

RESISTANCE POLITICS: STUDENT MOVEMENTS AND ACADEMIC
ENVIRONMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY

Suraj Raj Kafle

A Dissertation

Submitted to

School of Education

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Philosophy in Education (Development Studies)

Kathmandu University

Dhulikhel, Kavre

December 2013

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is for the fulfillment of the requirements for Master of Philosophy in Education (Development Studies) of Kathmandu University.

Title: Resistance Politics: Student Movements and Academic Environment in the University

Abstract approved -----

Pramod Bhatta, PhD.

Dissertation Supervisor

Student movement is a relatively ignored area in academic research. Between the 1960s and 70s, some authors have contributed to this topic in the context of South America and Africa. In 1968, Altbach contributed on Indian student movements. In South East Asia, universities have been experiencing a high volume of norms and values based students' movements from its history of establishment. In the Nepalese context, academic contributions to the understanding of student resistance politics and its effects on the university academic environment are scarce. In this research, I have explored the various issues raised by students' movements in Nepal in a historical perspective and described its effects on academic environment.

My approach has been critical as I have interpreted the historical and current documents utilizing power theory, and critical thought like structuration and social movement theory. I have not been rigid with any particular theory as the research has multi-dimensional perspectives. Each theory has sub-ordinate role which has helped enlighten my level of understanding.

Methodologically, I have followed the interpretive paradigm, looking at the matter wearing subjective glass having multiple realities, individual subjective response and value system. The method applied is historical in which I have reviewed literature in systematic and rigorous way the accounts of the past and trailed with eye witnesses' like academicians and role players like student leaders and party leaders in different student movements at different junctures of history.

Systematic and rigorous literature reviews and in-depth interviews and focus group discussions have revealed that student movements were not solely associated for the professional rights of the students but the political rights of the citizens. Political issues had been given more priority and political actors as catalysts through political institutions intentionally and strategically. Concentrating on the history of political parties, they have repeatedly pressed their student wings to intensify political activities for making the environment conducive for democratic movements. It can be said that student organizations were concentrated on value based movements before 2046 B.S. as they had struggled throughout their history for political and social rights of the citizens and less contribution to academic movements, whereas after the re-establishment of democracy the movements should be norms based but they were neither committed to norms nor value-based. However, after the royal take over in 2059 B.S., their movement regenerated as value based movement.

Student's organizations had mainly two tasks: one, to raise professional issues, and two, to fulfill the political ambitions of their mother political parties. Ideologically they had to fulfill their deep thirst of political interests, as a result of which they were, knowingly or unknowingly, building their organizations utilizing university and colleges grounds. During this process, there were many faulty

procedures applied, such as padlocking and arson, burning tires in front of colleges, hooliganism, highhandedness, murder, and violent clashes with opponents in the college premises, which had negative effects on students' individual careers and academic performance.

Examination of issues raised by student movements during different historical periods has multifold contribution to the body of knowledge. It has implications to undertake precautions to stop further deterioration of our academic institutions by the probable student movements of similar or different types in future. In addition, higher education scholars and policy-makers will have a better understanding of what students' leaders and overall students' organizations gain from their roles as norms based actors besides value based. Finally, Student movements have a long and rich history in Nepalese higher education sector and will continue to have a place in our institutions of higher learning.

Suraj Raj Kafle

30 December 2013

Degree Candidate

DEDICATION

To my late father-Balaram Prasad Kafle,
Who boosted my moral for higher study and never stopped to support mentally and
financially throughout his life.

However,

He passed away without claiming his contribution of my current degree.

© Copyright by Suraj Raj Kafle

2013

All Rights Reserved.

DECLARATION

I, hereby, declare that this dissertation has not been submitted for candidature for any other degree.

Suraj Raj Kafle

Degree Candidate

30 December 2013

APPROVED

Master of Philosophy in Education (Development Studies) dissertation of Suraj Raj

Kafle presented on 30 December 2013.

Approved by

Pramod Bhatta, Ph.D.

30 December 2013

Dissertation Supervisor

Prof. Ganga Thapa

30 December 2013

External Examiner

Prof. Mahesh Nath Parajuli, Ph.D

30 December 2013

Member, Research Committee

Bal Chandra Luitel, PhD

30 December 2013

Member, Research Committee

Prof. Tanka Nath Sharma, Ph.D

30 December 2013

Dean, School of Education

I understand that my dissertation will become a part of the permanent collection of Kathmandu University Library. My signature below authorizes release of my dissertation to my reader upon request.

Suraj Raj Kafle

30 December 2013

Degree Candidate

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude and heartiest regards to my thesis supervisor Dr. Pramod Bhatta, researcher at Martin Chautari, Nepal for his valuable advice, encouragements and immense support in the attainment of my academic pursuit.

I extend my profound respect and sincere thanks to Professor Dr. Tanka Nath Sharma, Dean, School of Education, for giving me permission to do this dissertation entitled 'Resistance politics: Student movements and academic environment in the university'.

Equally, I am very much thankful to Professor Dr. Mana Prasad Wagle, Professor Dr. Mahesh Nath Parajuli, and Dr. Bal Chandra Luitel for their valuable suggestions and regular encouragements to carry out this research.

I would also like to thanks to the party leaders of United Communist Party Maoist, Nepali Congress and United Communist Party Marxist and Leninist and their associated student organizations' leaders for continue help and support during my data collection.

I warmly appreciate the valuable time given by the regular and ex-students of Tribhuvan University to answer all of my questions during interviews.

Above all, my heartfelt respect and deepest gratitude go to my mother Bhagawati Kafle and my wife Jaya Aryal, who were the constant source of inspiration and encouragement to build my career.

Suraj Raj Kafle, Degree Candidate

30 December 2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	I
DEDICATION	IV
DECLARATION.....	VI
APPROVED.....	VII
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	VIII
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	IX
CHAPTER I	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
My Position as a Researcher.....	1
Statement of Problem.....	4
Research Questions.....	6
Rationale	6
Structure of the Dissertation.....	7
CHAPTER II.....	9
REVIEW OF LITERATURE	9
Conceptual Overview.....	9
Politics and Resistance	9
Student Organizations and Their Roles in Colleges/Universities	10
Student Politics	12
Trend and Characters of Agenda Based Student Movements	13
Experiences of Student’s Movements Throughout the World.....	16
Historical Patterns of Student Movements in Nepal	19
Historical Development of Nepalese Higher Education System	22

Conceptual Framework	26
Theoretical Overview	27
Critical Perspectives	27
Theory of Structuration	28
Social Movement Theory	30
Power Theory.....	32
CHAPTER III.....	34
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	34
Ontology, Epistemology and Axiology	34
Methodological Framework	35
Research Questions and Field Works	36
Relevancy of Qualitative Approach in This Study	38
Preparing the Guides	39
Delimitations of Data Collection	40
Research Standards	41
Credibility.....	42
Ethics.....	43
Analysis and Interpretation	43
CHAPTER IV	45
ISSUES OF THE STUDENTS MOVEMENTS.....	45
Student Movement before 2007 B.S.....	47
Student Movements (2007- 2017) B.S.....	48
Student Movements (2017-2027) B.S.....	50
Student Movements (2028-2036) B.S.....	55
Student Movements (2037-2046) B.S.....	64

Student Movements After 2046 B.S.	69
Conclusion.....	84
CHAPTER V.....	89
ACTIVITIES AND EFFECTS OF STUDENT MOVEMENTS ON ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT.....	89
Ideologies Orientations and Organization Building	92
Conflict Within and Among Student Organizations.....	104
Student Organizational Voices and Administration Response at TU.....	112
Differences Among Student Organizations Before and After 2046 B.S.	119
FSU as a Platform for Politics, Academic Activities, Conflicts and Disruptions of TU	128
Conclusion.....	142
CHAPTER VI	149
DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION	149
Conclusion.....	151
Implications	159
REFERENCES.....	161
ANNEX: PARTICIPANTS AND FIELD DETAILS	170

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

My Position as a Researcher

When I was a student of Intermediate in Science at Tri-Chandra College, Tribhuvan University, I always participated in different students' movements conducted by Nepal Student Union (NSU), a sister organization of Nepali Congress, a major political party of Nepal. In the beginning, I involved in supporting issues such as reducing fees, restructuring of college administration, demanding new pedagogy of teaching, making college plastic free zone, etc, that were genuine issues of students. After participating in many such movements, leaders of the NSU asked me to take the general membership of NSU. After getting membership, I became a cadre of NSU Tri-Chandra unit. I had started to follow and implement party's ideology and doctrine at college level through ideology orientations and organization building. I started to raise genuine students' agendas on behalf of NSU. During my engagement with various leadership positions at NSU (2051–2062 B.S.), I was elected as member, vice-president and president of Free Student Union of Tri-Chandra and Central committee member of NSU, and led many movements which were either professional or political or existed side by side (depending on general students cases or followed the circular of NSU central committee or directed by congress party).

After completion of students' leadership, I thought, I had to contribute on literature of students' movements. During my tenure, I had carried out so many students' welfare maximizing events, faced challenges of academic -administrative and state authorities. Political faith based or professional, the activities or movements

had both positive and negative consequences that I had been directly interacted, should be documented through my first hand experiences and knowledge. As an M. Phil student, I got suitable time for writing a thesis on this topic where I had collected past and present issues of students' movements, activities of students' organizations and the effects made by their roles.

