

Chapter V

POLITICS¹ AND THE TEACHER-STUDENT RELATION

As has been shown in the preceding chapter, teacher-student relationship is shaped in the background of teachers' total behaviour. The same theme remaining intact, the present chapter is devoted to dealing with the political behaviour of teachers and the impact it leaves upon the relation.

Political Attitudes

Political behaviour of teachers is found to play an important role in forming the attitudes of students and reinforcing those already formed.

As the table 5:1 shows, 71.0 per cent of the sample college teachers are found to support one or other of the many Indian political parties while a 'few' teachers, (approximately, 25.0 per cent as shown by the table 5:2) in every college are actively involved in politics enlisting political support to their respective political parties from people including students. The relevant tables are, respectively, the following : 5:1 and 5:2.

Table 5:1

Attitudes of teachers towards political party : Whether they support a particular political party.

Colleges		Yes	No	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Teachers	10 (76.9)	3 (23.1)	-	13
UC	Teachers	17 (80.9)	4 (19.1)	-	21
GS ₁	Teachers	11 (68.7)	5 (31.3)	-	16
P ₂	Teachers	6 (75.0)	2 (25.0)	-	8
GS ₂	Teachers	6 (66.7)	3 (33.3)	-	9
G	Teachers	13 (68.4)	6 (31.6)	-	19
N	Teachers	8 (57.2)	6 (42.8)	-	14
Total		71 (71.0)	29 (29.0)	-	100

The table cited above (5:1) shows that 71.0 per cent of teachers support a particular political party while the table cited below (5:2) shows that 69.0 per cent of teachers hold that 'few' teachers are active supporters of one or other of the Indian political parties.

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Table 5:2

Attitudes of teachers towards active political support : Whether they are active supporters of one or other political party.

Colleges		All	Many	Few	None	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Teachers	-	1 (7.7)	12 (92.3)	-	-	13
UC	Teachers	1 (4.8)	4 (19.0)	16 (76.2)	-	-	21
GS ₁	Teachers	-	7 (43.8)	9 (56.2)	-	-	16
P ₂	Teachers	-	1 (12.5)	6 (75.0)	1 (12.5)	-	8
GS ₂	Teachers	-	-	8 (88.9)	1 (11.1)	-	9
G	Teachers	-	1 (5.3)	11 (57.9)	5 (26.3)	2 (10.5)	19
M	Teachers	-	-	7 (50.0)	6 (42.9)	1 (7.1)	14
Total		1 (1.0)	14 (14.0)	69 (69.0)	13 (13.0)	3 (3.0)	100

It is easy for students to know the political affiliation of those teachers who are politically active. It is not difficult for students to know the political affiliation of even those teachers who are not politically active (but have got definite political parties of their choice). This is facilitated by the fact that those teachers, though not politically active, consciously or unconsciously, in times of their lectures in the class room or in times of their talks to students outside the class room or in the background of a particular situation, make known their support, through some hasty comments, for a particular political party. Students of the present decade, politically more conscious than their predecessors, do not find it difficult to know the political affiliation of their teachers by their utterances.⁴

Related to the active politician teachers is the fact that they hardly find time or mind to devote to studies or students. They have to be busy with the myriad political works assigned to them by their respective political leaders. As a consequence such teachers are found to be uncommitted teachers. Students are asked whether the uncommitted teachers are more concerned with politics than with serious studies and teaching.⁵ 57.8 per cent of the sample students have given the affirmative responses. Table 5:3 shows it.

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Table 5:3

Students' views : Whether the uncommitted teachers are more concerned with politics than with serious studies and teaching.

Colleges		Yes	No	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Students	16 (80.0)	4 (20.0)	-	20
UC	Students	42 (87.5)	6 (12.5)	-	48
GS ₁	Students	30 (83.3)	6 (16.7)	-	36
P ₂	Students	8 (30.8)	18 (69.2)	-	26
GS ₂	Students	30 (65.2)	10 (21.7)	6 (13.1)	46
G	Students	22 (31.4)	42 (60.0)	6 (8.6)	70
H	Students	8 (33.3)	16 (66.7)	-	24
Total		156 (57.8)	102 (37.8)	12 (4.4)	270

Active politician teachers apart, teachers, in general, are no longer politically neutral. This fact encourages students to be politically involved. Students feel justified in their political activities when they find their teachers following (actively or otherwise)

one political party or the other. Table 5:4 shows that teachers' political opinions (expressed through their partisan behaviour) ~~are~~ influence their students (evident from students' partisan behaviour).

Table 5:4

Attitudes of teachers towards students : Whether students are influenced by the political opinion of their teachers.

