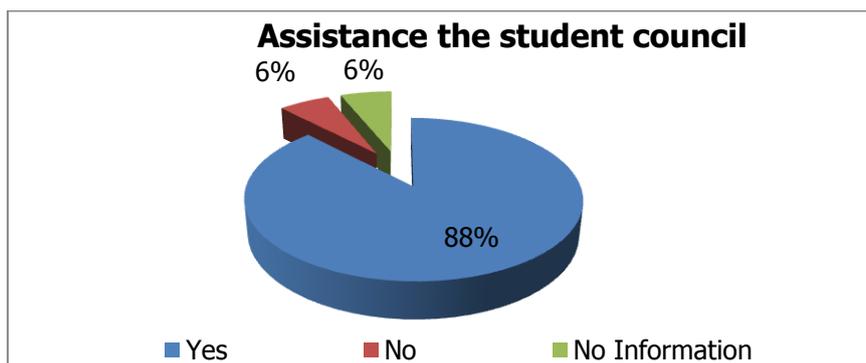
In some colleges, the managements arrange for adequate facilities, appoint a neutral observer or a Proctor who takes care of issues and complaints related to elections. The

counting and declaration of results are done by the authorised persons, generally the faculty.

Election grievance cells comprising of faculty and students are constituted by the college administration. However, the Study revealed that colleges do not have a proper mechanism to redressing election-related grievances.

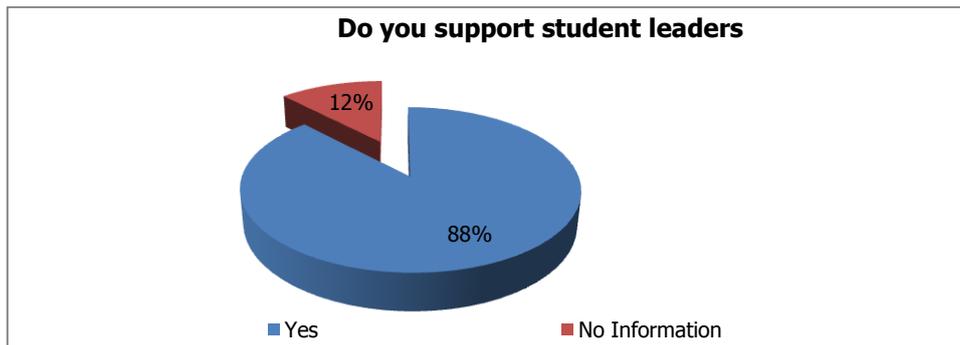
10.3.1 The role of faculty: The faculty plays a key role in promoting campus democracy. They act as advisors to students, student unions and certain student groups. The Study revealed that a majority of the students felt that the faculty could redress their grievances more effectively than the student's council. In colleges, where managements have a strong control, the faculty has a larger role to play in the democratic process. They specify the criteria for selection of candidates, nominate the student representatives, and act as coordinators to students unions.

Graph 11: Faculty Responses on Assisting Students' Council



In colleges where student elections are conducted, faculty members are appointed as Returning Officers. In addition, the faculty members make all arrangements for the elections; from the voting process to declaration of results. The responsibility they shoulder has made them an indispensable component of campus democracy. Faculty members have an important role in encouraging students and teaching them democratic values, within and outside the classrooms. They give students a platform to express their grievances and find remedies. It is the faculty of a college that provides representation to the students by supporting leaders among the student community; an important facet of campus democracy. Graph 12 shows that 88 percent of the teachers support student leaders in all their endeavours.

Graph 12: Faculties Response on Supporting Student Leaders



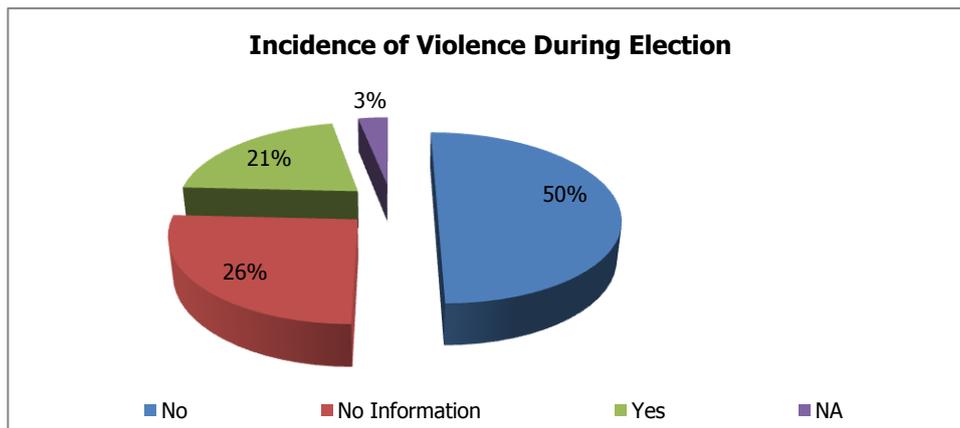
However, a balanced student life is the need of the hour. While faculty members do have an upper hand in academics and attendance, they need to be able to bring about a balance between interest in academics and co-curricular activities.

10.4 Issue of Violence

Instances of violence during elections are numerous, especially in colleges that have politically inclined students and organisations. Several minor skirmishes take place during elections. However, when these amount to damaging of public or college property and physical harm to students, the police are called to intervene. Elections in several colleges in Delhi, Bihar and Kerala are conducted under strict police surveillance. This has a serious effect on campus democracy and tends to equate campus politics with violence, causing students to stay away from the same.

The graph below shows students' response on violence in their colleges/universities. 21 percent of the students testified that violence occurred during campus elections while 50 percent said that violence didn't occur during election time, supporting the fact of peaceful student election.

Graph 13: Responses on violence on campus during elections



While Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) suspended 136 of its students and rusticated 55 others for disturbing the peace and harmony of the college in April 2010^{xvii}, as many as 165 students were suspended in Lucknow University^{xviii}. Former Vice Chancellor of Lucknow University Prof Ram Prakash Singh made news by supporting a crackdown on violence during student elections in 2007. This was during former Chief Minister Mulayam Singh's regime, which openly supported campus politics and student leaders.

The incident of Prof H S Sabharwal of Madhav College, Ujjain^{xix}, who was lynched to death during elections in 2006, was a case study that the Supreme Court took into consideration when coming down harshly on student politics. A fight broke out between the ABVP and the SFI, leading to the arrest of 57 students of Himachal University before elections on August 27^{xx}. Around the same time in Kerala, the Kerala Students Union (KSU) clashed with the police in Kollam^{xxi}, injuring several student activists. Instances of violence due to student politics are aplenty, especially in states and colleges that strongly support student organisations.

Violence and skirmishes are common in colleges where students are politically motivated. Allegations on illegal methods of voting are aplenty. The Guwahati Students Union election results, for example, were kept on hold by the Guwahati University for more than a month and declared only when student organisations turned aggressive and cornered the principal at a meeting^{xxii}.

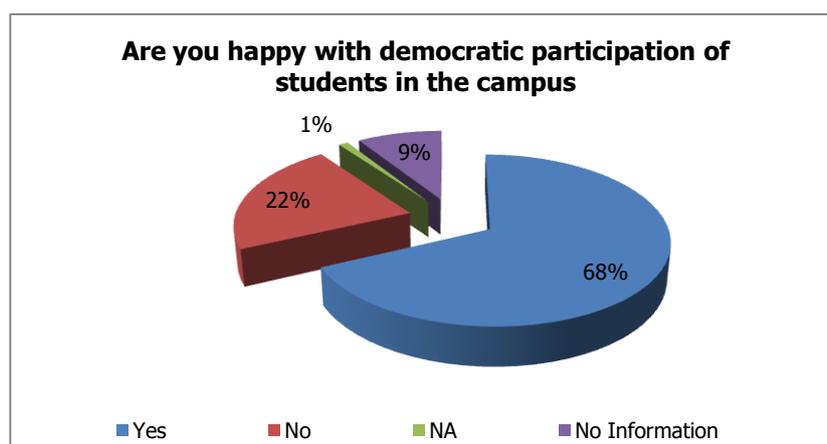
11) Campus Democracy - Addressing Student Issues

Campus democracy is based on the method of student representation; one that exists in order to provide solutions to student issues. It was observed through the Study that student issues were generally academic in nature (relating to grades, attendance and exams); those that come under the purview of the college management. The students' right ends where the college's authority starts. While students cannot interfere in such issues, they have the right to a transparent and efficient merit system, which conducts exams and declaration of results in a proper manner. However, students are frustrated by the poor standard of teachers and lack of facilities. Unfortunately, students do not have a platform to raise their voices, the Study revealed. There have been instances where college managements have assumed complete control of student affairs, including functioning of students groups.

The challenge here lies in understanding how a proper student representation system can effectively tackle student issues. A truly democratic campus exists when the students themselves are involved in the decision-making process.

In most of the colleges studied (75 per cent), there existed the office of Dean of Students' Welfare; one that served as a mid point between the students and the college management. For example, the University of Mysore's Dean of Students' Welfare, elected from among faculty members, addresses student issues.²⁷

Graph 14: Student Responses on Democratic Participation of Students in Campus



Graph 14 shows that 68 percent of the respondents are content with democratic participation of students. The Study traced the factors that satisfied them.

²⁷ Mysore University, Karnataka, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 27 August 2010.

It is unfortunate when a student's rights to quality education is not met, or limited. It is worse for those from poor families or backward communities. These students look forward to studying in a college that has an effective mechanism to hear and address their problems. Students are comfortable in colleges where proper education and adequate facilities are provided. The Government Polytechnic College, Aurangabad (For more details see..Personal Story 7), used to have a counselling centre where the problems faced by students were probed and addressed. A faculty member was authorised to provide solutions to the same. However, this system has become defunct now, with the college principal directly interfering in student matters. Such forums for student grievance redressal are important in supporting the cause of campus democracy.



Figure 11: Student Counselling Centre, Government Polytechnic College, Aurangabad

Several student issues arising within each department are addressed by the faculty members themselves. The Study revealed that 23 per cent of the students felt that the faculty could redress their grievances (See Graph 7).

Interestingly, even when college managements failed to address their issues, the students did not complain; some of them put on a state of indifference.

11.1 Role of Student Organisations and Student Unions:

Addressing student grievances is a primary duty of the college. Student organisations often act as pressure groups to get the students' demands met. In around 21 per cent of the colleges that were surveyed, student organisations were found to be active (Table 2). Campus politics is a strong forum where students can voice their concerns. The Study observed that student organisations compete with each other to identify student issues and taking up the same with college authorities in order to attract voters. This 'ideology war' keeps the college management on tenterhooks. These pressure tactics vary in form and intensity; from filing of affidavits, taking out processions, shouting of slogans and walkouts, to more aggressive forms like boycotts and damaging of property, in addition to the use of wall paintings, posters, banners and flyers. This kind of violent student politics existed during the 1970s and the 1980s. It has, however, decreased in the past few decades.



Figure 12: A scene inside the canteen of Presidency College, Kolkata

The role of student unions in colleges is to understand what students need and bring the same to the attention of the college administration. This Study revealed that most respondents were satisfied with the functioning of student bodies and understood their limitations. In JNU, student union members went on a hunger

strike demanding better hostel facilities, as about eight students were crammed in a one room. "The protest continued for 11 days, forcing the management to arrange additional facilities till the new hostels rooms were made available to the students. Hotel accommodation was provided at a rent of Rs 1 lakh per month for the reallocated students. Funds for the building of eight new hostels were later sanctioned," said Vijoo Krishnan, Former Chairman, JNU ^{xxiii}.

TRINAMOOOL CHHATRA PARISHAD
ASUTOSH COLLEGE UNIT

NAME:

DEPARTMENT:

ROLL NO:

YR:

PHONE NO:

DATE:

- 1) IS THERE ANY CLASS ROOM ACCOMMODATION PROBLEM?
A) YES B) NO
- 2) IS THE QUALITY AND PRICE OF FOOD IN OUR CANTEEN IS OKAY?
A) YES B) NO
- 3) IS THERE SUFFICIENT BOOKS AVAILABLE IN THE LIBRARY?
A) YES B)NO
- 4) DOES THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE LIBRARY NEED TO BE CHANGE?
A) YES B) NO
- 5) SHOULD THE AMOUNT OF SELF-FINANCING COURSE BE REDUCED?
A) YES B) NO
- 6) THE HONOURS CLASSES ARE REGULARLY TAKEN?
A) YES B) NO
- 7) DO YOU THINK THAT OUR COLLEGE MANAGEMENT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DECREASING GRADE OF ACCREDITED STATUS GIVEN BY NAAC?
A) YES B) NO
- 8) DO YOU THINK THAT OUR COLLEGE NEEDS A GENERATOR FOR BETTER FUNCTIONING OF THE COLLEGE DURING POWER CUT?
A) YES B) NO
- 9) DO YOU THINK THAT THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE READING ROOM NEEDS TO BE CHANGED?
A) YES B) NO
- 10) IS THE TOILET CLEANLINESS AND MAINTENANCE UP TO THE STANDARD?
A) YES B) NO
- 11) DO YOU THINK THERE IS SUFFICIENT PURIFIED DRINKING WATER IN EACH AND EVERY DEPARTMENT?
A) YES B) NO

Figure 13: A sample of the feedback form of student organisation Trinamool Chaatra Sabha from students of Ashutosh College

The need for proper representation of students, even in organisations that governed colleges, was envisaged by the University Grants Commission. Generally, the executive/academic council and senates of universities have posts for elected/nominated students. This helps in maintaining transparency in governance. Says T. Narendran, former chairman of Cochin University of Science and Technology, "As a part of the Senate, I was

able to bring student issues to the attention of the authorities. Such a system is important, especially in big universities that have numerous departments." xxiv



Figure 14: Trinamool Chaatra Sabha supporters giving feedback forms to students in Ashutosh College, Kolkata

One of the best examples of student activism is the AASU. They went a step ahead and helped in framing a curriculum for the colleges in Assam. AASU's involvement in social issues of the region is a positive step in the history of student politics.

The association recently set up an Educational Cell Fund of Rs 5 lakh for underprivileged students. Such endeavours are required for sustenance of student politics as a tool for development.

However, in the recent past, several prominent student organisations have failed to address student issues. Students have begun to lose faith in them and feel that they are more interested in power and are often violent in nature. As mentioned earlier, the Study revealed that students tend to equate politics with violence. Nearly 37 per cent of student respondents did not support campus politics (Refer Table 3; Statistics calculated by taking into consideration those that oppose different forms of campus politics). While 5 per cent of

the students are cynical about campus politics, 13 per cent totally oppose it, as they believe it encourages violence. In addition, 19 per cent wanted academics and politics to be kept apart.

It was observed that out of the 25 per cent of respondents who felt campus politics was a right of the student, several objected to the violent methods resorted to by student organisations (Table 2).

Students also believe that the activities of student organisations are confined to opposing and demeaning other groups, as revealed by the Study. Such groups have distanced themselves from the students and reality. This has, however, not prevented students from supporting and raising their issues before the student's council (nominated or elected). The students don't support a system of politics based on vested interest. The use of money and influence, a common feature in major universities like that of Delhi has, in fact, decreased the confidence of students in such organisations. Premjish A, NSUI member of JNU^{xxv}, points to the fact that student organisations are trying hard to win the confidence of the students, which has deteriorated over the past few years.

11.2 Student grievance process

Freedom of expression is directly related to the students' right to voice their concerns. Students should be given a platform to express their opinions regarding the college. This also extends to larger issues relating to socio-political matters.

Students face a lot of problems as individuals, as well as in their groups. Individual issues are generally reported to a faculty member or the college Principal/Dean. However, when an issue pertains to a larger group of students, representations are made to the concerned authority through the student council, depending on the faith students have in the council. The students reach a common consensus with the help of student representatives and student unions discuss the matter with the college management. The student council plays a significant role in this process, and the management consults them before a decision is taken.

Student groups are effective in mobilising support from students in taking up issues with the management. They use wall posters, rallies, and boycotts to get the management's attention to relevant issues. In Delhi University for example, the eviction of students from

hostels to make accommodation for the Commonwealth Games in July was opposed through display of posters, shouting slogans and conducting rallies^{xxvi}. A unique example of such attempt is the 'Wall of Democracy' in DU campuses, which is a platform where students/organisations can express their opinions.



Figure 15:- The Wall of Democracy in Delhi University

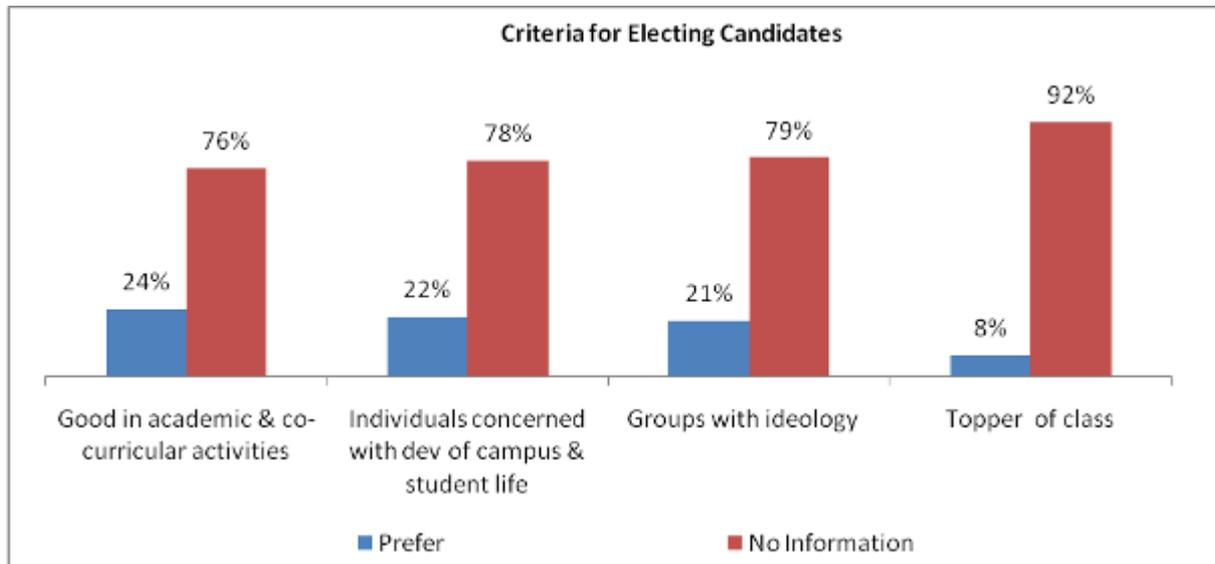
This platform is utilised by students or organisations to convey messages or opinions on specific issues (reservation or fee hike, for example). Open forums in colleges also discuss student issues. This is usually conducted in classes or is held department wise. SIES, Mumbai, has a complaint register, where students pen down their grievances^{xxvii}. In colleges, a faculty member is usually appointed as a Class Coordinator to address the grievances of the students.

11.3 Student leaders

Student leaders are an essential component of campus democracy. Students who show a genuine interest in politics become leaders. While for a majority of them it is a personal choice, a few others get nominated (by virtue of excellent academics or involvement in co-

curricular activities) as representatives. College campuses indeed serve as nurturing grounds for student leaders.

Graph 15: Criteria for Electing Student Candidates

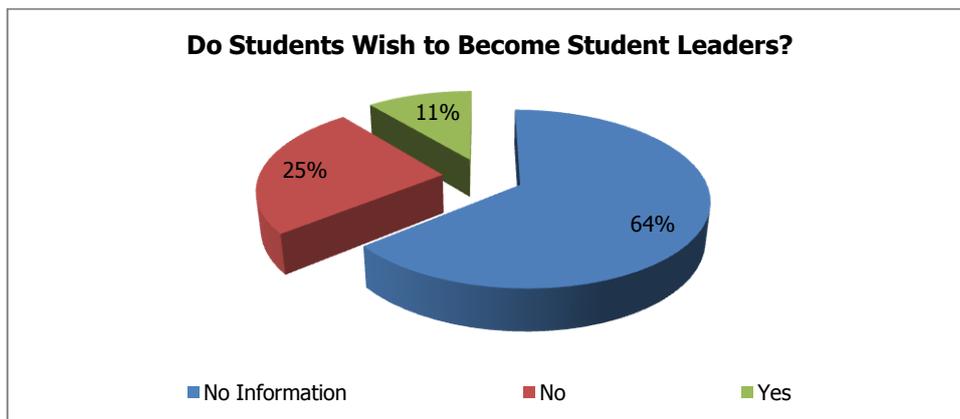


The eligibility criteria for student leaders vary according to the representation system existing in colleges. In a college that follows the nomination system, a student who gets the highest grades is usually selected as a representative by the faculty. Further nomination of students who excel in co-curricular activities and have considerable support from the students is also common. On tracing patterns of satisfaction with student leaders, it was noted that students favoured an even platform of student representation through election. Students felt that nominated leaders were not able to deliver as promised. Less than 8 per cent of the student respondents were in favour of a system wherein the best students were nominated as representatives (Graph 16). Abhinav Pratap Singh, a student in the Science Department of Lucknow University^{xxviii} said, "Unity is an important criterion for campus democracy. It is the same unity that decides student leaders. However, when such unity does not exist, student leaders and campus democracy fails."(For more details Personal Story 4...)