Throughout the world, students have exposed their lives for democracy, rule of law, and oppose oppression (Goodspeed, March, 2005). According to Fletcher (2005), student activism has "often focused on making changes in schools, such as increasing student influence over curriculum or improving educational funding. In some settings, student groups have had a major role in broader political events".

Feuer has defined student movement as an association of students inspired by aims set forth in a specific ideological doctrine, although not exclusively, political in nature (1969). In the same way, Altbach interlinked it as combination of emotional response and intellectual conviction (1966). Again, Feurer (1969) added that it might be generated by emotional feelings and might also be motivated by positive goals. As young intellectuals, students have a special historical mission to achieve that which the older generation has failed to achieve.

In some literature, students' movements are defined on the basis of norms and value based, where "the norm-oriented movement is concerned with specific goals and is more likely a product of an emotional response to a specific limited issue" and "the value-oriented movement is concerned with broader ideological issues, and when it is involved in concrete actions, this activity is usually linked directly to a broader concern" (Smelser, 1963, p. 275). It can be seen that professional student movements concern with norms-oriented whereas ideology based movements are value based.

Philip Altbach, a prominent researcher in the field of students' movements, explained that most revolutionary political movements are value-oriented, and most of student political organizations are value-oriented. He added that value-oriented movement has a more important influence in the end, and is often a leading element in apparently norm-oriented actions (1966). In simple term, Petras has pointed out that student movements concerned only with "campus" issues and have relatively little interest in or influence on the external political situation, often quite militant over issues of student welfare, fee increases, and administrative harassment of students (1964) are in my understanding norms based whereas movements related to society-oriented, concerned with societal issues-usually political, occasionally social or cultural (Petras, 1964) are said to be value based. However, there is some overlap between the two and it is often difficult to make a clear distinction, since the leadership of a group, which is seemingly norm-oriented, may be ideologically sophisticated and able to turn the attention of the participants to broader issues (Altbach, 1974).

Students' movements might be based on norms or value or both. However, the major question is: what are the issues? Students have many issues related to academic, political, social and others subjects. If they raise these issues at an individual level, there will be little or no chance to address the problem. And so, collective strength is necessary. Group should be formed in an organized manner following the rules of university so that the model in the form of student organization faces the challenges of students and tries to resolve the issues.

In our general understanding, students raise issues on priority basis. Finance-related issues are at the top. This is followed by subject availability and choice, priority institution, and facilities, scholarships and academic environment in

decreasing order of priority. Besides these, political culture of the university is also an important component. If there is no such an environment then students raise the issue in an organized way, which we can refer to as a student movement or unrest conducted for the betterment of students and overall academic institution.

Students' movements in the form of activism have had a major role of broader political events where as their professional activities often focus on making changes in colleges, such as increasing student influence over academic activities. Simon and Klandermans have mentioned that students are in the unique position of often being asked to reflect on the future challenges of their society. Through this process of questioning the current social structures and their functions, they often recognize that they have shared grievances. That can form the basis of the core ideas underlying their motivation for unity and social mobilization (2001). By this motivation factors there might have chances of either norms or value or norms and value based students' movements.

Statement of Problem

In the last thirty years, I have been observing repeatedly about students' movements in the print and electronic media of Nepal. Some of the news have highlighted that student organizations were raising genuine agendas for the overall development of academic sectors. But, during this process of presenting or acting to fulfill their objectives (mainly through resistance movements), media has also highlighted severe physical and social losses. During the process, there were problems in organization building and ideology orientations. There have been conflicts of various scale and magnitude within and amongst the students' organizations, often related to the Free Student Union (FSU) elections. There were differences in the role of student organizations before and after 2046 B.S. due to different political scenario.

The major thing is to identify issues raised by students' movements during their norms and value based movements and their effects on the academic environment at different historical junctures.

I experienced that students' resistance politics has played a vital role in providing avenues for maximization of students' welfare. In case of Nepal, Tribhuvan University (TU) and its affiliated colleges have been the major junctions for such resistance politics. Nepali student movements have its long history on raising political as well as academic issues. Their contribution to the democratization process is immense. In fact, all the yesteryear political movements - anti-Rana movement of 2007 B.S., student movement of 2036 B.S. against the Panchayat regime which ultimately led to a referendum, the people's movement of 2046 B.S. and the April uprising of 2063 - are examples in this regard (Bhatta, 2007). In case of academic issues, Nepalese students had raised issues during 'Jayatu Sanskritum' movement in 2004 B.S. There demand was made for modernization of the Sanskrit curriculum by including subjects like geography, history, economics and science, overhauling the existing examination system, increase scholarship, and establishment of a Sanskrit College (Rana, 2050).

Throughout the world, students' movements in much of the twentieth century were "norm-oriented," concentrating on specific goals such as curriculum enlargement, campus facilities, and the quality of education (Altbach, 1966). In Nepal too, this was a period in which they raised voices for livelihood, social justice, student's rights, discount on transportation and other educational materials, free health checks at hospital, scholarship to genuine students and other related issues. Pattern of their orientation changed, as pointed out by Snellinger (2005), as their "norm-oriented" movement quickly changed into "value-oriented" in response to the

oppressive Panchayat regime, when politics entered the realm of student organizations. In my knowledge base, situation evolved such that most of the student organizations were affiliated to their respective political parties and focused more on ideology based agendas than professional which created problems for academic excellence of education sector. Likewise, student leaders, instead of focusing norms based issues like raising modern updated academic programs and courses, obsolete and debilitated laboratories, classrooms and buildings, proper utilization of university resources, training to teachers and professors, sophisticated research activities, practical and technical education, started extending their activities towards ideology based manipulation and TU and its colleges, in turn leading to corruption, indiscipline, violence, and lacking clear idea for student welfare (Thapa, 2009, p. 23). In such a context, it is necessary to understand the social, political and academic issues raised by student organizations through resistance politics and its multiple effects on the overall academic environment of TU.

Research Questions

The major research questions are as follows:

1. What were the political, social and academic issues rose by student organizations in Nepalese student movements?
2. What effects these movements have on the overall academic environment of TU?

Rationale

Research on students' resistance politics and its effects on the universities' academic environment are scarce. However, such research is immensely helpful in identifying: the multiple impacts on the university through different angles; the actors behind the scenes at various times; the decisions made or lack thereof; and the concurrent socio political climate in which such movements occurred. I expect this

study to strengthen the current knowledge base on various dimensions of students' movements in a historical perspective, and hope that it will be useful for politicians, academicians, student leaders and students to understand about political ideology-based student organizations camped in TU and its various colleges. I also hope that the findings will be suitably relevant to various students' organizations to contribute to further strengthening of academic environment in the universities through resistance politics.

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. The first chapter starts with introduction, statement of the problems, research questions, and rationale of the study and structure of dissertation.

The second chapter discloses meaning of the terminologies, conceptual overviews maintaining scenario of students' movements throughout the world and formulates the conceptual framework through literature review. After being induced by knowledge base of students' movements' history, I have reviewed related theories. I have focused on various theories, like theory of structuration, social movement theory, power theory and designed theoretical framework.

The third chapter describes the research methodology. First, it describes about ontology, epistemology and axiology, and the philosophical stances of the study. Likewise, it includes the methodological framework, overall approach of the research (qualitative approach), tools of data collection and analysis, research standards and analysis and interpretation.

The fourth chapter, which is the findings chapter, deliberates on the issues of students' movements in different periods through the use of historical documents and current primary literature. Data of issues based students' movements before 2007 B.S

to up to 2068 B.S organized in each ten years gap were analyzed and interpreted following historical research method, and supplemented by using first hand in-depth interviews and focus group discussions to triangulate the past data by present circles of related expertise.

The fifth chapter portrays students' organizations' activities and its effects, in which I have discussed about their ideologies orientations and organization building, conflict within and among students' organizations, student organizational voices and administration response at TU, differences among student organizations before and after 2046 B.S., FSU as a platform for politics, academic activities, conflicts and disruptions of TU, and conclusions. The last chapter includes discussion, conclusion and recommendation.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Conceptual Overview

In this chapter, literatures about politics, students' politics and resistance to students' politics are reviewed. Literatures of role of students' organizations and the trends and characters of agendas based students' movements at colleges and universities are collected. Documents are placed in such a way that it has been easy to understand about the reasons behind the students movements and its consequences around the world and of Nepal and also it has been easy to compare the historical patterns of students' movements. Before drawing conceptual framework, documents of development of Nepalese higher education system have also been studied to know about its relations with students' movements at college and university level.

Politics and Resistance

“Politics is about power and influence. It is a struggle of contending ideological viewpoints on the allocation and distribution of resources. It determines who gets what, when and why” (Natufe, April 11, 2001).

In our general sense, politics is the matter of governing or profession of governing. It is also about social relationships of authority or power where there are political parties in action and reaction. It can also be expressed as policy making for greater good for citizens. In another way, Dahal (2004) expresses: “It is the efforts to overcome political alienation from the status of *Raitis* (subject) and recognition as *Nagarik* (citizen) is the source of social and political movements. These efforts are

also aimed to bridge the gap between the 'objective condition' of people's existence and their own subjectivity, as sovereign citizens".

As we know meaning of resistance talks about work in individuals way and it is of personnel interest (Gregg, 1993, p.172); "active efforts to oppose, fight, and refuse to cooperate with or submit to abusive behavior and control" (Profitt, 1996, p. 25); "engaging in behaviors despite opposition" (Carr, 1998, p. 543); or "simply questioning and objecting" (Modigliani & Rochat, 1995, p. 112).