Colleges		Yes	No	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Teachers	13 (100.0)	-	-	13
UC	Teachers	17 (80.9)	4 (19.1)	-	21
GS ₁	Teachers	8 (50.0)	8 (50.0)	-	16
P ₂	Teachers	5 (62.5)	3 (37.5)	-	8
GS ₂	Teachers	8 (88.9)	1 (11.1)	-	9
O	Teachers	10 (52.6)	6 (31.6)	3 (15.8)	19
N	Teachers	11 (78.6)	3 (21.4)	-	14
Total		72 (72.0)	25 (25.0)	3 (3.0)	100

Table 5:4 shows that 72.0 per cent of teachers have given the affirmative responses to the question whether teachers' political opinion influences their students.

Political orientation has set in students as well and this is manifest from the table (5:5) given below. 60.0 per cent of students have given the affirmative responses to the question whether they support a particular political party.

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Table 5:5

Students' views : Whether they support a particular political party.

Colleges		Yes	No	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Students	20 (100.0)	-	-	20
UC	Students	34 (70.8)	14 (29.2)	-	48
GS ₁	Students	24 (66.4)	12 (33.3)	-	36
P ₂	Students	22 (84.6)	4 (15.4)	-	26
GS ₂	Students	14 (30.4)	32 (69.6)	-	46
G	Students	44 (62.9)	26 (37.1)	-	70
M	Students	4 (16.7)	20 (83.3)	-	24
Total		162 (60.0)	108 (40.0)	-	270

When both the teachers and students are, more or less, politically involved, politics, hereafter, offers the cementing bond between teachers and students,⁸ of course, under the canopy of the same political party. In this context it is often complained by a section of politically passive teachers that teachers with political connection are more cared for by students (of course with a definite political orientation). The reason is obvious. Majority of students are found eager to find a job after some how passing their examinations. Such students find a politically active teacher or one some how or other, connected with a government, more helpful in their pursuit of a job.

In the background of the tables 5:4 and 5:5, it may safely be said that political views of teachers strengthen those of their students

— when the students' views are already formed — and influence them into accepting teachers' views — when the students' views are not formed. Students from villages with illiterate parents are more susceptible to the teachers' influence than those who come from urban areas with literate parents. It is found that students of the urban areas have, in most cases, already got their political orientation in favour or against a particular political party before⁹ they come to college. Many, if not all, of the students from villages, come to college with a vague political opinion. The ~~the~~ vagueness is gradually cleared under the influence of teachers of their choice and others including senior students with definite political doctrination.

Political Guidance

Politically active teachers, loyal to a particular political party, are usually found to lead publicly or privately, by their advices etc., those students who also pay allegiance to the same political party. Now, this 'leading operation' of a section of students by a section of teachers is effected more in private than in public. On the surface, it is not, almost, understood. Students are found to associate with teachers holding political views opposed to theirs. Teachers too are apparently found not discriminating between sections of students holding political views opposed to one another. However cordial they may appear, on the surface, they — students and teachers alike — are very much conscious of their political division, under the surface. The political division or difference between sections of students and teachers come out in the open where there is some crisis in the campus. There is political

grouping among teachers.¹⁰ And the political grouping among teachers encourages political grouping among students. Table 5:6 shows it. A new relation grows up between students and teachers -- political relation, in lieu of, teacher-student relation.

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Table 5:6

Attitudes of teachers towards grouping among teachers: whether it encourages groupism among students.

Colleges		Yes	No	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Teachers	13 (100.0)	-	-	13
UC	Teachers	17 (80.9)	4 (19.1)	-	21
GS ₁	Teachers	13 (81.3)	2 (12.5)	1 (6.2)	16
P ₂	Teachers	3 (37.5)	4 (50.0)	1 (12.5)	8
GS ₂	Teachers	7 (77.8)	2 (22.2)	-	9
G	Teachers	10 (52.6)	5 (26.3)	4 (21.1)	19
M	Teachers	9 (64.3)	5 (35.7)	-	14
Total		72 (72.0)	22 (22.0)	6 (6.0)	100

Political Factions & Students' Union

In the colleges of North Bengal, the dominant political factions are :

1. Chhatra Parishad (C. P.)
2. Students' Federation of India (S. F. I.) and
3. Progressive Students' Union (P. S. U.) .

As is well known, C. P. represents Congress Party, S. F. I. represents Communist Party of India (Marxist) [C.P.I.(M)] and P.S.U. represents Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.). Students' Unions are run by either C. P. or S.F.I or P.S.U. or some times, by S.F.I. and P.S.U. combined.

When a particular students' union comes to power, a particular section of teachers is found active in advising or helping otherwise the students' union from a distance. The students' union concerned has, of course, a good rapport with the corresponding political party¹² outside the college. The pro-union teachers try to ensure, through their activities, mostly under a cover, here and there, now and then, the repeated successes in the annual union elections.¹³

Students' union in a college is an extremely important machinery for a political party, mainly for the purpose of extending the political party's spheres of influence among the young students and through them among the general masses.¹⁴ Importance being attached to students' union in a college may be gauged from the fanfare (not less spectacular than that in case of a general election) in which a students union election is held. The students' union plays a crucial role in politicising the teacher-student relation. Occasionally, it is found to be responsible for the acrimonious relation between teachers and students for it gives rise to opposing groups among students as well as among teachers. Again, on occasions, it is found to be at the root of an attack on a teacher or a principal or a clash between opposing groups of students with severe consequences.