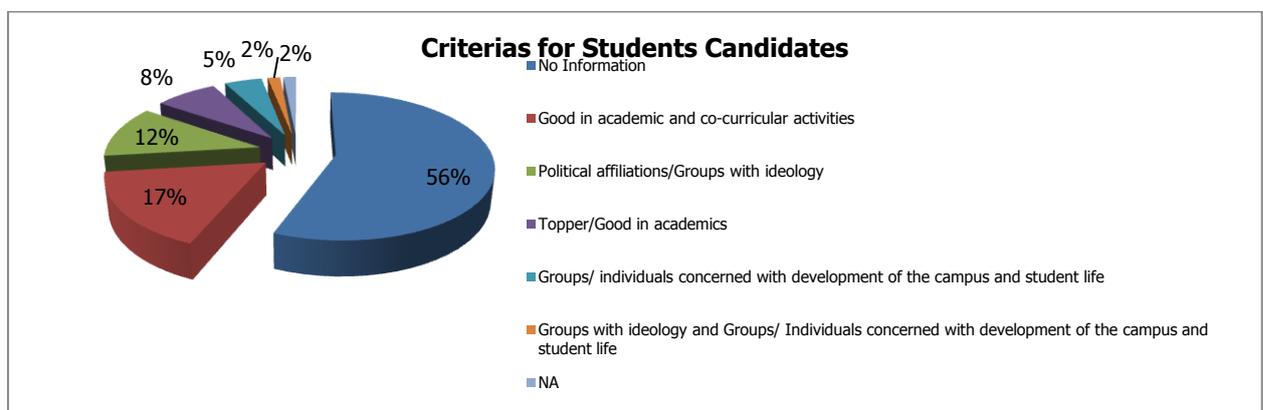
The number of students who aspire to become Student leaders are however in the down trend (Graph 16). 25 percent of the students said that they do not want to become student leaders while a mere 11 percent aspired to become student leaders. On a broader scale, the percent of students showing disinterest in politics and be a part of the system has effected

the growth of campus democracy in India. However the percentage of students who want to have a democratically elected student representative body is on the higher side, which supports the fact the students do not negate democracy, but only negates violence, which often is related to campus politics. (See <http://youtu.be/u-W7ot687os>)

Graph 16: Percentage of students interested to become student leaders



Graph 17: Students view on candidate criteria for student elections



While a large percentage (17 percentage) of students seek a representative who is good at both academics and co-curricular activities, they insist on someone who is able to work for

the development of the student and improvement of campus life. This is a measuring scale used to choose elected student leaders.

The Study observed that student organisations did not have a policy per se to promote student leaders^{xxix}. However, it is common that a member who displays exceptional qualities and is committed to the ideology of the organisation becomes an obvious choice. While the Lyngdoh Committee envisaged leadership training for members of student unions, none of the colleges that were surveyed have implemented it²⁸. Student organisations have their own system of selection and training. This is effective in providing orientation on larger socio-political matters. Those intending to lead and represent students at various forums need to be apt at management and mobilisation. Limiting them to theoretical classes will not serve the purpose. There is the larger need for practical exposure and this can be achieved by engaging in political activities and discussions.

Influencing factors: Student candidates are elected depending on the number of voters they can attract. In reality, there is interplay of glamour, power, and money involved. It is not uncommon for children of politicians or eminent personalities to become leaders. Several DU student leaders have had constant financial assistance from their parents. "Contesting the elections was a personal decision for me. My parents were worried about me contesting elections in a university that is known for money and influence. However, they knew I was committed," said Anupriya Tyagi, Joint Secretary of DUSU^{xxx}.(For more details see..Personal Story 2)

²⁸ Id p 57 (6.10).

Case Study: Admission was open in Deogiri College (For more details...See Personal Story 8) and a Cell was formed to take care of the procedures. Many parents arrive in the college to admit their children in the campus. Issue arose when a person who had support from Bhim Sena, a student group was prevented admission. The group demanded immediate admission of the student. The group alleged discrimination of Marathi students. The Leader of the Sena, who is the son of a prominent Shiv Sena leader then went on to stop the admission procedure



Figure 16: Police intervening in Deogiri College, Aurangabad

throwing the tables and chairs of the Admission Cell. They stopped the classes and started scaring away students who tried to resist. The security force of the college with their lathis was stopped by the group. The police was left to interfere and a huge force came to the college in their van. They dispersed the crowd and further asked the students to go to the classes. Talks with the Group and Principal were held on behalf of the Police. The College later decided to admit the student.

The Study also revealed that students abide by the rules of the organisation they are affiliated with. The NSUI, for example, conducts a training programme for its members. Classes by senior members, orientation on the ideology and principles of the organisation and involvement in political activities are methods by which the core values of an organisation are inculcated in new student members. In fact, it is a student's involvement in such activities that decides his/her future as a leader. It was also observed that student leaders were members of political parties. According to Vivek Vishal, ABVP, JNU^{xxxi}, "The ABVP does not force students to join political parties. Those interested will do so on their own accord. However, students are not encouraged to get involved in mainstream politics. As a student, he/she should focus on working for the student community and affiliation with a political party might deter this."



Figure 17: Student mobilisation can act as an instrument for social change. A scene from Assam

There are, however, no restrictions on student leaders joining political parties. Most national or regional parties support their own student organisations; the prominent being the Congress (NSUI), CPI-M (SFI), CPI (AISF), BJP (ABVP), Trinamool Congress (Trinamool Chatra Sabha), MNS (Maharashtra Navanirman Vidharthi Sena) and Shiv Sena (Bharatiya Vidyarthiya Sena).

12) A Comparison of Campus Politics in Government and Private Colleges

Student politics has been dominant in government colleges for decades. They were considered to be the playground for politics, at a time when private colleges were few in number. Private colleges sprouted in the last decade as an effect of liberalisation in the education sector. Interestingly, these colleges are run by politicians who often run a chain of

such institutions. Campus politics has a historical tradition in government colleges, while it is seldom seen in private colleges.

Government colleges lack effective mechanisms to tackle student issues and tend to neglect genuine concerns of the students. Lack of proper facilities, poor quality of education, and inefficient faculty are common concerns in all government colleges. Students at Guwahati University feel that the lack of facilities and poor quality of education will affect their future and careers.(For more details..See Personal Story 6) Limited options of learning is also a major concern, and no student organisation has been able to tackle the same. Student unions have failed to take up genuine concerns with the concerned authorities.



Figure 18: "Lack of proper facilities is our main issue", Neha Bora, Student, Campus Law College, Guwahati University^{xxdii}

12.1 Transparency and Openness: Government colleges function according to the rules and regulations prescribed by the Government.

As all government colleges and universities are subject to regulations and strict rules and guidelines, the tendency to override provisions is not easy. For example, even if a student's union pressurises the management of a government college to change a few of its rules, there is a formal process that has to be followed. Sanctions from the concerned department authorities are necessary. Transparency exists in such colleges, as they are regulated by proper authorities. Financial expenditures are audited, and all rules and orders have to follow a strict procedure. Most importantly, they come under the ambit of the Right to

Information Act. Therefore, all documents have to be kept in order and information is to be provided to whoever seeks for it. Public Information Officers are posted in all universities for this very purpose.

The student council is formed as per the statute of the university and all colleges affiliated to it are expected to follow suit.

Election or nomination is conducted as per the rules framed. A code of conduct for elections is framed and followed accordingly. Campaigning and auditing of expenses is done as per the statutory rules and the college has to ensure that facilities for the same are in place. The statute generally provides for the appointment of a faculty member as an Election Returning Officer. He/she will conduct the elections. Student organisations are active in government colleges and often make demands to the administration. There have been instances wherein these organisations have used the rules to their advantage. A students' organisation in Kerala University, for example, was successful in preventing a move to replace the Presidential method of election with the Parliamentary mode. The Kerala University Act, however, had provisions for the Presidential mode of election²⁹.

In privately owned colleges, it is the management that controls and makes the final decision in all matters that pertain to the college. Here, the level of transparency and openness is less, when compared to government or aided colleges. Although these colleges are required to follow general guidelines set down by the government and the university to which they are affiliated, the management takes power into their own hands for vested interests. After the Supreme Court gave its verdict on how elections are to be conducted, colleges were given the freedom to decide if and how they wanted to conduct elections. However, as evident from the Study, most privately owned colleges, including aided ones, have not followed the recommendations and do not have in place an election system or even a proper student body.

The managements of private colleges usually curtail the formation of any student unions or association and have been strict in preventing the entry of major student organisations. Student politics is, therefore, restricted in most private colleges across India.

12.2 Student participation: It has been noted that student participation in elections has decreased over the past few years. The Study observed that in colleges where student organisations were active, the students were generally politically active as members of such

²⁹ Id, p 73.

organisations with knowledge of the political climate. In government colleges, where systematic student elections take place, the process of campus politics is decided by student unions, which have a huge influence on the students. Voting patterns differs in colleges, based on the strength of the student unions, influence of the leaders and rapport with the students. Factors like glamour, money and influence also have a major role to play in garnering the support of student voters in colleges like Delhi University.(For more details see..

While in government colleges, a large voter turnout during elections is witnessed, it is difficult to note a uniform trend in private colleges. Students are generally dissatisfied with the nomination process followed in private institutions, but favour a person who excels both at academics as well as co-curricular activities (Table 3).



Figure 19: "We have no interest in politics": A scene from SIES College, Mumbai

13) Lyngdoh Committee Recommendations- Effectiveness and feasibility

The key points of the recommendations include:

- Disassociation of student elections from political parties
- Framing of student election models – The Parliamentary mode of election in bigger campuses and the Presidential method for smaller campuses, or a mix of both
- Eligibility criteria: 17-22 years for undergraduates, 24-25 for postgraduates (subject to exceptions); students with criminal backgrounds barred from contesting elections. The candidate should be a regular student
- Election process to be completed within 10 days
- Maximum allowed expenditure is Rs 5,000. Audited accounts to be published by the candidate
- Election code of conduct for student candidates and managers: Procession and public meetings allowed only with the sanction of college authorities. A ban on the use of loudspeakers, vehicles and animals during campaigns
- Setting up of grievance redressal cells consisting of a Dean, one senior faculty, an administrative officer and two graduating students (one male and female)
- Nomination of candidates for the student council to be used only as an interim measure

13.1 Elections

Elections are held in a majority (nearly 45 per cent) of the colleges surveyed, as shown in Table 5. Lyngdoh Committee recommended Elections to be conducted for representation of students. The nomination system was considered to have serious flaws and to be resorted to only as an interim measure³⁰. However, very few colleges have adhered to the guidelines and moved to the electoral form of representation, when compared to those that have taken to the nomination system. In fact, the numbers of colleges that have stopped elections are great. The Study has observed that the proposed review of student representation that was to be conducted in the second, third and fourth years of study have not been done. The Study further observed that colleges have banned elections and replaced them with

³⁰ Id p 40 (6.1.3).

nomination, as a means of compliance with the recommendations. This, however, is the opposite of what the Committee recommended. The Lyngdoh Committee did not have a mechanism to monitor the implementation of its recommendations.

13.1.1 Election period

Elections are generally held in the first three months of commencement of an academic session. Universities follow their own guidelines and procedures for the same. In large universities like DU, both college wise elections and DUSU elections take place. While departmental elections are common in other universities, the Universities conduct elections once in a year. The dates for nominations, withdrawal of nominations, polls, and election results are provided accordingly.

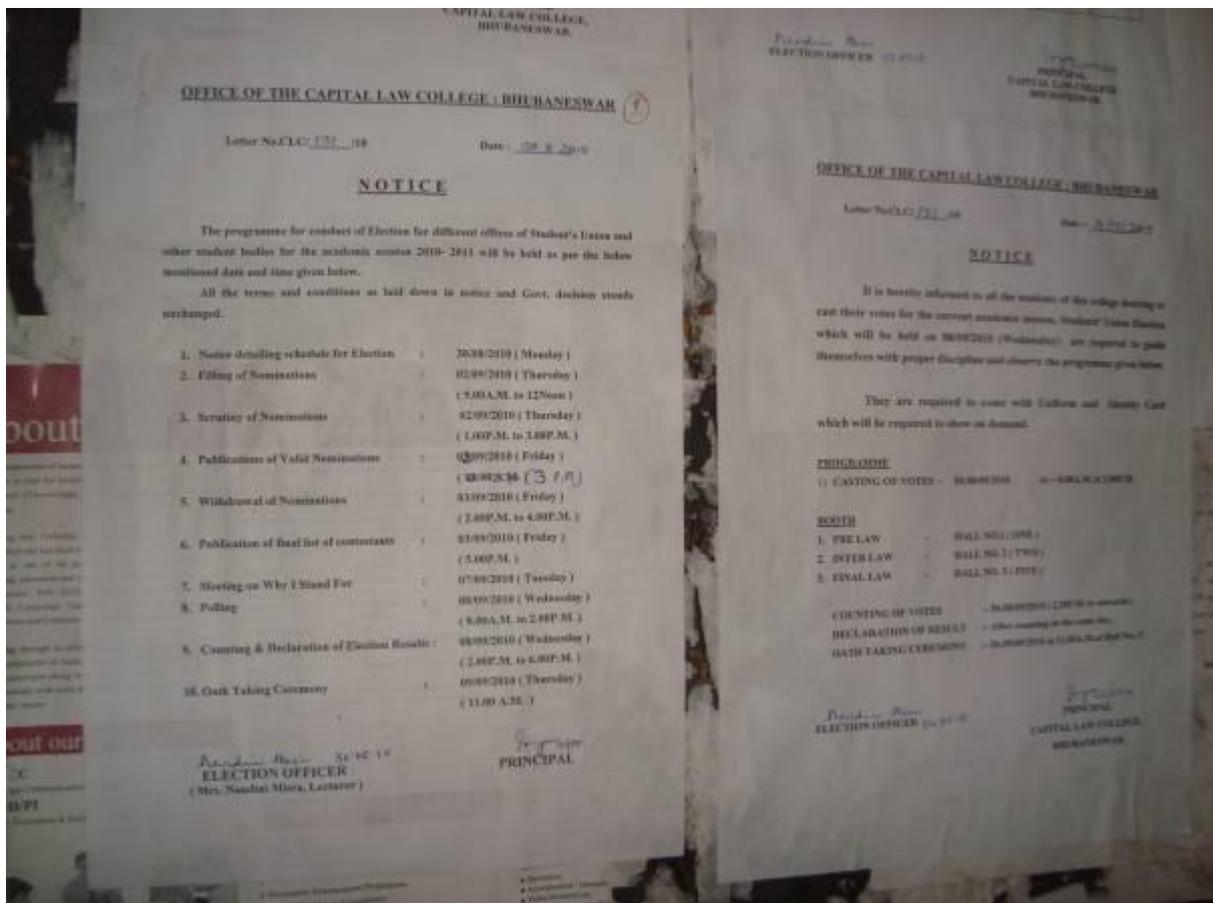


Figure 20: Call for Nomination, Capital Law College, Bhubaneswar

13.2 Eligibility criteria

The criteria for contesting elections help in judging the quality of the students. The Lyngdoh Committee recommendations on age, attendance and grades are widely debated. It limited the maximum age to 24 for students studying professional courses and 28 for research

scholars. The Study learnt that student organisations were not in favour of a fixed age limit. There have been instances where 30-year-old students have stood for elections. Elections in JNU were halted as several of the candidates were above the prescribed age limit ^{xxxiii}.

The Study revealed that several colleges had enforced mandatory age limits, keeping in mind Lyngdoh's recommendations. Other criteria for selection of students vary according to the method followed. In colleges where the nomination system is followed, students are nominated by the principal/faculty on academic merits. A student who is good at academics and takes active part in co-curricular activities is unanimously selected by the students. In some colleges, the student with the highest grade is automatically nominated.

In colleges where the election system is in place, the criteria for grades and attendance are followed. Seventy five per cent attendance in class is an eligibility criterion for nomination in six out of 10 colleges covered under the Study ^{xxxiv}. It has been observed that colleges insist on a student securing a minimum of 50 to 60 percentage in order to be eligible to stand for elections. In addition, the contestants should not have any academic arrears. Major student organisations ^{xxxv} have objected to this criterion, saying it is against the principles of democracy.

13.3. Campaigning

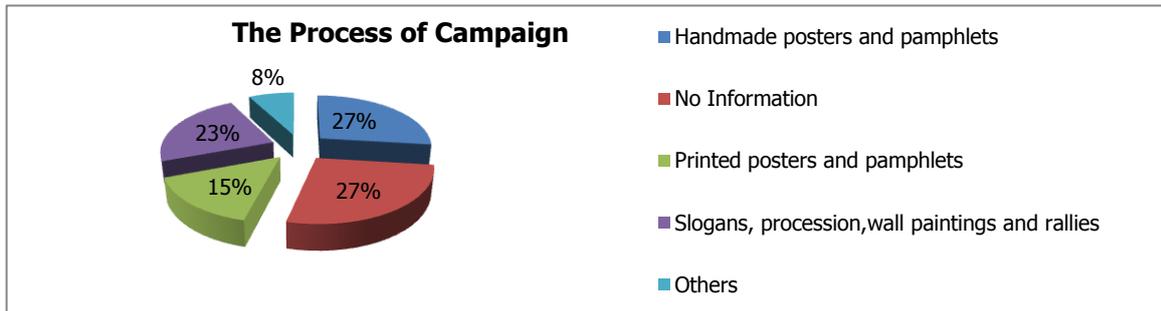
The Lyngdoh Committee recommendations clearly outlined restrictions on campaigning. The Committee was aware of the excessive use of money in the campaign process, especially for printed posters, cut-outs, processions and rallies, and use of vehicles. A majority of the colleges surveyed have now strictly enforced a code of conduct for the election period. Candidates are only allowed to use handmade posters, leaflets, banners, in addition to making speeches, organising discussions and conducting personal interaction sessions with the students.



Figure 21: A scene from PGDAV College, Delhi

However, it was found that in spite of a stringent Code of Conduct, almost 15 per cent of the respondents said printed posters and pamphlets were still been used for campaigning (See Graph 16). The cancellation of student nominations in DU has made candidates and student organisations wary of violations. In the DU elections held on September 3, 2010, campaigning was confined to the 'Walls of Democracy', speeches and personal interactions, unlike earlier, where intensive campaigning with massive of use of printed posters and pamphlets was the norm.

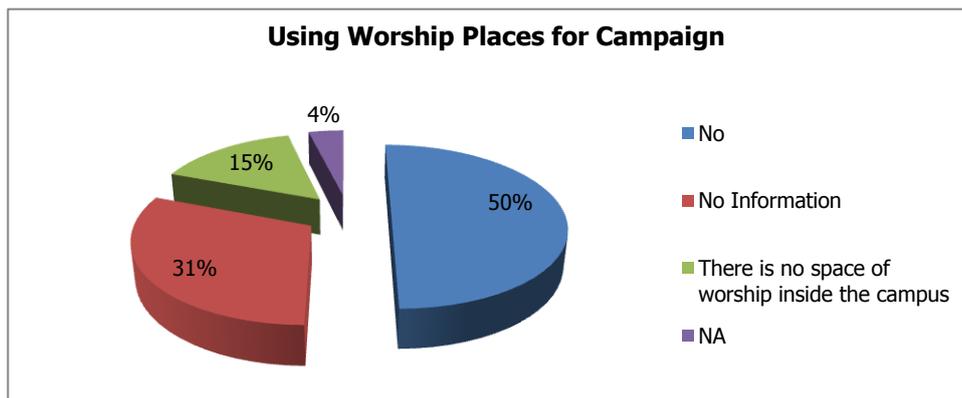
Graph 16: Process of election campaign in colleges



The Lyngdoh Committee also recommended the abolition of all kinds of canvassing.³¹ However, peaceful campaigns are allowed, subject to permission from the college authorities.

Animals are not to be used in any colleges/university, although the use of vehicles is common the Study found. In addition, no worship places can be used for campaigns. More than 50 per cent colleges adhere to this rule.

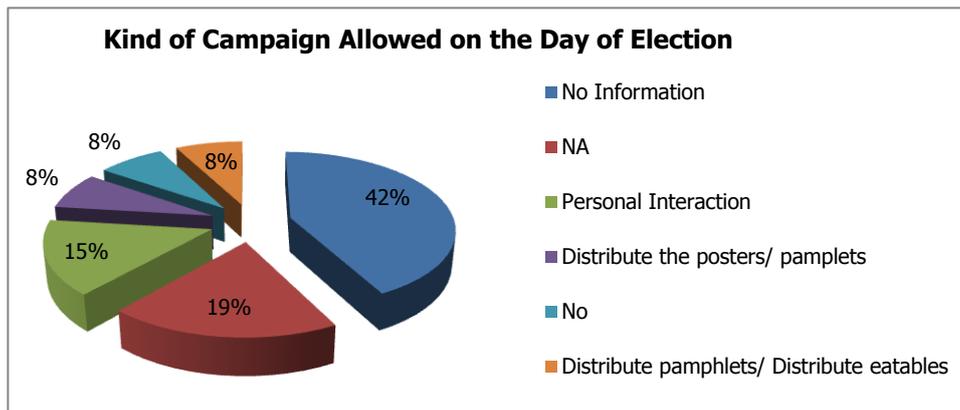
Graph 17: Using of worship places for campaign during elections



Nearly 40 per cent colleges allow campaigning through personal interaction and distribution of posters and pamphlets on the final day of elections.