Natufe (2001) pointed out that resistance to politics is built in response to the distributive mechanism adopted by the governing political party in the polity where disadvantaged groups feel oppressed and then resistance to oppression apparent itself for systemic changes that will eliminate the causes of their oppression.

Student Organizations and Their Roles in Colleges/Universities

Generally students' organizations are platform for leadership development. They encourage good learning environment which serve as a resource center to student leaders and general students. They also help to advice student leaders and others for greater good of academic institutions. At the same time, college students have been catalysts for social and political change. Colleges and universities produce more involved citizens to change the dynamics of society. It gives learning environment, which helps to develop critical minded students (Marisela, 2010).

Historically, college student organizations have been seen as falling within the educational mission of colleges and universities (Schmitz, 1997) and particularly within student leadership development (Komives, 1994). More specifically student organizations have been viewed as "learning laboratories" (Street, 1997). "Student organizations offer many opportunities for students including the chance to develop meaningful relationships, to pursue special interests, to clarify a sense of purpose and

identity, and to develop interpersonal, leadership, organization, and social skills” (Street, 1997).

Internationally, there are many ways of expressing students’ organization at universities and colleges. Generally, it has been expressing as free students’ union or students' union, students’ government or senate, students' association, society of students or government of student body. Its main organizational activities are to support for academic and extra-curricular activities.

Students’ organizations are of different motives and might be independent of the educational facility. They usually represent students of both within and outside the institutions, including on local and national issues. They facilitate variety of services available at university, colleges and beyond. It depends upon its motive either of local or national or both interests.

Joining a student organization is a great way for a student to get involved in different student organizational activities that they get opportunity to become friends with other students having similar interests. Because of its network building mission, it strengthens the critical thinking of students which helps to take leadership role that gives students the opportunity to become leaders (Hitt, 2009).

Bickford and Reynolds on Pedagogy, the journal ‘Activism and service learning: Reframing volunteerism as acts of dissent’ pointed out about the role of student organizations leadership. They mentioned that it encourages playing an active role in creating and advocating for curricula which provide students with the tools needed to become effective change agents (2002, p.238).

Likewise, students can get benefit from a curriculum that provides them with a greater understanding of social change and an understanding of their own abilities and skills as citizens, activists, and change agents. Social change is a process. Student

leader's roles do not mean to organize big rallies and demonstrations but to understand the power and necessity of activism in achieving social change (Bickford & Reynolds, 2002, p. 238).

In some cases, students' organizations focus on courses and workshops which explore diversity and social justice issues that explores diversity issues and allow healthy conflict among individuals result in social justice outcomes (Broido & Reason, 2005).

I have pointed out that role of students' organizations are versatile. Navin and Sax in their literatures pointed out that student organizations are in partnership with faculty, usually work actively to recruit and retain a diverse student body. It gives exposure to encourage students to engage with students different from themselves in ethnicity, views, values, and attitudes make a difference (Navia, 2008).

On the other hand, students are young and energetic. They are bundle of inflammable materials. When somebody intentionally or unintentionally through spark, it will be difficult to control. It is very sensitive population having no patience. They are malleable. They can easily use and misuse, as exemplified below:

“Student organizations today are more in the news for breaking rules, behaving like rowdies, indulging in everywhere. The sad reality is that the same movement, which produced freedom fighters, is today producing uncivilized citizens — who see nothing wrong in threatening their own academic institution without wrongdoing” (Gupta, 2012).

Student Politics

In our development world, student movement as student activism is a key issue. They are usually active in political course that frequently impact on different societal events. “The historical development of student politics and student

involvement in independence struggles, the role of students as incipient elites, and the fragility of the political structures of many third world nations all contribute to the efficacy of student politics” (Altbach, 1984). In such cases they sometimes become rather apolitical (Lipset, 1966).

Again, what is politics? That it is an activity which requires at least two people where student politics also requires at least two students. Therefore, “just two students’ united activities in pursuance of certain aims can be identified as student politics” (Altbach, 1974; Fields, 1970).

In student politics, student unity is one of the important factors for students’ political course. Altbach (1974) cleverly interlinked that unity of students have definite aim and they usually campaign for their rights to receive their freedom.

Altbach (1974) in his book ‘Student’s politics in America’ defined students union as a forum/club where groups of students having religion, region, or other interest in common form an organization under certain conditions within a school, country or even an international context. Therefore, every different group of students having one or more interests or aspects in common can form a different student union within a school, country or international context. Each student union will campaign in favor of its own outlook or agitate to receive its entitlement. Therefore, sometimes student unions can be in competition with each other.

Trend and Characters of Agenda Based Student Movements

Philip Altbach, one of the rare researchers in this particular area, made comprehensive explanation about student political activism by getting information about student organizations, student activism, their roles, characteristics, responsibilities and actions (Altbach, 1984). He mentioned that student organizations do not follow any well-accepted process rather there are quite considerable

differences in student political activism among countries, regions and by historical periods. In some cases, student politics as a negative factor that has to be eliminated from academic life. It has sometimes affects higher education and in some cases sweep beyond the campus to have a greater influence on the political system.

Altbach (1989) in his another edition, mentioned that it is not enough to condemn student politics as a negative force. Instead, it is necessary to understand the forces that push student activities and to evaluate the result of the activities. If we look at the past of the student politics, we can see that it had contributed the process of nation building and political socialization especially in the countries of the south that they were more constant force and contributed to social change and greater impact.

Connecting the same literatures of Altbach (1989), however, showed evidence that students of Industrialized Countries were also active in politics with different issues and made contribution to the national politics. The first ever-recorded history of student politics was of Germany, an industrialized country. They involved in politics with the Nationalism sentiment in 1848. In Germany, students were active in politics throughout the 1950s and more focus in the 1960s was on educational issues besides issues of nationalism. The post second world war Germany has made service to their students that helped Germany to be as the country is now (Altbach, 1989).

Field, in his book students' politics in France mentioned that French students exerted political pressure in order to assume greater control over the structure of French Higher Education and the welfare of students within that structure. They exerted political pressure in response to extra-educational political issues like colonialism and domestic authoritarianism.

Historically, the American students were not that active in politics like Asian, European and African students (Altbach, 1989). However, the American students

became politically active in the 1960s with the free speech movement and anti-Vietnam war movement (Bohle, 1989). Free speech movement in 1964 at the University of Berkeley, California, is considered as the first noticeable student movement. The University authority was reluctant to allow political activities by the students at the university campus where they began to move against the university authority. Finally, the authority permitted the political activities at the campus (Altbach, 1989).

In case of the history of students' movements in US, the anti-Vietnam war movement of American students was against the nature of grabbing other country in control. They conducted different protest program even though students could not stop the war. One thing to bear in mind was that American students played an active role against the invasion (Altbach, 1989).

The period 1960-1970 became important to policy-makers, media, and social scientists that the students of Latin America fit as the most over-studied political factor given that countries like Colombia, Cuba, Argentina, Peru, Chile, Peru, Mexico and Venezuela were particularly influenced by student politics (Altbach, 1989). Thoroughly reviewing literature of Argentina's students' movements, it has been learned that it has a long history of student politics since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1918, the Argentine students started a movement called as university reform movement that spread out to the other universities (Altbach, 1989).

During literature review of students' politics and their movements in Asia, I felt that students of Indonesia had played one of the most crucial political roles given that that the country had a long history of student politics from the colonial period. They contributed significantly for independence of the country. Also, Asian countries had been largely influenced by student politics compared to western countries.

Countries like Nepal, Thailand, South Korea, Iran, Indonesia, Burma, Turkey and Nepal had been influenced in the national politics as well as in academics by students' political role (Altbach, 1989).

For example, Indonesian students had toppled the regime of President Sukarno in 1967. They played a key role to develop the newly independent country where leaders offered the students to opt in the military as a regular army, or to return to civilian life by continuing their formal education supported by a government fellowship. When there was a serious scarce of teachers in the Indonesian educational institutions, the students started as temporary volunteer teachers in schools from many universities (Altbach, 1989).

Experiences of Student's Movements Throughout the World

Student movements for many nations are a recent phenomenon beginning with the 1960s, though it has completed history in Nepal and many countries around the world. In this literature review, the major concern is: why the student movements occurred and what were the reasons behind the movements? What were the natures of the student movements in Nepal and outside world? What had been achieved and lost by the movements?

At first glance, it would be better to look the history of student movements of India. Singh in his book "The Indian Struggle" published in 1964 mentioned that the student movements started in 1942 against the British occupation had militancy and was highly organized. It was although nonviolent effort to drive the British from India. They succeeded in closing most of India's colleges for extended periods and gathered crowd of students in the struggle. Singh added that the students were not involved initially but participated in almost daily demonstrations later. Student cadres

took part in sabotage campaigns and tried, with some success, to disrupt the British administration.

After independence of India, student's movements have been entirely based on issues related to campus. They are usually focused on matters related to examinations, complaints against administrators or faculty or other similar issues. If there is unrest because of that, students have made the situation more violent and disrupted academic life (Altbach, 1984).

Talking about the campus based student movements in India; Altbach (1984) mentioned that Jawaharlal Nehru University, India's most prestigious university had been closed down during many occasions due to local campus disputes. He pointed out that the external political groups often attempted to gain support in the universities and often contribute locally, but not ideological based riot. The combination of a tradition of local student politics, external interests, and deteriorating conditions in the universities is a prevalent one. Even though students did not have any ideology based attraction of students' organization, they had made protest programs due to the cause of frustration of the education system and the movements were violent and out of discipline. This was the case of Allahabad University (Altbach, 1968).

