

BARGAD



NATIONAL SURVEY
ON

STUDENT
POLITICS

2008

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2008

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BARGAD

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Foreword

Bargad is one of the very few civil society organizations that has been working with students and youth. It is also one of the very few civil society organizations with a large outreach, as can be discerned from the fact that it is able to mobilize up to a few hundred students in its programmes. Its pioneering effort to try and put student views on student unions and campus politics on record is an effort from up front to inform public opinion on this vital issue and to place the subject in perspective.

Student politics played a vital role the 1960's in the democratic struggle against the military dictatorship of General Ayub Khan. It is, thus, not surprising that the next military dictator, General Zia-ul-Haq, banned student unions and purged campuses of politics. Over the years, student politics and student unions have been disparaged and accused of engaging in violence, and which has been held responsible for the decline in educational standards.

None of these are true. Violence on campuses was not the norm during the heydays of student union activism up to the 1970's. Armed and organized violence on campuses first emerged the 1980's. Two questions arise. How and wherefrom did the students get the arms? How is it that the state's police and military intelligence agents effectively maintained surveillance of anti-establishment student leaders' activities, but failed to notice the creeping proliferation of arms on campuses? Clearly, the failure lies at the doorstep of authorities that were responsible for internal security; whose duty it was to ensure that illegal arms do not enter the country and do not become available in covert marketplaces in the country.

The fact is that Pakistan in the 1980's was under the occupation of an unconstitutional and illegitimate regime that was engaged in gun-running for a superpower as part of an unholy tripartite alliance comprising the said superpower, the Pakistan military and religious organizations. Militarization of politics was part of the agenda of the then ruling clique. Campuses and student politics were actually victims of power politics being played out at the national and international level.

Moreover, if student politics was responsible for decline in educational standards, the quality of education should have shown some improvement after student unions were banned. On the contrary, academic standards have continued to deteriorate. Clearly, there were other reasons for educational decay that continues till today. Perhaps, the responsibility lies in the fact that education is not a priority for the state. Student unions cannot be made a scapegoat for the state's failures.

Student politics play two very crucial positive roles. Firstly, student unions do not only engage in politics. They organize a range of activities: debates, quiz competitions, sports events, music programmes, excursions trips, etc. The managerial and organizational experience that the student office-bearers and activists acquire is equal if not more to the learning from lectures and books. The political experience that they acquire is critical in creating the future leaders in public life. This entrepreneurial outcome of student union politics has been lost with the banning of student unions and campus politics.

Secondly, students are of an age where they are brimming with energy. Student union activities, including politics, allows this energy to be channeled into positive ends. The outlawing of student politics deprived the students of such platforms. Concurrently, arms began to become available anywhere and everywhere. The result is now obvious. Bereft of the opportunities to excel in debates, music, sports or politics, many among the "brimming-with-energy" youngsters began to find fulfillment in being able to carry and use arms. Some among them resorted to terrorism, some to crime.

The decision of the new democratic government to lift the ban on student unions is, therefore, highly commendable. Certainly, there will be problems. However, it is essential to begin to rebuild 'civil society' from student life onwards. And it is on campuses and through student politics organized around student unions that the task can begin.

Dr. Kaiser Bengali
Chairperson



Preface

The government's decision to lift ban on student unions is welcome! BARGAD is pleased that the need to institute mechanism for students' representation in the educational institutions have been realized, a demand which on our part we have been keeping alive through different interactive events, discussion forums and writing assignments during the last ten years.

The core value of National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, is consultation. That too at a critical juncture when the policy framework regarding student politics and unions is in the formative phase. It will help in understanding perceptions and mind set of the present-day students and will give us due empirical basis to analyze student politics rather than depending upon sweeping generalizations, political loyalties and disinformation.

I hope that the timing of the National Survey is vital to pool its results and aspirations of students into the making of Code of Conduct and policy frameworks on student politics to build peace and promote girl-student' political participation in the universities.

Informed political will of the government and parliamentary benches will be a deciding factor to reshape future student politics and to ascertain that the purpose of peaceful campuses alongwith visibility of women leadership is achieved.

It is now upto the Higher Education Commission that the students' views are integrated in its mid-term development framework in a bid to promote student leadership and to devise a Code of Conduct for campus politics. The respective universities may also benefit from the survey results, which suggest that a new student politics with service-oriented unions is possible.

The National Survey signifies that there is vast constituency for peace in universities of Pakistan. A whole new generation of students has offered their best normative positions to envision a politics, where the diversity and fragmentation of thought is respected and those who tend to discriminate on the basis of gender, religion, sect, ethnicity, language, caste or creed are discouraged. Through the National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, the students have also listed priority areas to which the student organizations should focus accordingly.

For researchers and analysts the study may motivate further agenda to make politics relevant for the campuses.

This study will surely bring optimism for the public interest activists and to students it may inspire turning their aspirations into policy and ever-day practice in campuses.

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, is a useful service to many stakeholders in youth development and education.

BARGAD thanks Iqbal Haider Butt, the researcher/ author of the study, his team and all the volunteers within campuses who in a tightly-bound schedule have been able to produce this excellent work. The support of the Heinrich Boll Foundation (HBF) is also appreciated and cooperation of faculty members, staff and Universities Vice-Chancellors is deeply acknowledged. This has been a great exercise in collaboration!

Sabiha Shaheen
Executive Director

Executive Summary

The Purpose

- ✍ The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, aimed at collecting perceptions of public university students of Pakistan; so a pro-peace and women-friendly Code of Conduct for student unions is recommended and an advocacy campaign is supported to ensure female participation in student politics.
- ✍ On theoretical level, it tries to explore outline of new student politics in Pakistan based on quality and accessible education, student development, peace and youth cooperation and equality.

The Survey and Sample

- ✍ The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, recorded responses of 909 students from all 23¹ public universities of Pakistan that impart general education. Based on stratified random technique, all the population of eligible university students was divided into average of departments ranging from a minimum of 10 to a maximum of 20 departments. The sample size represents 5 percent of the total students in focused universities.
- ✍ The research started by 15 April and the data was collected by BARGAD's staff and volunteers during 25 May - 20 June 2008.
- ✍ The survey was mainly analyzed by multiple categories like gender and university. However the back-end data can also reflect results on the basis of age groups and current education level of the respondents.

The Respondents' Profile

- ✍ Male and female responses were distributed equally for individual universities. However because of four women-exclusive universities (Fatima Jinnah Women University-Rawalpindi, Kinnaird College for Women- Lahore, Lahore College for Women University-Lahore and Sardar Bahadur Khan University-Quetta) the exact number and percentage of the female respondents is slightly higher. This number is 436 male and 473 female students at a percentage of 47.9 vs. 52.1 respectively.
- ✍ The post-graduate respondents comprised 59.7% of the total 909 respondents including 34.7% female and 25.1% male students, while 33.8% are in the graduate studies (BA/ BSC Honours) and another 6.5 are students of M.Phil or above level.
- ✍ Majority (55.7%) of the surveyed students is in the age-bracket of 22-25 years, while 17.1% are between 18-21 years' old and there are 4.5% respondents who fall in the age category of 26 and Above years.
- ✍ A minority of students (20.8%) reported that they have been affiliated with student organizations in some way or the other.

¹Status of the Kinnaird College (KC), Lahore, has been changed to a private institution but because of historical importance we have treated the KC in its previous category.



KEY FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

Over-all Views on Student Politics

- ✍ A vast majority (61.2%) is not in favour of student politics.
- ✍ Almost seventy percent (68.9%) respondents welcomed the lifting of ban on student unions.
- ✍ Respondents are not aware of the situation of student politics before union ban in 1984. A total of 62.6% indicated they had no opinion on pre-ban student politics. Only a fraction (1.8%) possesses highly positive opinion of such politics, with female respondents were almost none (.1%).

Responses on Student Participation in National Politics

- ✍ Respondents believe that students should not take part in national politics and political movements either in individual or collective capacity. 42.2% and 49.8% students respectively support such participation.

Linkages with Political Parties

- ✍ There is a perception that student politics should be limited to educational institutions (52.4% vs. 41.3%).
- ✍ Nearly two-thirds (72.3%) of the surveyed students reported that student organizations should not be allowed to affiliate with political parties.
- ✍ Only 28.1% indicated that the mainstream political parties should have their student wings, while 57.9% say No to this query.
- ✍ 45.7% respondents are skeptical over similar political loyalties of teachers and students in a certain campus and say that it would not have positive effect on the educational institutions. 36.2% students think positively about this same-loyalty scenario.

Rules of Student Unions and Code of Conduct

- ✍ On rules of student unions and Code of Conduct for the student organization, the survey results indicate that:
- ✍ Sixty nine percent students think the procedure of the student union elections should be indirect and the unions should be elected by departmental societies.
- ✍ The majority consisting 52.8% respondents reported their satisfaction over funding sources and assets of student organizations. They maintained these groups properly declare their sources of funding and assets.
- ✍ More than two-third respondents (77.1%) see it important that the university administration imposes a strict Code of Conduct on student organizations to ensure that there is no violence in campus.
- ✍ Only a very small minority (7.5%) take possession of weapons with campuses as Normal. 68.1% categorically say it is criminal.

- ✍ Nearly two-third respondents are in favour of banning those student organizations which promote sectarian, religious, gender, caste and/or racial discrimination by their literature and actions.
- ✍ Based on academic performance, 56.7% respondents support eligibility criteria for those who want to contest the student union elections.
- ✍ A vast majority (70.3%) stands for open access of information regarding student union and university funds. Only 14.6 percent oppose an easy access to information.

Gender Quota and Student Unions

- ✍ On gender, respondents want reserved quota for the girl students in main body of a student university as 63.6% students favoured the idea while 34.4% students opposed such a quota system.

Aims and Objectives of Student Unions

When asked to rate five key objectives of a student union, the respondents indicated that the first objective of the student union should be Quality Education. “Culture of Peace”, “Leadership Development” and “Political Training” followed in the order set by respondents.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Policy framework for student politics: The declaration of lifting of ban on student unions should be formally notified and mid-term development framework of the Higher Education Commission and university calendars amended with a review mechanism after every three years.

Linkages with Political Parties and Movements Outside campuses: Donations from political parties, usage of university resources for student political activities outside the campus and participation of outsiders in student union elections be banned.

Procedures of Student Union Elections: (i) indirect elections of student unions through elected departmental societies, (ii) closure of election campaign with ten days, (iii) yearly union elections within 6 to 8 months from the start of academic year, and (iv) uniform electoral system for both public and private universities.

Rules of Student Unions and the Code of Conduct: Eligibility criteria for the contesting candidates be implemented i.e. fulltime studentship, age limit of 26 years, academic performance, minimum attendance, no previous criminal history, no readmitted student. Rules like limit of maximum expenditure, submission of audited report of expenditure, anti-discriminatory laws, protection of privacy rights, no electoral processions outside the campus, laws against possession of weapons, and detailed election-day procedure and regulations be implemented alongwith access of information to union funds and grievance redressal mechanism.

Women Quota and Student Unions: A minimum of at least 33 percent representation for women in campuses.

Guidelines for Future Research on Student Politics: Broadly speaking, focus upon a student politics to enhance access and quality education be explored.



Research Team Leader/ Author, Iqbal Haider Butt is Senior Partner of Development Pool, a knowledge management consultancy firm based in Lahore. He specializes in technical writing and research, planning, training and advocacy design in the areas of peace and conflict resolution, youth development and governance. With over 16 years of experience, he has extensively worked for national, regional and international development agencies and mainstream media groups. He has also served in the South-east Asian region.

Iqbal Butt is a celebrated author of multiple reports, research studies, guidebooks, manuals, strategy paper, and successful project proposals for NGOs and media groups and has edited around 50 books mainly on current political history and governance in Pakistan & South Asia.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Context

The announcement of the Prime Minister to lift student union ban in his first speech to the National Assembly on March 28, 2008, has been met with mixed feelings of great enthusiasm, restrained welcome and severe skepticism.

There is widespread curiosity throughout the country about reshaping a new student politics and transforming it to groom future leadership and strengthen learning environment by democratic participation of students in the campuses.

The opportunities of a dynamic student politics can be realized through well-consulted Code of Conduct and student-friendly national policy framework.

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, was conducted to better understand students' perceptions, fears, and aspirations as well as their vision towards student politics and unions. It is hoped that consulting these primary actors of the education system - students themselves - would considerably contribute to national policies on students' democratic participation in the higher education, which is the focus of present survey. At the moment, Medium Term Development Framework (2005-10) implemented by the Higher Education Commission is utterly silent over student politics and unions.

1.1.1. Historical Overview of Student Politics

The legacy of student politics in universities is informed by a soft image of 1950's, when it was confined to cities like Karachi, Lahore and Dhaka with former having little contacts with the latter two.² The politics was determined by ideological differences and Islami Jamiat Talaba (IJT) and Democratic Students' Federation (DSF) led the divide in West Pakistan, while individuals ruled in educational institutions of other city and town centres. A united forum of Karachi-based student unions the Intercollegiate Body (ICB) tried to base its politics on students' day-to-day issues and academic problems but was later co-opted by then ideological groups to revert back to a politics of Dawat (preaching) turned Revolution and Revolution. In that sense both the major groups had one goal with two different colors.

Ban on national politics in the 1960's under martial law gave an alibi to mainstream politicians to vie for proxy political struggles through the student politics. A few cities with known routes to be blocked by youth agitation could bestow a national victory or defeat with necessary networking with (print) media until the anti-regime movement erupted on larger scale.³ IJT and National Students' Federation (NSF) the successor of then banned DSF were together in their struggle against the Martial Law regime. Ironically, they firmly stood together against National Education Policy recommended by the Sharif Commission Report (1959) that in ideological terms could otherwise have naturally torn them apart. The Commission was also a rare example in the history of education policy making where it consulted with students nation-wide. Both the leading student groups were also competing with each other to oppose introduction of reforms for a 3-years graduation programme aimed at bringing higher education at par with international term requirements. This is despite the fact that this proposal was vehemently pursued since 1928 especially by the Calcutta University and Bengali students had a long history of supporting it.

² Ahmad (2000), and Tareekh Jamiat Committee (Vol 1 & 2) quite elaborately illustrate the point.

³ See "Annexure 4. Growth of Universities/ Degree Awarding Institutions in Public & Private Sector (1947-48 to 2005-06)" given at the end of this report to better comprehend the scale of student politics in the universities.



Anti-University Act movement (1964-66) proved to be yet another united front for both the otherwise opponent groups.

Late 1960's witnessed upsurge of student movements like their counterparts elsewhere in the world causing formation of a multitude of student organizations like the Peoples Student Organization (PSF), Baloch Student Organization (BSO), Pukhtun Student Organization (PSF), etc.

Come 1970s and the campus intensity spread! Government's patronage to PSF aggregated anti-Bhutto elements behind IJT in the campuses in a one to one encounter.

The Gen. Zia government in Pakistan, in an attempt to create its constituency - in search of legitimacy and recruitment internally and to garner more patronage for Afghan war externally - started to revise curriculum, purge political opponents and encourage militant youth groups, more often politico-religious and ethnic, to practically occupy college and university campuses in Pakistan.

The method to engage youth clusters with conflict approaches also involved making conflict conceivable; so that it was thinkable and deemed ordinary and inevitable. Every opposition was crushed with heavy hands amidst silence of the government machinery. Education and media were the main tools by which militarism entered not only at the practical levels but also encroached upon the cognitive and social constructs of the polity's educated inhabitants. Through both instruments, a militarist discourse was facilitated by myth-making and enemy-making in the name of national interest. To this end, collective violence was motivated and justified, as well as such convictions were instilled that made violence possible in the social, political and religious spheres. This can be witnessed in what we now popularly call a Kalashnikov culture within the campuses.

According to estimates, campus violence by and against one Islamist students' group the IJT claimed the lives of some eighty student leaders between 1982 and 1988 in Pakistan.⁴ It was also kept in vigilant surveillance that the students should have lesser opportunities to interact with each other. However, there were some exceptions to the rule; in that healthy activities and leadership development programmes (i.e. functioning of societies) kept persisting in a select few educational institutions that have traditionally been sources of providing professional and bureaucratic cadre of the country ie. Government College, Kinnaird College, and Aitcheson College (Lahore), etc.

The then military regime also encouraged parallel system of Madrassah (religious seminaries) education by administering formalized zakat (Islamic religious tithe) system.