³¹ Id p 40 (6.7.4)

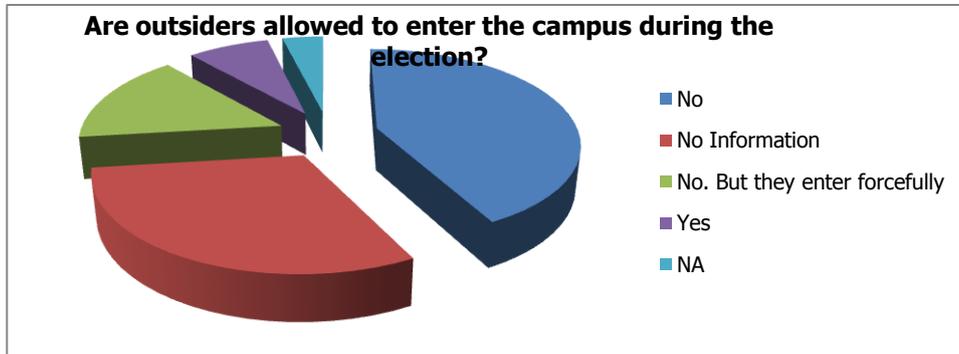
Graph 18: Kind of campaign allowed during the polling day



Outsiders are not allowed inside college campuses on the day of election, the recommendations state. However, it was revealed that a small percentage of colleges were unable to control the inflow of outsiders, as most of them force their way into the campuses. While casting of votes is permissible only for authorised voters with valid identity cards, instance of bogus voting has been noted in some universities like Punjab University³².

³² Ibid p 44

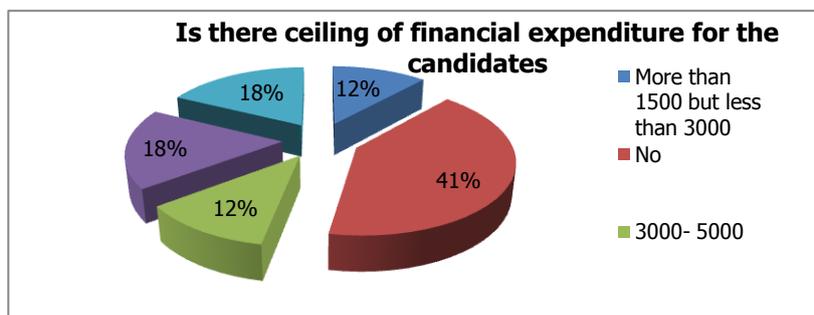
Graph 19: Student Responses to Outsiders entering college campuses during elections (in per cent)



13.4 Financial expenditure

The Lyngdoh Committee recommendations stated that no more than Rs 5,000 should be used for election campaigning. A majority of the colleges that follow the recommendations have imposed this limit on financial expenditure.

Graph 20: Ceiling of financial expenditure on colleges



Graph 20 reveals that nearly 41 per cent colleges do not have specific limits on financial expenditure.

While colleges do prescribe limits, students end up spending more. The Study revealed that 18 per cent of student candidates spent more than Rs 5,000 with nearly 29 per cent spending less than Rs 1500. There has been a significant change in the amount spent after the implementation of the recommendations (See Graph 21).



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Larry's China

30435

TAX INVOICE

REGD. OFFICE : UNITED HOTELS LIMITED, SUJAN SINGH PARK, NEW DELHI - 110 003 (INDIA)

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DATE	TIME	TABLE	STWD.	COVERS	BILL NO.	FOLIO NO.
09/08/2008	17:12	5		5	K0281003	

PARTICULARS	QTY.	AMOUNT	PARTICULARS	QTY.	AMOUNT
MILK SHAKE	1	150.00	SPECIAL FOOD II	2	500.00
KARANTAN BIRYANI	1	350.00	MINERAL WATER & SERV	1	100.00
PASTA FONDORRO	1	390.00	PASTA CREMA FUNGHI	1	350.00
PIZZA ORTOLANO	1	325.00			
			SUB TOTAL		2155.00
			12% GST VAT ON FOOD		256.88
			12% GST VAT ON BEVERAGE		12.50
					<i>2424.38</i>

GUEST SIGNATURE

GUEST NAME: *Aravind* ROOM NO. Contd.....

ACCOUNT NO.

SIGNATURE (PLEASE DO NOT SIGN IF YOU HAVE PAID)

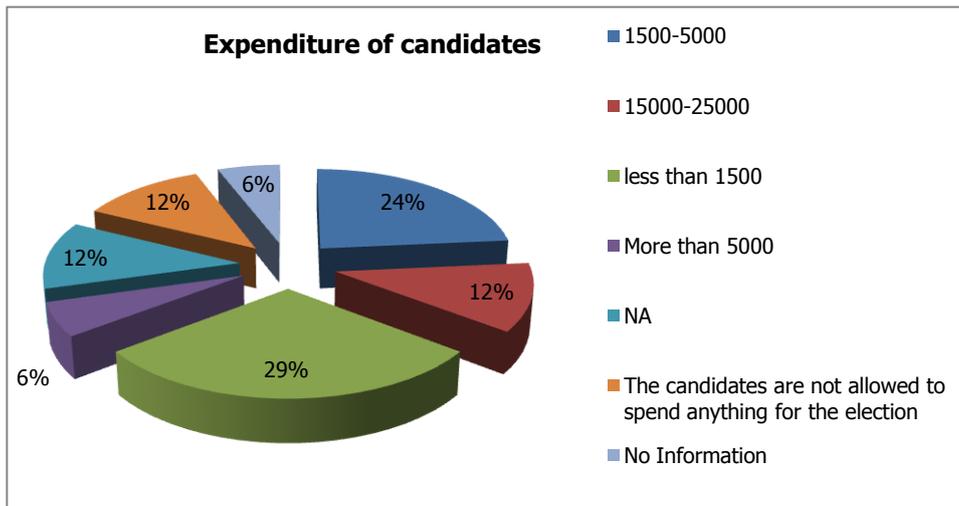
Chief Election Officer
District Election
Department of Polling
New Delhi - 110 003

Tin No. : 07890024475 MANDAP/DL/44/UNITED HOTELS/97 DLVST/DRYCLEAN/163/2002

SUNSHINE GROUPS PVT. LTD. 0868277

Figure 22: Bill of expenditure approved by the Election Returning Officer at Delhi University

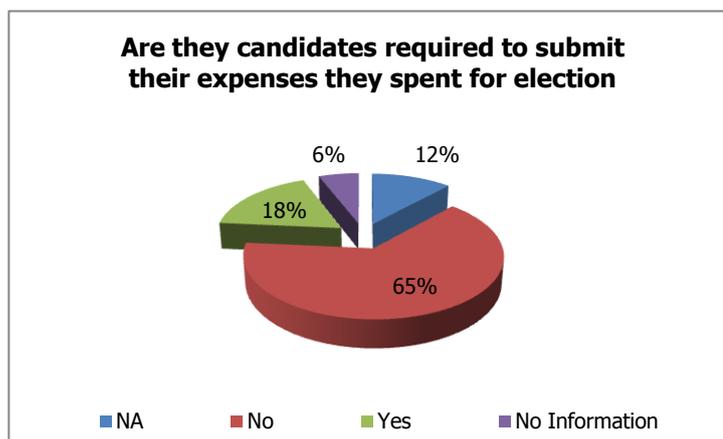
Graph 21: Expenditure of Student Candidates



13.5 Auditing

Every college is required to appoint an auditor to assess and check the amount of money spent during the elections. This is done keeping in mind the limit prescribed by the college. However, nearly 65 percent (See Graph 22) of the colleges that were studied did not instruct their candidates to submit a record of the expenses incurred for the elections. We note that, this is in violation of the recommendation.

Graph 22: Submission of election expenditure



Although the Lyngdoh committee does not specify who should conduct the audit, it states that the candidates are required to submit their audited account sheets to the college management within two weeks of the election, and the same has to be published by the

authorities within two days of submission.³³ Graph 23 provides a glimpse of the manner in which the auditing is done. Thirty five per cent of the respondents said the auditing was done by the students themselves.

**OFFICE OF THE CHIEF ELECTION OFFICER
DELHI UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' UNION
ELECTIONS 2007-2008**

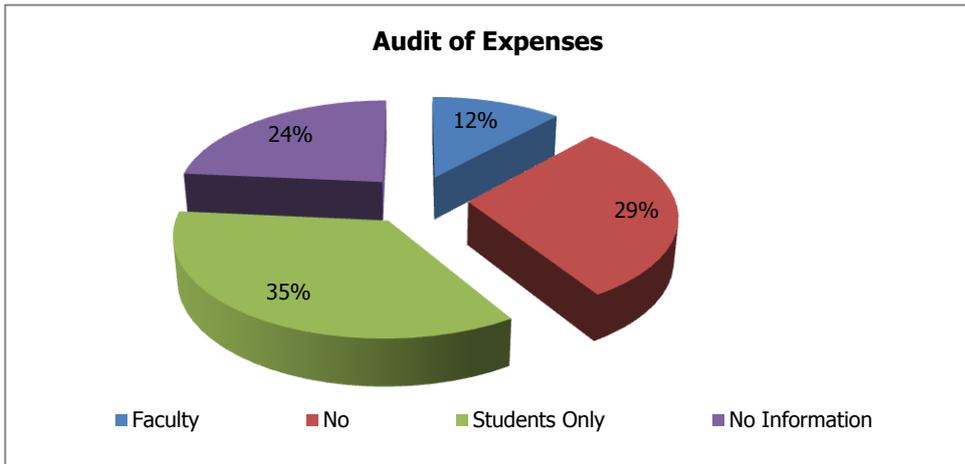
STATEMENT OF AUDITED EXPENDITURE AS SUBMITTED BY THE FOLLOWING CANDIDATES:

S.No.	Name	Head of Expenditure	Amount	Total
1	Ms. Amrita, PRESIDENT	Taxi Charges	Rs. 2400.00	Rs. 4752.00
		Petrol	Rs. 1500.00	
		Bank Charges	Rs. 252.00	
		Misc. Charges	Rs. 600.00	
2	Shri Devraj Tehlan VICE PRESIDENT	Petrol	Rs. 2500.00	Rs. 4350.00
		Taxi Charges	Rs. 1400.00	
		Misc.	Rs. 450.00	
3	Shri Manish Chaudhary SECRETARY	Petrol	Rs. 4114.80	Rs. 4114.80
4	Ms. Khusboo Sharma JOINT SECRETARY	Petrol	Rs. 4100.00	Rs. 4500.00
		Misc.	Rs. 400.00	

Figure 23: Audited expenses of candidates during DUSU elections

³³ Id p 49 (6.6.2).

Graph 23: Auditing of Election Expenditure



In majority of the colleges surveyed, it was found that the auditing was done by auditors appointed by the students. Nearly 30 per cent colleges did not have auditing of any sort.



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Delhi University Students' Union
 UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

Nupur Sharma
 President

Ref. No. DUSU/08-09/.....

Dated...Sept. 16th 2008.....

Statement of Expenses incurred during DUSU Elections 2008-09

Metro Smart Card- Rs. 500/-
 DTC Bus Fare to different colleges (August 28th to September 3rd) - Rs. 200/-
 Material for hand-made posters:-

1. Chart Papers- 200 * 5 = Rs. 1000/-
2. Marker pens- 3 * 20 = Rs. 60/-
3. Poster Colours- 2 * 105 = Rs. 210/-
4. Paint Brush- 4 * 25 = Rs. 100/-
5. Gum Bottle- 2 * 40 = Rs. 80/-
6. Sketch Pens- 2 * 25 = Rs. 50/-
7. VAT (on above items @ 4%) = Rs. 60/-

Cycle Rickshaw rallies on two days (Sept. 1st and 3rd) at Rs. 25=10 * 2 * 25=Rs. 500/-
 Airtel Recharge / Use of phone during elections= Rs. 888/- (555+333)
 Photocopies of hand-made pamphlet (Pehchan Patra) @ 50 p=1000 * .50 = Rs. 500/-
 Snacks for 40 friends/team members on last day (Sept. 3rd):-

1. Tea @ Rs. 3 = 40 * 3 = Rs. 120/-
2. Samosa @ Rs. 3.50 = 40 * 3.50 = Rs. 140/-

Total Expenditure = Rs. 4408/-

As per VOUCHERS PRODUCED
Per MUKUL & GANESH

James
 Partner
 P.No-81594



Nupur Sharma
 16/9/08

Nupur Sharma
 (President, DUSU)

Office : Chhatra Marg, Delhi University, Delhi-110007

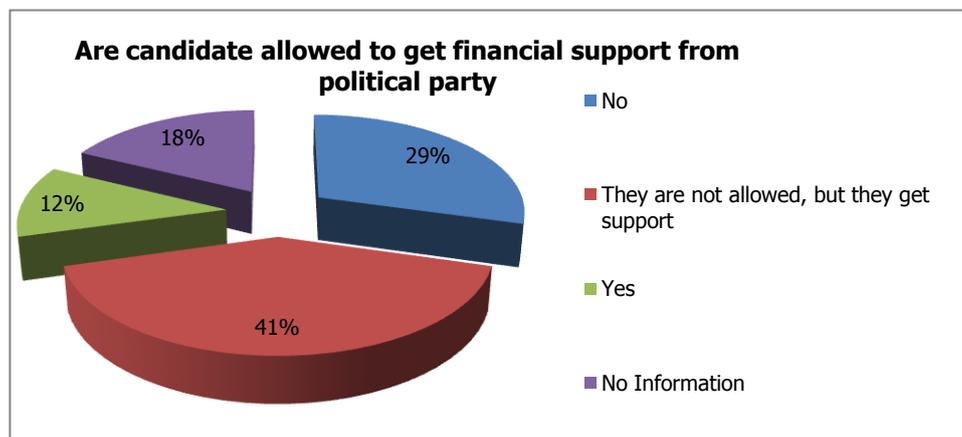
Date: 16/9/08

Figure 24: Statement of expenses of President, DUSU

13.6 Political funding

Candidates or student organisations are indirectly funded by political parties.³⁴ While this is prohibited in the Lyngdoh committee recommendations to avoid politicisation of student elections, it was revealed that nearly 12 per cent of the respondents answered that candidate were permitted to take financial support from political parties. Forty one per cent said although political party support was not allowed, it was prevalent. Graph 24 shows that 41 percent of the respondents say that political parties fund the candidates, although it is illegal.

Graph 24: Financial support from political parties



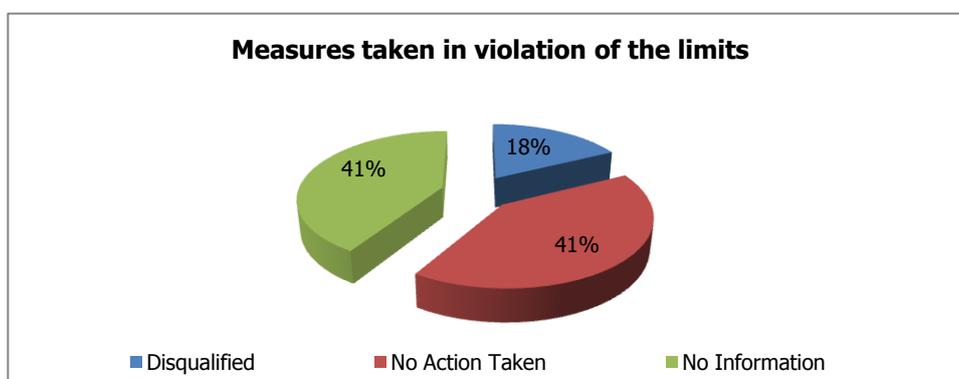
13.7 Actions taken

In several colleges, the rules and guidelines for the elections period is not followed. Although college authorities are aware of this, very few colleges take serious action. The Lyngdoh Committee has suggested strictly enforcement of the Code of Conduct³⁵, especially with regard to campaigns and financial expenditure.

³⁴ Id p 39

³⁵ Id p 50 (6.7).

Graph 25: Measures taken in violation of expenditure limits



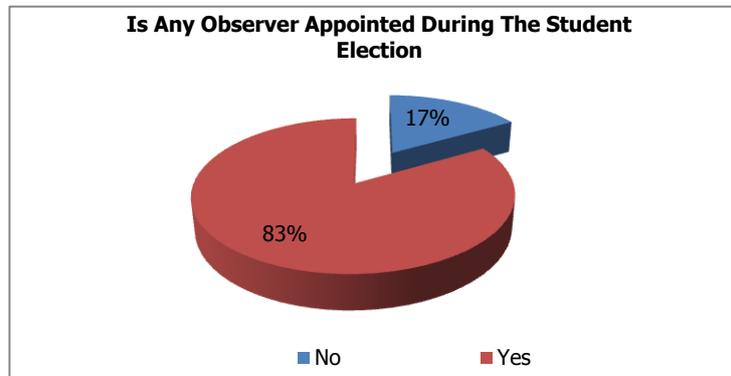
The Study revealed that in 41 per cent of the cases studied (See Graph 25); no action was taken in colleges where the limit on finances was exceeded. However, students have been disqualified for gross violation of rules or guidelines provided by the college. It was found that there had been no disqualification on the basis of overshooting the stipulated budget, with notable exceptions like Delhi University.

13.8 Election grievance process

The committee has recommended the constitution of an Election Grievance Redressal Cell to provide solutions to issues related to elections. The mechanism for such grievance forum is to hear to the genuine issues of the student in matters relating to nomination, campaigning, irregularities, bogus voting, violence, and results.

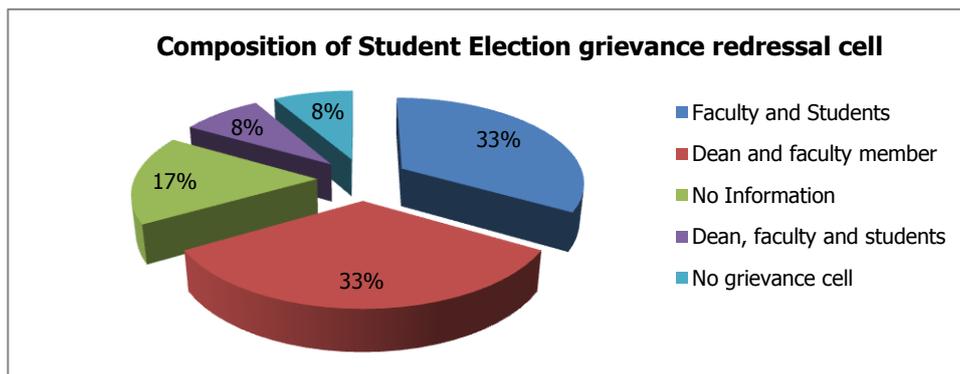
For the purpose of overseeing the election process, the college/University constitutes a Proctor, Returning officer or an Observer. The college would generally select a faculty of the college whose role is to make arrangements for voting, overseeing the polling, counting of votes and declaration of results. However, it has been found that in colleges the faculty members would not attend to grievances related to election/nomination. The role of the Observer is to hear complaints relating to student elections (See Graph 26).

Graph 26: Appointment of Observer for Student Elections



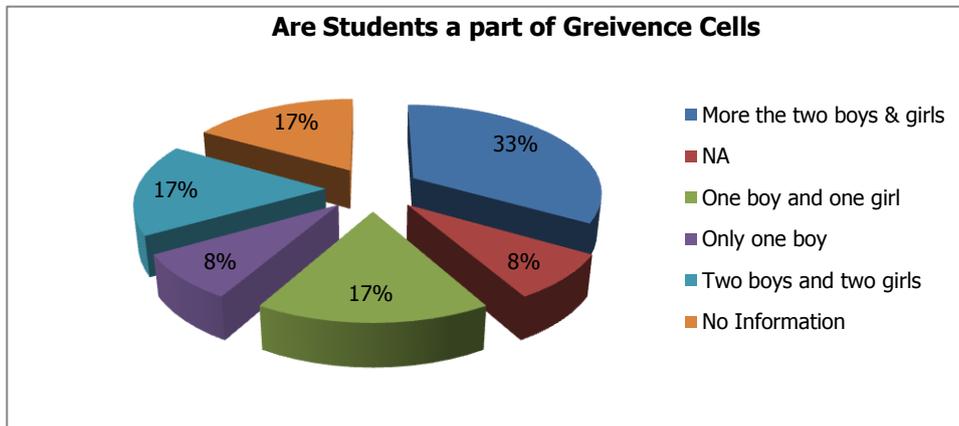
Most election grievance cells that are constituted by college managements have student representations to ensure transparency in the process. Generally in colleges, the group comprises of the dean and faculty members, with adequate student representation; they act as observers of the elections (See Graph 27).

Graph 27: Composition of Student Election Grievance Redressal Cell



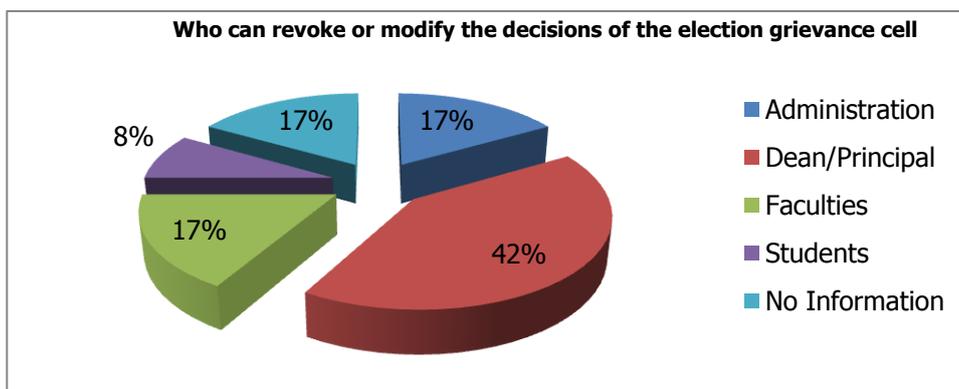
The number of students in the grievance committee varies varies with each college. Broadly, it consists of a maximum of two male and female students each. The Lyngdoh Committee recommended mandatory representation of female students.

Graph 28: Representation of Students in Election Grievance Cell



In 17 percent of the colleges, a boy and a girl each forms a part of the Grievance Cell as recommended by the Committee³⁶. Although every member has the right to revoke decisions taken by the group, the dean or faculty members has an upper hand in such situations (See Graph 29) with 42 per cent of revocation done by the Dean/Principal and 17 percent by the faculty members themselves.