The nature of Chinese students' movements was different. They had their attention on issues of nationalism. According to Lutz (1971, pp. 89-110), the movement of national crisis led to the acceptance of Chinese Communist party and rejection of Kuomintang in the course of the student movement between the period 1945-1949, and came up to with the belief to Chinese Communist Party and not for Kuomintang, which achieved the goal of Chinese nationalism. He again investigated that transfer of loyalty occurs not because of the attractiveness of the Chinese ideology but because student activism after 1947 believed that only communist

victory could bring peace and political unity; only the leadership of Chinese Communist party could restore the centralized sovereign state indispensable for modernization.

While reviewing student movements in different geographical settings, Rana (2050 B.S.) pointed out that Peron of Argentina in 1948 and Perage Jimenju of Venezuela in 1960 were dismissed from state power by the student movements at that period. Student movement erupted in Japan against Japan-US agreement during 1960 supported for the resignation of Kirishi government. Student movement rose in massive scale to droop Sukarno government of Indonesia during 1966. Despite violent repressions, students' movements in South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia and Taiwan, authoritarian regimes ultimately issued civil liberties and democratic rights (Rootes, 1990).

Even though students' movements in different parts of the world were successful, in the case of the student movement of Myanmar and Chinese students' movements at Tiananmen Square in 1989, there were brutal experiences and were aggressively repressed.

In case of United States students' movements, situation emerged in the early 1960s with the campaign for civil rights for African Americans in the South and the socialist Student League for Industrial Democracy, which later became Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It appeared when students revolted for freedom of speech at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1964. The events inspired student movements and student mobilizations on other campuses across the US and beyond this (Rootes, 1980).

Students of higher education have their interest both on their own rights and also of national interest. They conducted movements against colonial and dictatorial

powers for the liberation of countries and for the democratic rights of citizens.

Professionally being students, they have raised academic issues for the welfare of students and development of overall academic institutions.

At this cross-road of literature review, the most crucial thing experienced is of Gusfield (1971, p. 26) about student participation. That must not be viewed primarily as a device to end student opposition. Also, the absence of students in positions of shared decision-making legitimates the violence and disruption of student protests. Again, he talked about student representation that must not be made manipulative by administrators and faculty where conflict of interests in many areas between students and administration, and students and teachers, must be admitted and institutionalized. This means that in many areas students must play a valid role.

Historical Patterns of Student Movements in Nepal

The beginning of student movement was at the time of formalized uprising for democracy in 1950, a political plan coordinated between the Nepali Congress and King Tribhuvan to overthrow the Rana regime, which had tyrannical political power since 1846. Multi-party democracy with a constitutional monarch was established after King Tribhuvan fled to India for asylum and the Nepali Congress conducted a military assault against the Ranas. Many of the participants of this insurgency were students who had been exiled to India in 1947 for participating in the *Jayatu Sanskritam* movement. This student movement was the first recorded organized protest by students against the Rana regime.

Hoftun, William, and John (1999, p. 38) pointed out that student movement during the decade of (2007-2017) B.S. at university level sifted their character from politics to creating student federation which focused on wellbeing of students.

Free Student Union Movement protested against the National Directives regulation passed by King Mahendra in 2018 B.S. (Rana, 2050 B.S.). According to Rana, the first student strike was outbreak in Tribhuvan University due to the dismissal of two students of English literature in 2020 B.S. He further mentioned that student movement erupted when police tried to block the meeting of the First Akhil Nepal Student Assembly in 2022 B.S., which had aimed to raise the genuine issues of education. Regarding the political activities of student organization during the Panchayat system in Nepal, he explained about the "First All Nepal Students Conference" proposed on 5 Baisakh, 2022 B.S., where students gathered in Tri-Chandra College that was invaded by the police.

During the period of twenties, there were student federations in different zones of Nepal. Altbach mentioned that they had represented students of different regions rather than varying political ideologies. During this time, student activities were “norm-oriented,” concentrating on specific goals such as curriculum, campus facilities, and the quality of education (1967, p. 87).

As the time changed, the student movements that began as “norm-oriented” quickly turned into “value-oriented” movements that took an ideological stance in response to harsh Panchayat suppression. The time was that student organizations became the activity of student politics (Snellinger, 2005). The All Nepal National Free Students Union (ANNFSU), which was originally formed in reaction to the formation of the Panchayat-backed National Student Forum, had become a Communist stronghold around 1968 (Snellinger, 2005). In reaction to this, in 1970, the Nepali Congress formed its sister organization, called Nepal Students Union, for its students. Snellinger (2005) pointed out that all the students’ organizations held campus elections within the Free Student Union came to symbolize political possibilities and

served as proxies for democratic elections that could not occur at a national level. Everything the students would want to fight or had to be fought based on regaining the rights of free citizens. In 1971, the Panchayat government tried to ban independent student organizations, but the Supreme Court declared that they were not political organizations and therefore could not be constitutionally banned (Snellinger, 2005).

In my knowledge, the most crucial role played by students' movements was in 1979. On April 6, 1979, students marched in a silent procession to the Pakistan Embassy to protest Pakistan's execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of Pakistan People's party, on 4 April 1979. The police patrol was sent to stop the processions. In reaction, violence erupted and many students were injured. This student movement finally transferred into the political movement by which the king was forced to declare the referendum and people were allowed to choose between the reformed Panchayat system and a multiparty system.

The referendum was won by the Panchayat system, in a situation where only foolish men could believe that a free and fair referendum would be possible under Panchayat Rule (Hofman et al., 1999, p. 91). Nonetheless, students had got an authority to establish FSU. It became the ground of future democracy movement in Nepal.

After that crucial period, students' of NSU, sister organization of Nepali Congress played significant role in conducting Satyagraha in 2042 B.S, which added a brick for planning 2046 B.S. democracy movement (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

During the period of 2037 to 2045 B.S, I have not come across any significant literature of students' movements but at the end of 1989, the rightist and leftist political party leaders made commitment and began new movement against the Panchayat regime for the restoration of multiparty system in Nepal. The situation was

built by continuing revolutionary movement of student organizations in the forefront against the single party system so that final decisive movements began in 18 February 1990 that ultimately compelled the king to declare multiparty system in Nepal.

Student organizations yet again went to movements for political revolution after the then king Gyneandra took over the people's power in 2059 B.S. At that time, again student organizations' role was decisive for making the movement successful.

Historical Development of Nepalese Higher Education System

In Nepal, higher education system formally began since modern era 1919 AD with the establishment of Tri-Chandra multiple colleges having affiliation with Calcutta University, then with Patna University. After the political change in 1951, there was favorable environment for expansion of higher education system since the obstacle of Rana regime had been overthrown. The period was that higher Education was available for those who passed SLC examination and students who have completed Bachelor level study had to go to India for Master level study.

In 1959, Tribhuvan University was established and started teaching post graduate courses at Tripureswore, Kathmandu before maintaining its infrastructure at Kirtipur. At the beginning, the higher education study courses were provided in general areas. Later, natural science was included in post graduate studies. It also provided an opportunity to redesign the higher education curricula, which was previously based on curricula of Indian Universities. The National Education System Plan (NESP, 1971-1976) was launched with a view to bring about comprehensive change in the field of education. It brought about academic and organizational changes in the field of higher education. The enrolment in the Tribhuvan University campuses grew rapidly, and the campuses could no longer provide seats for all. Thus

by 1980, the T.U. began providing affiliation to private campuses (Centre for Economic Development and Administration [CEDA], 2007).

Reviewing National Planning Commission (2002)'s reports it has been learned that University Grants Commission (UGC) was established in 1992 by the recommendation of the National Education Commission to provide grants for higher education and maintain standard of education in the country. Its main role is allocating and disbursing government grants to the Universities. It has taken some measures for promoting standard higher education.

In 1992, Kathmandu University was established in the private sector. The University has its base in Dhulikhel (Kavre District) and has been providing Bachelor's and Master's Degree courses in various subjects. The establishment of Kathmandu University paved the way for expansion of private sector providing of higher education in the country and also the general public acceptance of high fees in higher education (CEDA, 2007). Likewise, Purbanchal University and Pokhara University were established in 1997. The objective of establishing these regional Universities were to decentralize higher education management so that it would reduce the burden of Tribhuvan University for more options to pursue their academic career. In this present scenario, in order to meet the demands for higher education, eight universities and two specialized institutions at the university level have been established (CEDA, 2007).

The ultimate responsible institution for education is Ministry of Education (MOE) which acts as policy formulating, financial allocation recommending, monitoring and evaluation of education sector. In our system, academic programs of bachelor's degree and above are regarded as higher education. Duration of bachelor's program is 3 to 5 years and masters level is 2 years. Universities have constituent and

affiliated campuses (colleges). Constituent campuses receive public funding and universities oversee their academic, administrative and financial management. Affiliated campuses do not receive public funding and universities are responsible only for supervision of their academic programs and examinations. In addition to public and private, there are some campuses funded and managed by the communities. Community colleges receive very small amount of financial support for capital costs from the government through the UGC.

Likewise, three years interim Plan (2007-2010) gave priority to increase access to higher education. It has prioritised to open and expand Open University, encourage scholarship and subsidized student credit. One thing that has to be remembering is that, emphasis has been given to establish Science and Technology universities (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2007).