One of the key features of the era was upsurge in privatization of education. It was heavily ignored by dominant student organization

1.1.2. New Governing Body for Higher Education in Pakistan

The Gen. Musharraf government was compelled to reverse policies of cold war. Perceptions of communism knocked at our doors no more. There was a renewed enthusiasm for focusing more attention and funds to the mainstream higher education. In 2002, the government promulgated new legislation for higher education (Nov 2002) that vowed to get rid of the past policies. It was based on the report prepared by the task force on higher education in Pakistan (March 2002) set up at the federal ministry of education, government of Pakistan, which clearly enumerated in its mission statement to “*build a tolerant and*

⁴Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

*pluralistic society rooted in the culture of Pakistan”*⁵

The official emphasis upon higher education can be gauged by the figures, since the Higher Education Commission HEC became active, total spending (recurrent + development) by the Commission grew by 344 percent in real terms between 2001/2002 and 2005/2006.⁶

The critical mistake in policy and planning, however, has been to prioritize management issues over the purpose of academic assemblies to take education as a cooperative learning triumph for student development than one way dispersion of knowledge to produce passive recipients. What appears to be highly needed is to redefine the critical potential of universities and higher education institutions and instill peace agenda for them in a manner that also supports on-going academic programmes and student development initiatives.

1.1.3. Greater Challenges

After decades of militancy rule and violence, Pakistani universities have resisted open and democratic cultures of peace irrespective of the country's struggle for and subsequently current transition to a full-fledged democracy. A closer look at the history would reveal that these educational institutions have actually proven predecessors to the religious fundamentalist politics in Pakistan.⁷ Right from the martial law eras in the 1960s, such a politics never entered mainstream discourse and community locations until it bounded out of its traditional sanctuary - university campuses.

1.1.4. Women Participation for Peacebuilding in Campuses

The male and masculinity factors have led the way in student politics with a subservient role for their female counterparts. They kept themselves at the centre of the student politics, while female students were cornered to the margins. This belies the fact that girls have been the main force behind progressive and liberal student organizations but in the heat of a reactionary environment their activism could not be transformed into leadership roles in Pakistani campuses.

The female students have always struggled on the front line along with their male counterparts but their efforts were not appreciated and rewarded. In the history of Pakistani student politics within universities, we can hardly give a single example where a girl student was elected on the leading slots of student unions except for the ceremonial presence of a “lady representative” in these bodies. For a brief period a girls'-exclusive “women council” was allowed with again symbolic powers of representation but that too was disbanded to establish the student politics is an arena of boys and the girl students are naturally irrelevant to any campus leadership.

However, in the national political arena, since 2002, women groups succeeded with 33 percent representation in the local government bodies and the national parliament. This has boosted women's morale and they are now representing citizens in responsible positions. In this scenario there is a need to create parallels in students' politics as well; so that girls can also be candidates of the campus leadership positions shunning their reduced role in social and political spheres.

⁵Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan. “Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities”, Draft Final Report: Islamabad, 21-03-2002. p. 10.

⁶The World Bank, Report No. 37247 Higher Education Policy Note Pakistan: An Assessment of the Medium-Term Development Framework, June 28, 2006. p. 11.

⁷See Nasr (1994)



Certain other recurrent trends in the environment of higher education can also be aggregated by those who believe in open and democratic societies. These factors can be summarized as (i) drastic increase of female students, (ii) emerging private universities and higher competition for career placement, (iv) more universities and lesser polarization of students on identity and class divisions, and (iii) greater urbanization and media exposure.

Number of female students in universities and constituent colleges has risen to 178723, of which 162757 were studying at public universities. As compared to 19 universities in 1984 (when student unions were banned), the number of universities in public sector was 49 in 2004 (data

cited from the Higher Education Commission). In both cases, the distance learning universities and their students have not been counted. 22 among these institutions impart general education. The number becomes 23 if you consider Kinnaird College Lahore in the category despite its formal status now changed to a private institution.

Girl-students are one such critical mass that could vanguard the peacebuilding efforts in universities. Whereas they can now cherish objective facts of their recent emergence in national politics, they are subjectively prompted to win their due share in leadership positions of the universities.

An open social agenda which puts premium on greater female participation and leadership is strategically located to unsettle the violent forces in the campuses. It is also a relatively soft entry-point for peacemakers. The conservative forces so far have been playing on ideological divides – veteran right (Islamist) & left (Marxist) – and their apparent promise against ethnic and other parochial polarization.

The greater availability of girl-students in student union positions would raise the level of readiness to combat a militarist discourse within public (general education) universities.

1.2. Aim & Objectives of the Survey

Overall Aim of the National Survey on Student Politics, 2008 is to end gender discrimination in university campuses & to build peace in public universities of Pakistan.

Specific objectives are:

- (i) to scientifically gauge nation-wide opinion of university students on campus politics,
- (ii) to recommend a pro-peace and women-friendly Code of Conduct for student unions in the public universities, and
- (iii) to support an advocacy campaign for ensuring female participation in student politics

1.3. BARGAD: Previous Work on Student Politics

The National Survey on Student Politics 2008, is intrinsically linked with BARGAD's project “Peace and Youth Cooperation” having been implemented since 2003. Under the project almost all the public universities in Pakistan have collaborated with the organization along with others from India and Afghanistan to initiate a youth track of peace diplomacy within universities and outside Pakistan.

BARGAD has a long-standing in working with literate youth on gender and peacebuilding issues. It is the only youth-focused organization in Pakistan that can boast of its youth-led initiatives to link youth with development since 1997 and which enjoyed working with more than 800 youth volunteers. It has

established institutionalized relationship with universities, higher education authorities and education and youth ministries in Pakistan again unparalleled in the civil society organizations in the country.

BARGAD was also the leading organization to advocate for a national youth policy in 2006 and its members contributed to the review of successive education policies in non-academic/ social aims of such documents under the federal education policy.

BARGAD has always held the position that student unions should work in the campuses and we have raised this question during our activities and advocated from day one to lift the ban.

Only on the question of student unions and politics, the organization has organized more than 30 public events, group discussions, dialogues, study circles, interactive film screenings, seminars among students and a TV talk show.

During our first regional dialogue on peace and youth cooperation in December 2003, we also invited representatives from Humbolt University, Berlin to present model and working of students' parliament in Germany; so that their best practices, structures and procedures can be capitalized in Pakistan.⁸ We have also sought students' opinion on student unions through our website since 2004 when it was first launched.

BARGAD assigns and celebrates certain theme to every year and tries to focus activities on that particularly theme. We dedicated 2007 to the theme of. Student politics and held many activities on the issue.

Moreover, BARGAD has published two special numbers of its quarterly magazine on *Violence at Campuses* (2001) and *Student Politics* (2006). The third one is in process on *Student Unions and Politics* (2008).

The student politics have been remained dormant because of a ban on student unions all these years. Now that the government has decided to resume campus politics, as was always advocated by BARGAD, the organization seeks to link its work and set agenda for the student organizations vying for campus representation. For that a rigorous strategy and framework was devised with help from experts in May 2007 when no other group could anticipate a return of the student unions in Pakistan.

Under this strategy, concept of a 15-day course on revisiting student politics was developed to mentor core-group of higher education students every year with an overall goal to link students with social causes with particular reference to peacebuilding and women leadership in campuses. This was later expanded into a detailed outline. Resource persons were also finalized to implement the course.

Similarly, a qualitative research study on revisiting student politics with special reference to peacebuilding and women leadership development is also in process.

Plans are also underway to hold seminars and policy dialogues in a big way to influence authorities for promoting peacebuilding and women leadership in campuses.

1.4. Significance and Urgency of the Survey

Winds of change are blowing in Pakistani campuses with Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gillani's

⁸See Butt, Iqbal Haider. "Report: First Regional Dialogue on Peace and Youth Cooperation", Gujranwala: BARGAD, 2003.



declaration on 28th March, 2008 to lift ban on students' unions that was imposed during Gen Zia-ul-Haq's regime in 1984.

Though the decision to lift ban on student unions was anticipated, but it was expected that the government would announce such declaration after due preparation and consultation.

A whole new generation of students and the change in higher education environment have occurred with assumingly a majority of students is wary of past violence, to the extent of oblivion, in campuses.

A reflective look at the past would reveal that the core-militant elements of the past student politics facilitated implementation of an “Afgan Jihad” against the “Sour Revolution”. Now that the militancy has outbound the confines of the educated with the rise of popularly called Talebans, it is apprehended that the veterans can strategically play with raw youth of madressah-bred soldiers and create soft markets in university campuses for profit again.

There is a need that the ordinary students' rejection of violence is led by clearly defined strategies to counter the militancy outreach in urban centres. Peacebuilding and women leadership in campuses have a greater chance to stand test of the time.

For ensuring peace and democratic dialogue in the universities, a Code of Conduct has to be devised and greater political participation of women in universities can be ascertained through quota of women in student unions. This may also pave the way to a new student politics revolved around quality and accessible education and can bring us out of the “ideological” politics in which there is less room for ordinary students, their academic pursuits and career goals, and the incentives to integrate with social development of the country.

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, is not only a way to articulate voices of the ordinary students, but its specific recommendations can be incorporated into policy framework of the prospective student unions.

It maps out well-consulted perceptions of students nation-wide and suggests rules of student politics and code of conduct for governing student unions.

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, in itself reflects a national dialogue among students to end discrimination and build peace in public universities of Pakistan, which is the only way to counter reactionary forces among youth in the higher education.

1.5. Theoretical Approach

Traditional thinking holds that young people are becoming increasingly disengaged from politics and the democratic system. This frame would further see legitimacy of the political system⁹ in crisis and the rise of a disenchanted and irresponsible youth generation.

However, a number of studies have suggested that whilst young people may be less interested in formal 'politics' than other (older) age groups (Heath and Park 1997, 6), such a development is not necessarily

⁹As cited in Henn M. and Weinstein, M. “Do You Remember the First Time?: First-Time Voters in the 2001 General Election”, Draft Paper for the PSA Conference, Aberdeen, 5-7th April 2002: Elections, Public Opinion and Parties Panel.

Inevitable (Parry, Moyser and Day 1992, 84; Bynner and Ashford 1994, 2),¹⁰ and nor does it signify disinterest in politics per se. Instead, some authors have concluded that young people are concerned about matters that are essentially 'political' in nature, but that these concerns lie beyond the boundaries of how politics is conventionally understood.

The traditional thinking is an understanding of politics that is concerned with the formal institutions of government, conventional political actors (i.e. parties), and traditional forms of political behaviour. Here the field of politics, i.e. universities, factories, bar councils, etc., is also diffused, blurred and made anonymous in favour of an extra-locational notion of ideology. It becomes tool for achieving a meta-narrative.

Furthermore such an understanding of politics visualizes it as a mass movement, inspired by 'ideals' and 'youth vitality'.

If we go through literature on student politics in Pakistan, its heights are described as mass politics, street power and intense uprisings. Here the activists are linked with one political group, more often cemented by ideological urges, and obsessed with (masculine) martyrdom and sacrifices, and prioritize anything except education, whose aim lies outside the campuses! This is true both for the proponents of political Islam and progressive thought the two leading camps in the history of student politics in the country.¹¹

Logical association of the above thinking is that with the fall of ideals/ dogma/ Imaan (ideology), the binding thread for collective student approaches and action would break as well. And we will witness a mass of 'depoliticized' students, who don't conform to our ideals, as it's often cited by many authors and speakers.

Authors like Kundi (2007)¹² and Riaz (2007) are a minority who interconnect student activism with academic and non-academic life in campuses. Contours of such a new student politics can also be glanced through the Student Rights Charter (29 April 2008) developed by the European Students' Union,¹³ whose 35-point agenda is divided into five major components:

- ✍ Access to Higher Education
- ✍ Student Involvement
- ✍ Social aspects of Studies
- ✍ Academic aspects of Studies
- ✍ Right to Privacy and Access to Knowledge and information

¹⁰ As previous.

¹¹ See for example, Ahmad, Aziz-uddin. "Pakistan Mein Talaba Tehreek", Lahore: Mashal, 2000. and Tareekh Jamiat Committee. "Jab Woh Nazim-e-Ala Thay" (Vol 1, 2, 3, 4) Lahore: Idara Matbooaat-e-Talaba. [Ahmad in his recent newspaper writings, however, seems to have revised earlier stands expressed in his book.]

¹² Kundi, Mansoor Akbar. "Politics on Campus", Daily Dawn: Karachi, 11 Sept 2007 & Riaz, Aamir (2007) "1964-66: Commission Baraye Talaba Massial" in Quarterly Magazine BARGAD, Special Number on Education Policies in Pakistan, April - June 2007, pp.13-14.

¹³ ESU European Students' Union is the umbrella organisation of 49 national unions of students from 38 countries and through these members represent over 10 million students. The aim of ESU is to represent and promote the educational, social, economic and cultural interests of students at a European level towards all relevant bodies and in particular the European Union, Council of Europe and UNESCO.



Taking lead from the actual practice in Pakistan, there's need to collect sound information and empirical evidence and to revisit the student politics through perceptions of ordinary students to see if they are really depoliticized? Or they are just wary of a certain kind of student politics? Is their vision of student politics different from the political actors inside and outside the campuses? Is there room for another student politics?

This can be judged by surveying difference in perceptions of *Student Politics* and *Student Unions*.

On technical aspects of governing the student unions, the Indian experience can provide us with appropriate models. This is especially true for the Code of Conduct and procedures because of not only the shared legacy of higher education structures but also for how student unions have developed (party linkages), progressed (alleged malpractices) and been taken by the ordinary citizens.

Lyngdoh Committee Report (2006) is a worth-mentioning document in this regards.

1.6. Survey Methodology

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, has been scientifically developed to map-out perceptions of higher education students of all 23 public universities that impart general education. It measures a variety of historical, thematic and structural factors by using sets of survey questions, which are as following:

- ✍ Policy Framework for Student Politics
- ✍ Linkages with Political Parties and Movements outside Campuses
- ✍ Procedures of Student Union Elections
- ✍ Rules of Student Unions & the Code of Conduct
- ✍ Women Quota and Student Unions

Initially more than 1500 students participated in this survey which also includes a rigorous pre-testing phase. After rephrasing survey forms and determining exact sample using the total student population, 909 survey forms were collected from the 23 public universities with a drop-out margin of 5 percent. However the drop-outs occurred mainly due to incomplete forms.

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, is part of BARGAD's project Peace and Youth Cooperation which is funded by the Heinrich Boll Foundation (HBF).

The research started by 15 April and the data was collected by BARGAD's staff and volunteers during 25 May - 20 June 2008.

1.6.1. Survey Administration

The survey was mainly administrated in the university computer laboratories, cafeterias and canteens and departmental lobbies. After orientation, the data collectors were also furnished with written guidelines on administering the survey. They were strictly asked not to influence the respondents in any way in filling the forms.

Nevertheless, it was found that many students faced difficulties in comprehending difference between *Individual* and *Collective* participation of students in national politics and movements. *Code of Conduct* was apparently another complex jargon for some students. Moreover, medium of the survey form (English) also was a reported hurdle in some cases.

While explaining aim of the survey form, the respondents were assured that personal information was confidential and will not be shared with anybody. The students were also asked to record starting and finishing time of the survey form at the end of filling.

Timing of the data collection is worth-mentioning. With a little exception, universities were on the brink of holidays, examinations and deadlines for submitting dissertations. By this we assume that respondents were either busy in preparing for exams or researches and the academic environment was filled with seriousness.

1.6.2. Validation

A simple validation strategy was made at the pre-testing phase the completion of forms. We equated such drop-outs as lack of seriousness. It was also observed that the incomplete forms were also the result of insufficient orientation and desire to quickly finish the assignment by volunteer data collectors.

At this, BARGAD took two measures: after consultative review the complexity of survey form was removed, and we sent trained staff to physically supervise the data collection process in the final phase that started in the end of May 2008. This check returned us with a heavy number of cleaned survey forms that kept our drop-out rate within 3 percent.

1.6.3. Sample Analysis

The results of present survey research can adequately represent total enrollment of university students and the probability for generalization is quite higher. The sample size was stratified randomly and was 5 percent of the average of departments in each university.

Obtaining of the data on total university (public/ general) students was a cumbersome process which was ultimately done through data presented by the statistical unit of the Higher Education Commission (HEC). However the exact number of departments in an individual university was not explored because of the time-constraints. This was resolved by fixing expected averages of the departments to a scale of minimum and the maximum (10 to 20).

When you see the actual number of departments in a university our data size is practically higher than the stated.