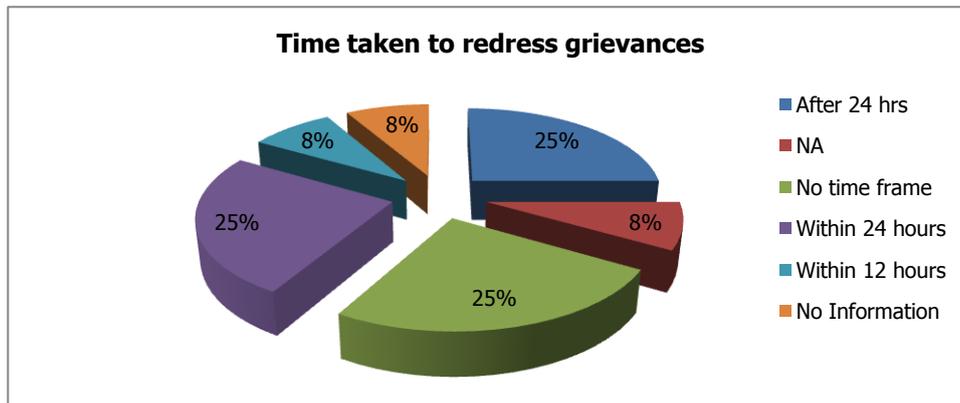
Graph 29: Revocation/modification of election grievance cell decisions



³⁶ Id p 52 (6.8.1).

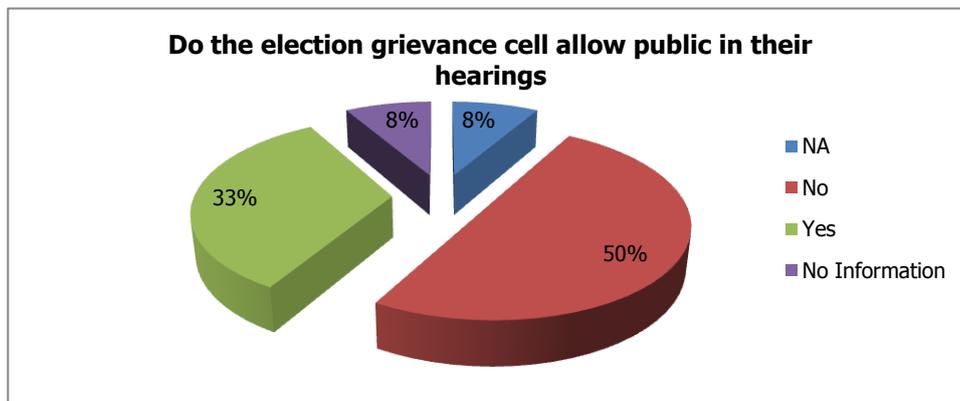
The Committee also recommended that grievances be addressed at the earliest, after the views of the conflicting parties have been heard. Though no specific time limit has been mentioned, colleges generally take actions within 24 hours (25 percent) or 12 hours (3 percent), as shown in Graph 30.

Graph 30: Time taken for election grievance redressal



The Committee had recommended public hearing of the grievance process³⁷. However, 50 per cent of the respondents said their colleges did not follow the guideline.

Graph 31: Public hearing of election grievance



³⁷ Id p 59 (6.8.9).

14) Personal Stories

Bhubaneswar

Student elections are a regular feature in government and govt-aided colleges across Orissa. It is an established fact that these elections do not take place in isolation. Campuses of Orissa's leading colleges turn into war zones with as the student's union poll date approaches. There includes definite political influence and funding. There have been numerous incidents of violence all across the state, including state capital Bhubaneswar, which is also the hub of all political activities.

The issue of political influence, money and influence is a serious concern in Orissa. Following the Supreme Court's order, the government of Orissa decided to implement recommendations laid down by the Lyngdoh committee.^{xxxvi} However, reactions to the same were varied.

While on one hand, elections in Maharshi College, Bhubaneswar, were cancelled as none of the candidates had 75 per cent class attendance, incidents of student group clashing in BJB college Bhubaneswar, and supporters of ineligible candidates going on a rampage in SCS Autonomous College, Puri, raise questions regarding student politics in Orissa.

The Study broadly covered two colleges in Bhubaneswar: Baxi Jagabandhu Bidypitha (BJB) and Capital Law College. The study was conducted through interviews and focused group discussion (FGD) with students, faculty members and college management representatives. (See <http://youtu.be/hnmRiUG9IRI>)

Interviews and FGD with the students and student union leaders revealed that the college strictly following the Lyngdoh recommendations. It did not allow any candidate without 75 per cent attendance to stand for elections. There is also a limit on financial expenditure. Candidates are also prohibited from using any campaigning materials apart from handwritten cards and posters, which are to be displayed at designated areas on the campus.

The candidates, students, and faculty unanimously acknowledged that there was direct involvement of political parties in the electoral process. They said the Congress and the BJD were the main parties that functioned through their youth wings, that is, the NSUI and the BJD Youth. (See <http://youtu.be/Rw7C6n1qUvI>) They are given financial and other support.

None of the student leaders or the faculty members felt that politics could be a career option for the students. They said students jumped into politics to gain popularity and other small benefits. All of them were in favour of conventional careers like engineering and medicine.

These colleges conduct different types of discussion forums, in lieu with the subjects taught, and do not cross these boundaries. However, the student union does its best to raise student issues before the management. There have been instances where the student union was able to raise a voice against irregularities of the faculty, inadequate infrastructure and have been successful in putting things back on track.

The faculty members and college representatives said they would, if given a choice, ban student elections. They felt there was no way violence and political influence could be eliminated, adding that students were not free from the ills of elections, just by making handwritten posters or adhering to the eligibility criteria.

Delhi

Student politics is at its zenith in Delhi. This owes to its proximity to the highest democratic institution - the Parliament. The political landscape of the capital has a marked influence on campuses in Delhi. Delhi has major universities -- Delhi University (DU), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Indraprastha University (IP) and Jamia Millia University (JMI).

Campus politics is predominant in DU and JNU with student political organisations like the NSUI, the ABVP and the SFI having strong support there. Student union elections in these universities are viewed closely by political parties, as it has a direct effect on parliamentary elections.

The political scene on Delhi campuses caught the attention of the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations, with court rulings curtailing tendencies to override it. There have been instances of ban on candidates for abject violation of the guidelines. Money and influence has been used by candidates to win the elections. Campus politics in Delhi provides a platform for students to become a part of mainstream politics. With money flowing in and support from political parties, these campuses are become training ground for politics.

The Lyngdoh Committee recommendations had their greatest effect on universities in Delhi, especially DU and JNU. These campuses used to be hotspots of campus politics with hectic campaigns.

Delhi University

Personal Story 1

Delhi University is a playground for aspiring politicians. Student organisations that support candidates in the DU elections are keen to win. Major national political parties support them, as it gives them a major vote bank for general elections, student supporters, and political expediency in one of the largest universities in India (with nearly 5,000 students). In addition, most candidates are from rich families, with good networks and political connections.

Fifty one colleges are affiliated with the Delhi University Students Union (DUSU), which follows the method of direct elections. The nominations for the elections are received for the post of President, Vice-President, Secretary and Joint Secretary. Each affiliated college elects their President and Central Counsellors, who represent them in the DUSU. Colleges that are not affiliated to the DUSU follow their own system of student representation.

DUSU elections 2010 commenced on September 3, 2010, regulated by the Election Code of Conduct that was framed in accordance with the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations. Since last year, several student nominations have been annulled for violations of the recommendations. The existing electoral process saw calm campaigning with the use of handmade posters and pamphlets, personal interaction, qualifying speeches, and such methods. Wall posters were confined to the 'Wall of Democracy', while large processions with excessive expenditure and influence are a thing of the past. The issue of eviction of DU Hostellers for Commonwealth Games' and implementation of the semester system were the main items on the campaign agenda.

Student organisations in Delhi University actively take part in elections and raise student issues. In addition, various other non-political and apolitical groups also exist. Groups like Youth For Equality (which oppose reservation) and the University Community of Democracy (fighting against the eviction of hostellers and need for rent control) have made their presence felt in the university.

The Lyngdoh recommendations have been successful in curtailing the extremities of student politics. In a university that admits people from across the country, the student representation system had become one that was guided by dominating groups based on caste, class, religion and money. With the Code of Conduct in place, the system has become more ordered. The role of Gurvinder Singh, the proctor, is to oversee the entire process, keeping in mind violations that took place in the past. Students, however, are yet to put

their faith in the student representation system. The recently held elections witnessed a mere 35 per cent student voting turnout. An ABVP candidate who secured 9,259 votes was declared the winner^{xxxvii}.

Anupriya Tyagi, Joint Secretary, Delhi University Students Union
Personal Story 2

Ms Tyagi has been at the centre of student affairs at Delhi University after being elected as DUSU Joint Secretary for the year 2009-2010. Excerpts from a personal interview held on August 2, 2010.

- **Support for Lyngdoh Committee recommendations:** Fully supports the Lyngdoh recommendations. Parties are openly flouting the recommendations. Excessive money and muscle power. Parties create problems during elections by blocking roads, obstructing traffic.
- **Election:** Spent Rs 3,000-4,000 for campaigns with a major chunk for petrol costs. Handmade posters were used and problems faced by female students were highlighted.
- **Issues redressed by DUSU** - Stops for buses, metro, migration issues have been successfully raised and appropriate actions taken. The executive council meets twice a year to discuss and take action on student issues.
- **Problems the DUSU faces** – Lack of office space, furniture and internet facilities. The office bearers had to wait till January 2010 for the same. They have been requesting the management for stationery supplies, but were denied due to pending dues. A lecture hall for meetings has also not been sanctioned.
- **Specific instances** - DUSU opposed a fee hike of Rs 40,000 for the physiotherapy course at Amar Jyothi Institute for Physiotherapy. When the college management did not consider their request, the matter was taken to the Executive Council and an order was issued in favour of the union. The college then had to revoke the hike.
- **Other plans** - Have applied for the installation of eight maps on the DU Campus to guide visitors.
- **Initiatives taken** – Have formed help desks for students seeking admission.

Jawaharlal Nehru University

Personal Story 3

The JNU method of elections was considered as a model one by the Lyngdoh Committee. The college made the use of handmade posters, wall paintings and a campaigning process that cost lesser than the prescribed limit. The Presidential debates that are held on the campus are worth emulating.

In addition, the elections are conducted entirely by the students with no interference from the administration. A true manifestation of this spirit is the Election Committee (EC), which comprises of students who are nominated during the General Body Meeting (GBM) conducted by each School, equal to the number of councillors from every school. If a school has three councillors, three members will be nominated to the EC. Immediately after taking charge from the outgoing students' union, the EC brings into effect a Code of Conduct.

Campaigning is done with the help of 'parchas' or pamphlets published by parties and organisations. These are kept on the dining hall counters of every hostel. A space allotment meeting also takes place where campaigning space is allotted to the parties, organisations and independent candidates.

What is significant about JNU's Code of Conduct is that it is an enforcement of the JNUSU Constitution regarding elections by the students -- the EC, and its function and role are respected. This shows that the democratic process has a far greater chance of going on unhindered and in a fair manner.

Pre-election GBMs of different schools take place in quick succession. It is a platform for councillor candidates to address the students of their school. This is followed by the University GBM, in which candidates for the post of Vice President, General Secretary and Joint Secretary address the entire student community, even as they answer questions put forward to them.

Campaigning reaches a feverish pitch by the time the Presidential Debate takes place, where the presidential candidates put forth their agendas and opinions before the student community. This debate often extends into the wee hours of the morning, with the candidates not only fielding questions from the students, but also cross questioning other candidates.

Polling day sees queues outside different booths and students vote for the central panel and for councillors of their respective schools. Counting starts on the same day. A massive 'pandal' (makeshift tent) is set up outside the counting centre, occupied by the cadres and supporters of different parties, and the air is filled with full-throated, innovative sloganeering. Others mill around, taking in the festive air, waiting for regular announcements regarding updates on the votes. Canteens move out from their enclosed spaces and are open all night, to cater to the demands of those sitting through the counting process.

Once the results are declared and the new JNUSU is formed, an oath-taking ceremony takes place. The EC is then dissolved, ending its 30-day tenure.

Antony Dawson, a former student of JNU says, "JNU being a politically conscious university participates whole-heartedly in its elections, making it the university's biggest 'festival'. It is a tradition that JNU students are proud of; a symbol of student empowerment."

Interestingly, JNU provides a contradiction for the reason that elections have been stayed by the Court citing violation of Lyngdoh Committee recommendations³⁸. Since the said stay, the earlier JNUSU still continues. However, the level of vibrancy associated with students, student leaders and various student organisations has decreased. It has been observed that students looked forward for the election period and frantic campaigning, one of the main highlights of JNU. Discussions on political issues and various ideologies, though done in the background of various student organisations, have been instrumental in creating an active and politically aware student community in JNU.

Vijoo Krishnan, In Charge of the All India Kisan Sabha; Former JNU President; State President of SFI

Mr Krishnan was in the forefront of campus politics during his college days and served as the JNU President. He is passionate about student politics and seeks to revive it. These are the excerpts from a personal interview on August 12, 2010.

- **Opinion on campus democracy** – It is important for the overall development of the society. A student union with mass support is vital for the growth of a vibrant

³⁸ Ibid p 78

campus. Activities and fests are held under the active guidance of student organisations.

- **Advantages of campus politics** - i) Organized ideology, and, ii) acts as a common link between students.
- **Issues affecting the present system** - Students are disinterested in issues that affect the society and more concerned about problems in their families or classrooms. There is a lack of initiative to take steps and discuss or debate on social or political issues. Students lack experience in expressing opinion on such issues.
- **Issues addressed by the Jawaharlal Nehru Students Union**
 - a. Issue relating to preserving the greenery in nearby Jhelum area overlooking the JNU campus. Encroachment was found with trees cut down near the hostel premises by a construction company. This was objected to and a talk with the management led to shifting of hostel complexes to another place.
 - b. The Union vouched to increase the representation of SC/ST students in the University. It increased from 11 per cent to more than 20 per cent (August, 2010). Free coaching classes were provided to such students and the fees were taken paid for by the Union.
 - c. The Union's questioning of issues relating to sexual harassment and the establishment of an Equal Opportunities Office was objected to by the management. Though it is recommended that such a system be in place (as per the Vishaka Guidelines), the same was not implemented. The Union tried its best to form such a grievance cell.

The student organisation interacts with students and held an all student organisations' meet to redress genuine concerns.

Nitin P, Central Executive Committee Member, Students Federation of India (SFI)
Mr Nitin served the SFI for nearly six years and was associated with student politics from his school days. He currently serves as a Central Executive Committee Member of the SFI. Excerpts from a personal interview held on August 3 2010.

- Mr Nitin opposes the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations, especially the eligibility criteria. He says that while only students who have cleared certain cut off percentage secure admission in DU; there is no logic in specifying minimum marks as eligibility.

The very intention of curtailing elections is against the democratic system of the country. Student union elections are a platform to demonstrate democratic principles and encourage students to take part in the political system. Unless this is accomplished, social development will not take place.

- The SFI does not have a policy of promoting student leaders, as their focus is to highlight issues affecting the student community and to take measures to redress the same. Neither the Union nor the political party is bent on encouraging student leaders. Students who have proven their credibility and have made efforts to raise student issues are rewarded.
- Campus politics helps in highlighting the needs of the students. When students refrain from politics, they lack a place to highlight their grievances. Students should be encouraged to voice their opinions on specific issues and support ideologies of their interest.
- Campus politics and student unions have failed to win the confidence of the students. They are detached from genuine student issues and are bogged in their ideologies. A majority of the students are not bothered about the socio-political scenario and are only concerned with academics and career growth.
- Student organisations need to win back the confidence of the students by taking up student issues and providing solutions for the same, irrespective of their ideologies. They ought to maintain cordial relationships with both the students and the management.

It has been observed that student organisations are trying to get used to the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations. Many of them are now probing new strategies to win the confidence of the students.

Premjish Achari, National Students Union of India, JNU

Mr Premjish A is an active worker of the NSUI and overseeing the political movements happening in the national stage. He is currently studying at the School of Arts and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Excerpts from a personal interview held on August 9 2010.

- The JNU model is highlighted by Lyngdoh Committee
- JNU has a cost-effective, non-violent and purely democratic election process.

- The Election Commission is formed by students, with the office bearers selected by the students. The whole election process is managed and organised by students.
- The EC is given the authority to enforce the Code of Conduct. Specific permission is needed from the EC for any campaigning, pamphlets and expenses.
- After a stay on elections, the NSUI and other parties have become politically inactive. The NSUI used to earlier take measures to highlight the student issues and get it done. Now, all vibrancy is lost.
- JNU is now a stronghold of the All India Students Association (AISA) and the SFI, which suffered after the Nandigram issue evolved. They were not able to substantiate the actions of the Communist government in Nandigram.

Vivek K Vishal, Akhila Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, JNU

Mr Vivek is an active ABVP worker and was associated with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) even before he joined JNU. He is of the belief that student organisations have lost the confidence of the students. Excerpts from a personal interview held on August 9, 2010.

- The ABVP has welcomed the Lyngdoh recommendations, but with reservations.
- The stay on elections on the basis of two criteria of Lyngdoh recommendations has gone against the spirit of campus democracy. The Committee curtails the rights of candidates who seek to re-contest election. Further, the criteria relating to age is against the principles of student representation. JNU has always had a history of non-violent and truly democratic process, wherein student representatives were elected only if they were clear in their ideologies and agenda.
- Students now doubt the intentions of students unions and other student organisations. On the other hand, student organisations have distanced themselves from the students and are not bothered by student issues.
- Student concerns like fee hikes, lack of trained faculty members, inadequate labs, and other infrastructural issues are not taken up by the student's union. This is why students have lost confidence in unions and the electoral process as a whole. The ABVP and other organisations are striving to win back the confidence of the students. Specific issues relating to hostel facilities are being raised with the management.

- All tendencies to curtail student movements should not be encouraged. If students are kept away from politics, it will affect the political system of the country. We require capable administrators and leaders who will work for the development of the country. If students are forced to abandon their ideologies, their moral development is curtailed. This has a serious effect on the society at large. For a vibrant student polity, the students should be encouraged to voice their opinions on national policies. This is not to be limited to issues regarding the campus or students.
- The ABVP, the NSUI and the AISA are in talks with the administration for the implementation of a Wi-Fi campus and establishment of a Placement Cell. However, the SFI is not in support of the placement cell, as they feel it would let MNCs inside the campus.
- The ABVP encourages students who help its peers. They do not have a policy of enrolling them in political parties. Genuine persons will join political parties; decisions that are purely of their own interest. However, students should not involve in political parties while a part of student organisations, his/her priority is to work towards the development of the student community. Working with political parties might interfere in his/her work for the students.

P Ambedkar, United Dalit Front, JNU

Mr Ambedkar, a student at JNU, is involved in supporting reservation for students from backward communities. He voices the concerns of his group without associating with any political ideology. Excerpts from a personal interview held on August 9, 2010.

- UDF is a purely socio-political organisation that does not field its candidates, stand for elections or support any specific ideology.
- The UDF is primarily concerned with reservation for SC/ST students. As a student group, it voices the issues and needs of students from backward communities.
- SC/ST reservation is minimal in JNU and the Union highlights the need for its extension.
- Although the UGC has specific guidelines for SC/ST reservation, most colleges have not implemented the same. The UDF makes representations to the student council and the college management to redress the grievances of SC/ST students.

- The Lyngdoh Committee recommendations have not provided for representation of SC/ST students in student elections. This goes against the Constitutional policy of encouraging people from backward communities to be a part of the larger societal and political setup.
- The UDF celebrates Dr Ambedkar's birthday in April and students are invited to be a part of the celebration.
- JNU has always provided the UDF with opportunities to air their views. They have been instrumental in providing an even hand in matters of opinions.

Lucknow

Lucknow is a politically vibrant city with a large population and is a strong vote base for major political parties. In fact, even the party that rules at the Centre has direct proximity to UP elections.

After the formation of the Mayawati-led BSP government, student politics have largely declined. Politics inside campuses has been banned, with student unions dissolved. The earlier Mulayam Singh government actively supported and encouraged student politics. Lucknow was a stronghold of the ABVP and the AISA and to a lesser extent of the NSUI. Student political life at Lucknow University, which is one of Uttar Pradesh's most popular universities, is now dormant. There are no student associations, clubs or any student groups. Student activities are limited to a few fests organised by various departments. Students constitute a committee and organise these fests. There has been no student council/body or class representation since the ban.

Students' response to campus democracy was similar, with most of them showing no interest in politics. According to them, student politics creates unwanted disturbances and affects academics. Most students are keen on making a career and do not want to spend time on politics. Although student issues are aplenty, they have no option but to be content with what is given to them.

Abhinav Pratap Singh, Lucknow University

Personal Story 4

Mr Abhinav, a student at Lucknow University, seeks students' unity and is against any form of political interference in the university. He also feels that faculty members are detached from the students and not bothered about their concerns. Excerpts from personal interview held on August 2, 2010.

- Not interested in student politics. He does not feel that student bodies can effectively redress the grievances of the students.
- There is no student unity on the campus and that is the reason why there are no student groups. Students themselves are not bothered by campus concerns, until they are personally affected by it.
- The administration is often lackadaisical toward student issues and does not pay heed to the complaints of the students. An issue regarding attendance mark was taken up by students, as the faculty was unfair while awarding marks for attendance. The college management, however, supported the faculty and dismissed the complaint of the students.
- Although the post of Student Coordinator exists, the concerned faculty does not take interest in the welfare of the students.
- Students are more interested in building their career than taking part in other activities. Moreover, as the faculty has final control over academics, students are forced to act to their whims and fancies.