Phasing out of certificate level (Intermediate level) program from the university was successful. In Nepal a student enters higher education after completing 12 years of schooling. During these 12 years, the first national-level school-leaving certificate (SLC) examination is conducted at the end of 10th grade, qualifying a student for entry into the higher secondary stage, consisting of 11th and 12th grades. The Higher Secondary Education Board (HSEB) supervises all the higher secondary schools, which are mostly under private management (Government of Nepal, 2006).

National Planning Commission (2007) 's report mentioned that Universities faculties, research centers, institute, college, schools are given more internal autonomy in order to use research profession in academic and creative works so that they can comprehensively mobilize their research work, institutional consulting services and physical means.

In Nepal, the existing organizational systems looking after the quality of higher education institutions in Nepal are; UGC, universities, academies, partially decentralized institutions and programs, six professional councils and professional societies. Recently for quality assurance and authorization, a quality assurance and accreditation council (QAAC) has been established in UGC.

TU is the oldest university and it has completed more than five decades of its establishment. It has developed its 20 years strategic vision in 2000 where as other universities have also their long term visions. The major strategic plans and policy reforms in our higher education systems are decentralization within universities, particularly in TU, formula based funding for universities and student financial assistance program to meritorious and needy students.

Conceptual Framework

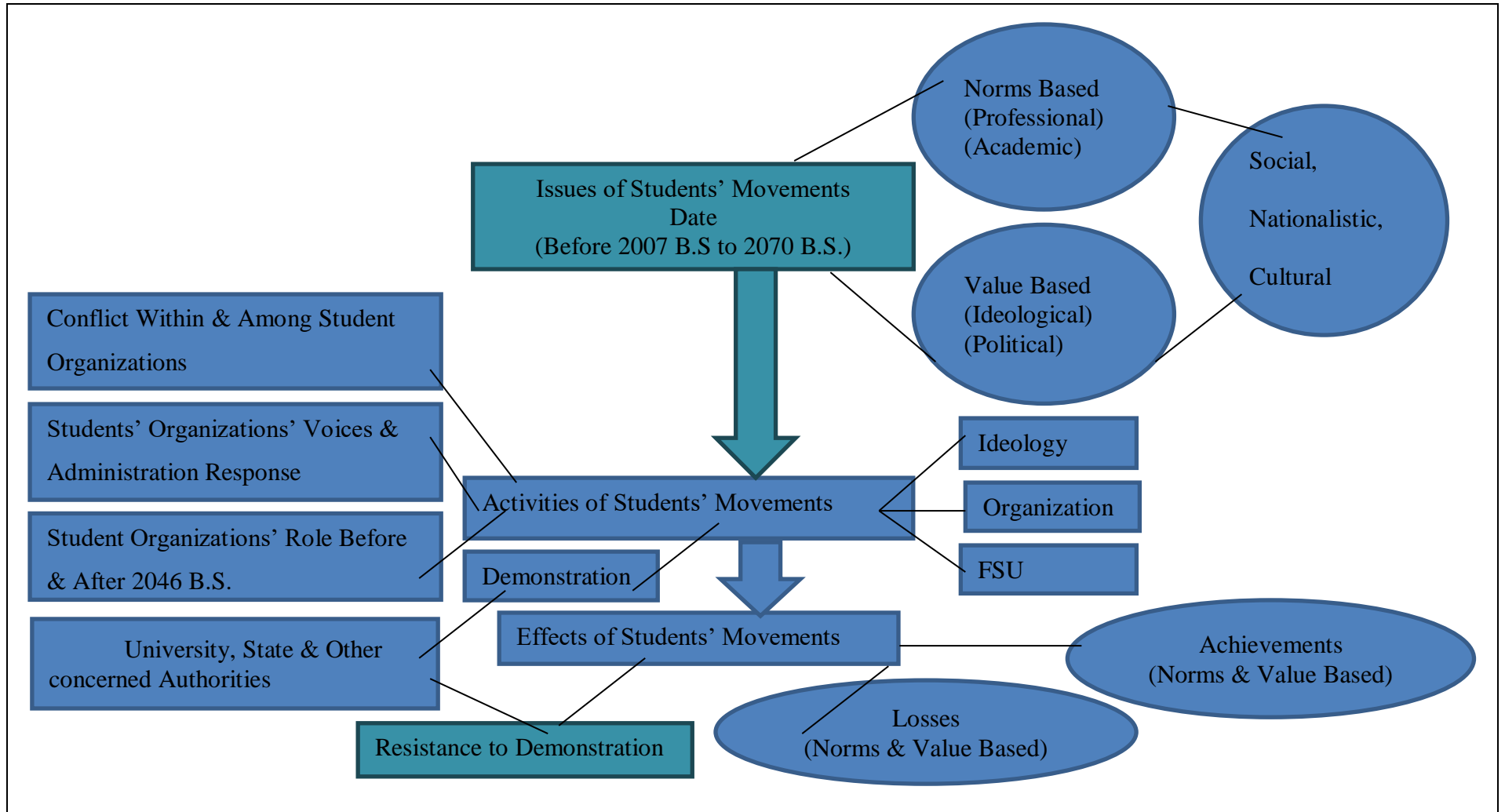


Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the study.

Theoretical Overview

In my research work, I have reviewed different theories. It is understood that particular theory does not justify the overall research study of this type but each theory has its meaning for analyzing the students' movements'. The theories I have revised were of typical connection to one or many part of the resistance politics and academic environment. It means different theories have their values in different situations and circumstances on these research topics. Getting theoretical knowledge had prepared me to answer the research questions smoothly. But, cross connections of different theories having same meaning in one or different parts of incidents of students' movements; students roles, responsibilities, and behaviors, have forced me not to interpret it using theories directly to the chapters. The theories I have assumed here is undertaken for how these theoretical knowledge is basis for this study.

Critical Perspectives

We are seeing through our naked eyes that world is changing. It is necessary to analyze and interpret data with multiple perspectives. I think, being critical is itself a knowledge source. That is why I turned to the works of critical writers particularly Habermas (1972) theory of knowledge that it uncovers, examines, and critiques the social, cultural, and psychological assumptions which structure and limit our ways of thinking and being in the world. The ultimate objective of this type of critique is to free ourselves from these constraints, to become empowered to change our social context and ourselves. It focuses less on individuals than on context.

In case of educational research, critical research queries the context where learning takes place, including the larger systems of society, the culture and institutions that shape educational practice, the structural and historical conditions framing practice. Questions are asked regarding whose interests are being served by

the ways in which the educational system is organized. Who get access to a particular program, and what are the upshots from which education is structured.

Likewise my research work focuses on why and how the student movements are taking place. Then, critical questions arises about the influence of powerful to less powerful, how power relations advance the interests of one group while oppressing those of other groups, and the nature of truth and the construction of knowledge.

Theory of Structuration

Theory of Structuration was developed by Anthony Giddens. I have followed the book 'the constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration' which was published in 1984. It has explored the question of whether it is individual or social forces that shape our social reality. He avoids extreme positions, arguing that although people are not entirely free to choose their own actions, and their knowledge is limited, they even so are the agency, which reproduces the social structure which leads to social change.

Giddens (1984) writes that the connection between structure and action is a fundamental element of social theory, structure and agency are a duality that cannot be conceived of apart from one another and his main argument is contained in his expression duality of structure. One thing that has to be remembered is that people make society, but is at the same time embarrassed by it. "Action and structure cannot be analyzed separately, as structures are created, maintained and changed through actions, while actions are given meaningful form only through the background of the structure" (Giddens, 1984).

In depth review of Giddens's theory, I have been convinced with his knowledge that human agency and social structure are in a relationship with each other, and it is the repetition of the acts of individual agents, which reproduces the

structure. This means that there is a social structure - traditions, institutions, moral codes, and established ways of doing things; but it also means that these can be changed when people start to ignore them, replace them, or reproduce them differently.

Giddens (1984) defines structure as “consisting of rules and resources involving human actions” that Bone (2005) modified the term as “sets of rules and resources that individual actors draw upon in the practices that reproduce social systems”.

Again, Giddens (1984) distinguished between systems and structures. Systems exhibit structural properties but are not structures themselves. The process of producing and reproducing system is called structuration where the system itself is situated activities of human agents. In social interaction, application of generative rules and resources is produced and reproduced (Reitzer, 2003).

Knowledge regarding structuration, one thing is to remember that relations that took shape in the structure can exist out of time and place i.e. independent of the context in which they are created. An example is the relationship between a teacher and a student: when they come across each other in another context, say on the street, the hierarchy between them is still preserved.

Giddens (1984) suggests that structures (traditions, institutions, moral codes, and other sets of expectations - established ways of doing things) are generally quite stable, but can be changed, especially through the unintended consequences of action, when people start to ignore them, replace them, or reproduce them differently.

‘Agency’ refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices whereas ‘Structure’ refers to the recurrent patterned

arrangements that seem to influence or limit the choices and opportunities that individuals possess (Chris, 2005, p. 448).