2. Data Analysis

2.1. Profile of Respondents

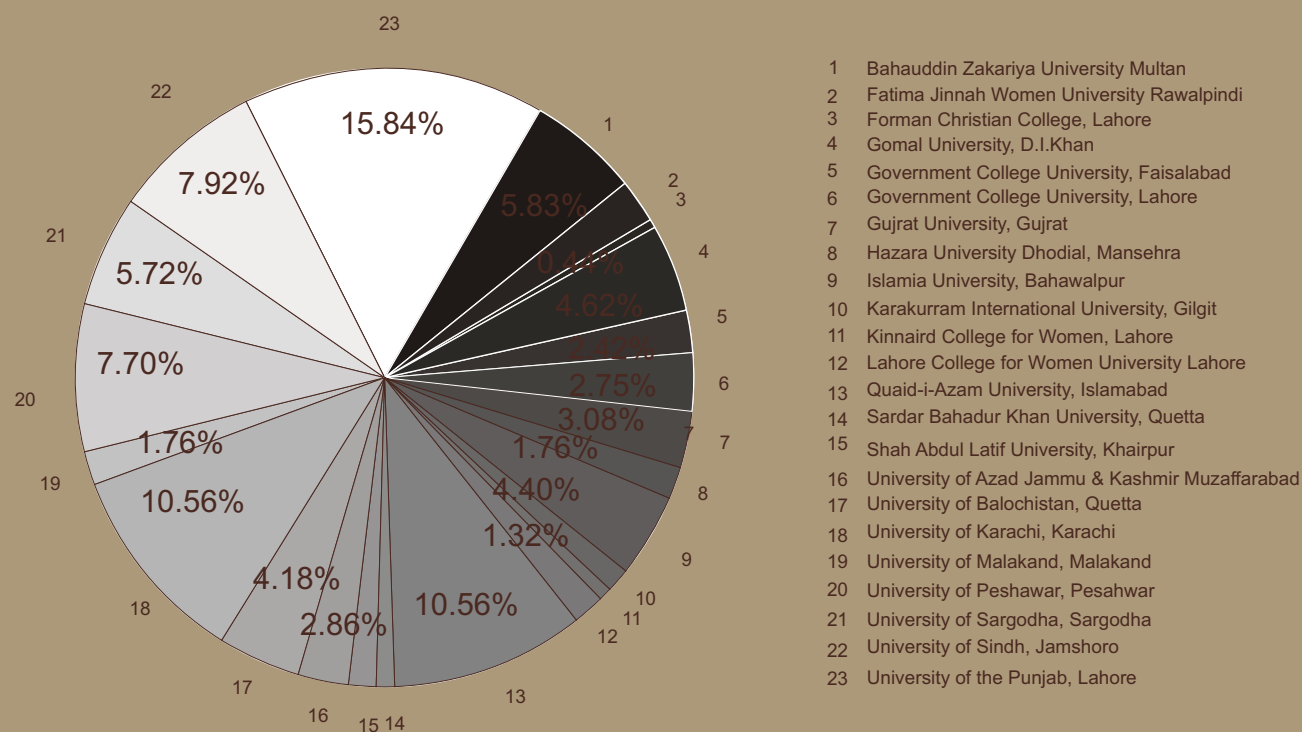
2.1.1. Survey Participation by University and Gender

No.	Name of the University	Male	Female	Total Respondents
1	Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan	27	26	53
2	Fatima Jinnah Women University Rawalpindi		20	20
3	Forman Christian College, Lahore	2	2	4
4	Gomal University, D.I.Khan	21	21	42
5	Government College University, Faisalabad	11	11	22
6	Government College University, Lahore	12	13	25
7	Gujrat University, Gujrat	14	14	28
8	Hazara University Dhodial, Mansehra	8	8	16
9	Islamia University, Bahawalpur	24	16	40
10	Karakurram International University, Gilgit	5	5	10
11	Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore		7	7
12	Lahore College for Women University Lahore		12	12
13	Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad	48	48	96
14	Sardar Bahadur Khan University, Quetta		8	8
15	Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur	6	6	12
16	University of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muzaffarabad	13	13	26
17	University of Balochistan, Quetta	19	19	38
18	University of Karachi, Karachi	48	48	96
19	University of Malakand, Malakand	11	5	16
20	University of Peshawar, Pesahwar	35	35	70
21	University of Sargodha, Sargodha	26	26	52
22	University of Sindh, Jamshoro	36	36	72
23	University of the Punjab, Lahore	70	74	144
		436	473	909

The respondents for the National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, were scientifically selected from 23 public sector universities across the country. These are universities which impart general education. The survey forms were distributed to a minimum of five percent of students from each university based upon average number of departments in the university. The surveys were distributed in both male and female students in almost equal numbers to generate a gender based concept about the problem. A total of 909 students from 23 public universities were the respondents including 436 male and 473 female students. The number of female respondents is slightly more than the number of male respondents and the reason Behind is that four out of the 23 public universities are only for female students.

National Survey on Student Politics, 2008

Surveyed Universities



2.1.2. Current Education Level

Education Level		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Graduate(Honours)	# of Respondents	179	128	307
	% of Total	19.7%	14.1%	33.8%
Post Graduate	# of Respondents	228	315	543
	% of Total	25.1%	34.7%	59.7%
M.Phil and above	# of Respondents	28	31	59
	% of Total	3.1%	3.4%	6.5%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100%

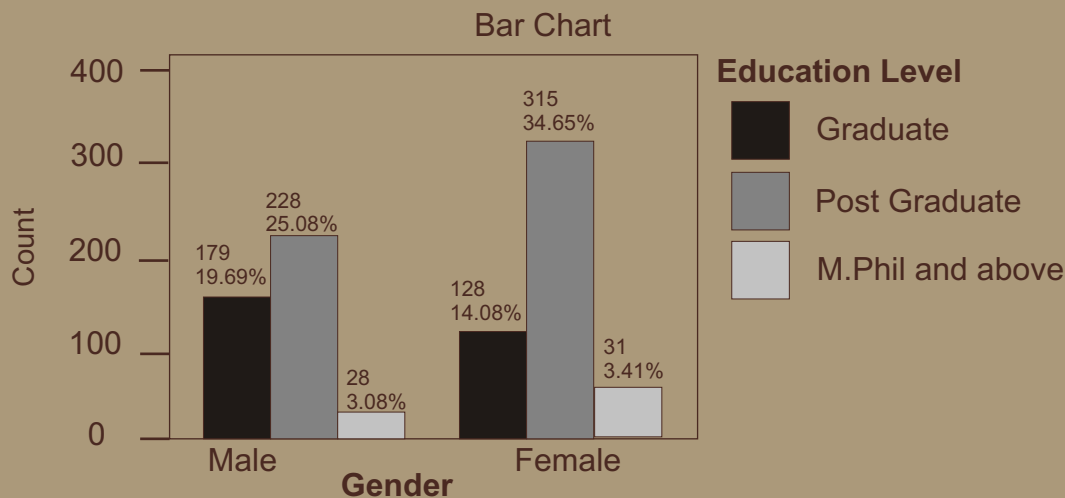
If we analyze the respondents according to the current educational level, it is evident that their majority come from post-graduate studies. The post-graduate respondents comprised 59.7% of the total 909 respondents including 34.7% female and 25.1% male students.



The study also has a quite good number of respondents at graduate level which is 33.8% with 19.7% and 14.1% male and female ratio, respectively. It is to be highlighted that these graduates are students of B.A/ B.S.C Honours classes. They are eligible voters for the university student union elections but their political significance also lies in longer study periods in the campus that surely can have a greater potential of influencing the campus politics as voters, activists and leaders.

The students at M Phil and above level (PGD/ Phd) at the universities were also considered. They are more mature and usually professionals alongwith being students.

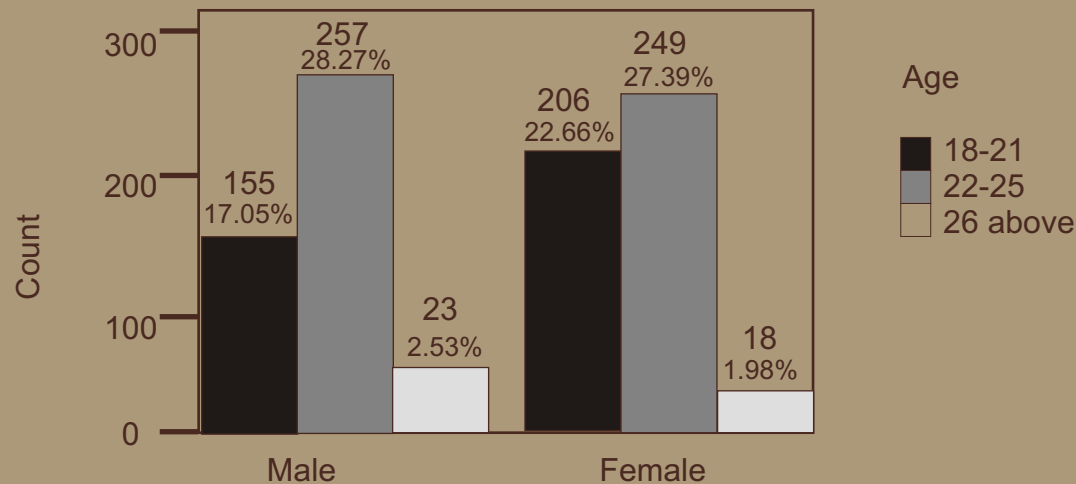
You will see a slight fraction in the figures given in Tables and those in Charts ahead because in Tables these have been rounded.



2.1.3. Age Group

	Group	Male Respondents		Female Respondents		Both Respondents	
		Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	Both	% of Total
Age	18-21 years	155	17.1%	207	22.8%	362	39.8%
	22-25 years	257	28.3%	249	27.4%	506	55.7%
	26& above	23	2.5%	18	2.0%	41	4.5%
Total		435	47.9%	474	52.1%	909	100.0%

Most respondents belonged to middle age-group (22-25 years) with 55.7% presence which is 28.3% and 27.4% of the total for male and female respectively. 39.8% fall in first age-group of 18-21 with 17.1% male and 22.8% female respondents. In the age group 26 and above there are only 4.5% respondents in which 2.5% are males and 2.0% are females. Age-wise comparison of the data also shows pattern of student population in our universities. Mostly fall into the 22-25 years' category as compared to other age groups.



2.1.4. Respondents' Affiliation with Student Organizations

Question	Response	Gender		
		Male	Female	
Have you ever been an activist, member or representative of a student organization?	yes	# of Respondents	132	57
		% of Total	14.5%	6.3%
	No	# of Respondents	303	417
		% of Total	33.3%	45.9%
	Total	# of Respondents	435	474
		% of Total	47.9%	52.1%
				909
				100.0%

Out of 909 respondents only 189 showed any affiliation with any student organization in one way or the other; while a clean majority of the respondents have never been part of any such organization.

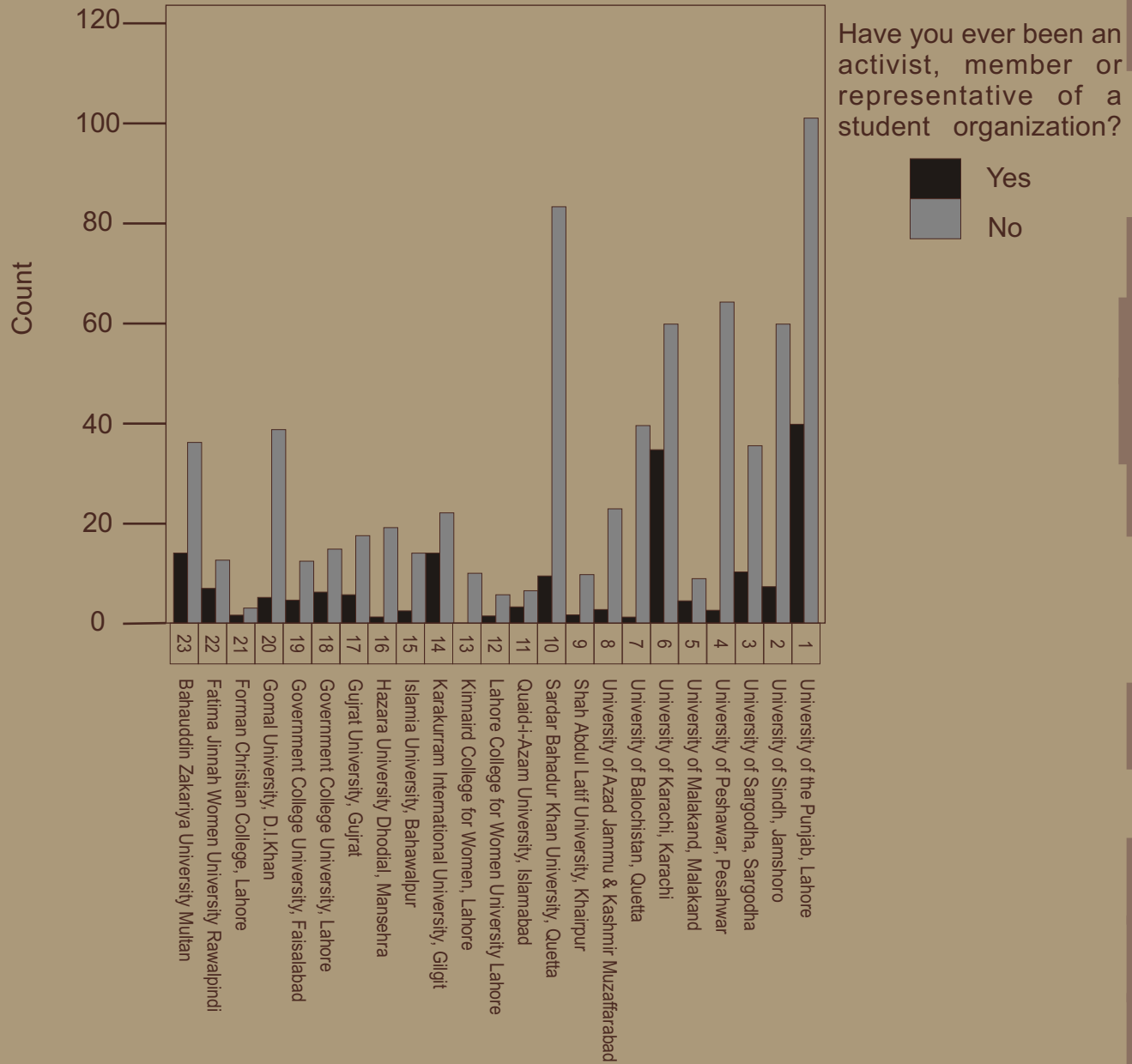
Most students do not indulge themselves in politically affiliated activities. The affiliation-factor of respondents is evident from the results of the survey as this 20.8% ratio would also have implications for outcome of other variables explored in this study.

It is also worth-mentioning that the level of involvement with student organizations was not asked from respondents, implying that the scope for affiliation was wide-open.

Interestingly, if we explore further [Table not shown here] the average for nodding “Yes” for female students of women-exclusive universities it is 27.95% (Fatima Jinnah Women University 25.0%, Kinnaird College, Lahore 28.6%, Lahore College for Women University 33.3%, Sardar Bahadur Khan University 25%) as compared to their over-all 6.3% “Yes” vote to the above question.

This affiliation and participation with the student organizations may be linked with safety perceptions of girls. This would also empirically demonstrate that with peace within universities the level of female affiliation with the student organization would rise.





2.2. Over-all Views on Student Politics

2.2.1. Respondents' Views in Favour/ Opposition of Student Politics

Question	Response	Gender		
		Male	Female	
Are you in favour of student Politics?	No	# of Respondents	210	346
		% of Total	23.1%	38.1%
	Yes	# of Respondents	225	128
		% of Total	24.8%	14.1%
Total		# of Respondents	435	474
		% of Total	47.9%	52.1%
				909
				100.0%

When asked, a vast majority of the students did not favour student politics. About 61.2% students said “No” as compared to 38.8% who favoured. There is a vast chasm (24.8% and 14.1%) between male and female students approving the student politics. However if you examine ranking of universities in favour/ against student politics [Table given ahead], three women-only universities are at the top five in favour. The male respondents are almost evenly divided over the issue but those who favoured the idea are more, though in a fraction, than those who said No to student politics.

Here, we can also say that an opposition to the student politics would not automatically mean resistance to politics per se, as we tend to jump to such conclusions while looking at youth affairs in Pakistan. Safely put, it's again image/ perception of such a politics.