Student organisations in Lucknow University have become inactive after the ban. The student's union building on campus is locked, as all the posts are vacant. A visit to the student organisation ABVP's building revealed that student leaders and members who were once active have now joined other vocations, although they do make occasional visits to the office. Posters of the ABVP and the NSUI that used to dot the campus walls have now been removed or destroyed. Meetings are held once a year, attended by all the members. The last one was held on July 28, 2010. However, students are not allowed to form unions on the campus.

The Dean of the University checks the campus regularly to ensure that students do not get together to form unions. An interview with B K Tiwari, the Head of Department of the Political Science Department, revealed his strong opposition to student politics. He wanted the student to focus only on academics. According to him, student issues were effectively redressed by the faculty or the principal. Moreover, he insisted that most issues were trivial in nature.

The campuses are devoid of any student grievance cell with no mechanisms to address the issues of the students. Campus democracy does not exist on the campus; an absolute no to student representation.

Personal story1 1 Dr Avinash Kumar, Chatrapati Shahuji Maharaj Medical University

Mr Kumar is a final year medical student at Chatrapati Shahuji Maharaj Medical University in Lucknow. He was one of the student leaders who voiced their demand for an increase in stipend for interns. He took part in a rally against the management's injustice; an event that hogged headlines. Excerpts from an interview held on August 3, 2010.

- Campus democracy does not exist on campuses with the administration ruling over the students. The students do not have an opportunity or a platform to voice their concerns or raise their issues.
- Does not support the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations, as he feels they are aimed at preventing violence and student politics, rather than addressing matters relating to student grievances. Students do not resort to violence to get their problems noticed. It is the right of every student to good educational facilities and proper education.
- Student organisations are important, as they build a communication platform between students, doctors, and the administration. At present, a huge gap exists, with the administration and the faculty not bothered about the students' interests.
- The Junior Doctor's Association, a forum for undergraduate students, was active in addressing concerns faced by the students. It was dissolved in 2005 after they raised an issue relating to fee hike. There is a faculty coordinator who deals with issues with patients, salaries and problems relating to facilities.
- The administration is insensitive to student issues. Jyoti Rani, a student at the college, committed suicide^{xxxviii} in January 2010 as a result of depression. The students wanted a postmortem conducted to ascertain the cause of death. They also wanted a copy of the FIR copy. However, the Principal and the Registrar did not agree and suppressed vital facts regarding her death. This angered and frustrated the students.
- On May 25, medical students from Lucknow, Kanpur and other cities in UP went on a peaceful strike demanding increase of stipend for interns. In 1984, the stipend was Rs 250, revised to Rs 950 in 1998. However, the students sought a raise as the amount was too meagre. The Registrar, however, spoke publicly against the students participating in the strike. They were lathicharged and nearly 200 students

were arrested. A peaceful rally was conducted outside the campus (Shaheed Smarak) by the medical students the next day^{xxxix}. They were, however, stopped by water canons, tear gas and lathicharge. Thirty students were suspended. Allegations were levelled against them for instigating violence and getting outsiders to cause problems. While the administration talked about stopping violence, they used violent methods to stop a peaceful protest. Although the suspensions were revoked, their stipends were not increased. Students had no options, but to stay quiet. Even the political administration supports the university, with the Health Minister giving a statement in favour of the management.

These medical students feel the need for an efficient student body that will look into and address their needs. They feel the lack of a forum where their concerns are brought to the notice of the management. Although there were student organisations that were willing to take up the stipend issue, the students wanted politics to be kept out of it.

They seek an organisation that serves the student community; one that does to adhere to a certain thought process or ideology. The reservation issue that rocked campuses like AIIMS last year (2009) and led to the formation of groups like Youth for Equality was also not entertained on similar grounds. The students feel that such groups clearly seek to serve the students

There is no proper mechanism that addresses the concerns of the students. The college has appointed a Proctor, whose role is limited to issues like ragging, hostel room allotment, and suspension of students. He functions as a policeman on the campus. The Proctor was not available for comments.

With no effective mechanism to take care of student issues and a stern college management that is indifferent towards student representation, the concept of campus democracy does not exist in the campus at all.

Kolkata

Kolkata has a prominent place in the political map with its rich history of political leadership. For a city that has a strong communist backing, the Trinamool Congress, which is at the helm of affairs in the state, is taking broad strides in the student political system with the

help of its youth forum – the Trinamool Chaatra Sabha. While other prominent groups like the United Students Democratic Front (USDF) is influenced by Maoism, the Independent Consolidation (IC) and Democratic Students Organisation (DSO) follow socialist ideologies. The Trinamool Chaatra Sabha has entered the campus with strong political backing, raising several eyebrows. Student politics was largely dominated by the SFI for several years and it stood unopposed without election in several colleges. In colleges that conducted proper elections, the SFI had enough support to win all the major posts. Other student organisations have their own agenda and now are now a considerable force to reckon with.

Umeshchandra College

Personal Story2 1

The college's Student's Union is dominated by the SFI, posters of which adorn the college walls and entrance. There is a small selection process in place to appoint student leaders. Senior leadership of the SFI selects the student representatives, who therein constitute the Union. It consists of the General Secretary, the Vice President, and several secretaries. The Union organises activities that are managed by their members with the help of a few non-members.

The students, however, feel that most genuine student issues are not addressed by the college or the union. Although the Union is active, they determine the activities to be held. The faculty supports the Union, but are not involved in the selection process. The college does not follow the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations. In fact, they are unaware of the same. As campus politics is determined by a single ideology, college policies are formed around it.

The concept of campus democracy does not exist in its true spirit. The students are not interested in political activities and feel it interferes with academics.

Jagan Kumar, Senior Leader, SFI (Umeshchandra College)

Mr Kumar is a senior SFI leader at Umeshchandra College, Kolkata. He assists other leaders in selecting student union members. Although he takes a keen interest in mainstream politics, he hasn't decided to become an active politician. Excerpts from the interview held on August 8, 2010.

- Individuals selected by senior leadership are graduates from the college. They understand the students well and are able to successfully lead a team. The selection process takes place every February.
- The selected representatives coordinate and conduct various programmes (minimum two every month). A separate fund is allotted by the college for the student's union.
- Most of the decisions are taken by SFI units and general body meetings are convened for the same. It is during these meetings that the representatives are oriented according to the principles and vision of the organisation with regard to the interest of the student community.
- The SFI is prominent in 283 colleges across Kolkata, while other student unions like the All India DSO, the TMCP and the INC Chatra Sabha also have significant supporters.
- There is no specific leadership training or selection process. However, individuals who have shown commitment are allowed to take the lead.
- He does not support the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations and finds it impractical. According to Mr Kumar, the recommendations can't take away the right to form unions or associations that protect their interest.
- A good example of the Union's interest in student affairs is their demand for a better IT lab. Most of the computers in the lab were not functional. The Union convinced the college to allot funds to upgrade the lab and install more computers.

Presidency College

Presidency College is known for its vibrant campus and varying student organisations. Though the SFI has a strong support in the college and often tends to be violent, the students have elected members from the IC, the USDF, the AISA and the TMC for various posts. A proper parliamentary form of elections takes place in January, preceded by active campaigning. Students elect their class representatives, who further elect the General Secretary and other secretaries. Elections are held for arts and science constituencies unlike the department wise (Political Science, History, Physics, etc.) elections held in other colleges.

Slogans and wall posters adorn the whole campus. Personal interaction with students is a common feature of the electoral process. The posters include the name and slogan of the

student organisation. The photographs of candidate are not published. However, posters with photographs are permitted for elections to the girls' common room. Female students are required to cast two votes: one for the general candidate and the other for the girls' common room. Campaigning takes place all year, with candidates trying to win the confidence of the voters, especially new students. The voter turnout is generally 80-90 per cent.

The election officer is a faculty of the college and complaints are addressed by him and the Principal who is also the president of the student's union. Elections are usually peaceful, although tension and minor skirmishes are unavoidable^{xi}

The election results are declared in a day or two and the Union is formed. It has been noted that conflicts arise between class representatives, especially when they adhere to different ideologies. This has left students dissatisfied by the representation, as they most student issues are not taken up by the Union. Most students are a part of some student organisation. Therefore, decisions taken by the Union depends on the interest of the persons heading it. This has a huge effect on the students. Unanimous decisions are unlikely as student leaders are determined by their political ideologies, rather than seeking the larger interest of the students.

There have been instances of the SFI creating tension on the campus. The SFI that was heading the Union, allegedly, allowed outsiders to conduct a child-naming ceremony on campus without permission from the college management. The ceremony was held on a Sunday and refreshments were served to the guests. However, when the college management heard of it, they sent a Notice of Action to the SFI, who blatantly denied any involvement in the incident, blaming the cafeteria staff for it. They even defaced the college canteen, shouted slogans and put posters, following which the canteen staff were sacked. Students, however, said it was the SFI that had allowed the ceremony to take place.

Avinash Chatterjee, Secretary (Independent Consolidation)
Personal Story 2 2

Mr Chatterjee is a student at Presidency College, Kolkata, and serves as the Secretary of Independent Consolidation, an organisation that believes in socialist principles. Excerpts from a personal interview held on August 8, 2010.

- There is no specific qualification or training needed to be a student leader. It is when a student is a part of the larger political system that he/she learns to lead.
- True campus democracy exists when the students' voices are heard and protected by the institutions they study in. It also means that students are allowed to choose their ideologies and are not forced to adhere to a particular one.
- The SFI had dominated most elections. They were autocratic in their rule and failed to win the support of the students. The IC and the USDF, however, have been able to win the confidence of the students. The students were able to voice their concerns with these organisations rather than take the same to the SFI, which is infamous for disrupting the academic atmosphere in colleges.
- The issue of inadequate drinking water plagued the college since 2000; however the SFI did not address it at all. It was only after the IC came into power that they took measures to install an additional tank in the college.
- Campus democracy exists in colleges where people of different ideologies are thought of as equals; where students are allowed to choose their leaders; where no union or organisation dominates and suppresses the others.
- The SFI makes severe allegations against other student organisations. They openly deface posters and writings; acts that are against the principle of democracy and the ethics of an institution.
- Mr Chatterjee has heard of the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations, and supports the restrictions on campaigns, especially limits on the use of money and influence.

Asutosh College **Personal Story2 3**

Ashutosh College follows a parliamentary mode of election. The college has a Student's Union of 16 members with leading student organisations contesting for the posts. The period of union elections witnesses intensive campaigning and a lot of tension. Although it is the SFI that is heading the Union, the TMC, the DSO and the IC also have strong support. The TMC is a new entry and actively gaining support with 200 students as members.

Flags and banners adorn the campus all throughout the year. Student organisations conduct activities to attract students to their folds.

Second and third year students are permitted to contest the elections. However, political organisations often select those that have adhered to their ideologies and are known to have considerable student support.

Mumbai

Campuses in Mumbai are generally affiliated with the University of Mumbai. It is one of the largest universities in India with more than 600 colleges under it. The political scenario in Maharashtra and Mumbai revolves around the Shiv Sena, the Maharashtra Mahanavinirman Sena, the Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party. Interestingly, Maharashtra was one of the first states to restrict political parties from entering college campuses. The Maharashtra Universities Act, 1994, prohibits student elections throughout the state and allows a student representation system based on merit-based nomination. Under Section 40 (1) of the Act, the university students' council is allowed to function, but can not engage in any political activity. In effect, it prohibits student elections.

Interestingly, while almost all major institutions in the state are averse to politics inside on campuses, they are run by top politicians. A report in Business World states that 8-10 prominent education barons are senior congressmen^{xii}.

South Indian Educational Society (SIES, Nerul) College of Arts, Science and Commerce

Personal Story 5

SIES promotes a healthy form of campus democracy, while opposing any use of influence. Students are given the liberty to conduct various fests and represent the college in other competitions. The students find sponsors and collect funds for these activities. There are 23 committees formed with proper representation of the students. SIES believes that this system works for the furtherance of student activism or entrepreneurship in tune with the concept of campus democracy.

The college has a nomination system in place wherein students with the highest grades from each class are nominated to constitute the student council. They further elect the

General Secretary from among themselves, who is usually a graduating student. The system is determined by the faculty coordinator who nominates students, in consultation with other faculty members. The nominated students are later given a nod by the management, which is headed by the Principal. A student who is academically brilliant as well as adept at co-curricular activities is nominated. Although the teachers support such a system, the students feel that nomination is not a good idea, as other capable students are not nominated. They say that students who are influential or bring in the biggest sponsors for fests are preferred over the others. Several students feel that an electoral system should be in place, wherein everyone is given equal representation. This, however, should be done without the help of political parties. The college management is contemplating using the election method of student representation this year.

Bharati Vidyapeeth

Dr D Y Patil, Principal of Bharati Vidyapeeth, states that campus democracy exists in his institution. When asked to comment on the issue of politicians controlling or managing educational institutions, he affirmed that it was their right to do so as citizens of the country, as long as it was done in a legal manner. He was outright in opposing the entry of political parties on a campus. Students should focus on their studies and not take part in politics. The college has a grievance redressal unit, as recommended by the Lyngdoh Committee. However, the college has received very few complaints, and the same has been dealt with by the administrative. While Dr Patil was not averse to students emerging as leaders, he was not in favour of institutions where student leaders had the support of politicians. "They create problems and make a hue and cry of minor issues, for larger political gains. Some try to influence the students by giving them post in various local committees. This is laden with political motives and ruins the future of the student," he says.

Kalina Campus, Mumbai University **Personal Story2 4**

Kalina Campus is located in Santa Cruz, Mumbai. The campus was known for its strong student politics, a foothold of many political parties. However, with the introduction of the Universities Act, the role of political parties was curtailed. Although several political parties do have their offices outside their campus, they are relatively confined to themselves. They

are a part of the student elections and a few of them have held the posts of President and Secretary of the Student Council.

Rajeev Ram W is a local committee member of the Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad. He is enrolled as a distance education student. Nr Ram and other members of the organisation help identify the candidates and field them during the elections. However, campaigning and propaganda is restricted by Mumbai University. They indirectly support students who have political affiliations or other independent candidates as their aim is to gain a stronghold on the campus.

Case Study: Students of various colleges are lured by political parties through different methods. The membership drive of the Congress Students Union is a good example. Political parties also give the students nominal posts in various local committees. They are encouraged to publicise themselves and even are give incentives for getting more people into the party. Political parties try to gain entry to various colleges by getting students from that college itself. Once they have sufficient membership, they establish a students' unit in the college. This is done without the permission or consultation of the College, against the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations.

Guwahati

Personal Story 2 5

Assam is not only known for its lush greenlands, but also for its politically active student community. It is the only state wherein the student unions have a formidable part in determining the political situation of the state. The AASU is a non-political organisation that acts as a pressure group. They have considerable influence on the policy making process across the political spectrum. In fact, their student leaders formed the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP), a party that ruled the state for several years. This had wide repercussions for the socio-political system of the nation, as this was the first time that a student community had risen to rule a state. However, at present, AASU's relationship with the AGP is strained. The Union is now taking up social issues affecting the Assamese community due to Bangladeshi infiltration. The AASU had a considerable student community with significant support from

the Assamese population. They are involved in the academic process of Guwahati University and other mainstream schools and colleges. They framed syllabus for universities in Assam and have been involved in social issues like construction of dams, solving water problems, among others.

Guwahati University

Personal Story 6

Guwahati University is Assam's most prominent varsity. There are three students unions in the university: the Post Graduate Students Union, the University Law Campus Student Union and the Research Scholars' Student Union. Direct elections are held to appoint class representatives, who further elect the General Secretary, Vice President, and Debate, Arts and Games secretaries. There are two secretaries for sports (major and minor). The total number of student representatives is 16. Elections are held in October for the Postgraduate SU and March for ULC SU and Research Scholars SU.

The All Assam Students Union has a considerable influence in the university. The post of Chairman for the current year, 2010, was won by the NSUI. Other unions like the Bodo students union for Bodo students and the All Nepali Students Union, which are region based, has a few active members.

Election campaigns are generally peaceful and confined to slogans and personal interaction. The Election Returning Officer is a faculty member of the university. In a recent incident, the student election results of the University Law College were not declared within the stipulated two days. This led to a lot of tension and confusion. The colleges were, however, pressurised to declare the results. In spite of the fact that the student representatives were elected, the students union was not formally constituted and no meetings held. The students found it inappropriate on the part of the college administration to not have taken measures to form the council.

No. /
The Returning Officer,
University Law College Students Union General Election,
Session 2009-2010,
Cachari University.
Sub: Memorandum relating to declaration of Election
Result.

Dated: 13th May 2010

Sir,
With reference to the subject cited above we the candidates along with proposers and the Supporters humbly request you that the result of the General election of ULCSU, GU which was held on 12th of May, 2010 of the session 2009-2010 should be declared as per the election notification at any cost because we feel that there may occur some unfair practices and it may bring inconsistency if the declaration of result is delayed within the day after the election.

And lastly we on behalf of the Semester Students Greater interest we request you to not hold any further election for the Office of Student's Union as it may hamper their studies as their examination is approaching.

And so for the better interest of the students we demand the following

(i) as per the notice of 12th May 2010, the Returning Officer has postponed the counting of votes without any valid reason, so kindly provide as a concrete reason behind this notice..

Read /
13/5/10
(a) Declaration of the voting result of the Students Union General Election, Session 2009-2010 as per the Election notification on 07/04/2010. SL.No-05.

This is for your kind information and consideration.

Figure 25: Letter addressed by students of University Law College, Guwahati seeking to declare the election results

Gaurab Gogoi, General Secretary, Guwahati Students Union

Mr Gogoi is a graduating student of law at Guwahati Campus Law College. As the General Secretary of its union and a member of the All Assam Students Union, he has been involved in various activities, within and outside the campus. Excerpts from a personal interview held on August 5 2010.

- The Union has a total of 17 members, including the General Secretary, Vice President, Arts, Sports (2) and other secretaries.
- Elections are held in the month of March and it's normally the AASU that wins the elections. This was for the first time that the Chairman of the University is an NSUI member. The AASU has alleged that the NSUI used money to win the post.
- The Student's Union talks with the students to understand their concerns and grievances. They are in constant touch with student representatives and maintain a good relationship with the faculty members and the management.
- The students join various unions of their own accord. The Union encourages them to take lead. No specific training is given, although senior members guide the student representatives on how to manage various activities.
- The Union supports the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations. It is, however, against the age criterion that has been fixed by the Committee. Senior students, especially those studying law courses, should be allowed to stand for elections, as they are capable and experienced to handle various issues faced by the students.

Simanta Takuria, General Secretary (All Assam Students Union and All Guwahati Students Union)

Personal Story 2 6

Mr Takuria is an active member of the AASU and also the General Secretary of AGSU. He has been constantly involved in organising social activities in Assam. Excerpts from a personal interview held on August 5, 2010.

- AASU is a non-political organisation that does not have any political ideology other than a commitment to the student community and the society at large.

- Union workers identify the student leaders who have shown considerable leadership and maintain a cordial relationship with other workers of the Union.
- Selection of leaders is done through a decentralised process. From each college, one representative and from each Unit, three representatives are selected to the Union.
- Senior members of the Union conduct meeting with the representatives and guide them. They are allowed to be a part of various activities of the Union. The representatives and workers are guided by self-imposed rules and a set code of conduct.
- Candidates for student elections in various colleges are identified by the Union. They have considerable support from the student community and often win elections with strongholds in 23 colleges and three technical colleges.
- The AASU was instrumental in scrapping the ineffective Illegal Migrants Detection Act, as it was against the interests of the Assamese community.
- It supports poor students and helps them secure admission in various colleges. In addition, the Union also pays their fees, for which it has kept aside Rs 5 crore.

Samujjya Bhattacharya, President (North East Students Union); Advisor (All Assam Students Union)

Mr Samujjaya is a prominent figure of student movement in the North East. He is currently the advisor to AASU and president of the NESU. He strongly advocates students' involvement in social and political issues of the state. Excerpts from a personal interview held on August 5, 2010.

- Regionalism is important for the protection and growth of the community. Any attempt to destroy it should be prevented and AASU takes necessary steps for the same.
- AASU stands for a unified Assam and the students of the state actively uphold the same. They work for the larger interest of the Assamese community.
- They support Lyngdoh recommendations, as it keeps in check the use of money and influence. This has benefitted the AASU, which was finding it difficult to contest other students unions that have huge financial support. The recommendations have more or less been implemented in various colleges in Assam.
- The AASU does not have any political affiliation and is against its members joining any political party.

- Married students are not allowed to join the organisation, although they can morally support its endeavours.

Nagaland

Personal Story 27

Colleges in Nagaland are devoid of student politics. Although student organisations like the North East Students Union (NESU) have strong support in colleges, they are non-political and work towards the welfare of the student community, mostly through activities relating to academics.

There is no structured student council system, especially in private colleges. Most of them follow the nomination system, wherein students who are good in academics and co-curricular activities are selected as class representatives. Compliance with the Lyngdoh recommendations is limited to the nomination system. As they do not have a proper election system in place, the concept of campus democracy is limited.

Most management representatives are not aware of the recommendations and are not bothered about the role of campus democracy in their colleges.

Aurangabad

Colleges in Aurangabad are either affiliated with the B M Ambedkar University or are autonomous. Under the Maharashtra Act 1994, political parties are restricted from entering college campuses, and thus there is not much political interference in colleges. Most of the students are native Maharashtrians and speak Marathi. Most colleges offer courses in Marathi. These are promoted by the Maharashtra Government through the Marathi Promotion Board.