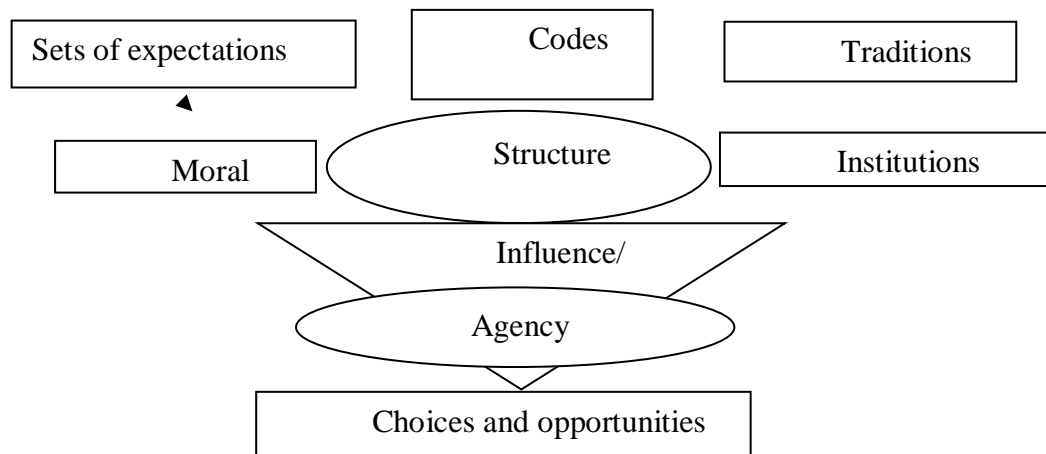


Figure 2. Structural relation in structuration.

Connecting this theoretical knowledge to student's movements reveals that social structure having traditions, institutions, moral codes, and established ways of doing things difficult to change in short duration and by simple efforts. It can be changed when students start to ignore them, replace them, or reproduce them differently. It means, the theory itself defined the slow pace of social transformation if rules and regulations started to obey by the same actors involve in making that rule or the actors might be students or other stakeholders of the society. Change is natural phenomenon, which nobody obstructs.

Social Movement Theory

Before entering the theory, I have focused on what is all about social movements. A social movement is a "collective endeavour to promote or resist change in the society of which it forms part" (Bottomore, 1979). On the other hand, Heywood (1997) defines a social movement as "a collective body distinguished by a high level of commitment and political activism, but often lacking a clear organisation". Gidden (1989) talked about social movement that it is a collective attempt to further a

common interest, or secure a common goal, through collective action outside the sphere of established institutions (as cited in Aberle, 1966).

Different theorists have talked about types of social movement. Aberle talked about transformative and reformatory social movements according to their aim which is the most crucial. Transformative means setting out to transform society, or seeking far-reaching changes. Examples of such movements are revolutionary and radical movements (Giddens, 1989, as cited in Aberle, 1966). An example, students' value based movements or the ideology based movements. Whereas reformatory does mean having more limited objectives, aiming to right specific "injustices" (Giddens, 1989, as cited in Aberle, 1966). For example students' norms based movements' e.g. anti-abortion movement.

Again, Tilly (2004) in his book *Social Movements* has pointed out knowledge regarding social movement. He mentioned that it is a type of group action. They are large informal groupings of individuals and organizations focused on specific political and social issues. In other words, he pointed out about carrying out, resisting or undoing social change. Social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics that it is a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people made collective claims on others (Tilly, 2004). Tilly (2004) argues that there are three major elements campaigns, repertoire and WUNC to a social movement. He says:

Campaigns: sustained, organized public effort-making collective claims of target authorities; Repertoire: employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action: creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn procession, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and

pamphleteering; and WUNC displays: participants' concerted public representation of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitments on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies (p. 98).

Again, another writer Tarrow (1994) in his book *Power in Movement: Collective Action, Social Movements and Politics* published in 1994 finely defined about social movements. He mentioned that it is a collective challenge to elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities.

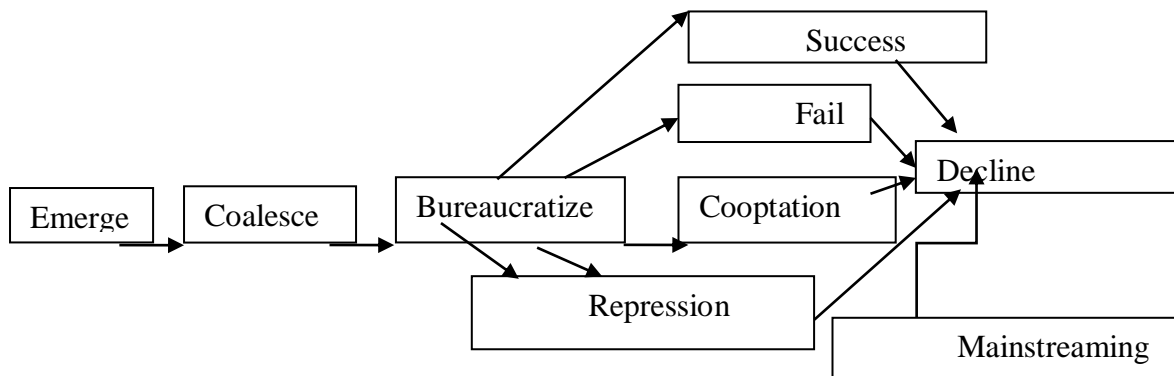


Figure 3. Stages of social movements.

Connecting this theory to student's movements, it has been learned that the three major elements to a social movement, campaigns, repertoire and WUNC, are the elements of students' movements because student movements itself is for the cause of students and for overall society as they directed towards social issues.

Power Theory

Resistance always comes in action when there is an act by any forces. Also, politics always revolves around power and it is mutually exclusive. We know that the term power usually act to influence the behavior of others. There is some sort of resistance during the process. Resistance might be of physiological or using physical force. There is a legitimate power to use force. Power in principle is necessary to run society and exercise of power is accepted as social beings. It means power is the

intentional influence over the beliefs, emotions and behaviors of people (French & Bell, 1999).

There are two things come during defining the term power. One is authority and the other is role. "Authority refers to the formal power to act, conferred on an individual to enable him to fulfill his responsibilities" (Cole, 1998) and the term role is the pattern of behavior expected by others, from a person occupying a certain position in an organizational hierarchy (Huczynski & Buchanan, 1985). Exercise of power depends upon role of individuals in an organization. How much legitimate role somebody exercising is an important factor.

In case of students' movements, there is some power attended by student leader during their activities. Also, there is legitimate power attended by authority. When students' movements occurred, there is a kind of resistance acts and in action student organizations react. There is use of power which might or might not be authority.

Getting knowledge regarding power theory, conflict is one of the most important terms useful to understand. When there is power there is conflict and it is the friction or opposition resulting from actual or perceived differences or incompatibilities with others and their roles (Huczynski & Buchanan, 1985).

Finally, it has been learned that power theory believes about ability to influence the behavior of others by resisting or without resistance. Student organizations also try to influence or use their power to influence the authority if they have right issues on right time and having backing of student mass to decide in favor of them. Again, state and university authority have also legitimate power to influence the student organization' activities.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

My study has collected subjective issues of political, social and academic backgrounds, raised by student organizations throughout the history of Nepalese student movements. I have tried to workout numerous effects by their activities on overall academic environment of TU. Research questions of this enquiry demanded mostly a qualitative technique.

I have tried to inform my readers interestingly about the resistance politics, students movements and academia, beginning with the matter from philosophical foundation that I studied on foundation of education; Ontology, Epistemology and Axiology on my course at Kathmandu University, school of education. Then, I have shed light about methodology, which again made sub section into research paradigm, approaches and methods respectively. I thought to mention relation among research questions and field works. I have made clear the logic behind utilizing fieldwork activities in line with basic research questions and the questions rose at field level. I have tried to tackle the field level research questions with suitable data collection base. I have also strictly mentioned about delimitation, data analyzing tools, research standards and the ways of analyzing and interpretation of data, to claim for perfect research work.

Ontology, Epistemology and Axiology

In qualitative research, we believe in multiple realities, subjective response and value system. In my research work, I have interacted with 22 respondents and they have reflected their values based on their own knowledge, perception and made

forecast. They have opined more or less similarly or differently about the issues political, social and academic rose by student organizations in Nepalese student movements. Likewise, they have claimed similar or different effects by the students' movements' roles at higher education institutions like TU.

Historians, independent researchers, general writers, politicians and other interested persons have written documents about student movements in different time of history. They have made their own standpoints about the state of affairs of student movements and multiple positive and negative affects by their activities in higher education institution of TU and its colleges. I felt that mission of student movements were same in different historical context but goals were different because of time, political space, situation and whim, which tended to guide the students movements in the academic and political sphere. That is why philosophical base is necessary to understand the reality of subjective research paradigm.

Methodological Framework

Table 1

Methodological Framework of the Study

Paradigm	Reasoning
Non-positivistic/Interpretive	I have looked pros and cons of resistance to politics, focusing on student movements in different historical context of Nepal. I have tried to match the analysis with currently available academicians and student leaders as a role player of the movements in different student movements. I have worn the glass of subjective paradigm having multiple realities, individual subjective response and value system.

Research Approach	There are different critical theories in different
Critical	historical context. In my interpretation, I have tried to follow theory of structuration, theories and social movement.

Methods	After long consultation with historians, student
Historical	leaders, scholars and academicians, I have identified proper literatures related to student movements in Nepal. After in-depth analysis of secondary sources of information, I myself have been to direct or indirect participants of the historic movements, propagated, and explained these patterned analysis unless they embraced them as their own. After getting their views weather similar or different from my secondary study, I differentiated them again, I was having been to search more literatures for accuracy. In one case, I had selected wrong respondent though I corrected the right one. I have tried to analyse and interpreted interlinking different theories but I do not get any exact theory appropriate to my overall research. That is because I do not follow any particular theory, which I have mentioned at chapter five.