Ranking of Universities in Favour/ Against Student Politics (Percentage -% - Within Individual Campus)

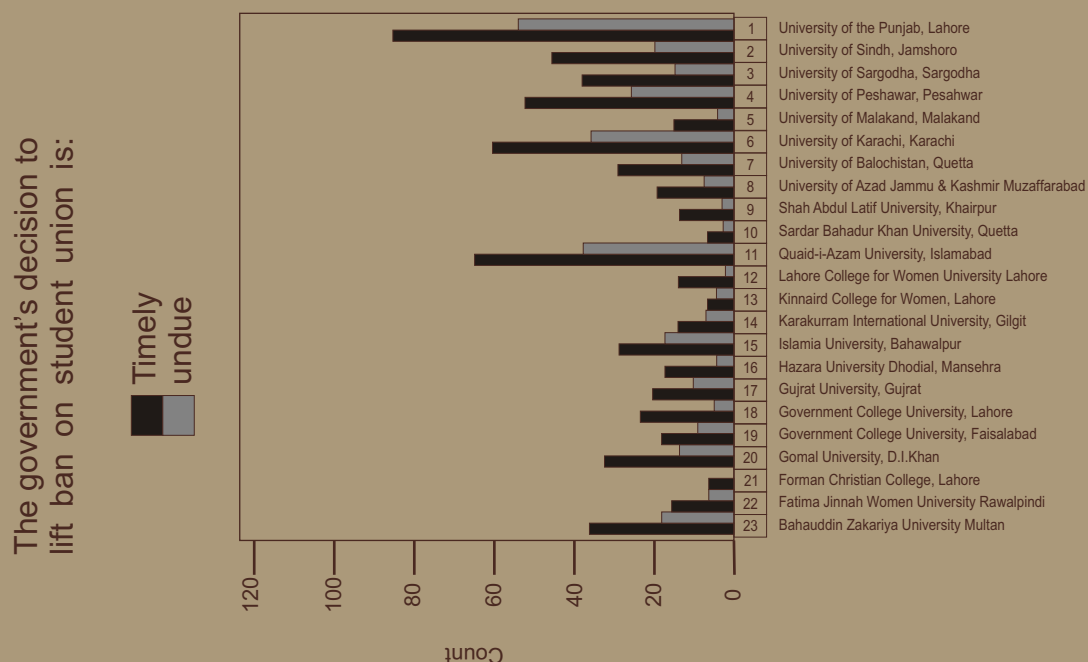
#	Infavour of Students Politics	%	Against Student Politics	%
1	University of Sargodha	73.1%	Sardar Bahadur Uni. Quetta	87.50%
2	Fatima Jinnah Women University	70.00%	Hazara Uni. Dhodial Manshera	81.20%
3	Lahore College for Women Uni.	66.70%	Karakuram University, Gilgit	80.00%
4	Kinnaird College, Lahore	57.10%	University of Peshawer	78.60%
5	Islamia University, Bahawalpur	52.50%	University of A.J.K. Muzaffarabad	76.90%
6	Govt. College Uni. Faisalabad	52.00%	University of Sindh, Jamshoro	76.40%
7	F.C. College, Lahore	50.00%	Quaid-i-Azam Uni. Islamabad	76.00%
8	Bahauddin Zakaria uni. Multan	49.10%	Gomal University, D.I. Khan	71.40%
9	University of Karachi, Karachi	47.90%	University of Balochistan, Quetta	68.40%
10	Gujrat university, Gujrat	46.40%	University of Malakand, Dir	62.50%
11	Shah Abdul Latif Uni. Khairpur	41.70%	University of Punjab , Lahore	60.40%
12	Govt. College Uni. Lahore	40.90%	Govt. College University, Lahore	59.10%
13	Unversity of Punjab, Lahore	39.60%	Shah Abdul Latif Uni. Khairpur	58.30%
14	University of Malakand, Dir	37.50%	Gujrat university, Gujrat	53.60%
15	University of Balochistan, Quetta	31.60%	University of Karachi, Karachi	52.10%
16	Gomal University, D.I. Khan	28.60%	Bahauddin Zakaria uni. Multan	50.90%
17	Quaid-i-Azam Uni. Islamabad	24.00%	F.C. College, Lahore	50.00%
18	University of Sindh, Jamshoro	23.60%	Govt. College Uni. Faisalabad	48.00%
19	University of A.J.K. Muzaffarabad	23.10%	Islamia University, Bahawalpur	47.50%
20	University of Peshawer	21.40%	Kinnaird College, Lahore	42.90%
21	Karakuram University, Gilgit	20.00%	Lahore College for Women Uni.	33.30%
22	Hazara Uni. Dhodial Manshera	18.80%	Fatima Jinnah Women University	30.00%
23	Sardar Bahadur Uni. Quetta	12.50%	University of Sargodha	26.90%

2.2.2. Timing of the Govt.'s Decision to Lift Ban on Student Unions

Question	Response		Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
The government's decision to lift ban on student union is:	Undue	# of Respondents	143	140	283
		% of Total	15.7%	15.4%	31.1%
	Timely	# of Respondents	292	334	626
		% of Total	32.1%	36.7%	68.9%
	Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909
		% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%

The majority of respondents welcomed the lifting of ban on students union by terming it timely. 68.9% students responded it as “timely” as compared to 31.1% who considered it “undue”. This result may reflect current political and social movements in Pakistan which were supported by the students through rallies and that is why the students felt that the timing is quite proper to provide a channelized platform to students through which they can show their grievances or opinions about certain issues and problems. This response validates that students might be wary of certain type of politics or its historical legacy, but not itself per se. This difference needs to be deeply explored by further research.

If we read these figures as against the opponents of student politics, *illustrated earlier in sub-heading 2.2.1 of the present chapter*, this might show flexibility of respondents on one hand and on the other their perceptions evidently differentiate between “student politics” and the “unions”. This can be best explored in *sub-heading 2.7. at the chapter's end* on Objectives of the Student Unions, where the respondents rate functions of a student union. They certainly see potential of a student union in many ways, but the “Political Training” role is placed at the end of their list. See the bar chart:



2.2.3. Opinion about Student Politics before Ban in 1984

Question	Response		Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Do you have any opinion about student politics that was before 1984?	Highly positive	# of respondents	15	1	16
		% of total	1.7%	.1%	1.8%
	Positive	# of respondents	100	48	148
		% of total	11.0%	5.3%	16.3%
	No opinion	# of respondents	229	340	569
		% of total	25.2%	37.4%	62.6%
	Negative	# of respondents	56	67	123
		% of total	6.2%	7.4%	13.5%
	Highly negative	# of respondents	35	18	53
		% of total	3.9%	2.0%	5.8%
	Total	# of respondents	435	474	909
		% of total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%

Most of the respondents have comprising thoughts over their opinion about student politics before the ban in 1984. 62.6% students have no opinion about the earlier structure or working of campus politics. 16.3% report on the positive side, while 13.5% think negatively about the pre-ban student politics.

Students on extreme poles stand at only 1.7% in highly positive and 3.9% in highly negative terms.

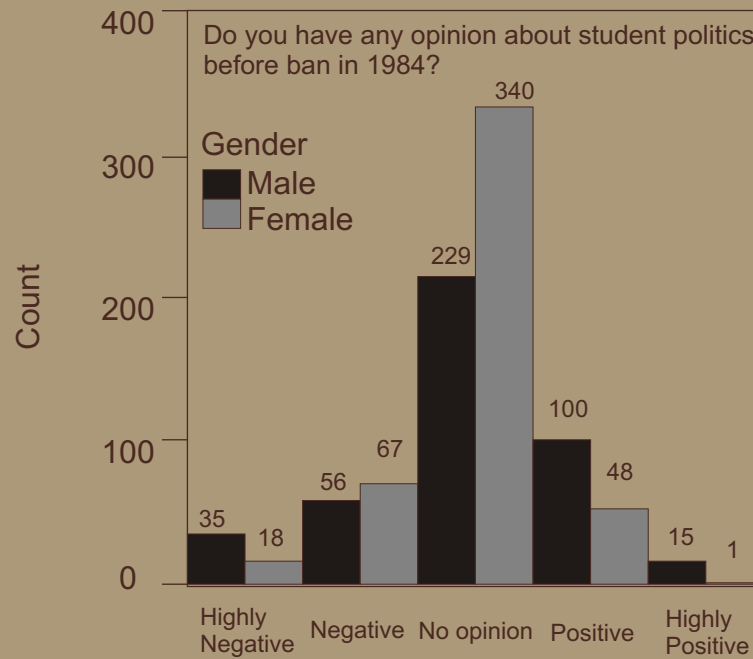
There is a vast area of ambivalent response to the question. An almost amnesia can be seen here. It is one of key findings of the survey that would lead us to believe the students would take the concept as a new idea. There is an opportunity that students fully participate in political process at their campuses. This lapse of memory would also help them to create new aims and goals as a line of direction for student activism.

Nevertheless, the bias against student politics in the light of this response is also alarming. We can easily see that the prejudice against student politics is highly uninformed and has been taken for granted. On the other hand, this defies framing of the new student politics on its historical “political” lines.

Whereas this finding provides with greater opportunities, it will massively challenge student organizations, political activists, decision makers, higher educational authorities, government and all those aspiring to link students with politics. First, they will have to forgo the tendency to assume a brigade of committed activists dancing to the tunes of ideologies as it was observed in the past history of student politics. Secondly, veteran politicians will have to make room for young leadership in campuses that can try to relate to this new brand of “generation”. Lastly, there's a need to redefine student issues, their communicative processes and motivational entry-points. All in all a notion of generalized democratic opening in the campuses will not do.



The chart is given below:

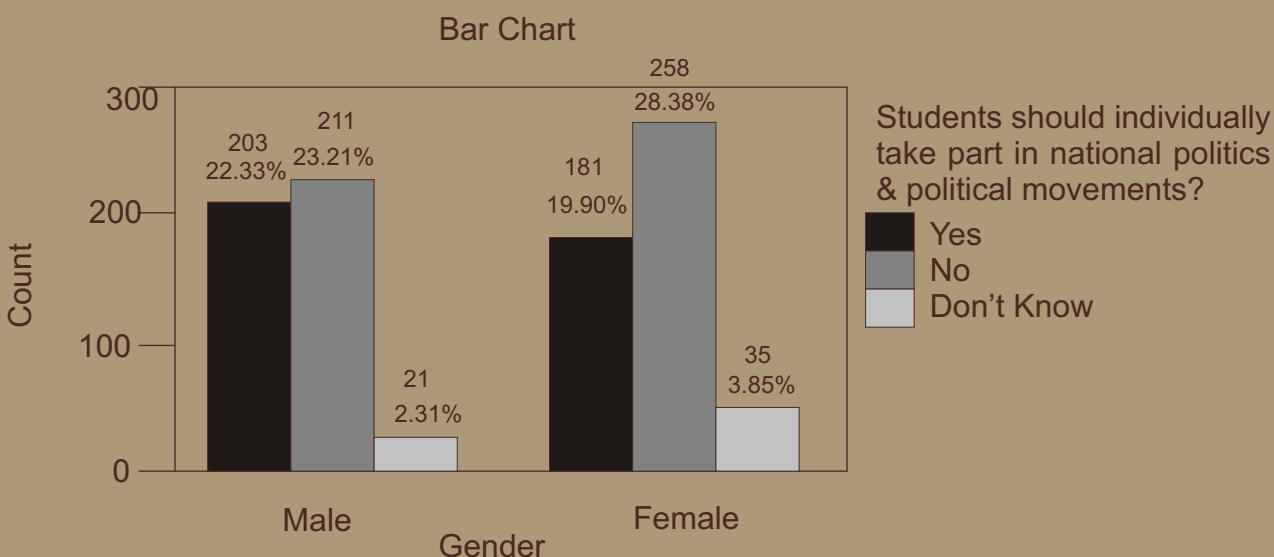


2.3. Responses on Students' Participation in National Politics

2.3.1. Participation in National Politics & Political Movements Individually

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Students should individually take part in national politics & political movements?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	21	35	56
		% of Total	2.3%	3.9%	6.2%
	No	# of Respondents	211	258	469
		% of Total	23.2%	28.4%	51.6%
	Yes	# of Respondents	203	181	384
		% of Total	22.3%	19.9%	42.2%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

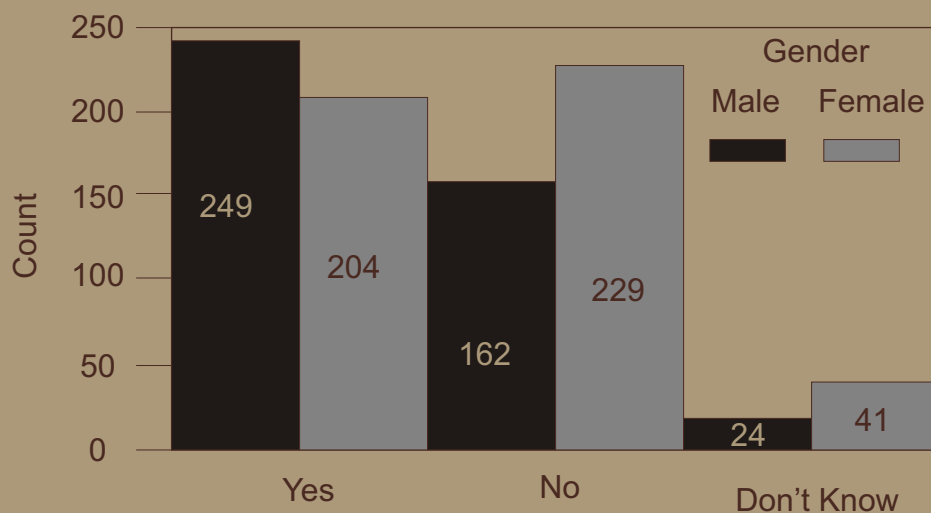
Most of the respondents are of the view that students should not take part in national politics and political movements individually. Out of 909 respondents, 51.6% say No to individual's participation in the politics being a student. But there is also a visible presence (42.2%) of those who didn't see any harm in a student's individual participation in the political process. Out of 51.6% respondents, who said no to individual's politics, 28.4% are female respondents. The encouraging sign is that 19.9% female respondents are ready to participate in political movements in individual capacity too.



2.3.2. Collective Participation in National Politics & Political Movements

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Students should collectively take part in national politics & political movements?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	24	41	65
		% of Total	2.6%	4.5%	7.2%
	No	# of Respondents	162	229	391
		% of Total	17.8%	25.2%	43.0%
	Yes	# of Respondents	249	204	453
		% of Total	27.4%	22.4%	49.8%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

The results of this question give an interesting response as a considerably large number (43%) of respondents are not even ready to allow students to participate in the political activities collectively too. Though the respondents who favour students' collective participation (49.8%) to the mainstream is 6.8% more than those who oppose, yet the finding show that there is considerable resistance against mainstream political activities as group. The main force behind this opposition consists of female students.

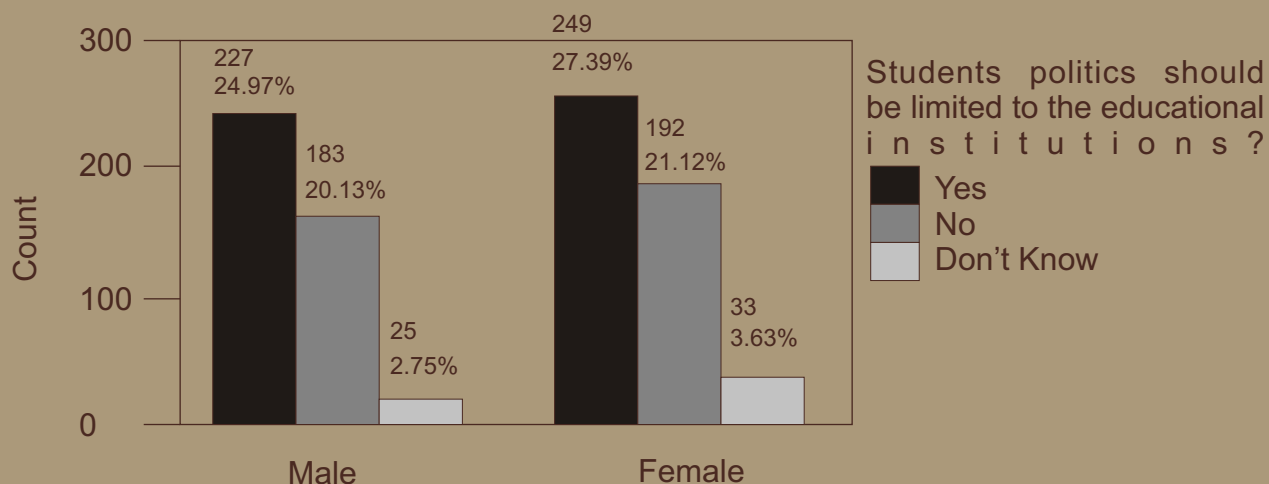


2.4. Linkages with Political Parties

2.4.1. Limiting Student Politics to the Educational Institutions

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Student politics should be limited to the educational institutions?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	25	33	58
		% of Total	2.8%	3.6%	6.4%
	No	# of Respondents	183	192	375
		% of Total	20.1%	21.1%	41.3%
	Yes	# of Respondents	227	249	476
		% of Total	25.0%	27.4%	52.4%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