May the students' union be done away with?¹⁵ It apparently serves no other function than that of political recruitment of cadres or finding new supporters for a political party and, in the process, giving rise to myriad problems for teachers, students and others involved in imparting and receiving education. The original purpose¹⁶ of students' union has long disappeared from the perview of teachers, students and others associated with it. This is the opinion of a small apolitical section of teachers but politicisation has penetrated to such a depth among teachers and others that the majority (72.0 per cent) of teachers support the continuance of the union with all its evils. They still hold the view that it is necessary to safeguard the interests of students. Table 5:7 makes it clearer.

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Table 5:7

Attitudes of teachers towards students' union : Whether it is necessary to safeguard the interests of students.

Colleges		Yes	No	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Teachers	9 (69.2)	4 (30.8)	-	13
UC	Teachers	17 (80.9)	4 (19.1)	-	21
GS ₁	Teachers	14 (87.5)	2 (12.5)	-	16
P ₂	Teachers	6 (75.0)	2 (25.0)	-	8
GS ₂	Teachers	7 (77.8)	2 (22.2)	-	9
G	Teachers	13 (68.4)	6 (31.6)	-	19
M	Teachers	6 (42.9)	8 (57.2)	-	14
Total		72 (72.0)	28 (28.0)	-	100

Political Relation in lieu of
Teacher-Student Relation

The grouping among teachers and students, it is clear, is strengthened by the fact of their common political faith. The political bond between them becomes strong to stronger, from year to year, as they know one another more and more. Relation between such teachers and students is unique in the sense that it is based not upon respect for teachers or love for students but upon a common political faith of teacher and student. Teacher-student relationship is here replaced by the relation of political 'dadas' and political 'brothers'¹⁸. Political 'dadas' need not be good teachers. Political 'brothers' need not be good students either. What is needed is the commitment to the common political ideology.

Political 'dadas' are more influential among teachers while political 'brothers' are more influential among students. Importance of political 'dadas' and political 'brothers' is magnified by leaps and bounds when their political party is in power.

On occasions, political qualification is found to be more important than the educational qualification of a teacher or a student. A good teacher is not counted much because of his political deficiency. Serious students respect him. But the number of serious students is very small. A good teacher can help only good students or who are serious about their studies. Teaching and learning are intimately connected. Similarly good teachers and good learners are closely

related. But when majority of students like only to pass, some how or other, their examinations and to get to clerical jobs or those of primary school teachers, they find politician teachers or teachers with connection with government, state or centre, more helpful than the really good teachers without any definite political backing.

II

Political Grouping

Let me now turn to grouping¹⁹ among teachers — mainly a political grouping — and its impact upon students. Political grouping among teachers, as is already clear, greatly contributes to the politicisation of the teacher-student relation.

Teachers, more or less, in every college, are divided into a number of groups mostly along the different political lines.²⁰ Teachers with identical political views are found to be grouped together. On different issues, the group character makes its debut when teachers are found to be divided in different opposing camps, failing to flaunt a united stand. The relevant table is table 5:8. 70.0 per cent of teachers have given affirmative responses to the question whether teachers are divided into groups.

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Table 5:8

Attitudes of teachers towards grouping among teachers : Whether they are divided into groups.

Colleges		Yes	No	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Teachers	13 (100.0)	-	-	13
UC	Teachers	18 (85.7)	3 (14.3)	-	21
GS ₁	Teachers	12 (75.0)	4 (25.0)	-	16
P ₂	Teachers	3 (37.5)	5 (62.5)	-	8
GS ₂	Teachers	9 (100.0)	-	-	9
G	Teachers	11 (57.9)	8 (42.1)	-	19
M	Teachers	4 (28.6)	10 (71.4)	-	14
Total		70 (70.0)	30 (30.0)	-	100

The above table (5:8) shows it clearly that teachers, in every college, are, more or less, divided into different groups. Situation is such that teachers have to come under one group or other, willingly or unwillingly for teachers in no-group have to suffer.

Students' views as well may be looked into. The relevant table is 5 : 9.

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Table 5:9

Students' views : Whether their teachers are divided into a number of groups.

Colleges		Yes	No	No Reply	Total
F ₁	Students	20 (100.0)	-	-	20
UC	Students	48 (100.0)	-	-	48
GS ₁	Students	32 (88.9)	4 (11.1)	-	36
F ₂	Students	10 (38.5)	16 (61.5)	-	26
GS ₂	Students	10 (21.7)	36 (78.3)	-	46
G	Students	42 (60.0)	28 (40.0)	-	70
M	Students	12 (50.0)	12 (50.0)	-	24
Total		174 (64.4)	96 (35.6)	-	270

Table 5:9 shows that students are quite aware of the fact that their teachers are divided into a number of groups. The very awareness of it encourages students to develop parallel groups among themselves. Politically active of the students generally take the lead.