Research Questions and Field Works

My first research question focuses on the issues raised by student organizations during their movements in different historical periods whereas the

second question goes after, its effects in academia. Both the questions asked to get answer in 'what' form. I have got information about historical documents from the secondary sources and tallied it with primary data. Systematic studies of historical documents have made me easy to know the issues in order and it has helped where to go for primary sources. Series of literature reviews, concerning and connecting with literature writers, I have forecasted real image of the scenarios of the student movements of that periods, its consequences and the results. All the primary sources specially the respondents in both in-depth interviews and focus group discussions are confirmed by the nature of secondary sources of information. Likewise, the primary sources have given the clues to check more literatures what they knew in their knowledge circle. Specific research questions and their parts were changed during the field study as the pre assumed research questions had been modified, added and omitted according as its value for the research work. All these happened during my field trip where I asked the respondent researchers about its relevancies and the alternatives.

My research questions tend to search respondents having student leadership, academic and general students backgrounds, as they were the eyewitness of the student organizational activities of their time. They have their own perspective about student movements and its effects in higher education system. Their experiences, arguments and interpretation about the movements are reliable source for more literatures reviews and helpful for conforming the previously reviewed literature.

I had believed and followed the secondary literatures from genuine sources, and reviewed and analyzed the documents. I selected the primary sources of information in such a way that they had knowledge regarding student organizations, student movements and recognizance for both positive and negative effects of the

movements besides other activities of student organizations and other factors in stimulating the movement.

Relevancy of Qualitative Approach in This Study

This study has been conducted based mostly on literature review and fieldwork. Research questions of this study demanded a qualitative approach of inquiry. They attempt to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to explain the meaning of peoples' experience, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations (Kvale, 1996). That is why I have used qualitative approach. It is more relevant than quantitative one because quantitative research activities are objective, detached stance towards research participants and their setting, but in case of qualitative data collection researchers become personally involved with research participants, to the point of sharing a caring attitude (Lund, 2005).

The primary research question of this study had to study subjective issues of political, social and academic backgrounds raised by student organizations throughout the history of Nepalese student movements'. In addition, it has tried to workout numerous effects by their activities on overall academic sector of TU. I have gathered data interviewing students, student leaders, professors and university decision makers who were directly or indirectly participated or engaged in political courses. Through interviewing student leaders, I got some new dimensions for the study and tried to explore those issues interviewing with other concerned respondents of different faculty. By the way, multidiscipline research participants have been selected during field journey.

Likewise, the qualitative approach allowed me to revise both my issues and methodologies at the field level. Through in-depth interviews, some questions were raised in my mind, which has been addressed at the time of focus group discussion.

Again, some issues were explored which could not be addressed through focus group discussion that has been arranged for individual interviews. To understand the issues and effects, interviews are conducted with academicians and university administration. In collecting data for the present study, research questions are set in more easy and convincing way.

As we know, this type of research study studies the causes and behind the causes of social action which Lund (2005) in his qualitative approach explained, “researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, report detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting and gathers rich and contextual information of the voices of the participants in their own settings”.

In qualitative research, the researcher become subjectively attaches. In this study, I became a tool for collecting data that frequent interviews, observations and focus group discussions are done in contextual manner.

In focus group discussion, I have selected ten participants. Before starting the conversation I have given short lecture to the research participants that, according to May (2001) that allow researchers to explore group norms and dynamics around issues and topics constitute a valuable tool of investigation.

With the consent of the interviewees, data has been recorded using a tape recorder. In addition, I elaborated the context with my own experience. This provided me with important information.

Preparing the Guides

Underlining the views of Miles and Huber (1984), I have followed different guides for interviews and focus group discussions. As they pointed out that predetermined and structured instruments blind the researcher to the site, and most important phenomena or underlying constructs at work in the field are not in the

instruments, they would be overlooked or misrepresented. As structured instruments are risk keeping then I developed guides following three steps by myself instead of structured instruments.

Firstly, I prepared the first draft of the guides based on my own experience about the issue of the research. At the second stage, I discussed with my supervisor. They provided me valuable suggestions. I went to with primarily developed guides. I took the opportunity to discuss with some of the researchers of Nepal who were experienced in social research. They provided a meaningful feedback to make second draft of the guides. At the final stage, I compared the guides in the field level to see how those worked. Based on the experience of that comparison, I made required change to the guides. However, I was always open to change, add or deduct issues of the guides in the original field situation. Because, I could not predict what will be happening in the actual field situation.

Delimitations of Data Collection

The research is based upon historical data. I have collected almost available literatures of student movements in Nepal during the period before 2007 to 2068 B.S. I have thoroughly reviewed the literatures of student movements to get information from scholars and concerned persons for the purpose of my research study. I have also collected available information regarding education policies, strategies, plan and program set out by state machinery during different historical periods. This has made me supportive to analyze the pattern of student's movements in aforementioned time period.

In addition, I have reviewed literature of progress of Nepalese higher education system. It is supportive to delve in qualitative into the subject and to understand the norms and values based student movements of Nepal. The secondary

sources of information took account of newspapers, periodicals, executive and official orders, articles, archives, thesis, autobiographies, higher education acts, documents of student organizations, contents, abstracts, journal researches and published books based on students' movements organizations. At first secondary data has been analyzed and later primary data collection has been carried out by purposive in-depth interviews from selected respondents of concerned fields. Respondents were included forefront leaders of the student organizations, eyewitness of the movements, responsible authorities of academic sectors during both the past and in contemporary time. The student leaders and the academicians of Tribhuvan University either direct involvement or encountered indirectly to student movements during the historical context are the major sources of primary data collection. The information from primary and secondary sources is tallied with each other for getting proper information about the research. I have selected TU central campus of Kathmandu as the primary source of information collection.

Research Standards

As we know, the method of data collection cannot employ the method of direct observation. First, I had collected the secondary sources of information then, took the primary data by in-depth interviews and focus group discussion with those who witnessed or direct or indirect participants in these events. These collected data were systematically organized; carefully analyzed and appropriate conclusion was drawn with probable implication. To delimit the probable errors, I have consulted with researchers of related fields. I had concentrated on source data with suitable localization, authentic authorship, and then only processed for analysis so that it would be easy to get its integrity. Only after getting authenticity of historical documents, I opened the study documents for review. I was seeking on the literal

meaning and real meaning of the textual documents of secondary literature which I believed its truth.

I have analyzed varieties of statements systematically from historical documents about student movements and its effects in higher education institution. Biasness has been neutralized by minimizing and supplementing with opposite motivation. The trusted sources have been channelized and put into chronological order. Usually, I have compared the documents of different writers and put the most common one in order. The organized documents of student movements are again tabled to the direct or indirect eyewitness of student movements in different historical periods. The nearest about my analysis or much trusted respondent having knowledge regarding student movements and its effects in academia has been characterized as reliable sources of information.

Credibility

At the beginning of my research work, I was aware about the source credibility. As my research being qualitative, I was conscientious on its practical orientation. I have counterbalanced the probable biasness feeling of my mind, as credibility is the main thing of my research work.

As we know, primary sources are more reliable than the secondary sources. Therefore, I planned to go on collect closest secondary sources of information. After getting proper information source with essential data, I went to direct interviews and focus group discussion and shared my information sources and data so that if there were any correction to be done and further literature necessary to review what I repeatedly went on search for secondary sources for better literature regarding my research. What I ultimately believed was if numbers of independent sources contain the same message then the credibility remains strongly increase.

I have tried to make my text and analysis more comprehensible to readers. To make the information trustworthy, to get recognition and for well acceptance, the information has been shared with the respondents.

Ethics

As a qualitative researcher, I have maintained my trustworthiness among respondents. Some of the issues raised by dignified respondents were confidential, but they were agreed to disclose their views. I have tried to maintain their dignity by proper confidentiality. I have followed Kathmandu University, School of Education's norms, values, rules, regulation, and ethical guideline. Intellectual comments, suggestions, guidelines and feedbacks have been earnestly obeyed and valued in the research process.

Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis and interpretation has been taken as twofold approach. I had designed a tool for analyzing the data adopting the principle of set theory. First of all have gathered the entire primary information in direct contact with the respondents and compilation has been done in order. I did not feel any language complications for understanding the texts of secondary literatures. Though all the respondents were interviewed in native Nepali language and translated to English with minimum fallacy.

The data gathered has been viewed and transcribed seriously with cross-verifications and rechecking. Rigorous process has been followed up in making them meaningful. The research process has been made more comprehensible and legible. The data has been gathered according their types and nature.

After transcribing and codification, the data has been processed and missing information is reincorporated. All of them have been edited one by one in chronological order to avoid errors.

The data has been coded, decoded and categorized for systematic analysis. Contents and sub-contents have been divided into different sections to make more apparent for viewers. The research issues have been categorized into various groups. According to the nature of data and grouping, the contents and sub-contents of the research theme has been developed to make them readable, reflective, understandable and justifiable for viewers. To bring into right shape, supervisor has been frequently consulted for necessary help and guidance.

After categorization process, the theme has been made to draw out the meaning based on such categories. In addition, the research products have clustered into different categories in the process of making themes.