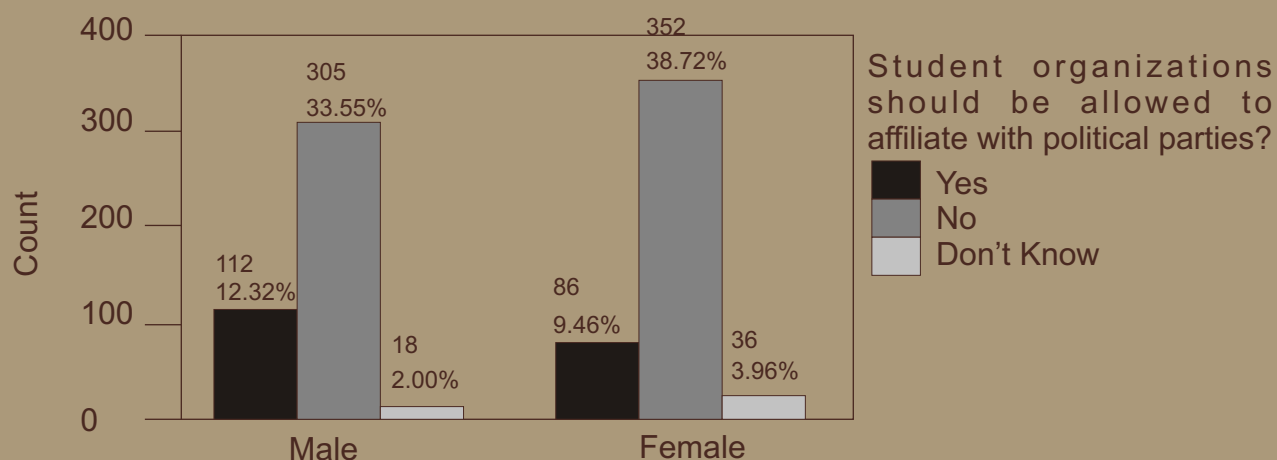
Most of the respondents want to restrict the student politics only within the educational institutions and do not wish student unions to indulge themselves in political activities outside their campuses. More than fifty percent respondents support campus confinement of politics. But 41.3% report that such restriction is unreal. See the bar chart on the next page:



2.4.2. Responses on Affiliation of Student Organizations with Political Parties

Question	Response	Gender		Total	
		Male	Female		
Student organizations should be allowed to affiliate with political parties?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	18	36	54
		% of Total	2.0%	4.0%	5.9%
	No	# of Respondents	305	352	657
		% of Total	33.6%	38.7%	72.3%
	Yes	# of Respondents	112	86	198
		% of Total	12.3%	9.5%	21.8%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

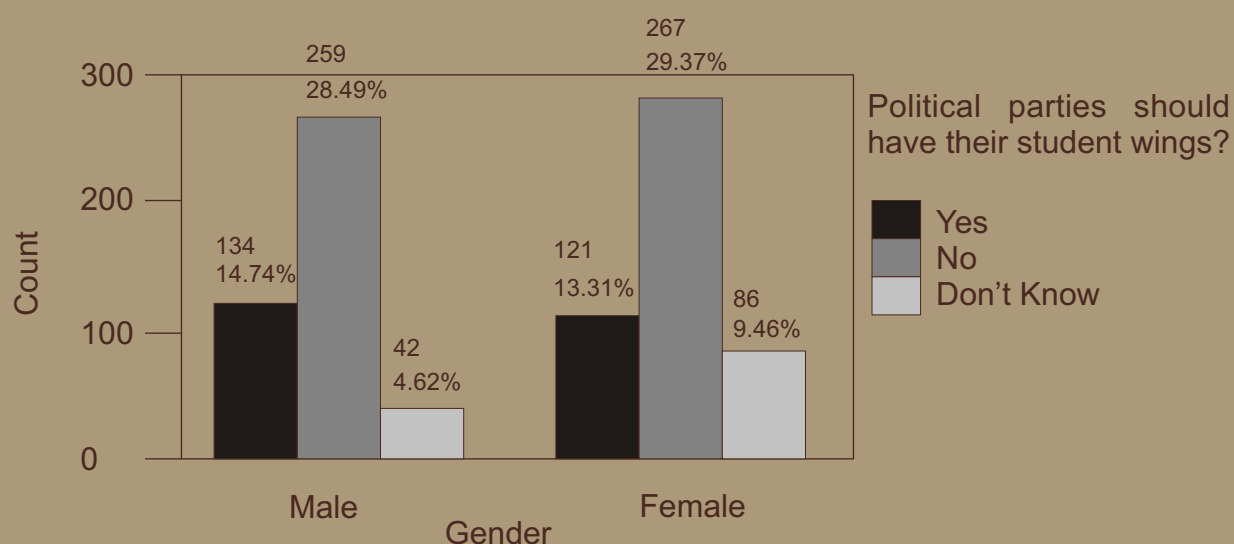
The respondents say a big No to affiliation of student organizations with the political parties. An overwhelming majority comprising 72.3% respondents oppose the idea of such a linkage, while only 21.8% respondents favour. 5.9% neither oppose nor support the question.



2.4.3. Views on Student Wings of Political Parties

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Political parties should have their student wings?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	42	86	128
		% of Total	4.6%	9.5%	14.1%
	No	# of Respondents	259	267	526
		% of Total	28.5%	29.4%	57.9%
	Yes	# of Respondents	134	121	255
		% of Total	14.17%	13.3%	28.1%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

Similar to the earlier response, majority of the respondents even did not want the political parties to have student wings. 57.9% respondents said No to the question. Only 28.1% respondents supported the idea, while 14.1% respondents did not have any idea about the issue.

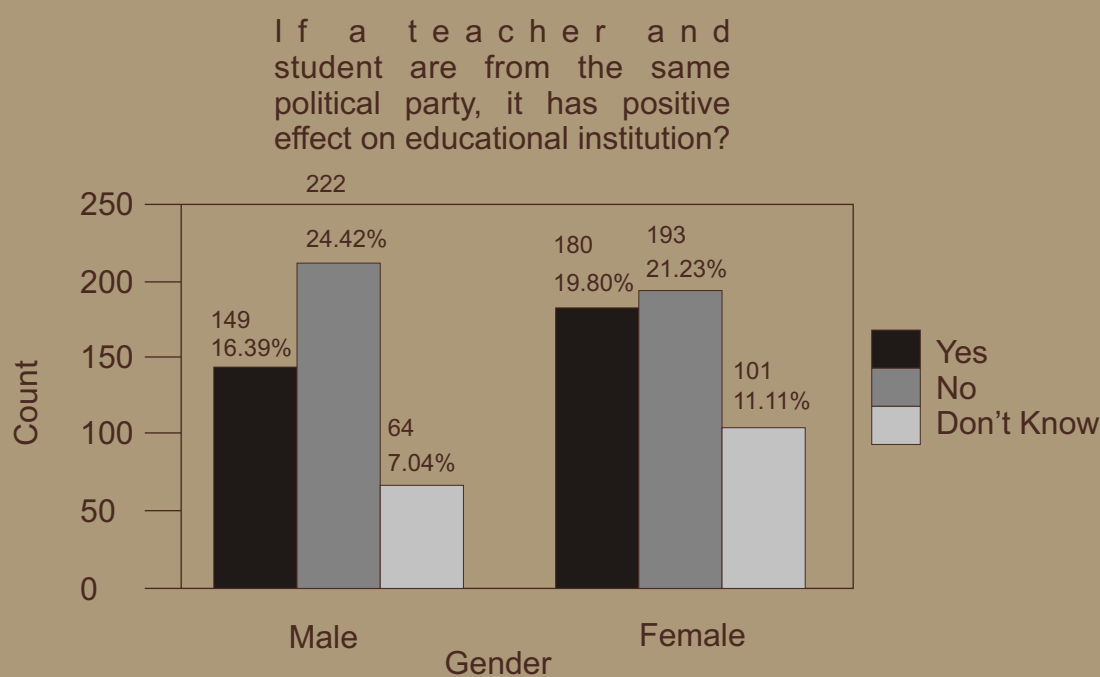


2.4.4. Views on Effects of Similar Political Loyalty of Teachers and Students

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
If a teacher and a student are from the same political party, it has positive effect on educational institution?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	64	101	165
		% of Total	7.0%	11.1%	18.2%
	No	# of Respondents	222	193	415
		% of Total	24.4%	21.2%	45.7%
	Yes	# of Respondents	149	180	329
		% of Total	16.4%	19.8%	36.2%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

Most of the respondents (45.7%) were of the view that teachers and students from the same political party would not have a positive or healthy impact on the environment of the educational institutes. 36.2% respondents thought otherwise and felt that such equation may bring some positive change in the educational environment and students can benefit from it.

A sizeable number (18.2%) is silent over same political loyalty of students and teachers.



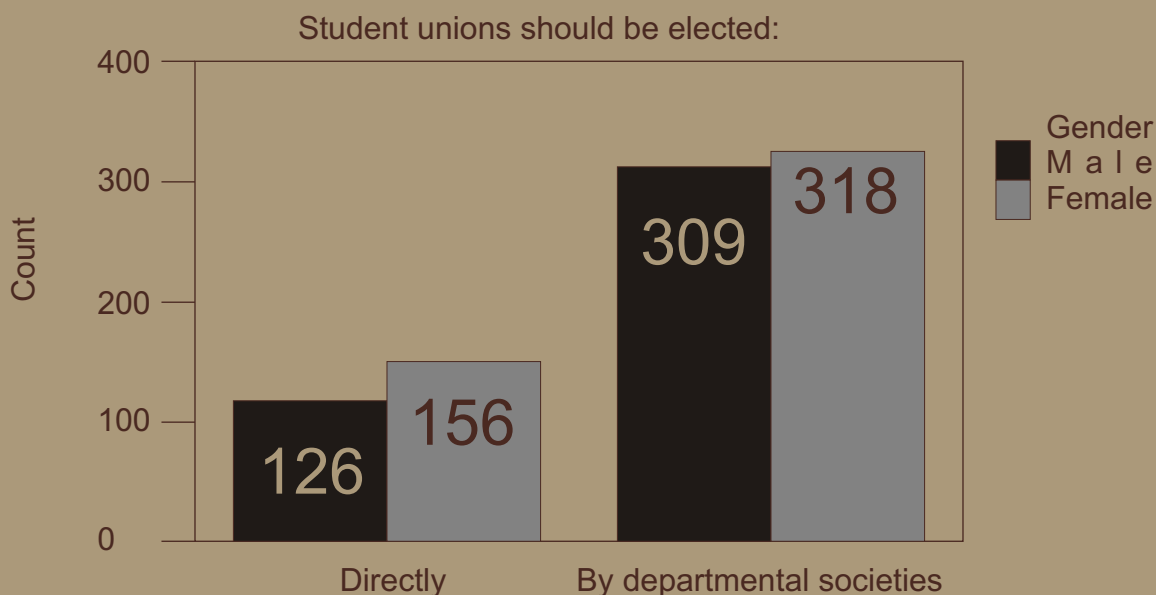
2.5. Rules of Student Unions and Code of Conduct

2.5.1. Responses on Procedure of Student Union Elections

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Student unions should be elected:	By departmental societies	# of Respondents	309	318	627
		% of Total	34.0%	35.0%	69.0%
	Directly	# of Respondents	126	156	282
		% of Total	13.9%	17.2%	31.0%
	Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909
		% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%

Vast majority of respondents wanted indirect elections of the student union. 69% positively favour union elections through departmental societies, while 31% respondents support direct elections.

Given history of student union elections in Pakistan, this response is quite radical. It may be attributed to the viewpoint that elections through departmental societies would create checks and balances on the student organizations. This may also create larger room for locally, read department-wise, popular students who are more accessible and in our perception whom we can easily approach on issues rather than distanced leadership that is busy 'working for outside campus forces'.

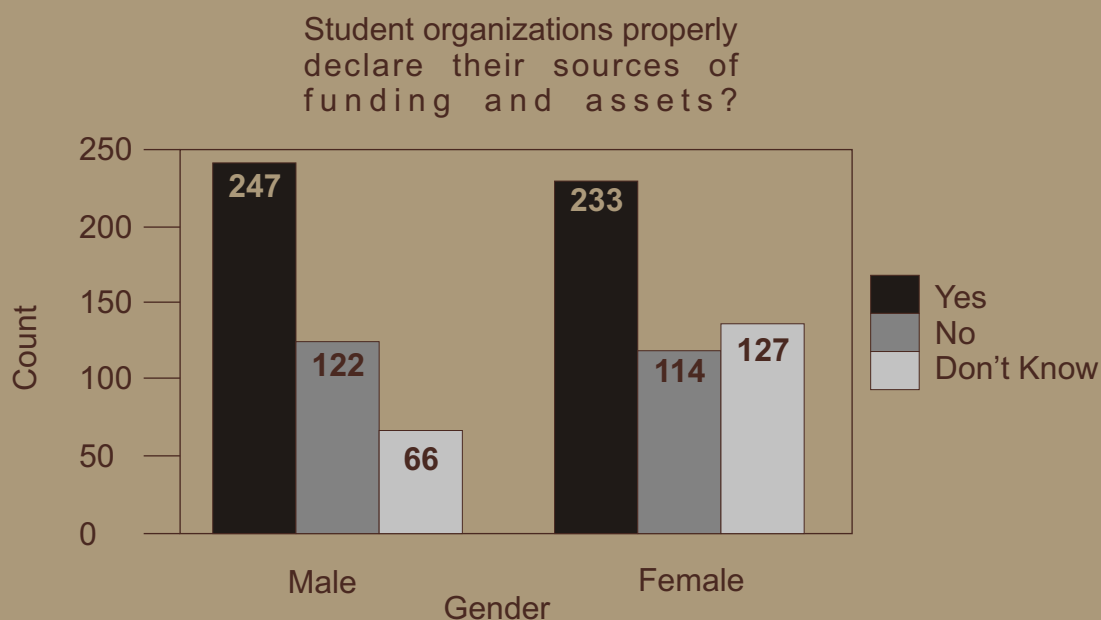


2.5.2. Views on Sources of Funding and Assets of Student Organizations

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Student organizations properly declare their sources of funding and assets?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	66	127	193
		% of Total	7.3%	14.0%	21.2%
	No	# of Respondents	122	114	236
		% of Total	13.4%	12.5%	26.0%
	Yes	# of Respondents	247	233	480
		% of Total	27.2%	25.6%	52.2%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

The majority consisting 52.8% respondents reported their satisfaction over funding sources and assets of student organizations. They maintained these groups properly declare their sources of funding and assets.

26% respondents however opposed the contention while a sizable number of 21.2% respondents didn't have any opinion about this question. It is indeed interesting to note this positive perception trend after all the resentment that the students have shown. See the bar chart ahead.

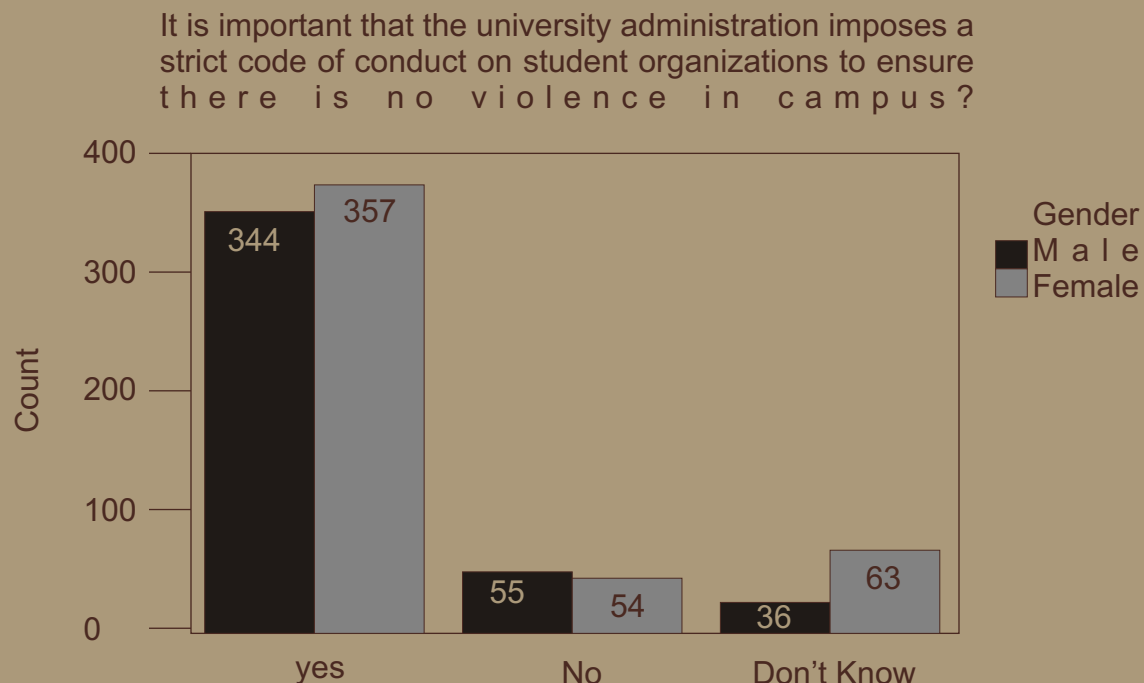


2.5.3. Views on Imposition of a Strict Code of Conduct on Student Organizations to ensure Non-violence in Campuses

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
It is imprtant that the university administration imposes a strict code of conduct on student organizations to ensure that there is no violence in campus?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	36	63	99
		% of Total	4.0%	6.9%	10.9%
	No	# of Respondents	55	54	109
		% of Total	6.1%	5.9%	12.0%
	Yes	# of Respondents	344	357	701
		% of Total	37.8%	39.3%	77.1%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

Respondents are heavily mandated in favour of imposing strict Code of Conduct to prevent any kind of violence within the boundaries of educational institutions. Only 12% respondents opposed such administrative policies. It might be due to caution for these respondents have their reservations about the university administrations unnecessary control over the student unions.