Government Engineering College

Government Engineering College celebrated its 50th jubilee year in July 2010. This college is known for academically brilliant students and a good placement record. The students are known for conducting various technical fests every year, one of the prominent ones of which is Edifice, which attracts a large number of students every year.

College Principal W Z Gandhare informed that the students were involved in various activities with active support from the management and the faculty. The college has a student body in place, wherein the candidates are nominated, based on academic merits.

Madhuri K, HOD of the IT Department, described the various Departmental Associations that are functional on campus. Each department organises its own activities, coordinated by selected students. Neither the students nor the management are aware of the Lyngdoh Committee and its recommendations. "Elections were held earlier. However, it created a lot of problems that the management and faculty found difficult to control. After the ban on elections as per Maharashtra legislation in 1994³⁹, the campus has been peaceful. Students have performed exceptionally in their studies. We emphasise on the academics of the students."

Structure: The College follows the nomination system for representations. The best students from each department (there are four departments) are unanimously appointed after consultation with the faculty. The General Secretary and other cultural secretaries are elected by these student representatives. The Students Council, thus, is nominated in accordance with the University's rules. In addition, each department has its own student associations to organise activities and programmes. Although the General Secretary is the college representative to the University Council, he/she doesn't attend any meetings. Rigid academic schedules and lack of interest are stated to be the main reason for the same.

Kahlekar is the Head of Department and Students' Council Advisor. He emphasised on the role of students and various representatives. Student associations are an important link to various activities on the campus. The concept of campus democracy exists through class representatives and coordination of various activities.

Government Polytechnic College

Personal Story 7

Government Polytechnic College is an autonomous university under the polytechnic and conducts its own examinations and prescribes its syllabus. It is one of the four autonomous colleges in Maharashtra and also provides diploma courses as industrial training.

Students have a good rapport with the college management, which has formed a dedicated Student Section to redress the grievances of the students. In addition, there are

³⁹ Section 40 (1), Maharashtra Universities Act, 1994

Entrepreneurship Clubs to train young pioneers. Principal H S Thorat says that the college provides reasonable facilities for student representation in its activities. The students are given representation in various clubs (Gymkhana Club, for example) and are given support to organise various fests within and outside the college.

Structure: The college follows the nomination system of student representation. Students with the highest grades are nominated and the General Secretary (Adhyaksh) is elected from within the various departments (there are eight). Each department has three representatives. There is no campaigning for the posts as the arts; sports (Gymkhana) secretaries are selected autonomously. The Student's Council coordinates the Inter-Collegiate Sports Competition and other technical fests. The secretary who leads the said activities is called the Gymkhana Secretary.

Monitoring mechanisms: The College had a Student Counselling Centre that was established for the sole purpose of hearing out students issues. It was established four years ago and comprised of a faculty coordinator. The centre, has, however become defunct.

The college now has a Monitoring Cell in place to oversee various activities taking place, in addition to redressing student issues. The Cell submits a detailed a report every year to the External Monitoring Committee, constituted by the Regional Board of Technical Education. The said monitoring is conducted once a year, while internal monitoring takes place twice.

Entrepreneurship programmes are held on campus to help students start their own enterprises. The focus of the college is to equip students to work in industries. Student Council representatives take the lead with the help of the Placement Cell to introduce students to various industries. Training and Placement Officer Professor Shaikh L I said the focus of the University was to impart practical training to its students. These students are offered the best jobs from industries and companies across the country.

Deogiri College

Personal Story 8

Deogiri College is an integrated campus that offers Arts, Science, Commerce, Engineering and Management courses. The College is a private institution affiliated with the Ambedkar University.

The Student's Council in the college follows the nomination process as per the Maharashtra University Rules⁴⁰. Earlier, vibrant elections were held on the campus with student groups competing with each other for several posts. At present, the best student from each department programme is nominated and they in turn elect the General Secretary (*Samasthan Jaytap*). The other secretaries are selected unanimously.

Student groups continue to function, although their activities are restricted to within the campus. Bhim Sena, a strong Dalit student organisation is the most prominent one. They halt classes that are in session for different reasons, from eve teasing, admission, attendance, etc. They tend to disrupt the functioning of the campus and although the college's security team (Karna Sena) tries to intervene, the police are usually called. They instigate brawls with other groups. In a particular incident, members of the Bhim Sena beat up a student's parent. (See <http://youtu.be/i9OvseTahJM>)

Most of the student groups have strong political support. Although political activities are not allowed on the campus, student leaders are members of different parties. The Bhim Sena leader is the son of a prominent Shiv Sena member. Most leaders and members are rich and get support (financially or otherwise) from political parties. Campaigns and processions are curtailed on the campus, and yet student organisations violate the same by shouting in groups. Mass gathering of supporters, preventing students from entering college and boycotts are common various activities of these groups.

Hyderabad

Student politics in Hyderabad, the state capital of Andhra Pradesh was noted during the Telegana issue that rocked in February 2010. Various student groups were active in supporting and opposing the division claims of political parties like Telengana Rashtra Samithi which was violent.

Hyderabad University

The student election in University of Hyderabad was praised by the Lyngdoh Committee. The University has been strict in enforcing the recommendations which has a vibrant student politics. Major student organizations like ABVP, NSUI and SFI has considerable bases

⁴⁰ Ibid p 115

in the University. Further regional organizations like Telengana Students Union and Ambedkar Students Union also have considerable member base in the college.

The Election Commissioner is selected from within the students, who oversee the entire student election in the University. The campaigning is done according to the recommendations as enforced through the Code of Conduct, which serves as a model. According to Shafeekh K, "Hyderabad University has a vibrant campus politics. However, the kind of aggressive campaigning which was evident earlier does not exist now. The student elections are organized fairly with students supporting the leader or organization of their choice." ^{xlii}

The management supports student elections in the campus and provides facilities for the conduct of student elections. They have an election grievance redressal created for the purpose of redressing election related issues. This is in addition to the student grievance cell which is supervised by the Dean of Students Welfare.

Kochi

Kerala is infamous for an active student polity that often tends to become violent. With the KSU, the SFI and the ABVP having strong footholds in several colleges, students are aware of the dimensions of campus politics. In fact, an incident where a student was prevented from writing an examination led to the intervention of the court in the *University of Kerala v. Council, Principals, Colleges and Others* 2006(8) SCC 304 case. This led to the Supreme Court making strong remarks on the situation of campus politics in India. This, in turn, laid down a Model Code of Conduct that was to be enforced in colleges as per the Lyngdoh Committee Report.

Student organisations and student leaders are a common feature in most colleges in Kerala, barring private colleges and a few aided ones. Elections are a major feature of campus life with posters, leaflets and banners adorning most campuses. Massive processions are held and leaders personally interact with the students. Most students are politically active and are members of various political organisations. Since student politics is a dominant feature in most colleges, boycotts and rallies are common.

The level of political awareness and interaction between students is high. Colleges have been able to educate students on the need for a vibrant polity. This vibrancy felt a great blow after the implementation of the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations. "The Lyngdoh

Committee Recommendations has not been completely accepted by any student organisation. In fact, it had created a misbalance in the student political system of the country. In states where student politics is low or does not exist, it was successful in increasing interest in the system. However, in states or colleges where student politics was vibrant, it placed restrictions and brought down the excitement. The student community in Kerala is politically more mature, when compared to other states," said Mathew P, General Secretary, NSUI.

Elections are allowed by most universities, a few have the nomination system in place. In spite of the fact that student politics has been banned in Kerala, student organisations have good support in the college. However, student politics in Kerala has also seen violent days. There have been brawls between members of student organisations, with police cases pending against most student leaders. Closure of colleges, damage to property, and boycotts has led to volatile situations on campuses.

Maharajas College

Maharajas College is known to produce great political leaders and eminent personalities. Student politics is vibrant with all major student organisation competing with each other. Student organisations have set up offices on the campus, flouting the Lyngdoh Committee rules. Students are politically active, and student leaders are involved in addressing the concerns of the students and aggressively protecting their ideologies.

The college conducts proper elections with the police on vigil to prevent any untoward incidents. Campaigning is done with the help of slogans and processions.

As student leaders are guided by their ideologies, their actions reflect the same. Strong differences of opinion exist, often causing fights and skirmishes. Student leaders are aware of the recommendations of the Lyngdoh Committee and support the guidelines. However, they are worried that it has not been implemented in their campus and is used to gain political mileage for various organisations in the campus. Groups have been accusing each other of violating the recommendations.

Although the students are politically active, regular boycotts have brought in a sense of dissatisfaction towards student politics. It was observed that several students feel disconnected from student politics, as they feel it doesn't deal with real problems faced by the college. Jerish Thomas, a student in the college, said "Maharajas College has a long

tradition of student politics. However, the present generation is not interested in politics. They have only seen its dark side of boycotts and violence. The Student's Union also doesn't bother about genuine grievances of the students and is solely guided by their ideologies. Proper facilities, regular classes and adequate student activities are what students want, and student politics is not been able to offer any of these."

The college does not have a proper grievance redressal body. The college management ignores most student issues. Funds allocated for student development are not utilised properly. The students gave a mass representation to the Government on the irregularities and misuse of fund allocated to the college. The issue was, however, not redressed. While student organisations have been able to create a politically aware citizenry, it couldn't raise the concerns of the students.

Bharat Mata College

Bharat Mata College is run by a Christian institution and is now controlled by the management. Elections were conducted earlier with the support of student organisations. However, for the past three years, elections have been banned and a nomination system is now in place. The ban was a result of a major scuffle between two student organisations during the elections. The college then complied with the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations and restructured their student representation system.

The students are now more oriented towards academics with political activity being limited to banners and posters put outside the college premises. While there are students who are a part of various organisations, they are not allowed to function within the college premises.

The same student council that was elected two years before continues to stay in office, as the college management extended their tenure. Student organisations have been insisting on elections taking place, and the management might do so in 2010-2011.

Sacred Heart College

Sacred Heart College has a proper electoral system. Student candidates are supported by various student organisations and campaigning consists of slogans, posters and banners.

These organisations respect the code of conduct and the entire process is monitored and controlled. The activities of student organisations are restricted.

Student leaders take part in various activities, within and outside the college. As the college has restricted political activities on the campus, the level of political activity has decreased. Officially student organisations and their activities are banned in the Lyngdoh Committee Recommendations.

Bangalore

Indian Institute of Management Bangalore

Indian Institute of Management Bangalore is one of the premier B-schools in not only India, but also Asia. Here there are about 29 student bodies, comprising of clubs, committees and councils. The clubs (like the cultural club, marketing club, public policy club, adventure club, hostel and mess club, gurukul club) which are more focused on particular activities have a process of 'selection' (as opposed to election) of its members. The councils (like the Academic Council consisting of 4 students, which overlooks all academic matters of students from scheduling of classes, examinations, attendance etc.) have members that are elected through direct election so that all the students vote and the candidates getting the highest number of votes get to sit in the Council (plurality rule). Similarly, members of the committees (like the Placement Committee comprising of 10 students) are also elected through direct election using plurality rule.

In addition, each batch of about 300 is divided into 5 sections of 75 students each and each class representative (CR) is elected via direct election within each section.

The Student Affairs Council (SAC), the apex student body, has 2 representatives from the Placement Committee (the two securing the highest number of votes), 1 from the Academic Council (highest vote securer), 5 CRs, and 1 sports secretary, 1 cultural secretary, 1 alumni secretary, 1 hostel secretary, and 1 secretary for the forum for Industrial Interactions. Barring the CRs and the representatives of the Academic Council and the Placement

Committee, all other positions, including that of the President of the SAC, are filled through direct elections, using plurality rule.

The President of the SAC seems to be the most important position in the sense of having decision-making powers, and is the only representative in the MBA committee (comprising otherwise of faculty). He/She also acts as the only point of contact between the students and the Director/Dean of the Institute.

Again, like in usual university student politics, there are rents or spoils from being in office which makes getting into such committees/councils very lucrative. They add, what is commonly called 'resume points', and since getting into these bodies involve elections, they signal well-connectedness of the members to their peers and persuasive capabilities on their part, which are valuable traits for would-be managers. Hence being members of such bodies are like job guarantees.

The 'economic' ambience seems to be bordering between comfortable and abundant. IIMB is equipped with state-of-the-art classrooms, the whole campus is compatible for wireless internet use which spreads about 100 acres, snuggled amidst sylvan surroundings, with sprinklings of canteen, cafeteria and eateries, and a library that houses about 2.09 lakh documents and is open on all days. Moreover, the average course fee in the MBA program is about 13 lakhs, which means the students either hail from very affluent backgrounds or have high credit worthiness to be able to obtain that amount as loan.

15) Conclusion

Campus democracy exists when students are appropriately represented and their issues addressed. A democratic institution in an educational institution takes into consideration all aspects of student life. For example, the way in which a student is involved in day-to-day activities of the college. For a free campus, the students are to be given the liberty to act, talk and get involved in the larger political framework, within and outside the college.

Campus democracy exists only when the student community is politically aware and contributes effectively and efficiently to the campus. There is the urgent need to educate the present student community on the political system of the country and the social issues affecting the larger community. This should also extend to encouraging them to be a part of

the socio-political system. Student politics facilitates this process. Therefore, an educational system that creates a politically active student citizenry is what India needs. To achieve this, the system needs to address the needs and aspirations of the students. All tendencies to suppress free thinking need to be curtailed. It has been observed that colleges prevent or suppress any student activity that is related to politics. Even discussion forums and related groups are prevented from debating on topics concerned with the general political scenario of the country. This suppression creates a community that is immobile to reality.

The Lyngdoh Committee recommendations have only stipulated conditions on which the student representative system shall exist. However, there is the need for a dialogue on the impact of its implementation, taking all stakeholders into confidence. There is a marked difference in the level of the existence of student politics in different parts of the country. A common mechanism that applies to all universities/colleges falls short of reality, defeating its intended purpose.

A holistic solution keeping in mind regional vagrancies is to be worked out in consultation with the colleges. However, colleges also need to realize that they should develop an intelligentsia that is free to express their thoughts and act upon it. This should be kept in mind while discussing the need for a developed socio-political system that respects free expression of thought and exchanges of ideologies. The solution would be the creation of a framework that applies uniformly to all universities and colleges. Colleges will be allowed to formulate a large framework with the consultation of students and other concerned stakeholders.

15.1 Key Learnings

1. Reactions towards campus elections are mixed. The Lyngdoh Committee Recommendations have not been implemented uniformly across the county. It is followed and monitored in Orissa and Assam and in major varsities like Hyderabad University and Delhi University. In other states where it has been implemented, it is not strictly enforced.
2. In campuses where the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations have been strictly implemented, it was observed that candidates used handmade banners and posters for campaigning. However, it has not been effective in curtailing election expenses. Candidates spend money on eatables and gifts for students outside the campus, a fact that goes unnoticed.

3. There is a definite influence of political parties on the representation system. Student organisations like the NSUI, the SFI and the ABVP are fully functional in several colleges. There is direct funding of candidates by political parties during campus elections.
4. Incidents of violence still take place during elections. It goes unnoticed at times, as some of them occur outside the campus.
5. Majority of the private colleges, especially those that offer professional courses, frown upon campus elections.
6. Majority of the faculty members feel that student politics dilutes the spirit of academics and it's better kept out of the campus.
7. Though student leaders show a lot of enthusiasm for politics, only a few of them really feel that politics could be taken up as a career. Focus on politics takes a back seat on completion of their academic pursuits.
8. There are instances when student unions have been instrumental in voicing concerns of the students. However, majority of the students feel that student unions are not the ultimate remedy to their problems.
9. Faculty members and college managements are supportive of student representation system in all colleges. However, they also feel that student elections do not foster democratic practices on the campus.
10. There is a considerable drop in student interest towards campus politics and socio-political issues.

While it is important that certain points of the committee recommendations are revisited, there is a larger need to address the feeling of detachment towards socio-political matters, which is rampant in the student community. The need of the hour is to develop an educational system wherein the student community imbibes the values of democracy. It should provide a platform where students can mould their opinions, express their thoughts and act upon their ideologies. A truly democratic campus is instrumental in producing a vibrant student community that works for the development of the country.

Respondent College wise situation of campus democracy

ZONE	CITY	STATE	SI No	COLLEGE	UNIVERSITY	COURSE TYPE	Existence of Students Union	Election/nomination	Supporting election	Lyngdoh implimentation
North										
	Delhi	Delhi	1	Shri Ram College of Commerce	Delhi University	Commerce	1	E	n	y
			2	Saraswati College	Delhi University	Arts, Science and Commerce	1	E	n	y
			3	PGDAV College	Delhi University	Arts, Science and Commerce	1	E	n	y
			4	Campus Law Centre	Delhi University	Law	1	E	n	y
			5	Swami Shradanand College	Delhi University	Arts	1	E	y	y
			5	Faculty of Social Sciences	Delhi University	Arts	1	E	y	y
			6	School of Post Graduation	Jawaharlal Nehru University	Arts	1	E	y	p

			7	School of Arts and Aesthetics	Jawaharlal Nehru University	Arts	1	E	y	p
			8	Department of Commerce	Jamia Milia University	Commerce	0		y	n
			9	Department of Engineering	Jamia Milia University	Engineering	0		n	n
	Lucknow	Uttar Pradesh	10	Department of Political Science	Lucknow University	Arts	0		y	n
			11	Department of Physics	Lucknow University	Science	0		y	n
			12	Department of Sociology	Lucknow University	Arts	0		n	n
			13	Department of Management	Lucknow University	Management	0		y	n
			14	Department of Physiology	Chatrapati Shahuji Maharaj Medical University	Medical	0		y	n
			15	Department of General Physicians	Chatrapati Shahuji Maharaj Medical University	Medical	0		y	n
	Shimla	Himachal Pradesh								
			16	University Institute of Legal Studies	Himachal University	Law	1	E	y	n
West										
	Mumbai	Maharashtra	17	SIES College	Mumbai University	Arts, Science and	1	N	y	y

		tra				Commerce				
			18	DY Patil College of Engineering	Mumbai University	Engineering	1	N	n	n
			19	Bharatiya Vidyapeeth	Mumbai University	Management	0		n	n
			20	Government Law College	Mumbai University	Law	1	N	y	y
			21	Father Agnel College	Mumbai University	Arts	1	N	y	n
			22	KJ Somaiya	Mumbai University	Integrated	1	N	y	p
			23	Kalina Campus	Mumbai University	Arts, Science and Commerce	1	N	y	n
	Aurangabad	Maharashtra	24	Government Engineering College	BR Ambedkar Marathwada University	Engineering	1	E	y	y
			25	Deogiri College	BR Ambedkar Marathwada University	Integrated	1	N	y	y
			26	Government Polytechnical College	Government Polytechnical University	Science	1	N	n	y
	Gandhinagar	Gujarat	27	Gujarat National Law University	Gujarat National Law University	Law	1	N	y	p
	Surat	Gujarat								
			28	Department of Sociology	Veer Narmad South Gujarat University	Arts	0	N	y	n

			29	Department of Literature	Veer Narmad South Gujarat University	Arts	0	N	y	n
			30	Department of Information Technology and Engineering	Veer Narmad South Gujarat University	Engineering and Science	0	N	n	n
			31	Kamrej Law College	Veer Narmad South Gujarat University	Law	1	N	y	p
South										
	Kochi	Kerala	32	Maharajas College	Mahatma Gandhi University	Arts, Science and Commerce	1	E	y	y
			33	Sacred Hearts College	Mahatma Gandhi University	Arts, Science and Commerce	1	E	y	y
			34	Bharat Mata College	Mahatma Gandhi University	Arts, Science and Commerce	1	N	y	p
			35	St Therasas College	Mahatma Gandhi University	Arts, Science and Commerce	1	N	y	y
			36	National University of Advances Legal Studies	National University of Advanced Legal Studies	Law	1	E	y	y
			37	Department of Legal Studies and Engineering	Cochin University of Science and Technology	Integrated	1	E	y	p
			38	Rajagiri College of Management	Mahatma Gandhi University	Management	1	N	y	n

			39	Rajagiri School of Social Work	Mahatma Gandhi University	Arts	1	N	n	n
			40	Federal Institute of Science and Techonolgy	Mahatma Gandhi University	Engineering	1	N	y	y
			41	Government Law College	Mahatma Gandhi University	Law	1	E	y	y
	Hyder abad	Andhra Pradesh								
			42	St Martins Engineering College		Engineering	1	E	Y	y
			43	College of Engineering	Hyderabad University	Engineering	0			n
			44	Government Degree College of Women	Osmania University	Arts and Science	1	E	Y	
			45	Chanda Kanthaiiah Memorial Arts & Science College	Osmania University	Arts and Science	1	N	Y	y
			46	Shadan Institution of P.G.Studies	Osmania University	Arts, Commerce and Science	0			n
			47	Guru Nanak Engineering College	Andhra University	Engineering	1	E	Y	
			48	IIIT-Hyderabad		Engineering	1	N		
			49	ACE Engineering College	Hyderabad University	Engineering				
			50	Department of Sociology	Hyderabad University	Arts	1	E	y	y

	Chennai	Tamil Nadu								
			51	Madras Christian College	University of Madras	Arts, Science and Commerce	1	E	y	y
			52	Department of Political Science	University of Madras	Integrated	0		y	n
			53	Indian Institute of Technology, Madras	Indian Institute of Technology	Engineering	1	E	y	p
	Bangalore	Karnataka								
			54	Kempegowda Institute of Medical Sciences	Rajiv Gandhi University of Health Sciences	Medical	0			n
			55	MS Ramiah Institute of Technology	Bangalore University	Engineering	0		y	n
			56	MP Birla Institute of Management	Bangalore University	Management	0		n	n
		Belgaum	57	GSS College	Mysore University	Arts	1	E	y	p
East										
	Kolkata	West Bengal								
			58	Presidency College	University of Calcutta	Arts and Science	1	E	y	p

			59	Umendranath College	University of Calcutta	Commerce and Management	1			n
			60	Ashuthosh College	University of Calcutta	Integrated	1	E	y	p
			61	Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business	University of Calcutta	Management	1	N	n	n
			62	Bangabasi College	University of Calcutta	Arts and Science	1	E	y	y
			63	National University of Juridical Sciences	National University of Juridical Sciences	Law	1	E	y	y
	Rourkela	Orissa								
			64	Rajdhani College of Engineering and Management	Biju Patnaik University of Technology (BPUT)	Arts and Science	0	N	n	n
	Bhubaneswar									
			65	Orissa Engineering College	Biju Patnaik University of Technology (BPUT)	Engineering	1	N	n	y
			66	Basic Science College	Biju Patnaik University of Technology (BPUT)	Science	1	N	y	y
			67	Capital Law College	Biju Patnaik University of Technology (BPUT)	Law	1	1	y	y
	Raipur	Chattisgarh								

		h								
			68	Hidayatullah National Law University	Hidayatullah National Law University	Law	1	E	y	y
North-East										
	Guwahati	Assam	69	Campus Law College	University of Guwahati	Law	1	E	y	y
			70	Government Engineering College	University of Guwahati	Engineering	1	E	y	y
			71	Government Ayurvedic College	University of Guwahati	Science	1	E	y	y
			72	Cotton College	University of Guwahati	Integrated	1	E	y	y
	Dimapur	Nagaland								
			73	Sakus Mission College	University of Nagaland	Integrated	1	E	y	y
			74	Dimpur Government College	University of Nagaland	Integrated	1	N	y	n
			75	School of Engineering and Technology	University of Nagaland	Engineering	0		n	n
			76	Youth Life Moulding Institute of Management	University of Nagaland	Management	1	N	y	y
			77	Salt Christian College	University of Nagaland	Arts and Commerce	1	E	y	y

	Mezdz hiphe ma	Naga land								
			78	School of Agriculture Studies and Rural Development	University of Nagaland	Arts	0	N	n	n

Election/Nominatoon: E- Election; N-Nomination
Support for Elections: y- yes, n-no

1. Annexure I

Student Politics- A brief analysis in the light of the Lyngdoh Committee Report

By Dr Soumanyetra Munshi⁴¹

Very broadly speaking, educational institutions in India can be categorized into those that have substantial presence of student 'politics' and those that don't. In the first category I include those institutions where there is perceptible presence of influence and patronage of state/national level political parties in the conduct and/or organisation of students and management of their affairs. In this group belong many of the state universities and colleges where the level of political interference is deeply entrenched in all levels of academic as well as non-academic issues. Not surprisingly, with the backing of resources and network of larger political parties, student elections in these places often turn out to be a blatant display of hooliganism, and non-academic conduct by party supporters often have to go unpunished due to greater political manipulation.