Bases of Grouping

Now, the pertinent question is what may be the bases of grouping among teachers or what is the most important base of grouping ? Table 5:10 provides the answer.

Table 5:10

Teachers' views : Bases of grouping among teachers.

Colleges	Identical political opinion	Regionalism	Caste	Principal's discriminatory attitudes.	Similar temporary	Same age	Language and subject	No Reply	Total
P ₁ Teachers	13 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	-	13 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	13
UC Teachers	16 (76.2)	2 (9.5)	-	14 (66.7)	8 (38.0)	2 (9.5)	-	2 (9.5)	21
GS ₁ Teachers	15 (93.8)	-	-	2 (12.5)	3 (18.8)	-	-	-	16
P ₂ Teachers	1 (12.5)	-	-	-	1 (12.5)	-	-	6 (75.0)	8
GS ₂ Teachers	6 (66.7)	1 (11.1)	-	7 (77.8)	3 (33.3)	-	-	2 (22.2)	9
G Teachers	7 (36.8)	5 (26.3)	2 (10.5)	10 (52.6)	9 (47.4)	-	-	5 (26.3)	19
M Teachers	-	-	1 (7.1)	-	1 (7.2)	1 (7.1)	1 (7.1)	10 (71.5)	14
Total	58 (58.0)	21 (21.0)	3 (3.0)	46 (46.0)	25 (25.0)	3 (3.0)	1 (1.0)	25 (25.0)	100

The main bases of grouping among teachers, as shown by the table 5:10, are, in order of preference, the following :

1. Identical political opinion
2. Principal's discriminatory attitudes towards teachers
3. Similar temperament
4. Regionalism
5. Same age and caste, and lastly,
6. Language and subject.

As it is already clear, identical political opinion of teachers comes to occupy the first place followed by principal's discriminatory attitudes, similar temperament etc. Principal's discriminatory attitude is but a different expression of political division among teachers. Pro-principal teachers and anti-principal teachers are not the permanent sets. They change with the change of state politics. Pro-state government teachers are usually the pro-principal teachers and anti-state government teachers are usually the anti-principal teachers. Pro-principal teachers generally, give the principal the necessary counsels and the principal, generally, acts upon the counsels in running the college.

Table 5:11 shows that teachers are divided into two opposite camps over the principal. One camp likes him and another dislikes him.

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Table 5:11

Attitudes of teachers towards principal

Colleges		Like him	Dislike him	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Teachers	5 (38.5)	8 (61.5)	-	13
UC	Teachers	1 (4.8)	20 (95.2)	-	21
GS ₁	Teachers	13 (81.3)	3 (18.7)	-	16
P ₂	Teachers	6 (75.0)	2 (25.0)	-	8
GS ₂	Teachers	2 (22.2)	7 (77.8)	-	9
G	Teachers	11 (57.9)	7 (36.8)	1 (5.3)	19
M	Teachers	9 (64.3)	-	5 (35.7)	14
Total		47 (47.0)	47 (47.0)	6 (6.0)	100

It is easily imagined that teachers who have strong dislike for the principal also vehemently dislike the pro-principal teachers. And this makes inevitable a clash of interests between teachers over the principal and the situation in the college gets tense and often explodes into unpleasant scenes throwing teachers further down in the esteem of their students.

Standing between the two warring groups of teachers, principal, occasionally acts without principles. He does it more on the spur from others than on his own initiative. No principal is happy with his teacher colleagues. Many of them always want the principal out (of his seat). Principal has to fight against the odds to continue to stay on his saddle which is not at all comfortable these days when students are

recalcitrant and teachers are discontent.

Pro-principal anti-principal grouping does not remain confined to teachers alone. It extends far beyond, to non-teaching staff,²⁵ among others connected with the college. Table 5:12 makes it clear.

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Table 5 : 12

Attitudes of non-teaching staff towards the principal

Colleges		Like him	Dislike him	No Reply	Total
P ₁	Non-teaching Staff	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	-	5
UC	Non-teaching Staff	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	-	5
GS ₁	Non-teaching Staff	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	-	5
P ₂	Non-teaching Staff	1 (25.0)	3 (75.0)	-	4
GS ₂	Non-teaching Staff	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	-	5
Q	Non-teaching Staff	-	1 (100.0)	-	1
M	Non-teaching Staff	4 (80.0)	-	1 (20.0)	5
Total		13 (43.3)	16 (53.3)	1 (3.4)	30

Less Important Bases

Efforts may now be made to deal with the less important bases of grouping (as brought out by the table 5:10) among teachers. They will serve to point out some reasons for the increasingly disrespectful attitudes of students towards their teachers.