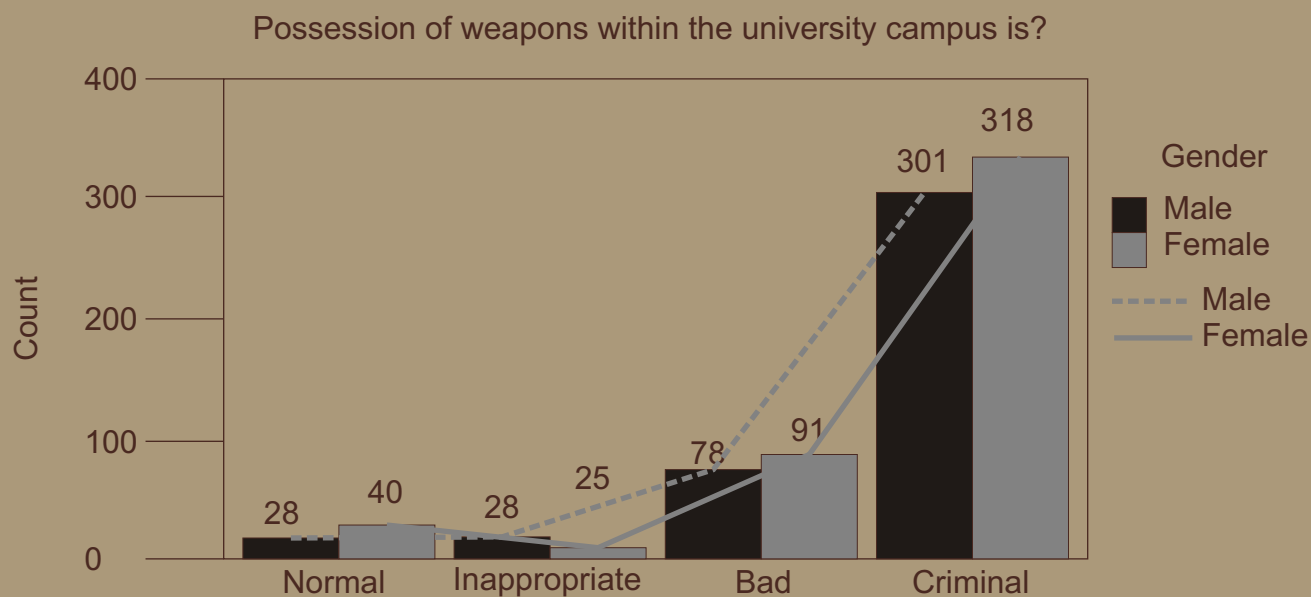
The questions of transparency and wider consultation in framing these codes are essential to gain political will and ownership of the students, who in any analysis are the primary users of these measures.



2.5.4. Possession of Weapons within the University Campuses

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Possession of weapons within the university campus is?	Criminal	# of Respondents	301	318	619
		% of Total	33.1%	35.0%	68.1%
	Bad	# of Respondents	78	91	169
		% of Total	8.6%	10.0%	18.6%
	Inappropriate	# of Respondents	28	25	53
		% of Total	3.1%	2.8%	5.8%
	Normal	# of Respondents	28	40	68
		% of Total	3.1%	4.4%	7.5%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

Most of the respondents thought it a criminal act to keep possession of weapons in the university campus. 68.1% attributed it to crime, 18.6% considered it as bad, 5.8% felt it was inappropriate while only 7.5% considered it as normal to have weapons in the university campus. Only in one university, this figure of “Normal” could barely reach one percent. So in a way or other, almost all the students showed their strong concern over the presence of weapons within the educational institutions. This would further seek implementation of a Code of Conduct that demonstrates zero-tolerance for possession of weapons in the campuses.



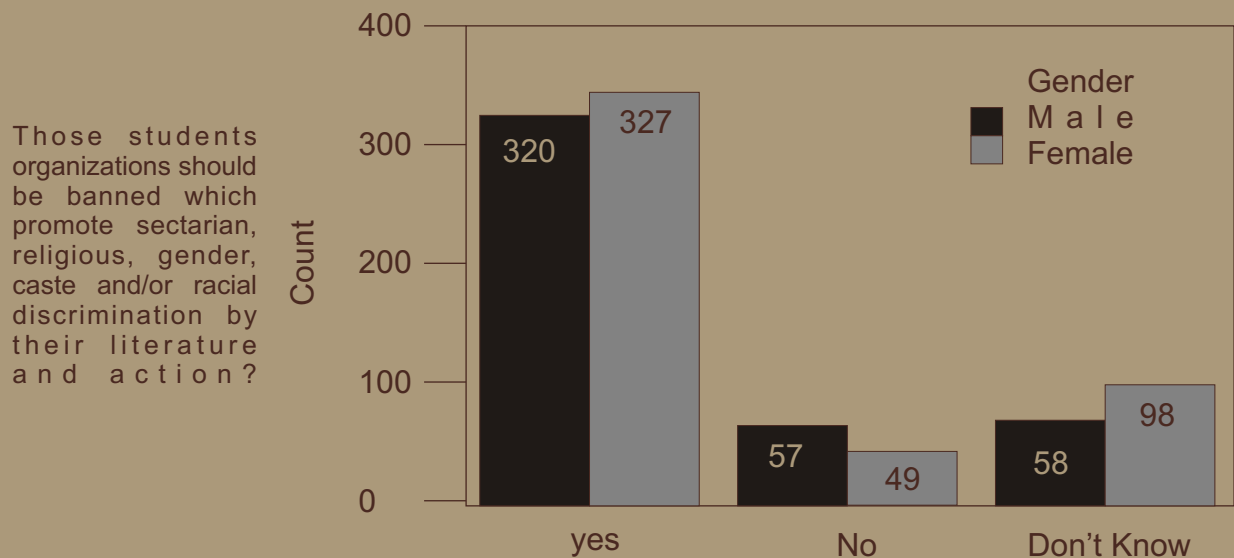
2.5.5. Views on Banning Student Organizations that Promote Sectarian, Religious, Gender, Caste and/or Racial Discrimination by their Literature & Actions

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Those students organizations should be banned which promote sectarian, religious, gender, caste and/or racial discrimination by their literature and actions?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	58	98	156
		% of Total	6.4%	10.8%	17.2%
	No	# of Respondents	57	49	106
		% of Total	6.3%	5.4%	11.7%
	Yes	# of Respondents	320	327	647
		% of Total	35.2%	36.0%	71.2%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

The views of the respondents indicated that the students want peace, harmony and unity among their community in educational institutions as 71.2% of respondents favour ban on such student organizations that spread or promote sectarian, religious, gender, caste and/or racial discrimination through their literature and actions.

This overwhelming perception against any type of discrimination defies general thinking prevalent especially among progressive ranks. However to transform mass anti-discrimination feeling into a practically reality would take right articulation, appropriate communication usage and jargon, positive student mobilization and enabling policy environment within the campuses.

There is a need to deeply dig the young minds of Pakistani campuses and comprehend influencing factors and driving combinations rather than conveniently placing them into our adventurous ideologies that have a tendency to ignore the local realities.

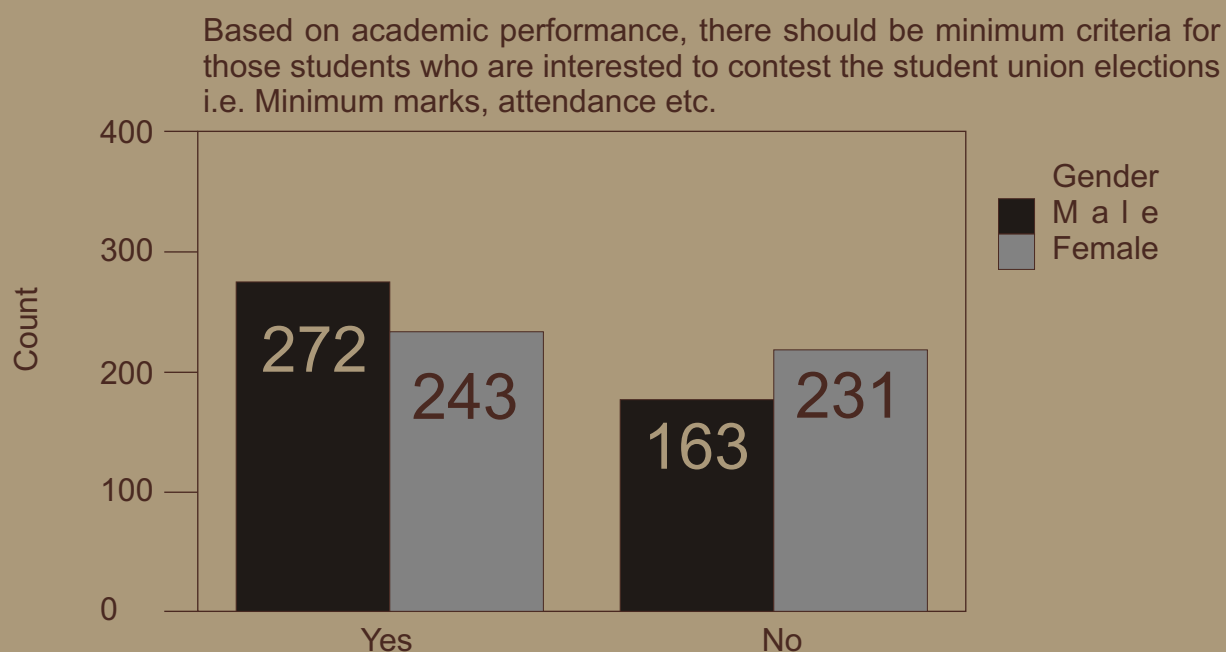


2.5.6. Respondents' Views on Eligibility Criteria for Contesting Candidates

Question	Response		Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Based on academic performance, there should be minimum criteria for those students who are interested to contest the student union elections i.e. Minimum marks, attendance etc.	No	# of Respondents	163	231	394
		% of Total	17.9%	25.4%	43.3%
	Yes	# of Respondents	272	243	515
		% of Total	29.9%	26.7%	56.7%
	Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909
		% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%

Students with strong academic record, regular class appearance and high achievement have been widely backed by the respondents as eligible candidates to contest union election. Though 56.7% respondents wanted to set minimum criteria based upon academic performance and seriousness of a student necessary to contest in the elections yet there a considerable opposition (43.3%) viewed it as a right open to every student.

Many countries including our neighbouring India put such pre-qualifications for the contesting candidates. These eligibility criteria include age limit, minimum percentage of marks obtained, percentage of attendance, education level and repeated admission in the university, etc. This is to check entry of 'professional' student leaders who work for political parties/ leaders outside the campuses, or who have established financial and power stakes by their activism for personal gains.

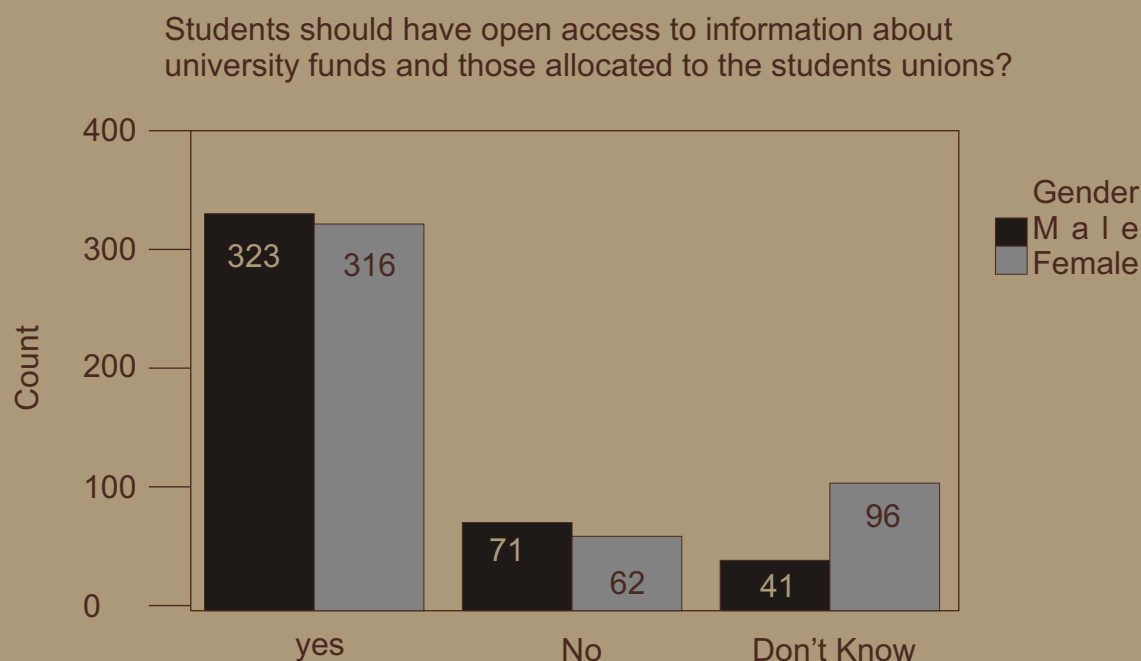


2.5.7. Responses on Students' Easy Access to Information about University and Student Union Funds

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Students should have open access to information about university funds and those allocated to the students unions?	Don't Know	# of Respondents	41	96	137
		% of Total	4.5%	10.6%	15.1%
	No	# of Respondents	71	62	133
		% of Total	7.8%	6.8%	14.6%
	Yes	# of Respondents	323	316	639
		% of Total	35.5%	34.8%	70.3%
Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909	
	% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%	

information about the university funds and those allocated to the student unions. Giving such an access to the students will create a check and balance system both on university administration and student unions and both these bodies can be saved from any kind of irregularities or corruption. This is to bring transparency and accountability to the working of unions and the universities.

In the past there have been allegations of corruption by student groups. If we can give excess to financial information as now the country's law also stipulates this will give impetus for transparent functions within the campuses. In case of educational institutions, unlike the national exchequer, the 'classified information' is rare as well.



2.6. Gender Quota and Student Unions

2.6.1. Distribution of Respondents on Allotting Representational Quota to Girl Students in Elected Unions

QuestionResponse			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
There should be minimum reserved quota for girl students in the main body of university student union?	No quota	# of Respondents	148	165	313
		% of Total	16.3%	18.2%	34.4%
	33 percent	# of Respondents	177	109	286
		% of Total	19.5%	12.0%	31.5%
	50 percent	# of Respondents	93	156	249
		% of Total	10.2%	17.2%	27.4%
	55 percent	# of Respondents	17	44	61
		% of Total	1.9%	4.8%	6.7%
	Total	# of Respondents	435	474	909
		% of Total	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%

Respondents definitely want reserved quota for the girl students in main body of a student university as 63.6% respondents favoured the idea while 34.4% students opposed such a quota system. Interestingly, those who majority of those who opposed such idea mainly consisted of female respondents (18.2%) as compared to 16% male students. Most of the respondents (31.5%) supported to allot 33 percent representation to the female students in the student union body, whereas 27.4% students wanted equal representation (50% reserved seats) while only 6.7% respondents favoured 55% representation of females on reserved quota.

According to Drude Dahlerup (1994)¹⁴ the core idea behind quota systems is to recruit women into political positions and to ensure that women are not only a few tokens in political life. This ranking of Universities: Reserved Quota for Girls would also ascertain that they constitute at least a “critical minority” in decision making posts. Many developing countries including Pakistan have adopted these special allotments in representative or political democracy at different levels. The list would include Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Eritrea, India, Tanzania, India, Panama, Peru Uganda, and Venezuela, etc.

In the case of Pakistani universities, we have recently witnessed a boom in female enrollment to the higher education and in the past they have been at the forefront of student politics but generally were entertained ceremonial presence in student unions in the form of lady councilors and members of cultural committees for example. The institution of a “Women Council” was adopted by the universities in 1970s but after some years was abolished.