On the other hand, there are institutions with several student 'organisations' that are highly 'apolitical' in nature, in the sense of conspicuous absence of any kind of influence of larger political parties.

The Lyngdoh Committee was constituted to look into the entire scenario of student organisation/politics and suggest ways for its improvement, especially with regards to conducting elections in colleges/universities⁴²

⁴¹ Dr Soumyanetra Munshi is Assistant Professor to IIM, Bangalore.

⁴² Page 9 of the report lays down: "Pursuant to the order of the Honourable Supreme Court, dated December 12, 2005, the Committee was mandated to examine, inter alia, the following broad aspects of students' elections: 1. Criminalisation in student elections; 2. Financial transparency and limits of expenditure in the conduct of such elections (such as ceilings on election-related expenditure, indication of the details and sources of such expenditure, the filing of returns by students' unions in respect of their transactions and the scrutiny of such returns); 3. Eligibility criteria for candidates seeking to contest such elections (such as maximum age limits for candidates and minimum standards of educational performance attained by candidates); and 4. The institution of a forum to address grievances and disputes arising out of students' elections as regards procedural fairness, eligibility of candidates and/or the non-observance of norms during the conduct of student elections. In addition, the Committee was empowered to examine and consider all aspects relating to the conduct of students' elections, such as aspects affecting the academic atmosphere in educational institutions including, but not limited to, indiscipline and divisions on the basis of political beliefs and such other avoidable considerations. The Committee was also empowered to focus on the need to ensure that elements undesirable to the academic atmosphere in universities do not enter students' unions".

The Issues: Out of several concerns of the Committee pertaining to student elections, two prime ones are those of indiscipline (like violence, etc. during elections) and costs (in terms of costly campaigning, cancellation of scheduled classes, etc.). In what follows, I will explore two of the points considered by the Committee to alleviate the maladies plaguing the student politics scenario - 1. Modes of election, 2. Dissociation of Student Elections and Student Representation from Political Parties.

1. Modes of election: The Lyngdoh Committee report has suggested some procedural modifications in elections conducted at various educational institutes, as a panacea, to some of the ills pervading in the more 'politicised' students' politics. The main suggestion in this respect seems to be a consideration of size and spatial dispersion of the university/institution and accordingly a prescription of direct or indirect elections or a mix of both⁴³.

Recommendation: A model of direct election for universities with single campuses and indirect election or a combination of both for larger campuses⁴⁴. It holds that indirect elections are better for larger universities and diverse campuses, like Calcutta University, and direct elections for smaller universities with single campuses like JNU and Jadavpur University.

Analysis of Electoral Processes in Student 'Politics': We will now analyse the electoral processes in student politics in the light of the recommendation. In general, direct elections present a trade-off - it leads to greater scope of political participation (every potential voter votes) but at the same time is more costly in terms of campaigning, etc. So what the Report suggests is to have 'direct' elections involving all students at 'lower' or 'smaller' levels

⁴³ Pg 42 of the Report says: "However, each existing model examined by the Committee had its own drawbacks. The direct election model followed in Delhi University is plagued with an overflow of unnecessary funds for plastering the city with posters, and for the hiring of a convoy of vehicles to tour the city and achieve fledgling political glory as well as for 'entertaining' constituents. The indirect form of elections followed in many parts of the country like Rajasthan is a tedious, time-consuming affair often involving college representatives travelling to the university center, at no meagre expense of time and money, from far-flung districts to be a part of the apex union election process. The JNU/University of Hyderabad mode of elections, where direct elections are held in a peaceful manner and are conducted entirely by the students, where election-related expenditure is kept to a relative minimum due to strict norms on the use of posters and election propaganda, has a major drawback inasmuch as this form of election is suitable only for small universities with of the single campus type. These drawbacks, of course, are in addition to the ground realities of the present situation, perfect examples of which are the events in Kerala, which eventually led to the constitution of this Committee, as well as the situation in Lucknow and neighbouring areas."

⁴⁴ For example, pg 43 of the Report says: "A system of election wherein class representatives shall be directly elected in the colleges and universities campus and they in turn shall elect the office bearers for the college unions and the university campus union."

(within departments, for example) and have election among the elected representatives at higher levels, to make it cost efficient. However, consider the following hypothetical and simple example, to see the potential problem with this method. Let's say, there are three departments/colleges, each having two candidates from party A and party B, and each department/college having 100 students to vote. Let the party preference among students for A-B, in each of these populations be as follows: 70 - 30, 50 - 50, 40 - 60. i.e. the first is an A stronghold, the third is a B-stronghold, while in the second the preferences are (almost) equally divided. Now in case of a direct election, the numbers would have been 160 - 140, in favour of A. Now consider an indirect election, where one candidate from each population is selected and then one among the three elected ones is elected. The first population elects A, the third selects B, while the second is equally likely to select A or B. Now if the second population selects A, then the final three candidates would be A, A, B (with party A being the final winner, like in the direct election) whereas if the second population selects B, then the final three candidates would be A, B, B (with party B being the final winner, unlike the outcome in the direct election).

Hence, it is possible, that outcomes differ depending on the choice of the election method. But at least in the indirect method, there is the possibility of B emerging as the winner whereas in the direct method, there wasn't. However, even though the indirect method looks like cost-efficient, this above example points to the fact that it may not be unambiguously so. For example, if the preferences of the populations are approximately known, then both parties A and B will know that what matters is the voting of the second population (the 'swing' voters in politico-economic jargon). This might lead to complete diversion of resources from other populations to sway preferences of the second one (leading to 'distortion of allocation of resources'). In fact, in an extreme scenario it might lead to heightened violence and indiscipline in this population, all of which will impose heavy 'costs' the on society (monetary and otherwise). So only comparing campaign costs and suggesting direct elections to be more costly than indirect ones for large universities with different colleges may be misleading - differences in election results in the two kinds of systems can lead to other kinds 'costs' as well. Of course, more empirical research will be required to actually quantify the gains and losses of the two kinds of systems, while selecting one or the other.

Moreover since direct elections are more (monetarily) expensive in large elections, it is possible that these encourage political parties to play a large role (since they will have more

resources for campaign, etc.) whilst indirect elections will allow local independents to form loose alliances after the elections and probably bring in a higher quality of candidates.

I will also look at the electoral processes of these depoliticized environments like those in professional schools, business schools, and see the issue pertaining to electoral processes in the light of it. We look at the following two examples of premier B-schools in India: (i) IISWBM, and a state-government college in West Bengal (ii) Vidyasagar College (under the University of Calcutta).

(i) **Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Kolkata:** This is one of the premier management educational institutes in eastern India. Here, as opposed to IIMB, the candidates for the Placement Committee (seven out of about 120 students) are selected by the faculty and direct elections are held thereafter among students to select the leader among them. Members of the other committees, like Events Committee, etc. are all selected via 'selection' (like the clubs of IIMB).

Moreover, the students on an average come from affluent backgrounds and the infrastructural facilities are quite comfortable.

(ii) **Vidyasagar College under the University of Calcutta, Kolkata:** This is a college of arts and sciences under the University of Calcutta. Here, the current members of the University Union select one candidate each from each department to stand for elections for membership of the University Union. Moreover, the current Union members are the ones that vote for the selected candidates. In other words, at no stage of the whole process of University Union formation is there a direct election.

Moreover, the fees for students here are quite nominal, and the infrastructure is inadequate to say the least.

Now truly the more cost-efficient the system would be (like in Vidyasagar College, where there is no element of direct elections at all), the less democratic it is likely to be (since here the political parties seem to select party supporters as candidates, with only the current supporters selecting among them via election). However, in the present scenario in many universities like the Calcutta University, there are two levels of election (like suggested by the Committee), but both levels of election are 'indirect' in the sense that current Union

members select candidates for election and only the current members vote for electing the future members. Hence, there is practically no direct election at any stage, so that an ordinary student never gets to vote to select the members of the Union. In these cases, as the Report suggested, it seems necessary to have some form of direct elections at some stage, no matter how costly it is, to prevent incumbent party ruling out participation of other political forces.

Now let us turn to the issue of `politicization`.

2. Disassociation of Student Elections and Student Representation from Political Parties: This issue mainly concerns the `indiscipline` aspect of student politics that is often witnessed in India. Page 44 of the Report says:

"A large majority of the universities of India, at present, have become feeder devices for political candidates and party workers, as well as a mechanism for political parties to bypass conduct norms prescribed by the Election Commission, as such norms do not apply to students as students. The primary need, therefore, is to evolve some mechanism that does away with, or at least minimizes the influence of political parties in student elections. It is not appropriate to permit the level of interference being exercised by political parties at present, as the primary function of a university is, after all, education, and not political indoctrination, especially when such political influence brings with it all the indiscretions that political parties are known for."

Recommendation: Pg 46 of the Report has the following recommendation:

"During the period of the elections, no person, who is not a student on the rolls of the college/university, shall be permitted to take part in the election process in any capacity. Any person, candidate, or member of the student organisation, violating this rule shall be subject to disciplinary proceedings, in addition to the candidature, as the case may be, being revoked."

Analysis of Economic Origins of Student Politics: Here, I want to show that prohibiting outsiders from contesting elections is not enough for depoliticising the student political processes, since the roots of student politics are much deeper.

Academic research has often found that in India student politics tend to be congruent with national politics. At the risk of generalisation, one might say that national politics is primarily oriented around programme⁴⁵, interest⁴⁶ and issues⁴⁷. Again, research suggests that students' politics are primarily those of interest, issues and programmes (probably not in that order).

The reason student political activity is interest driven seems to be inadequate facilities and infrastructure at many colleges (like bad food, crowded hostels, poorly qualified faculty, inappropriately conducted admissions and examinations, etc.) to which students are directly and continuously exposed to, and which are often the most immediate cause of student unrest.

However, student politics has also been issue based in India, which is state or national in origin. Not only does the nature of issues add a more broad dimension to student politics, but also increases the involvement of state governments in higher education, which has made the government a more reasonable pressure point. This has also led to unifying of students across colleges/universities on a state-based basis.

Moreover, political parties, by taking interest in student grievances and demands by establishing or patronizing student organisations and leaders, end up giving a programmatic/party colour to student politics. Students interested in making a political career at the state or national levels also use student politics as a launching pad towards that end.

However, when one looks at student politics a little more closely, one finds that there are certain patterns of institutions, management, and certain traits of academic ambience (like student-teacher ratio, etc.) which are highly predictive of the nature of political activities.

Part of it is surely the issue of management. If the university/college is government run, then student politics naturally assumes a 'political' colour, in the sense of political parties getting involved with student politics like in most universities/colleges (research also shows

⁴⁶ Where interest politics gives expression to the 'associational life of the economy and society through purposeful representation to government and to those organisations that aspire to govern (parties) or through influencing public opinion (e.g., the mass media) with respect to the needs and aspirations of organized occupations, producers, consumers, and communities

⁴⁷ Where issue politics is mainly expressed in the formation of loosely organized committees etc., to promote the cause of certain issues.

there are increased level of such activities in government colleges than in private colleges). On the other hand, if the institute is autonomous like management schools, etc. (even if they are government recognized) the level of `political' influence at the level of parties is minimal or non-existent. The director/dean seems to be the concerned authority to redress grievances.

Moreover, the examples of B-schools and some other general colleges point towards an economic divide between the two categories pointing towards what might be called the `economic origins of student politics'. So, for example, often affluence of families of incoming students to professional schools has been cited as a reason for their non-involvement with hard core student `politics'. It has been said that since students who qualify for (scarce) medical/engineering/management seats, often come from more secure and established families, they have less reason, to agitate/strike for state/national causes. The average family income of students in such institutions is also quite high. Moreover the infrastructural facilities provided in such institutes seem lavish compared to unavailability of sometimes even basic and bare requirements like ceiling fans in classrooms in more general colleges.

The demand for political involvement of students comes from the political parties. The supply of political motivation and support comes from the students. Hence, in most cases of general college/university, both demand and supply are perpetuated through inadequate infrastructural facilities, governance-related issues and economic needs of the students (like government scholarships for the needy students, etc.). While in more professional schools, like B-schools, the demand for student involvement may be there, but the supply is scanty with luxurious academic facilities and comfortable economic backgrounds of the students.

16) Annexure II:

Campus Democracy sans student politics

By Prof K C Abraham⁴⁸

"Democracy is a form of government in which everyone has a share," declared English writer and jurist A V Dicey. It is a political order in which every citizen enjoys the privilege to participate in the decision-making process. Hence, the exclusion of any section of the electorate from this process, even partially, is undemocratic. The 62nd Amendment enlarged the electorate by bringing down the voting age to 18. This has brought the whole student community of the higher education in to this fold: Along with this Electoral Revolution, the issue of campus democracy cropped up, inadvertently, Campus democracy often came to be deemed as campus politics, which has evoked a general sense of aversion. Campus politics happened to be manifested in violence. A deliberate propaganda is ruthlessly unleashed to malign campus democracy and to glorify de-politicisation of society, especially the youth. The acts of indiscrete strikes, disruption, unruly behaviour and unscrupulous violence in the name of campus politics prompted even well-meaning people to call for an end to this force of democracy. Enthused by this chaotic situation and to cash upon the 'opportunity', certain management went to the court.

The High Court of Kerala in its 'wisdom' banned campus politics though the case involved a particular management and one student of that college. In response to a spate of appeals, the Supreme Court directed the union government to appoint a commission to go into the whole complexities of campus' politics and related issues. Accordingly, the union government constituted the Lyngdoh Commission. There are many points to be cleared and questions answered, especially in the light of the Lyngdoh Commission. At the outset, it is imperative to know the genuine meaning of politics. Secondly, are politics and campus democracy incompatible? Thirdly can the authorities brand arbitrarily anything that is detrimental to its vested interest, as political, and declare such acts and public activities illegal on the campus? Should 'Campus Democracy' be defined by the management?

Neither any college, university, nor student organization need to be dogmatic about the mode of elective system (presidential, parliamentary or mixed). Let it be left to the well-thought about decision of the concerned university. However, it should be uniform in all the

⁴⁸ Prof K C Abraham is a Political Science teacher(retd) from Sacred Heart College, Cochin. He is a witness to glorious and violent days of campus politics in Kerala for more than 40 years.

affiliated colleges, lest it affect the formation of the university union. There should be principles laid down, on eligibility criteria like age limit, minimum merit and attendance, non-criminal records, duration of the election process, code of conduct for candidates, nature, structure, appointment and conduct of election, administrators, and strict rules and surveillance on election expenditure. It may be suggested that the election expenditure of candidates could be drawn from the union fund. A fixed amount of fund should be spent for propaganda materials, e.g. leaflets, banners, etc., of each candidate. They can be designed, printed and supplied by the election administration. There should be two binding conditions: First, the demarked fund for such expenditure should be taken from the deposit of candidates. Second, candidates who get less than 25 per cent of the polled votes to that particular post should forfeit his/her deposit and of others refunded. This measure can avoid extravagance and influence of money power. Suggestions on grievance-redressal mechanisms have to be welcomed. However, a word of caution has to be recorded on the deployment of police forces on the campus. The campus is a centre of enlightenment and a temple of learning. Let discipline be maintained by the faculty. 'Policing' the students should be the sole responsibility of the faculty; when the situation goes beyond their control, the principle and staff may decide in their collective wisdom to call the police to maintain law and order. Though the Kerala High Court gave powers to the police to enter the campus, it may be imprudent to assign such a unilateral decision to the police.

The exit of Campus Politics

The Lyngdoh Committee looks nauseated with campus politics. The obsession of the globalised corporate – nouveau riche elite with politics, seems to have influenced the Honourable committee. Also, depoliticisation has become a fashionable paradigm for the contemporary thinking. It is a sad commendatory on the understanding of politics. If political activity on the campus is of a degenerate nature, how much rotten is it outside? How could we live with such political elements of degeneration? If so, to what state of degeneration has our political democracy stooped? Are we not living with it? It is an irony that, in spite of such degenerated obscene politics, we are emerging as a global power. It is a tragedy that either we fail to understand the concept of 'politics' or deliberately enter in to an exercise of misinterpreting it. By expediency, opportunism, criminality, misuse of fund and examination irregularities in education can survive and thrive, even without politics. Is it not the culture and attitude, derived from history and sustained and enabled by education of

a society, in general that engender all these vices? Are there no criminals in the peaceful, depoliticised campuses of India? There are instances of caste rivalries and fights in certain universities. Caste and communal organisations and criminal gangs are prevalent in many campuses, but they function covertly. If politics and free political activities are dangerous, it should be from the society itself. However, we mask it to be branded as democracy.

This is not an advocacy for murky 'political' meddling in the colleges and universities by outside forces supportive of tussling for sectarian and narrow-minded games. There should be freedom and space for discourse on public issues; both national and international. Vandalising, violence, ragging, misconduct and indiscipline many not be christened as politics. Let us not vulgarise politics and politicise vulgarity. Politics in its moral nature should not be attributed to the paternity of immoral and illegitimate social creations. The advocates of depoliticisation want a passive subdued-obedient generation of students for the regimented corporate world. It is the youth of the college and universities, who are the abodes of creativity and new ideas. Let them hear and listen, but also encourage them to think differently -- Rebellions in the arena of the thought brings in transformations. History is plenty with such rebel thinkers who brought in new ideas for man to go forward. To shut the mouth is to shut the ventilation of the mind. If politics is so much an abused word, let us replace it with 'public thinking' and 'public activism'. If students are forced to be exclusive with their personal businesses of equipping themselves with the means of 'earning' and 'extracting' from the society for their individual materialistic pleasure, it is going to be a social catastrophe. If the system does not encourage students to think and act for others, the tragic consequence would be 'educated criminals' in the future. Our democracy will be aplenty with criminalised citizens. It may be too hard for the proponents of 'depoliticisation' to realize the perils imbibed in it.

Politics of Depoliticisation

Who does not have politics, if the term is used for denoting activities motivated by self interest, the attainment of it by any means? Such politics should be shunned and politicians of that class kept away. If students are encouraged to develop a disclaimer for public affairs and public activity, who are going to be our political masters? People from the gutter culture, licensed criminals, and looters? In the name of banning campus politics, let us not banish liberal values and spirit of tolerance. In the Report, it was revealed that by and large the privately funded/self-financing educational institutions are opposed to elections to student bodies in their campus. This implies that they want 'captive learners' or fewer

consumers in their education shops. So the apprehension remains: What kind of politics is to be kept away from the campus? A clear vision has to be formulated and presented. Questioning the charging of exorbitant fees, sexual discrimination and exploitation and alienation of 'lower' caste students; all these can be branded political and suppressed. Airing of views, free opinion and reaction to public injustice and an exploitative regime can be called political, and, hence blasphemous. Various suggestions of the commission to make elections free and fair are strong bulwarks against 'dirty politics'. They are indeed praiseworthy. The concern of the Committee about the draconian law of Maharashtra banning elections in colleges and universities and its revelation of the southern states colleges and their politician-owner's stout opposition to democratic election are well meaning of its commitment to education democracy. This response paper may be summed up with the words of Sidwick: Knowledge and goodness-these make degrees in heaven and they must be the graduating seek of a true democracy.