Next to identical political opinion and principal's discriminatory attitudes, may be placed, in order of preferences shown by teachers, temperamental grouping among teachers. Those who have similar tastes or temperaments are found to group together. Political temperament is not ruled out. Similar political temperaments occasionally outweigh age etc. It is not true that those who are temperamentally similar and under a group may not have different ages.

Next to similar temperament, comes regionalism. Regionalism foments grouping among teachers. Though openly, many do not admit it, but in their utterances and attitudes, it is often revealed. Regionalism, mainly, divides teachers into two groups : (1) Those from Calcutta or South Bengal and (2) those from North Bengal.

The regional feeling of South Bengal and North Bengal mainly centres round the University of Calcutta and the University of North Bengal. Those who have passed their M.A./M.Sc./M.Com. from the University of Calcutta are under a group and those who have passed (their M.A./M.Sc. M.Com.) from the University of North Bengal are under another group. One who, by residential qualifications, belongs to North Bengal but, by educational qualifications, to Calcutta or South Bengal, is surely included into the latter group. It is a dominant feeling among those from the University of Calcutta or South Bengal that they are, intellectually, superior to those from the University of North Bengal or North Bengal Zone.

Next to regionalism, (in order of preference) may be placed same age and caste²⁷. Let me deal with age first and caste later.

Teachers, more or less, of the apparently same age are grouped together. The two opposed age-groups — the old and the young — hardly escape attention of any. These are the two broad age-groups²⁸. Roughly, those who are below forty years of age may come under the young group and those who are above forty years of age may come under the old group. The old are often found to air their dislike for the young, their tastes manners and styles. Some of the old are such vocal in airing their disapproval for the non-traditional young so far their dresses etc. are concerned. The young-teachers are also found to be critical of the old mainly because of their tradition-bound outlooks. There is always a gap between the two — the generation gap.

The over-all picture is that caste seems to play no role in fomenting grouping of teachers though 10.5 per cent of a government college and 7.1 per cent of a missionary college teachers have reported in favour of caste playing some role in fomenting grouping. Majority of teachers in colleges in North Bengal are Bengalees, with Bengali as their mother-tongue. Again, majority of teachers are Hindoos.

The last and really the least²⁹, come the language and subject. It is reported by 7.1 per cent of a missionary college-teachers. In a missionary college, official medium of instruction is English though all the teachers and students have not English as their mother-tongue. There are some non-Indian fathers as teachers and they have English as

their mother-tongue. Of the other teachers (so far Darjeeling-based missionary college is concerned) some speaking in Bengali, some in Hindi and the rest speak in Nepali. This is also true in regard to students. Hence language inevitably plays a role, at least, in this college, in fomenting grouping among teachers and students.

So far the subject is concerned, those who teach English and those who have fluency in English are supposed to enjoy greater prestige over other teachers. Missionary background of the college is important in the present context.

Pre-take-over Post-take-over Grouping : In addition to the bases of grouping until now listed and elaborated, another is found to prevail in a college^(UC) not mentioned in the table 5:10. It may be looked into.

It is a 'pre-take-over' and 'post-take-over' grouping among teachers.³⁰ Teachers of 'post-take-over' group feel that they are, in terms of academic achievements etc., superior to those of the pre-take-over group. The claim of the post-take-over group is not found to be tenable.³¹ But, what is clear is that teachers of the post-take-over group are swayed by a feeling of pride that they are appointed to a university college claimed to be at par with the university while the teachers of the pre-take-over group are not appointed, straightway, to the university-college, but, are elevated from their status of a private college teachers to that of a university college teachers. The discriminatory attitudes of a private college teachers and those of a universit

college teachers are once again made clear, but, strikingly, in the same college.

Most Important Base : It is again to be noted that all these groups are easily over-shadowed by the main groups -- the political groups. These are small circles within the large ones -- the political ones. These are groups within the groups. In times of crisis battle-lines are drawn along the respective political lines forgetting all the secondary differences. Primary differences are the political differences.

III

All-Pervasive Politics

Politics has pervaded,³² it is clear, every layer of a college. When teachers, non-teachers and those³³ on the Governing Body/College Council are steeped into politics, willy-nilly, students who spend many hours of a day with them for a definite period of time, most vital and formative to them, are bound to be influenced by the all-pervasive politics that divides them and erodes their strength. When students feel and find that their teachers are divided into a number of groups, mostly on political lines, they too take their own lines of approach in their relation to their teachers -- they are divided into corresponding group with the inevitable consequences of being, occasionally, drawn into strife and struggle on narrow interests over small issues and teachers

have to remain as passive onlookers as they have no moral strength to bear upon their students.

Students holding the same political views as their teachers, are friendly and obedient to their teachers while students holding contrary political views are neither friendly nor obedient to their teachers. Political difference between students and teachers is often a cause for trouble inside or outside a class room.³⁴ A good teacher but with a definite political bias may face troubles when he meets students holding political views contrary to his. But a bad teacher also with a definite political bias passes off undisturbed when he meets students holding the same political views as his.