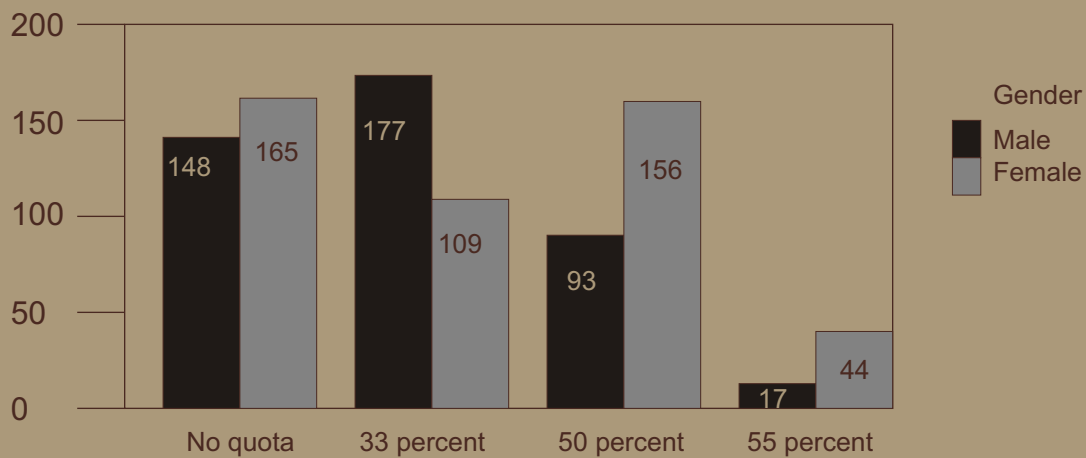
¹⁴Dahlerup, Drude, Chapter 4: Using Quota's to Increase Women's Political Representation in *Women in Parliament*, International IDEA, 2002, Stockholm (<http://www.idea.int>)



Respondents' vote for reserved female quota in unions can be efficiently transformed into a women leadership tool in Pakistani universities. It will not only bind student organizations to nominate women candidates, but also give focus upon this important electoral constituency, which at times even in big institutions like Karachi University outnumber boys. An affirmative action by the higher education authorities in favour of female quota is also easier to implement, because we are establishing at the threshold of a new political system in the universities after lapse of many years since the union ban.

The bar chart below illustrates over-all responses, while university-wise distribution of responses follows next, where the top five in each category have been highlighted in grey

There should be minimum reserved quota for girl students in the main body of university student union?



Ranking of Universities: Reserved Quota for Girls

#	University	No	University	33%
1	University of Sindh, Jamshoro	50.00%	Govt. College University, Lahore	60.00%
2	Gomal University, D.I. Khan	45.20%	Kinnaird College, Lahore	57.10%
3	University of Sargodha	40.40%	F.C. College, Lahore	50.00%
4	Karakoram University, Gilgit	40.00%	Bahauddin Zakaria uni. Multan	49.10%
5	University of Punjab, Lahore	39.60%	University of Karachi, Karachi	45.80%
6	Sardar Bahadur Uni. Quetta	37.50%	Islamia University, Bahawalpur	42.50%
7	Bahauddin Zakaria uni. Multan	35.80%	Lahore College for Women Uni.	41.70%
8	Fatima Jinnah Women University	35.00%	Fatima Jinnah Women University	40.00%
9	Quaid-i-Azam Uni. Islamabad	32.30%	University of Sindh, Jamshoro	31.20%
10	Gujrat university, Gujrat	32.10%	University of Balochistan, Quetta	28.90%
11	University of Balochistan, Quetta	31.60%	University of Punjab, Lahore	28.80%
12	University of Peshawar	31.40%	University of Peshawar	28.60%
13	University of Karachi, Karachi	31.20%	Hazara Uni. Dhodial Manshera	25.00%
14	University of A.J.K. Muzaffarabad	30.80%	Sardar Bahadur Uni. Quetta	25.00%
15	Islamia University, Bahawalpur	30.00%	Quaid-i-Azam Uni. Islamabad	24.00%
16	Kinnaird College, Lahore	28.60%	University of A.J.K. Muzaffarabad	23.10%
17	University of Malakand, Dir	25.00%	Govt. College Uni. Faisalabad	22.70%
18	Govt. College Uni. Lahore	22.70%	University of Sargodha	20.80%
19	Govt. College Uni. Faisalabad	20.00%	Gomal University, D.I. Khan	19.00%
20	Hazara Uni. Dhodial Manshera	18.80%	University of Malakand, Dir	18.80%
21	Lahore College for Women Uni.	16.70%	Gujrat university, Gujrat	17.90%
22	Shah Abdul Latif Uni. Khairpur	16.70%	Shah Abdul Latif Uni. Khairpur	16.70%
23	F.C. College, Lahore	0%	Karakoram University, Gilgit	10.00%
#	University	50%	University	55%
1	F.C. College, Lahore	50.00%	Shah Abdul Latif Uni. Khairpur	33.30%
2	University of Malakand, Dir	43.80%	Hazara Uni. Dhodial Manshera	25.00%
3	Lahore College for Women Uni.	41.70%	Gujrat university, Gujrat	14.30%
4	Govt. College Uni. Faisalabad	40.90%	Govt. College Uni. Faisalabad	13.60%
5	Karakoram University, Gilgit	40.00%	Sardar Bahadur Uni. Quetta	12.50%
6	University of Balochistan, Quetta	36.80%	University of Malakand, Dir	12.50%
7	Quaid-i-Azam Uni. Islamabad	36.50%	Gomal University, D.I. Khan	11.90%
8	Gujrat university, Gujrat	35.70%	University of A.J.K. Muzaffarabad	11.50%
9	University of A.J.K. Muzaffarabad	34.60%	Karakoram University, Gilgit	10.00%
10	University of Peshawar	34.30%	Islamia University, Bahawalpur	7.50%
11	Shah Abdul Latif Uni. Khairpur	33.30%	Quaid-i-Azam Uni. Islamabad	7.30%
12	Hazara Uni. Dhodial Manshera	31.20%	University of Sargodha	6.90%
13	University of Punjab, Lahore	26.90%	University of Peshawar	5.70%
14	Fatima Jinnah Women University	25.00%	University of Sindh, Jamshoro	5.60%
15	Sardar Bahadur Uni. Quetta	25.00%	University of Punjab, Lahore	3.80%
16	Gomal University, D.I. Khan	23.80%	University of Karachi, Karachi	3.10%
17	University of Sindh, Jamshoro	23.60%	University of Balochistan, Quetta	2.60%
18	University of Sargodha	22.20%	Bahauddin Zakaria uni. Multan	1.90%
19	Govt. College Uni. Lahore	20.00%	Fatima Jinnah Women University	0%
20	Islamia University, Bahawalpur	20.00%	F.C. College, Lahore	0%
21	University of Karachi, Karachi	19.80%	Govt. College University, Lahore	0%
22	Kinnaird College, Lahore	14.30%	Kinnaird College, Lahore	0%
23	Bahauddin Zakaria uni. Multan	13.20%	Lahore College for Women Uni.	0%



2.7. Aims and Objectives of Student Unions

2.7.1. Respondents' Ranking of the Objectives of Student Unions

Factor	Male	Female	%
Quality Education	22.30%	29.90%	52.20%
Student Welfare	11.70%	8.30%	20.10%
Culture of Peace	5.20%	5.50%	10.80%
Leadership Development	6.30%	2.40%	8.70%
Political Training	4.40%	3.80%	8.20%

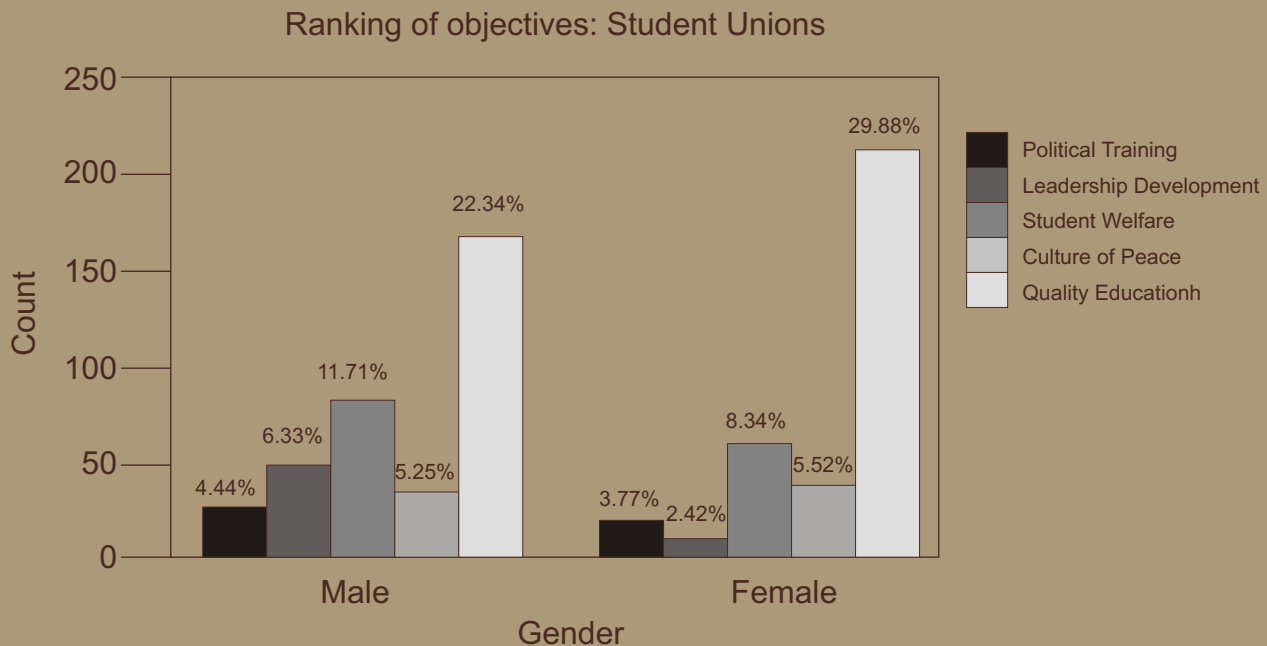
More than half the respondents (52.2%) while defining objectives of the student unions, rated *Quality Education* at top of the list. “Student Welfare”, “Culture of Peace”, “Leadership Development” and “Political Training” follow in the order. This response could be one of the key indicators of success for the student organizations. Though there is a lot to do in terms of specifying these objectives, identifying means of verification and developing appropriate strategies; however in generic terms these objectives are leading indicators for student politics.

As we can see much-trumpeted “Political Training” aspect of the student unions is kept as the lowest level objective (8.2%).

It takes not much effort to discern between image of the student politics and the actual student responses on union's objectives.

We can appreciate that the legacy of student politics has to be radically turned towards a new set of actions that can contribute to objectives reported by the student themselves.

Exact percentages have been given in the bar chart below, which were rounded in the tables above:



3. Conclusion

We have discovered in the data analysis that the present-day students are normatively resistant to every aspect of student politics that may disrupt their studies and other activities i.e. relationship in the campuses.

They vehemently oppose a “student politics” but welcome lifting of the ban on student unions. They are sharply divided over participating in national politics in individual and collective capacities, but are starkly clear over student politics' linkages and affiliation with main stream political parties.

Their memory about the pre-ban student politics is limited and is almost closer to a historical amnesia and they have frankly put it in writing.

However, in the area of rules for student unions and Code of Conduct, there's by and large a consensus on regulated politics and everything that has the subversive potential is shunned by the students. They want greater accountability, transparency and checks and balances on the student union functions. This is reflected by their reported desire to resort to indirect elections through departmental societies to the university student unions. This would also signify the probability of holding diversity and fragmentation rather than central and distant political systems in the campuses.

Majority of students believe in strict imposition of a strict Code of Conduct to ensure peace in campuses, where possession of weapons is a criminal activity; all those student organizations are to be banned who promote any type of discrimination through their literature and actions; the candidates are eligible to contest union elections only when they have academically performed and acted well to a certain degree, and in the same vein the students seek free access to information on university and student union affairs.

On gender, the students favour representative women quota in the university unions.

All in all, the vast majority of students envision a student union which aims at “quality education” at the first place. “Culture of Peace”, “Leadership Development” and “Political Training” will be the following objectives in hierarchy.

These results support our theoretical contention that if students are opposing a certain kind of politics, its historical legacy and analytical articulation; it would not automatically mean rejecting the student politics per se. This can be further substantiated by the fact that not a single respondent who opposed student politics declined to fill the remaining survey form, or wrote “not applicable” or left it blank.

This would suggest that the students might resent prevalent politics, but they have a valid idea why they oppose it. This certainly is not the work of a depoliticized mind. Rather it would speak of the need to understand the mindset and comprehend a politics that can serve the incumbent imagination. The role of analysis in this regards cannot be overemphasized. There is a lot to be done to examine how the contemporary higher education students are behaving. How they socially interact? How they are linked with each other? Why they have enthusiastically responded to humanitarian emergencies i.e. earthquake, charity actions and entertainment icons in massive numbers and are still aloof to politics? What communication tools they are using? How internet is shaping their communicative lives? What would motivate them to act together? These might be big questions, but have to be addressed in the longer term by researchers, student organizations, political parties, civil society, educationists, higher education authorities and the government.



In the immediate sphere, all stakeholders will have to be taken on board. BARGAD has contributed its bit by consulting with students on the issue which may prove source of strength or impediment in pursuing their campus lives. We were also fortunate to have opinions of various university faculty members, senior academic staff and four Vice-chancellors on the student politics and unions that has surely informed the present report.

3.1. Recommendations

After collecting, collating and analyzing the nation-wide data, we think that the following issues are critical to transform nature of student politics as system, process and structures:

- ✍ Policy framework for student politics
- ✍ Linkages with Political Parties and Movements Outside campuses
- ✍ Procedures of Student Union Elections
- ✍ Rules of Student Unions and the Code of Conduct
- ✍ Women Quota and Student Unions
- ✍ Guidelines for Future Research on Student Politics

Point-to-point set of recommendations are as follows:

3.1.1. Policy Framework for Student Politics

The government has declared lifting ban on student unions, but the notification to this effect has yet to be issued. Likewise, the suspension of relevant articles in university statutes will be an impeding block that has to be cleared by formal enactment of student politics.

Another question that is still undecided and rarely debated is the implementation of pro-union laws in private universities.

There is a need that the higher education commission and the education ministries should sort it out and also ensure democratic participation of students in private universities. The task will involve introducing a structured system of student representation as implemented in the public institutions.

There's a need that there should be a uniform national system of student representation is adopted. In this regard, all universities should be bound to forward their proposals in writing for Such mechanism. At present, a select few officials are delegated to think for all universities of Pakistan and no consultation has been done on a wider-scale even with the university Vice-Chancellors of all the higher education institutions.

It is also needed that a periodic review of student union mechanism should be included in the policy framework. For that a period of three years is suggested here to assess the efficiency of system and to look if restructuring is needed.

3.1.2. Linkages with Political Parties and Movements outside Campuses

The linkages between national politics and students are historical and now even legal after the voting age for national elections have been fixed at 18 years.

All of our surveyed are eligible voters in the national context. However, after particularly late 1960s student leaders have played proxy roles for political parties and to be exact a majority even subscribed to certain political individuals and those elements that needed active physical force to work for non-political and illegal acts, more often with power and money incentives.

In the words of Prof Mujahid Mansoori, a teacher of Mass Communications Department at the Punjab University Lahore and the Secretary of Students Task Force (STF), "Parties in Pakistan are weak and

they use campuses to project their strength. With their involvement, unions are surely to get politicized and go on the wrong track.”¹⁵ Staff reporter of a national English daily even went on to state that “the return of unions means the return of student leaders. Student union leaders in Pakistan are synonymous with violence and criminal activities.”¹⁶

President of Mutahida Talaba Mahaz (MTM), a front comprising of almost all the student organizations, confirmed fears of bloodshed: “Without a government-sponsored code of conduct, these student unions will lose all control.....” “Union members fight with others over political agendas, which leads to them becoming criminals.”¹⁷

In spite of such fears, it's a constitution right of citizens to associate with others unless for unlawful purpose. The politics of adventure and opportunism is another story and a source of concern while looking at linkages between students and the political parties.

This interface is particularly lethal when students are called for show of power, disruption of meetings and siding with academic staff divides which sometimes also is a result of vested interests in control over postings and transfers, university's property, civil contracting, warehouses and procurement, etc. In many cases, a “political”/ “ideological” agitation is the work of forces grabbing financial gains. And all this goes under the banner of “politics”. This can also explain the story of many veteran student leaders who made fortunes in a span of some years without having any capital or professional skills except “politics”.

There is a need that greater access to information about university and union funds is provided o break such nexus of politics. Since it's unconstitutional to totally ban the link of students with political parties, there should be other measures taken by the authorities to ensure checking political interference from outside. These can be:

1. No donation from any political party or a politician should be allowed to student groups.
2. Use of university resources i.e. equipment, staff, buses, etc. should be prohibited for any political party's assembly outside the campus.
3. During election times, no non-student should be allowed to participate in the electoral process in any capacity. The violators' candidacy should be annulled and action taken against him/ her.

3.1.3. Procedures of Student Union Elections

In view of the data collected by the National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, the union elections should be held indirectly through votes of department/ Institute/ School, etc Society' unions that will be directly elected. The elected members of departmental societies will elect the university students' union on the weight-age of 1 vote each.

To have least bearing upon regular academic activities, the whole entire process of elections, starting from nomination papers to the declaration of results, should be completed within 10 days. This would also include the election campaign period. Every department head should be responsible to hold a joint panel discussion of all the contesting candidates at the last day of the elections' campaign, which only the departmental students can attend.