17) ANNEXURE III

18.1 Questionnaire on campus democracy (for students)

All the information collected through this questionnaire is for the sole purpose of research. The privacy of the respondent is our utmost responsibility. We undertake not to share personal information with any third party without prior permission from the respondent.

** Required*

1. Name of the respondent: *

2. Name and location of the College/University. *Please specify

3. Type of the college/university: *Multiple choices (Tick wherever applicable)

- Arts
- Commerce
- Law
- Engineering
- Management
- Science
- Other:

4. Is the college affiliated with any university? Please specify

5. What kind of student body do you have in your college/institution? Multiple choices (Choose any)

- Student Union/Council
- Department Associations
- Department Committees/group
- Quiz/ Debate /Reading group
- Speaker's group/forum
- Groups based on caste
- Group's bases on region

- Groups based on certain ideology
- Sports/ Music group
- No group or student body

6. If you have a student council/union, how is it formed?

- Elected
- Nominated

7. According to you, which is better?

- Elected
- Nominated

8. Are you happy with the democratic participation of students in campus life? Please specify

- Yes
- No

9. If you have a student's council/body, do you think they work towards the development of campus life? Please tick wherever applicable

- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- Always
- Others

10. According to you, who is an ideal candidate to contest student elections?

- Good at academics only
- Good at academics and co-curricular activities
- Good at co-curricular activities only
- Groups/individuals with ideologies
- Groups/individuals without ideologies

- Groups/individuals concerned about the development of the campus and student life
- Others (please specify)

11. Does the management support campus elections/students unions? *Please tick one

- Yes
- No

12. What do you think about campus politics? *Multiple choices (Choose one or more)

- It is the right of the student
- Campus without politics is undemocratic
- It leads to a vibrant campus
- It creates future leaders
- Oppose it, because it is violent in nature
- Oppose it, because academics should not be mixed with politics
- Dissatisfied/ cynical with it, because it does not raise and address campus issues
- Other:

13. Has there been any incident of violence on your campus during student elections?

- Yes
- No

14. What are the key issues in your campus that you think need to be addressed?

- Inadequate infrastructure
- Capitation fee
- Inadequate faculty
- Lack of quality education
- Others (Please specify)

15. Who do you think could solve these issues?

- College administration/management

- Student Council
- Class representatives
- Government
- Others (Please specify)

16. Do you have any suggestions to improve the present condition of student union election/nomination in your campus? *Please specify.

17. Do you have cultural fests or other events on your campus? If yes, what is the role of the student council/body? Please specify.

18. What according to you should be the role of the Student Council/body or class representatives? Please specify.

19. Are you aware of the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations? *Please tick one

- Yes
- No

20. Do you support the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations? *Please tick one

- Yes
- No

21. If no, why? Please specify.

22. What is the role of the faculty in the election/nomination process?

- They nominate students according to their wishes
- They nominate the best students of the class
- They choose the candidates for election

- They do not interfere with the nomination/election process
- They oversee the election/nomination process
- Others (Please specify)

23. What according to you should be the role of the faculty in the election/nomination process? Please specify.

24. Do you want to become a student leader?

- Yes
- No

25. If yes, how?

- To get elected or nominated to the students council/body
- To affiliate with a political party
- To form a group with similar ideology
- Others (Please specify)

18.2 Questionnaire on Eligibility Criteria for Student Representatives

1. How many days does it take for the student election process; from the day of nomination till declaration of the results? *

- 2-5 days
- 5-10 days
- 10-15 days

>15 days

2. When does your college conduct the student elections? *

- Within 1-3 weeks of commencement of the academic session.
- Within 3-6 weeks of commencement of the academic session.
- Within 6-8 weeks of commencement of the academic session.
- Four months after commencement of the academic session.
- In the middle of the academic year.

3. How many times do you conduct student elections? *

- Once a year
- Twice a year
- More than twice a year.
- Do not conduct student elections at all.

4. Are there any eligibility criteria for students contesting election? *

- Yes
- No

5. If yes, what are they based on? *

- Age
- Academic performance (percentage of marks)
- Attendance
- Participation in co-curricular activities
- Geographical/regional

6. If age is a criteria, choose one?

- 17-21 yrs
- 22-24 yrs
- 25-27 yrs
- 26-28 yrs
- >28 yrs

7. If academic performance, what is the percentage of marks a candidate should have?

- 40-49 per cent
- 50-59 per cent
- 60-70 per cent

>70 per cent

8. If attendance, what is the criteria?

35 per cent

35-50 per cent

50-69 per cent

70-75 per cent

>75 per cent

9. Are there any criteria for disqualifying candidates from contesting elections? Please tick any.

Academic arrears

Financial arrears

Cheating in exams

Criminal record

Indiscipline

Support from a political party

There are no criteria for disqualification

There are criteria for disqualification, but they are not followed

Other:

18.3 Questionnaire on campaigns for student election

1. Do you have campus elections?

Yes

No

2. If yes, what are the methods of campaigning?

Election manifesto

Qualifying speech

Interaction with students

Debates

Discussions

Other:

3. What is the process of campaigning?

- Printed posters and pamphlets
- Use of loudspeakers
- Vehicle rallies
- Procession
- Visits to the homes of the students
- Printer posters and pamphlets are not allowed
- Handmade posters and pamphlets are allowed

4. Are candidates allowed to propagate ideologies pertaining to...

- Religion
- Caste
- Gender
- Region
- Only topics of common issues are allowed

5. Are candidates allowed to campaign on the day of the election? *

- Yes
- No
- Though they are not allowed, it takes place
- They are allowed to campaign beyond 50 meters of the polling station
- They are allowed to campaign beyond 100 meters of the polling station
- They are allowed to campaign beyond 150 meters of the polling station

6. If the candidate campaigns on the day of election, are they allowed to... (Choose any)

- Use loudspeakers
- Distribute pamphlets
- Distribute eatables

7. Do candidates use animals for campaigning?

- Yes, they are allowed
- No, it is strictly banned
- Though it is not allowed, candidates do it

8. Are candidates allowed to use places of worship during elections?

- Yes
- No

There is no place of worship on the campus

9. Are outsiders allowed to enter the campus during the elections? *

Yes

No

Even if they are not allowed, the candidates let them in

10. Are political parties allowed inside your campus during the academic session? *

Yes

No

Though they are not allowed, they forcefully make their way in

11. Do political party representatives enter the campus during the student election period? *

Yes

No, they are strictly banned from entering

Though they are not allowed, they forcefully enter the campus

The candidates support them and let them in, even if they are not allowed

The students let them enter the campus, even if it's not allowed

12. Do political party representatives hold public meetings and speak during the election period on the campus? *

Yes

No

They do it forcefully

13. Are candidates allowed to use places of worship during elections?

Yes

No

There is no place of worship on the campus

14. If candidates are allowed to use posters, then where do they paste it?

On the main gate of the campus

On the walls of the campus

On the walls of the college/university building

Inside the classrooms

Near the notice board

Near the canteen

- Near the staff room
- A separate place/board is provided for the posters

15. Do the candidates seek permission to use vehicles for the rallies?

- Yes
- No
- Vehicle rallies are not allowed
- Rallies are not allowed inside the campus
- Vehicle rallies are held outside the campus, and so permission is not required

18.4 Questionnaire on financial expenditure during the elections

1. Is there a ceiling on financial expenditure of the candidates? If yes, please choose one

- Up to Rs 1,000
- Up to Rs 3,000
- Up to Rs 5,000
- Up to Rs 10,000
- Up to Rs 15,000
- More than Rs 15,000

2. How much does a candidate spend (an average)?

- Less than Rs 1,000
- Rs 1,000-5,000
- Rs 5,000 – 15,000
- Rs 15,000 – 25,000
- Above Rs 25,000
- The candidates are not allowed to spend anything on the elections

3. Are candidates required to submit their expense bills? *

- Yes
- No

4. If yes, who audits the expenses?

- Members of the administration

- Members of the administration and the faculty
- Members of the faculty
- The students themselves
- The faculty and students
- All three

5. Are the expenses of the candidates used for election audited? *

- Yes
- No

6. If yes, then who audits the expenses?

- Members of the administration only
- Members of the administration and faculty
- Faculty only
- Student only
- Faculty and students
- All the three

7. What measures are taken if any candidate exceeds the expenditure limit?

- No action is taken
- The candidate is disqualified
- Other:

8. Are candidate allowed to get financial support from political parties? *

- Yes
- No
- Though it is not allowed, political parties support them

18.5 Questionnaire on the Election Grievance Cell

1. Is any observer appointed during the student elections? *

- Yes
- No

2. If yes, who appoints the observer?

- The college administration
- The university
- The student body
- The election committee

3. Is there any grievance cell to monitor the student election process? *

- Yes
- No

4. If yes, who comprises the committee?

- The Dean
- The Dean and administration representatives
- The Dean and members of the faculty
- All three
- The Dean and students
- Faculty and students
- The Dean, student and faculty members
- Other:

5. How many members do the election grievance cells have? *

- One
- Two
- Three
- Five
- More than five
- The grievance cell is never formed

6. If the election grievance cell is formed, how many students are a part of it?

- One boy
- One girl
- One boy and one girl
- Two boys
- Two girls
- Two boys and one girl
- Two boys and two girls
- More than two boys and girls

7. What are the roles and responsibilities of the election grievance cell?

- Check limit on expenditure
- Proceedings and hearings of grievances related to student elections
- Inspect the financial reports of candidates
- Impose fine on candidates in case of misconduct
- Ban candidates with misconduct from contesting the elections
- Disqualify elected members if they are found using malpractices to win the elections
- Ban elections, in case of adverse situations

- Suspend candidates from academics for electoral misconduct

8. Who can revoke or modify the decisions of the election grievance cell?

- Dean
- Principal
- Administration
- Faculty members
- Students

9. What is the turnaround time for the grievance cell to take action against the complaints?

- Within 12 hours
- Within 24 hours
- After 24 hours
- Within 48 hours
- No specific time

10. Does the election grievance cell allow the public at their hearings?

- Yes
- No

11. If candidates are allowed to use posters and pamphlets, who cleans up the campus after the elections?

- The candidates.
- The caretakers
- The students
- The candidates are supposed to do so, but they do not

18.6 Questionnaire on campus democracy (for faculty/management)

1. Do you have a council of students? *Please tick one

- Yes
- No

2. If yes, how is the student council/body formed? Please choose any

- The students elect the candidates directly by secret ballot
- The faculty nominates students based on merits in academic and co curricular activities
- The students nominate candidates from each class
- The students nominate candidates from each department
- The administration nominates student leaders based on merits in academic and co-curricular performance
- The faculty first nominates the candidates, and the students choose their leaders through votes
- The administration first nominates the candidates, and the students choose their leaders through votes

3. For how long has your college/university been conducting student elections? *

- Since the beginning of its establishment
- One year
- Two years
- Three years
- One year after its establishment
- Within five years of its establishment

Other (specify) :

4. If no, do you have any other elected student body? Please specify.

Yes

No

5. What are the posts in the student council/body? *Please name them, according to hierarchy

6. Which method of student representation is better?

Elected

Nominated

Other

7. Is the student council based on political parties? *Please tick one

Yes

No

8. If yes, name the parties?

9. Do you have any political affiliations?

Yes

No

10. Do you assist the student council?

Yes

No

11. If yes, how

Please specify the role.

12. How do you participate in the student elections?

- Do not participate at all
- Was or will be part of the election committee
- Help in planning the election
- Help in arranging and conducting the polling
- Help in counting the votes
- Orient the students on leadership and their duties as a student leader
- Orient the students about the importance of choosing the right candidate
- Provide financial support to the candidates I support

13. Are you happy with the democratic participation of students in campus life?

- Yes
- No

14. Do you think the students council/bodies work toward the development of campus life?

Please tick one

- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- Always
- Others

15. Does the management support campus elections/students unions? *Please tick one

- Yes
- No

16. If yes, how? Please specify.

17. What do you think about campus politics? *Multiple choices (Choose one or more)

- It is the right of the student
- Campus without politics is undemocratic
- It leads to a vibrant campus

- It creates future leaders
- Oppose it, because it is violent in nature
- Oppose it, because academic should not be mixed with politics
- Dissatisfied/ cynical, because it does not raise and address campus issues
- Other:

18. If no, why? Please Specify

19. Do you have any suggestions to improve the present condition of student union elections in your college? *Please specify.

20. Are you aware of the Lyngdoh committee recommendations? *Please tick one

- Yes
- No

21. If yes, what, according to you, are the major recommendations? Please specify

22. Do you support the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations? *Please tick one

- Yes
- No

23. If no, why? Please specify

24. Have you implemented the Lyngdoh Committee recommendations?

- Yes
- No

25. Does your institution offer distance courses? *

- Yes
- No

26. If yes, are the students of the distance-learning courses allowed to stand for elections?

- Yes

No

27. Does the institution impart any leadership training programme for the students?

Yes

No

28. Do you support student leaders?

Yes

No

29. If yes, why?

They are important for the development of the institution

They are future leaders of the state

They learn leadership qualities

Others (Please specify)

30. If no, why?

They are bad for the institution

Breeds violence

Oppose it, because the institution focuses on academics

Others (Please specify)

19)Annexure IV

Map of Cities Covered Under the Study



20)ANNEXURE V

Responses sought through the RTI Act

RTI References

1. All India Institute of Medical Science, Delhi University, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 26 August 2010.
2. Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 26 August 2010.
3. Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 9 August 2010.
4. Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 19 August 2010.
5. Karnatak University, Dharwad, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 24 August 2010.
6. Magadh University, Bodhgaya University, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 20 August 2010.
7. Mahatma Gandhi University, Kerala, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 13 August 2010.
8. Pune University, Pune, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 13 August 2010.
9. Rashtrakant Tukadoji Maharaj Nagpur University, Nagpur, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 7 August 2010.
10. Bhavnagar University, Gujarat, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 25 August 2010.
11. Birla Institute of Technology, Mesra, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 30 July 2010.
12. Kannada University, Karnataka, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 4 August 2010.
13. Assam University, Silchar, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 5 August 2010.
14. Indian Institute Of Techinology, Kharagpur, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 4 August 2010.
15. KIIT University, Orissa, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 31 July 2010.
16. ICFAI, Dehradun, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 9 August 2010.
17. ANNA University, Chennai, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 12 August 2010.
18. Andhra University, Andhra Pradesh, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 1 August 2010.
19. Madras University, Chennai, Applied on 20 August 2010. Received on 2 September 2010.

20. Mysore University, Karnataka, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 27 August 2010.
21. University Of Kerala, Kerala, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 20 August 2010.
22. Nagaland University, Lumami, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 7 September 2010.
23. Patna University, Patna, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 18 September 2010.
24. Lucknow University, Lucknow, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 12 September 2010.
25. Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University, Hyderabad, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 23 September 2010.
26. University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 13 September 2010.
27. Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, Applied on 20 August 2010. Received on 23 September 2010.
28. University of Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 21 August 2010.
29. Biju Patnaik University of Technology, Orissa, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 17 August 2010.
30. Swami Keshwanand Rajasthan Agricultural University, Bikaner, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 9 August 2010.
31. Gauhati University, Assam, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 18 August 2010.
32. Rajendra Agricultural University, Bihar, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 4 August 2010.
33. BIRSA Agricultural University, Ranchi, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 29 July 2010.
34. Sardarkrushinagar Dantiwada Agricultural University, Banaskantha, Applied on 29 July 2010. Received on 3 August 2010.
35. Banasthali University, Rajasthan, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 31 July 2010.
36. Fakir Mohan University, Orissa, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 6 August 2010.
37. Kannur University, Kerala, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on 7 August 2010.

- ⁱ Lyngdoh Committee Report, www.ugc.ac.in, Submitted to the Ministry of Human Resource and Development on May 23, 2006.
- ⁱⁱ All India Institute of Medical Science, Delhi University, Applied on 20 July 2010. Received on August 26 2010
- ⁱⁱⁱ Samujjaya Bhattacharya is the Chief Advisor to All Assam Students Union and the President of North East Students Union. Comment taken as per the personal interview held on August 8 2010.
- ^{iv} Observed through campus visit on August 8, 2010, at 11:00 am.
- ^v Abhinav Pratap Singh is a final year student of Chemistry in Lucknow University. Comment taken as per the personal interview held on August 2, 2010.
- ^{vi} *Delhi University website*, www.du.ac.in, Sept 6, 2010, 9:45.
- ^{vii} Noted through personal interview with Prof Nafisa J, is the faculty of Kalina campus, Mumbai University on July 18, 2010, 11:30.
- ^{viii} Campus visit of Salt Christian College, August 6, 2010, 15:00
- ^{ix} As per the comments taken from Mr Karthik K, student of Kerala University through email interview, August 19, 2010, 19:00.
- ^x <http://www.delhidistrictcourts.nic.in/Sep09/DEEPAK%20NEGI%20VS.%20UNIVERSITY%20OF%20DELHI.pdf>, Sept 19, 2010, 10:45. Delhi High Court direction reprimanding the candidates for violation of DUSU Code of Conduct.
- ^{xi} Prof KC Abraham is a retired political science faculty of Sacred Hearts College, Thevara, Kochi.
- ^{xii} As per telephonic interview with Ms Lakshmi of Vyara College on September 17, 2010, 16:15
- ^{xiii} Mahesh. R is a first year law student in Campus Law Centre in Delhi University and a member of Students Federation of India. Comment taken as per the personal interview held on August 5 2010, 10:00
- ^{xiv} http://www.asianetindia.com/news/financing-ksu-march-turns-violent-tpuram_188865.html, October 4 2010, 12:30.
- ^{xv} Simanta Takuria is the Secretary of All Guwahati Students Union and an active member of AASU. Comment taken as per the personal interview held on August 8th, 2010, 13:45.
- ^{xvi} Dr MS Joshi is the Information Technology faculty of Government Engineering College, Aurangabad and the faculty co-ordinator of IT Department. Comment taken as per the personal interview held on July 18 2010, 11: 30.
- ^{xvii} www.twocircles.net/.../3_years_amu_suspends_136_students_rusticates_55.htm dt 29th April 2010, accessed on Sept 20 2010, 17:00.
- ^{xviii} <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?233558>, dt. 1st January 2007, accessed on Sept 20 2010, 15:30.
- ^{xix} <http://visionmp.com/professor-sabharwal-murder-case-accused-acquitted-justicedelayed25411475590/>, Sept 22, 2010, 18:00.
- ^{xx} <http://himachal.us/2010/07/09/uneasy-calm-at-himachal-univ-sfi-%E2%80%93-avbp-clash-on-the-roads/20963/news/ravinder>, Sept 29 2010, 11:30.
- ^{xxi} <http://flashnewstoday.com/index.php/ksu-education-bandh-today/>, Oct 1 2010, 9:55.
- ^{xxii} Noted as per campus visit to Guwahati University on August 6th, 2010, 10:45.
- ^{xxiii} Vijoo Krishnan is a Former Chairman of JNU elected as a SFI candidate. Personal interview done on August 12 2010, 16:00.
- ^{xxiv} Narendran T is the former Chairman of Cochin University of Science and Technology elected as a SFI candidate. Phone interview done on July 9th 2010, 19:20.
- ^{xxv} Premjish A is a student of the Department of Arts and Aesthetics in JNU. Comment through personal interview on July 24th 2010, 12:45.
- ^{xxvi} <http://www.deccanherald.com/content/82598/cwg-leaves-delhi-university-hostellers.html>, Sept 22, 2010, 17:20.
- ^{xxvii} Noted through campus visit in SIES, Mumbai campus on July 12th, 2010, 11:00
- ^{xxviii} Abhinav Pratap Singh is a final year student of Chemistry in Lucknow University. Comment taken as per the personal interview held on August 2nd, 2010, 13:00.
- ^{xxix} Noted through personal interviews with various student leaders in various parts of the country
- ^{xxx} Anupriya Tyagi is the Joint Secretary of Delhi University Students Union. Quote taken as per the personal interview on August 2nd, 2010, 15:30.
- ^{xxxi} Vivek Vishal is a student of JNU and a ABVP party member. Quote taken as per the personal interview on August 4th, 2010, 12:00.
- ^{xxxii} Neha Bora is a Third year student of Campus Law College, Guwahati University. Quote taken as per the personal interview on July 23rd, 2010, 15:00.
- ^{xxxiii} On October 24, 2008 the Hon'ble Supreme Court stayed election to JNUSU; http://indiaedunews.net/delhi/Student's_body_at_JNU_disbanded_polling_depends_on_Supreme_Court's_nod_10769/, dt February 25 2010, assessed on October 6 2010, 20:30.
- ^{xxxiv} See Annexure
- ^{xxxv} Noted as per talks with NSUI, SFI and ABVP student leaders, July 21-August 14 2010.
- ^{xxxvi} Vide Order No. IIIHE-Admn.90/06(Pt.) 26807(5)/HE, Department of Higher Education, Government Orissa, Dated 5.9.09.
- ^{xxxvii} www.du.ac.in, Sept 7 2010, 22:10.
- ^{xxxviii} <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/csmmu-interns-to-protest-against-meagre-st/613696/>, dt May 1 2010, accessed on August 23 2010, 12:30.
- ^{xxxix} <http://www.in>
- ^d ianexpress.com/news/csmmu-interns-to-protest-against-meagre-st/613696/, dt May 1 2010, accessed on August 23 2010, 12:30.
- ^{xlii} Noted through telephonic interview on September 18 2010, 15:30.