Notes and References

1. By 'politics' is understood (in the context of the present chapter and wherever the word is used in the present thesis) to include political activities, either on the part of a teacher or a student leading to the expanding of political recruitment of cadres from people including young students at the under-graduate college level. Expression like 'state-politics' is understood to refer to political party government at the state level.

2. In explaining the table 5:1 further, it may be added that in table 5:1 the lowest responses under 'Yes' column have come from the teachers of college M. This is a missionary college. The very missionary background may be responsible for it. Teachers here may have no bias for any particular political party. They may vote, in times of election, not by political parties but by their performances.
3. A close study of the two tables (5:1 and 5:2) may bring out the link connecting them. In the first table, effort has been made to know whether teachers support, without being active, any particular political party, not necessarily all teachers supporting one and the same party. Some teachers, for example, may be voting for Congress (I) for many years in different elections without any change in their support while some other teachers may be voting for CPI (M) for many years without any change in their support. It means that they have particular motives to vote for. They do not vote this year one party and next year another party or, in other words, they do not vote by performances but by parties. It further means that they have biases for political parties of their choice. But these teachers do not normally have any active role in furthering the political party-influence of their choice. The main difference between the two tables is that while the former is meant to focus upon the biases of teachers for certain parties of their choice, the latter is meant to focus upon the biases for as well as their active role in furthering political party influence of certain parties. In table 5:1, 71.0% of teachers have shown their biases for particular political parties without being active while in table 5:2, 69.0% of teachers have shown that only few teachers are active in furthering the political party influence of their choice.
4. A teacher in Economics in course of his lectures on cotton textile blurted out "your Gandhi 'fandi'." The very use of the suffix 'fandi' denoting the teacher's dislike or disrespect for the late Mahatma Gandhi (Father of Nation) brought on foot a few students from the back benches in the class room. They protested against the (conscious or unconscious) use of "Gandhi-fandi". It was clear from the utterance that the teacher was a supporter of a leftist political party and students protesting were against the political party of the teacher. The whole class could know, if they did not know it before, that the teacher was opposed to the Congress Party or any political party following Gandhi's political philosophy.
5. "The teacher who is not properly motivated, who does not want to improve his qualifications and keep up-to-date, naturally turns to easy money-making and academic politics. Academic politics is his path to self-advancement and he exploits kin, caste, region and other ties to further his interests. Influential and troublesome students are cultivated by him. The net result is a fouling up of the academic atmosphere" — Brinivas, M. N. "our Angry Young Men : Troubled Social Background" in Singhvi, L. M. ed. Youth Unrest : Conflict of Generations (1972) P. 103 .

6. In table 5:3, low responses under 'Yes' column have come from the students of P₂, G and M .

So far P₂ is concerned, it may be recalled that this is a Commerce college and large scale private tuition is indulged by its teachers. Teachers here are more busy earning money by private tuition and otherwise. Play of politics is less here. Teachers are, in our sense, uncommitted but they are not so much concerned with politics or politics may be subservient to earning money.

So far G and M are concerned, the former is a government college and the latter a missionary college. Because of the very managerial backgrounds, teachers may be less concerned with politics. Teachers here are more careerist than committed to teaching.

The above stated reasons may be responsible for the less responses.

7. Low responses under column 'Yes' of table 5:5 from the students of GS₂ and M may be explained. GS₂ (a government-sponsored college) is a women's college. Women in India are mostly shy of politics. This fact may explain the low responses from the female students of this college.

So far college M (a missionary college) is concerned, the very missionary background (with more emphasis on religion) may make its students politically less assertive and this may explain the low responses from its students.

8. " The teacher-student relationship becomes a political equation rather than an academic and spiritual bond. The students seek rewards through political pressures and personal loyalty, rather than hard work and merit. The teachers seek easy life and are glad to avoid the drudgery of research and reading. They indulge in the intoxication of politics, using the students to gain political power in the college and the society. The students, unwilling to study, but eager to pass the examinations, form a happy clique with teachers who are equally unwilling to teach." — Singh, Amar Kumar. " Academic Politics and Student Unrest ", Ibid. P. 258 .
9. " The political socialisation of the student begins even before he enters college " — Ibid. P. 256 .
10. Table 5:8 may be consulted.
11. Grouping among teachers throws an inevitable shadow over the young minds of students. In the background of teachers being divided into groups among themselves, students too feel drawn into different groups among themselves. And this is borne by the positive responses of teachers in table 5:6 excepting those of the colleges particularly one — P₂. Low responses of teachers of P₂

and @ may be due to their not coming out with as much frankness as those of other colleges of the table.