Elections should be held on yearly basis preferably between 6 to 8 weeks from the start of the academic session.

¹⁵Khan, Shah nawaz. ”Unregulated student unions can lead to campus bloodshed”, Daily Times: Lahore, 28 April 2008, p. 13.

¹⁶Ibid

¹⁷Ibid.



Moreover, a nation-wide uniform system of elections for both public and private universities should be implemented.

3.1.4. Rules of Student Unions & the Code of Conduct

- ✍ It's recommended that only full-time regular students can contest the elections.
- ✍ The age limit for contesting the union elections should not exceed 26 years.
- ✍ There should be certain eligibility criteria based on academic performance. At least that student who has academic arrears failed in some subject should not be allowed to contest the elections.
- ✍ Minimum class attendance criteria should be 75 % in aggregate.
- ✍ Student with no previous criminal record should be considered for candidacy.
- ✍ No readmitted student who has completed one Masters' degree course should be allowed to contest.
- ✍ There should be expenditure limit for the contesting candidate. In neighbouring country India this is Indian Rupees 5000/- However since we suggesting an indirect election procedure, this limit should even be reduced.
- ✍ No candidate should be allowed to make use of printed posters, printed pamphlets, or any other printed material for the purpose of canvassing. Candidates may only utilize hand-made posters/ cards etc. within the limit of stipulated expenditure.
- ✍ Every successful candidate should submit an audited statement of expenditure. In case of non-compliance of the limit, the candidate would be disqualified and re-election should be held.
- ✍ No candidate/ organization, through literature or activities, at any point of time shall promote any discrimination among students on the basis of sect, religion, gender, caste and/or race. Violation should be dealt with disciplinary action and ban on the organization.
- ✍ Candidates would abide by the privacy rights of others and would criticize only policies and viewpoints, past record and work related with public lives of opponents. Unfounded allegations and personal generalizations should be discouraged.
- ✍ There should be no election-related activities in places of worships.
- ✍ Candidates should be disallowed to undertake corrupt practices and offences like bribing or intimidation voters, or canvassing after stipulated period.
- ✍ No procession outside the campus is suggested.
- ✍ Processions within campus should be held according to an agreed schedule and location with the administration.

- ✍ The election authorities should appoint election observers.
- ✍ Election day procedures should be detailed out i.e. prohibiting of canvassing, entry in polling booths, voting duration, announcement schedule, etc.
- ✍ Possession of weapons at any time of the year should be considered an offence and dealt accordingly.
- ✍ Mechanism for vacant seats and reschedule plan should be properly spelt out.
- ✍ Departmental/Student unions and the university administration will ensure periodically displacing budgetary statements on relevant notice boards/ website and will adopt clauses of the Access to Information Act as promulgated nationally in Pakistan to facilitate the right to information unless it clashes with privacy and propriety rights.
- ✍ Grievance Redressal Mechanism for the student politics should be devised to facilitate regular implementation of the code of conduct.
- ✍ Actions that border on criminal offence and where Pakistan Penal Code applies should be clearly spelt-out and be annexed at the time of student's admission to the university.

3.1.5. Women Quota and Student Unions

In view of the survey results and opinions of students, a minimum of 33 percent quota be fixed for girl-students at every level of student representation in the university simultaneous to elections in the campus. Moreover, the institution should organize leadership-training programs to groom leadership qualities in students with a focus upon gender sensitivity in campuses.

3.1.6. Guidelines for Future Research on Student Politics

Given almost virtual absence of research on student politics and literate youth in Pakistan, additional information and knowledge resources are needed. The role of civil society groups, independent firms, research institutes and the universities is crucial to achieve this goal.

To frame a new politics based around quality and accessible education can be a vital area to explore. What contextual politics means in a university environment is a big question whose past and convenient models have lost their vitality. Those analyses certainly had ideologies in it, but perhaps no education!

To start with, we severely need historical overviews and archival resources on student politics through eras and its dispersion outside the bounds of Karachi, Lahore and to some extent Rawalpindi. We are also in dark about simple narratives and accounts of past female leaders in the campuses.

Political economy of privatization of education would certainly set agendas for collective action. Peace and higher education is a needed area of analysis.

The question is with the unfolding of a new era and generation in student politics, is our analysis catching up?



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Appendices

Annexure 1



Survey Form

SURVEY FORM: STUDENT POLITICS & UNIONS

As part of BARGAD's plan to youth leadership development in public universities of Pakistan, we would like you to complete the following form. This will assess your perceptions about student politics and unions and determine which characteristics are close to your mind. All your personal information is confidential and will not be shared with any group. Please fill the form in one sitting.

University: _____ Date: _____

Name	Dept./ College	Level of Education (Please specify)

Tel/ Cell#: _____ Email: _____

Age (Please tick 1 box)			Gender		Form Filling Time	
16-21years	22-25 years	above	Male	Female	Start	End

1.The government's decision to lift ban on student union is: ☐ Timely ☐ undue

2.Are you in favour of student politics? ☐ Yes ☐ No

2.1 Give three key reasons for your opinion above (Bullet points only):

(A)
(B)
(C)

3.Students should individually take part in national politics & political movements?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

4.Students should collectivity take part in national politics & political movements?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

5.Student politics should be limited to the educational institutions?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

6.Student organizations should be allowed to affiliate with political parties?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

7.Political parties should have their student wings?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

8.If a teacher and student are from the same political party, it has positive effect on the educational institution?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

Signature: _____



9. Student unions should be elected:

☐ Directly ☐ By Departmental Societies

10. Have you ever been an activist, member or representative of a student organization?

☐ Yes ☐ No

11. Student organizations properly declare their sources of funding and assets?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

12. Do you have any opinion about student politics that was before 1984?

☐ Highly Negative ☐ Negative ☐ No Opinion ☐ Positive ☐ Highly Positive

13. It is important that the university administration imposes a strict Code of Conduct on student organizations to ensure that there is no violence in campus?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

14. Possession of weapons within university campus is:

☐ Normal ☐ Inappropriate ☐ Bad ☐ Criminal

15. Those student organizations should be banned which promote sectarian, religious, gender, caste and/or racial discrimination by their literature and actions?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

16. There should be minimum reserved quota for girl students in the main body of university student union?

☐ No ☐ 33 Percent ☐ 50 Percent ☐ 55 Percent

17. Based on academic performance, there should be minimum criteria for those students who are interested to contest the student union elections i.e. minimum marks, attendance, etc.

☐ Yes ☐ No

18. Students should have open access to information about university funds and those allocated to the student unions?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know

19. What should be objectives of a university student union? Please rank the following points according to their importance:

Political Training	Leadership Development	Student Welfare	Culture of Peace	Quality Education
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Objective 1:	
Objective 2:	
Objective 3:	
Objective 4:	
Objective 5:	

Signature: _____



Annexure 2. Pakistan: Enrollment in Public Universities (General Education)

#	Name of University	Masters		M.Phil		Ph.D		PGD		Gender		Total Enrollment	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Number	Percentage
1	Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan	2018	2281	248	196	152	26	275	43	2693	2546	5239	7.18%
2	Fatima Jinnah Women University Rawalpindi	0	1986	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1986	1986	2.72%
3	Forman Christian College, Lahore	89	156	0	0	0	0	0	0	89	156	245	0.33%
4	Gomal University, D.I.Khan	1274	475	73	13	112	8	85	10	1544	506	2050	2.81%
5	Government College University, Lahore	542	625	213	304	97	42	29	0	881	971	1852	2.53%
6	Government College University, Faisalabad	512	586	68	39	11	5	0	0	591	630	1221	1.67%
7	Gujrat University, Gujrat	2699 (All Students including under-grads)											
8	Hazara University Dhodial, Mansehra	460	173	77	35	8	2	0	0	545	210	755	1.03%
9	Islamia University, Bahawalpur	1676	1876	1280	98	66	14	0	0	1924	1988	3912	5.36%
10	Karakuram International University, Gilgit	234	198	0	0	0	0	0	0	234	198	432	0.59%
11	Kimaird College for Women, Lahore	0	386	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	386	386	0.52%
12	Lahore College for Women University Lahore	0	1072	0	0	0	47	0	0	0	1119	1119	1.53%
13	Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad	1779	1263	417	433	566	214	45	10	2861	1920	4781	6.55%
14	Sardar Bahadur Khan University, Quetta	0	356	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	356	356	0.48%
15	Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur	737	301	55	12	28	3	0	0	820	316	1136	1.55%
16	University of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muzaffarabad	699	710	38	16	7	2	12	0	756	728	1484	2.03%
17	University of Balochistan, Quetta	1918	612	127	58	61	6	0	0	2106	676	2782	3.81%
18	University of Karachi, Karachi	2137	4040	1355	1111	291	282	161	116	3944	5549	9493	13.01%
19	University of Malakand, Malakand	1570 (All Students including under-grads)											
20	University of Peshawar, Pesahwar	3800	2750	163	72	35	8	0	0	3998	2830	6828	9.36%
21	University of Sargodha, Sargodha	1658	1335	13	9	39	6	0	0	1710	1350	3060	4.19%
22	University of Sindh, Jamshoro	3213	1612	131	39	29	12	150	100	3523	1763	5286	7.24%
23	University of the Punjab, Lahore	6833	5690	256	235	269	203	462	322	7820	6450	14270	19.56%
	Total	29579	28483	3470	2670	1771	880	1219	601	36651	32634	72942	100%

Compiled on the basis of provisional statistics (2005-06) prepared by the Higher Education Commission. However these have also been improvised by recent data of the individual universities from their official websites. Gender-wise distribution of enrollment excludes two universities as illustrated in the above-chart.

Annexure 3. Sample Size of the Survey (Exact)

#	Name of University	Masters		M.Phil		Ph.D		PGD		Total Students	Dept. Wise Average	Required # of Respondents
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
1	Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan	2018	2281	248	196	152	26	275	43	5239	261.95	52.39
2	Fatima Jinnah Women University Rawalpindi	0	1986	0	0	0	0	0	0	1986	99.3	19.86
3	Forman Christian College, Lahore	89	156	0	0	0	0	0	0	245	16.33333	3.266667
4	Gomal University, D.I.Khan	1274	475	73	13	112	8	85	10	2050	136.6667	27.33333
5	Government College University, Lahore	542	625	213	304	97	42	29	0	1852	123.4667	24.69333
6	Government College University, Faisalabad	512	586	68	39	11	5	0	0	1221	1.1.75	20.35
7	Gujrat University, Gujrat	2699 (All Students including under-grads)									134.95	26.99
8	Hazara University Dhodial, Mansehra	460	173	77	35	8	2	0	0	755	75.5	15.1
9	Islamia University, Bahawalpur	1676	1876	128	98	66	14	0	0	3912	195.6	39.12
10	Karakoram International University, Gilgit	234	198	0	0	0	0	0	0	432	43.2	8.64
11	Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore	0	386	0	0	0	0	0	0	386	32.16667	6.433333
12	Lahore College for Women University Lahore	0	1072	0	0	0	47	0	0	1119	55.95	11.19
13	Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad	1779	1263	417	433	566	214	45	10	4781	478.1	95.62
14	Sardar Bahadur Khan University, Quetta	0	356	0	0	0	0	0	0	356	35.6	7.12
15	Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur	737	301	55	12	28	3	0	0	1136	56.8	11.36
16	University of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muzaffarabad	699	710	38	16	7	2	12	0	1484	123.6667	24.73333
17	University of Balochistan, Quetta	1918	612	127	58	61	6	0	0	2782	185.4667	37.09333
18	University of Karachi, Karachi	2137	4040	1355	1111	291	282	161	116	9493	474.65	94.93
19	University of Malakand, Malakand	1570 (All Students including under-grads)									78.5	15.7
20	University of Peshawar, Pesahwar	3800	2750	163	72	35	8	0	0	6828	341.4	68.28
21	University of Sargodha, Sargodha	1658	1335	13	9	39	6	0	0	3060	255	51
22	University of Sindh, Jamshoro	3213	1612	131	39	29	12	150	100	5286	352.4	70.48
23	University of the Punjab, Lahore	6833	5690	256	235	269	203	462	322	14270	713.5	142.7
	Total	29579	28483	3470	2670	1771	880	1219	601	72942		874.3833
Women-only Universities												
I	Fatima Jinnah Women University Rawalpindi	0	1986	0	0	0	0	0	0	1986	99.3	19.86
II	Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore	0	386	0	0	0	0	0	0	386	32.16667	6.433333
II	Lahore College for Women University Lahore	0	1072	0	0	0	47	0	0	1119	55.95	11.19
IV	Sardar Bahadur Khan University, Quetta	0	356	0	0	0	0	0	0	356	35.6	7.12
	Sib-total	0	3800	0	0	0	47	0	0	3847	223.0167	44.60333



Annexure 4. Growth of Universities/ Degree Awarding Institutions in Public & Private Sector (1947-48 to 2005-06).

Year	Universities				Degree Awarding Institutions			
	Public		Private		Public		Private	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
1947-48	2	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1950-51	4	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1959-60	5	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1960-61	5	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1961-62	6	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1963-64	6	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1964-65	7	-	0	-	1	-	0	-
1965-66	7	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1970-71	8	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1971-72	8	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1972-73	8	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1973-74	9	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1974-75	12	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1975-76	12	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1976-77	15	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1977-78	15	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1978-79	15	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1979-80	15	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1980-81	19	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1981-82	19	-	0	-	2	-	0	-
1982-83	19	-	1	-	2	-	0	-
1983-84	19	-	1	-	2	-	0	-
1984-85	19	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1985-86	19	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1986-87	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1987-88	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1988-89	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1989-90	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1990-91	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1991-92	20	-	2	-	3	-	0	-
1992-93	21	-	3	-	3	-	0	-
1993-94	22	-	3	-	3	-	0	-
1994-95	25	-	4	-	3	-	2	-
1995-96	25	-	7	-	3	-	3	-
1996-97	27	-	7	-	3	-	4	-
1997-98	27	-	10	1	3	-	5	-
1998-99	28	1	10	1	3	-	5	-
1999-00	31	2	13	1	4	-	6	-
2000-01	32	2	14	1	5	-	8	-
2001-02	36	2	20	1	5	-	13	-
2002-03	45	2	31	1	7	1	13	-
2003-04	47	3	34	1	8	1	17	-
2004-05*	47	3	32	1	8	1	17	-
2004-05	47	3	34	1	8	1	19	-
2005-06**	49	4	36	1	8	1	18	-

* DHA Suffa University Karachi, Nazeer Hussain University withdrawn from HEC list, due to lack of physical, financial & academic infrastructure.

** Institute of South Asia Upgraded to University in July 2005. Kinnaird College for Women shifted from Public to Private sector.....Note: The years before 1970-71, where there is no change in the data, is not given.

Source: Higher Education Commission, Statistical Booklet

Student politics like many democratic issues in Pakistan is a source of contested concern, polarization and sharp divisions. Adopting an accessible approach, the National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, provides a variety of reliable and primary data to set fresh standards of looking at the student politics and unions.

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, is a highly original account and all those who are interested to think on the issue will be affected by its findings informed by responses of 909 students of all 23 public universities that impart general education.

With a scientifically designed 5 percent sample size of the total students of focuses universities, it is the largest ever consultative study on student politics from the perspectives of students.

It stimulates stakeholders to reflect upon ill-informed analysis of student politics and unions both from substantive and generational standpoints.

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, compels us to re-think of how we have understood student politics in Pakistan. The survey finds that the resentment of students against campus politics does not automatically translates into de-politicization of the students rather they envision a politics of thriving student unions, which work to enhance quality and accessible education unlike a politics that has been previously determined by political affiliation, ideological loyalties and personal interests at the micro-level universe of Pakistani universities.

According to study, the government's recent decision to lift ban on student unions is welcomed by majority of the students, who also favour limiting student politics within boundaries of the educational institutions. They hugely stand for delinking student organizations with the political parties. They support indirect elections of student unions by the departmental societies and the imposition of a strict Code of Conduct for regulating student politics and ensuring peace; where possession of weapons is a criminal act and all those organizations are banned which promote sectarian, religious, gender, caste and/or racial discrimination by their literature and actions. Based on academic performance, there also should be minimum eligibility criteria for the contesting candidates and open access to information on funds of the student unions and universities is a must, the majority thinks.

To reflect their present-day reality, 63.6 % students seek quota for women in student unions.

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, also thoroughly details out recommendations for the policy makers in higher education, government and the universities to reflect aspirations of the students into practice of the prospective student politics in Pakistan.

The National Survey on Student Politics, 2008, is a useful and historical document that may determine the shape of a new student politics in Pakistan. It has been conceived and produced by BARGAD, which is a Gujranwala-based national youth forum working since 1997. The mission of BARGAD is to promote peace, justice and cooperation among literate youth of Pakistan through curricular and co-curricular activities. With a vast volunteer base throughout the country, BARGAD combines personal and professional development of students with rights-based approaches to activism for a socially developed Pakistan. BARGAD can be contacted at:

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