12. (a) " students' unions are channels of political ideologies and values. It is the close ties with the political parties that enable the unions to be efficient agents of political socialization" — Aikara, Jacob. Ideological Orientation of Student Activism (1977), p. 77 .
- (b) " The youth factions in colleges and universities are financed, guided, controlled and led by political parties, functioning in the arena of national and state politics. And the students have been actively utilized by the party bosses at the time of elections and public protests against government decisions." — Sharma, Dev. " Campus and youth in Turmoil : Perspective " in Mehta, Prayag. ed. The Indian Youth (1971), p. 82 .
13. A case was brought to ^{my} notice in which two teachers' representatives to the Governing Body, ex-officio members of the Free-Half -free Studentship awarding sub-committees, maneuvered to award free studentship to a student leader in clear violation of the rules* framed for the purpose. Students opposed to the political faction whose leader was favoured with a free studentship (of course, by teachers of their own group) called a strike to ventilate their grievances but nothing was done by the authority supported by the two members to redress the grievances of the striking faction. Weakness of the striking faction was that it was opposed to the political party in government.
- (Rules*, inter alia, insisted that students suffering loss of years in course of their collegiate studies will not be entitled to free or half-free studentship. The student concerned came to the present college, having lost several years in a neighbouring college. He was in the present college not to prosecute studies but to give political leadership to students. Rules also insisted that such free or half-free studentship was meant for poor or meritorious students. But the student, in question, did not fall in either category.)
14. (a) " Political has become a part of campus life, largely because no party is prepared to abandon such a rich field for recruitment " Quoted from " Campus Politics " in The Statesman (Calcutta dated 5. 9. 81.
- (b) Note may be taken also of what P. N. Bhatt has to say : " The politician has tended to become the successful man par excellence because of the preeminence he seems to have in public life. Teachers and students also, therefore, try to become 'politicians' in their own situations." — Bhatt, P. N. " Problems of Student Unrest : An analysis of its Causes and Cure". in Singhvi. ed. Youth Unrest : Conflict of Generations (1972) p. 289.
15. " The University Grants Commission Chairman, Mrs Madhuri Shah, has suggested depoliticization of university campuses throughout the

country to prevent lawlessness and violence, For this, she has suggested abolition of elections to students' councils, favouring instead nomination of meritorious students." Quoted from "Depoliticization of Campuses Urged" in The Statesman (Calcutta) dated 10.1.82, P. 12 .

16. The original purpose was surely to give students an opportunity of learning to rule themselves and in the process catering, indiscriminately, to the needs of all sections of students. It was meant to be a lesson in the art of practising democracy at a lower level so that they know it properly to be able to help govern their own country from a greater and higher platform to make democracy the way of life.

" Student unions " in the words of the Report of the Education Commission, "represent an important way of providing student participation in university life outside the class room. Properly organised, they help in self-government ^{and self-discipline} for students' energies and ^{provide a healthy outlet} give the students useful training in the use of democratic methods. " — P. 295 .

.... But in a majority of institutions, they have tended to function like trade unions presuming to represent students' interests against those of the teachers and authorities " P. 296 — Report of the Education Commission, 1964-65 (1966).

17. The lowest response under 'Yes' column of table 5:7 from the teachers of M (a missionary college) may be due to it that teachers here are more in favour of the discontinuance than continuance of students' union and that also for safeguarding the interests of students. Missionary background, as already referred to, is also partly responsible for such an attitude.
18. Political 'dadas' and political 'brothers' mean elder and younger brothers, not having been born of the common parents but having been deeply initiated into a common political ideology (or political party).
19. (a) While analysing "the basis of grouping" among teachers, Sharma writes, "It is the pre-conceived similarity of interests which brings individuals together in a group." — Sharma, Mohindera. "A Study of Conflict in a University", Journal of Higher Education 4(1), 1978, P. 5 .
- (b) Vidyarthi broadly divides teachers into two groups —
 (1) conformist (who are devoted to teaching and research) and
 (2) non-conformist (who are engaged more in politics, factions and cliques than in any other things.) —
 Vidyarthi, L. P. The Students Unrest in Chotnagpur (1976), P. 224 .

20. (a) " Since the teachers are politically divided, reflecting the political factions of the society, the students also divide and align themselves with the rival groups. Teachers use students as weapons against rival teachers " — Singh, Amar Kumar. op. cit. P. 259 .
- (b) " Teacher-politicians and faculty factions enlist the help of students because they can not decently use the pressure tactics students can use." — Ray, Anil Baran "Erosion of Values — I" in The Statesman (Calcutta) dated 21.11.80, P.8 .
- (c) The ex-governor of West Bengal, Late T. N. Singh, deplored (while addressing the annual Convocation of North Bengal University in 1981) the " infiltration of politics" into educational institutions "This affects the healthy atmosphere in the temples of learning and lead to groupism as well as factionalism among students and teachers." — The Statesman (Calcutta) dated 11.4.81.
21. Low responses under 'Yes' column of the table 5:8 from teachers of P₂ and M may be explained in the light of explanations already given under similar situations.
- So far P₂ is concerned, its teachers are more concerned with private tuition and other way of earning money than with any other thing.
- So far M is concerned, its missionary background may stunt the political assertiveness among its teachers (and students).
22. Low responses of students of GS₂ and M under 'Yes' column of table 5:9 may be due to the following reasons : GS₂ is a women's college and M is a missionary college. Women are politically shy and hence do not appear to feel free to express their opinions in regard to their teachers' activities in regard to grouping. In case of the latter, missionary background may be responsible for it.
23. Table 5:10 is based on responses freely given by teachers. Teachers were left free to suggest as many bases as they thought important and this is why the arithmetical total in the table (horizontally) does not tally with the total number of teachers taken from each of the seven colleges.
24. At the time of survey of the colleges, there were no principals in GS₁ and G, instead, there were teachers (or officers) in charge. Teachers in charge seldom try to invite the wrath of any ~~substantial~~ section of teachers during their brief period in charge, mostly because they are the consensus candidates. This explains why teachers, mostly, do not have anything against such teachers-in-charge. If however he continues to be in charge for years together, reactions to him are most likely to change.

So far M is concerned, this is a college managed exclusively by (Catholic) fathers. Presumably, out of fear of the father (principal) that, not a teacher has dared to give his opinion against him. It is inconceivable that all the teachers like the principal. At least those (35.7 per cent) who have given no replies may have no liking for the principal.

25. It was brought to my notice by some teachers of a college that one of their colleagues was beaten by some students on the instigations provided by a section of non-teaching staff taking advantage of the passive stance of the principal. The pretext offered by the 'students' (alleged to be local goondas and not college students) ~~was~~ was that the teacher concerned was too strict in invigilation. Actually, for some political reasons, a section of non-teaching staff was dissatisfied with the teacher. Principal too was not happy with the teacher. Beating of the teacher by some 'students' was simply an act of retaliation.
26. Explanation given under table 5:11 holds true also in relation to the table 5:12 so far GS₁ and M are concerned. A note must be taken, in this connection, of the fact that the attitude of a non-teaching member to a teaching member on the chair may be different. Already developed attitudes of a non-teaching member to a teaching member may not change even after the elevation of the teacher to a Teacher-in-Charge, though for a brief tenure.

It may be clear from the reactions of teachers to the principal as represented by table 5:11 that teachers are generally apathetic to principals (where of course the principals are full-fledged and permanent. Temporary ones officiating as principals are not much counted).

From the reactions of non-teaching staff to principal as represented by table 5:12, it may be also clear that non-teaching staff too, without any exception, are apathetic to principal. The table further exhibits that non-teaching staff are more apathetic to principal than teachers are. Non-teaching staff of colleges M (offering 100.0%), G (offering 80.0%), P₁ (offering 80.0%) and P₂ (offering 75.0%) negative responses are very prominent in their expression of dislike for the principal.

Cumulative effect of the combined responses of the two tables (5:11 and 5:12) clearly points to the fact that teachers as well as non-teaching employees (non-teaching more than teaching employees) are opposed to the principal (full-fledged and permanent).

27. Both, same age and caste, are given equal weightage (3.0 per cent as shown by table 5:10).

28. " The conflicts of generations, is basic, essential, and eternal. It is based on a conflict of interests more fundamental than any others the younger generation all over the world has much in common to hold dear and fight for. The gap between the two generations is wider today than ever before. The old look backwards. They are bound to develop a vested interest in the ~~sixties~~ status quo. The young look forward, " ---
Kashyap, Subhas C. "Youth Unrest : A Conflict of Generations" in Singavi. ed. op. cit. P. 55 .
29. If you take note of the over-all percentage (1.0 per cent) given to it.
30. The college in question was a private college until 1968. The period of time until 1968 since the inception of the college (1947) is bracketed into 'pre-take-over' period. Teachers appointed during this period are under the pre-take-over group. Since 1968 the college is upgraded to the status of a university college. Teachers appointed during this period are bracketed into the post-take-over group.

Another cause leading to the birth of the peculiar grouping is that pre-take-over group of teachers enjoys slightly better monetary benefits, some way or other.

31. The point was raised with the principal of the college in course of interview with him. He made a comparative analysis of the teachers of both the groups and concluded that the claim of the post-take-over group was not tenable. Incidentally, it may be mentioned, that the principal himself was appointed to the college in the 'pre-take-over' period.
32. " The politicization of educational institutions " in the words of Harold Gould, " makes the maintenance of academic standards and promotions based on merit very difficult because institutions that use their facilities and students for political ends owe these students and their patrons something in exchange for the political services they have rendered. " Quoted in Aikara, Jacob. Ideological Orientation of Student Activism (1977), P. 56 - 57 .
33. Members on Governing Body/College Council are also selected or elected on political qualifications. They have to belong to one political party or other.
- " Nominees on the governing bodies in most colleges of the state, have been appointed on the basis of their 'political affiliation'." --- Quoted from The Statesman (Calcutta) dated 22.2.79, P. 3 .
34. See No. 4 .