CHAPTER IV

ISSUES OF THE STUDENTS MOVEMENTS

As I had to identify social, political and academic issues raised by student movements in different historical contexts, I have focused on literature reviews of Nepalese students' movements in different time, contexts and spaces. Besides focusing only on past documents, interviews were done with the eyewitnesses who first hand covered the movements or closely watched or were associated. Literatures were carefully reviewed in sequential order, written by different writers since its inception. After that, in-depth interviews were carried out to the concerned stakeholders. The in-depth interviews guided me to go on follow more literatures for better understanding about the matters. Actually, my assumptions and practices of process of data collection figured out the socio, political and academic issues of the matters in different span of time of its history. Comparing documents of different literatures and making decisions to proper one for each case assured to withdraw single line of thought or biasness.

During research journey, different literatures had been tussled, the filtered one was considered as original. Involving students (present and past), student leaders (present and past), writers, professors (once student leaders or just eyewitness) and executive head of academic institutions (once student leader or just professionals) as primary source of information was really a tough job. The matters were such a sensitive that it was difficult to sit people for in-depth interviews.

Literatures reviews suggested that study all about the issues of student movements should complete in two folds; the history of students' movements before 2046 B.S and after 2046B.S.

I have structured the contents in such a way that the first half of the section has divided into different parts that is before 2007 B.S, 2007-2017B.S., 2017-2027 B.S., 2027-2036 B.S., 2037 -2046 B.S, within ten years intervals whereas second half has been studied without such intervals. Study had its focus on student organizations' norms based issues, norms and value based issues, or value based issues in different socio-political transition in Nepal.

To get answer about the research questions, I have made sub-questions like, when Nepalese student movements started and why. I had to know the situation of the development of the movements. It was essential to know the political situations and students strengths of that period. How did student organizations groom and what were the reasons for the motivation? What were the circumstances that led to make strengths of students' fronts? What types of agendas were their strengths of motivation or inspiration towards student organizations? How the regime resisted their organizational activities and what happened. How much the students were sensitive on their social, political, national and academic issues? Who were the energizers in pushing the students for the movements? I have tried to get answers of aforementioned questions through historical study of secondary data and primary respondents' views.

I have followed the analysis in such a way that first I had studied the matters thoroughly through secondary sources then, went to primary informants. I made success to get suggestions of different social science researchers, teachers and my guide. I learned that student leaders, professors, students and administrative heads of

academic institutions were the better resource persons for the interviews. Student leaders had knowledge regarding student movements' history, issues of students, and the impact of the movements. Likewise, academicians and administrative professionals had knowledge regarding students' movements, their activities, leaderships, issues, motivations, actions and roles. General students were also the important factors for the data collection. They could talk about the real ground situation of student organizations, their leaders, roles and responsibilities and its effects in present and past situation of their work, what I have done in record and analyzed the matters.

Student Movement before 2007 B.S.

Students have occupied a crucial role for the struggle of democracy in Nepal. Before 2007 B.S., though, there was no any such student movement directly active for the democratic movement. I asked the respondents about how and for what reason student movements started in Nepal. Most of my respondent gave a similar type of answer. In an interview, one of my respondent, regular student of Tribhuvan University central campus said that the movement was started from students' side when students of Tindhara Pathshala put agendas of getting education in modern subjects like mathematics and social science and the movement was named as *JayetuShaskritum* (B.B. Bista, personal communication, June 9, 2011). Another respondent, Unit president of ANNFSU, TU committee had added that the movement conducted in absence of political party (Y.P. Acharya, Personal communication, July 22, 2011). The time became favorable for to establish student organization in 17/03/2006 B.S. in the name of Akhil Nepal Student Federation (Neupane, 2063 B.S.).

Another respondent, ex-student of TU P. Bhandary added that the formally raised agendas at the beginning without presence of political parties made political color after a while. The movement internalized political faith. Students became the means of deliberation of political views and voices to the people during the time when political parties were band. Political parties had given responsibility to young, energetic and potential youths to strengthen their parties and compelled them to establish student organizations (P. Bhandary, personal communication, June 1, 2011).

Reviewing the literatures major agendas raised by the student movements of 2004 B.S. was to modify the Sanskrit curriculum including modern subjects like geography, history, economics and science, to overhaul the existing examination system in Nepal and increase in scholarship. They were also demanded to establish a Sanskrit College (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

In Nepal, beside the student movement of 2004 B.S., all other movements were organized by the guideline of political parties (B.B. Bista, personal communication, June 9, 2011). It has been found that there was a student movement before 2007 B.S., it was academic but indirectly influenced by political, as the situation was developing to strengthen youth's voices for political change.

Student Movements (2007- 2017) B.S.

After getting information about students' academic agendas as above mentioned, I would like to know about the emergence of student organizations, their political and academic agendas.

In 2007 B.S., the Rana autocracy was overthrown and democratic politics began in Nepal. The first general election was held in 2015 B.S. Political parties informally started to open their student wings. According to Rana, established student organizations before 2017 B.S. were Nepal Chatra Sang, Nepal Shaskrit Chatra Sang

and Akhil Nepal Student Federation. Leftist Maoist Student organizations were said to be progressive whereas the student organization associated to BP Koirala was said to be democratic (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

Literature mentioned that Nepal Chatra Sang and Akhil Nepal Student Federation were the student organizations that started movements in line with party guidelines. According to Rana (2050 B.S.), Nepal Chhatra Sang the first student organization conducted a demonstration demanding peace and stability in Nepal at Bhugol Park in 10, Kartik, 2008 B.S. Rana –Congress government dispersed the students gathering using armed force that killed 16 years old pedestrian Chin Kaji Shrestha but by that students movement home minister BP Koirala resigned from the post.

According to Subedi, ANSF conducted student movements against the Delhi agreement of 2007, one after another-Indian armies' interference to Nepal, Koshi agreement of 2011 B.S., Gandhak agreement of 2016 B.S. ANSF cadres raised black flag to Indian Premier Joharlal Neharu during his Nepal visit (2048 B.S.). Whereas SCS during the first democratic transition played crucial role for uplifting limited stakeholders' presence in an academia. In 2008, 2010 and 2013 B.S., Sang demanded legitimacy of Shaskrit graduate at administrative sectors, increase the salary of staffs, national recognition of Shaskrit Mahabidhyalaya exam and revolt against the government policy of undermining Shaskri educational progress (Rana, 2050 B.S.). Most of the agendas of Shaskrit Chatra Sang were academic whereas the agendas of ANSF were political.

Subedi (2048 B.S.) said that in 2014 B.S., ANSF voiced for Constituent assembly election during BHADRA ABAGYA (silent confrontation) movement. ANSF demonstrated alongside the JANABIRODHI activities of Nepali Congress

government in 2016 B.S. and actively participated on the movements of Janamorcha and Janabadi organizations at that moment.

It was a time that students and political leaders felt need of strong student organizations to resist any policies taken by the governing body. Most of the respondents and literatures suggested that, the time of history was breeding ground of student organizations and their characters setting. Student organization principally related to rightist was focused on academic issues whereas left background student organization movement was political in nature. In this period, student organizations had less focused on academic agendas rather oriented on political and national issues.

Student Movements (2017-2027) B.S.

In 2015 B.S., Nepali Congress succeeded the majority in parliament and BP Koirala became the first elected prime Minister. However, after eighteen months in succession, in 2017 B.S. King Mahendra did coup and dissolved the parliament, dismissed BP Koirala, banned political parties, and arrested all political party leaders. He imposed despotic Panchayat system.

I interviewed with different professionals related with student movements but most of my respondents were active in student organizational course or academic sector only after 2027 B.S. Most of the data during the period (2007- 2027) B.S. were secondary and the primaries were what the interviewees answered about their secondary knowledge of information.

One of the respondents, ex- Vice Chancellor of Tribhuvan University (TU), who was a student leader during (2017-2027) B.S., said that student activism was restricted in TU, established in 2013 B.S. and had a little chance to raise political agendas. Situation was worse that there was conflict between ex-premier and king. Everybody had feeling of getting education and students were very serious in their

education. It was hardly possible for a single day strike. They declared one-day strike on the behalf of Mahendra Morang campus issue. Education secretary was compelled to go Morang and the authority took minor issues sensitively. It should be no any academic disturbance due to their movement (K.K. Joshi, Personal communication, July 25, 2011).

Enquiring about time being reasons of student organizations operated in our academic sector to K.B. Mathema (June, 12 2011), ex-vice chancellor of TU replied as political parties started to open their respective student organizations. Congress, Communist Party Marxist and Leninist, King's groups and started to function their respective students' wing, which ultimately used for movements for and against the political systems.

Concerning about the student union of that period, literatures suggested that in 2019 B.S., Panchayat government decided to found state controlled student organization. Hemanta Bahadur GC became the president. He started to extend their organizational units at schools and colleges level. Leftist and democrat students were already raising issue of establishing student union. After that, Panchayat government gave mandate to form student union at Tribhuvan University (Rana, 2050 B.S.). However, in 2025 B.S., Nationalist Free Student Mandal was dismissed (Subedi, 2048 B.S.).

After getting authority to compete at student union, Inter college student organization was established in 29, Baishak, 2021B.S... The organization presented different agendas to government. The agendas were:- grant recognition of Free Student Union at different colleges; close the Gorkha recruitment center, 50% discount in public transportation and some reservation seats to students in hospital for treatment. The movements peaked in climax, there was heavy repression. Many

student leaders were arrested but after huge pressure, all the students were released (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

In addition, Neupane said that the enter college student organization established by the leadership of Tri-Chandra college student union. It had conducted Kathmandu valleys' enter- college student conference. The conference decided to go on movement by setting forth the agendas like withdrawal of all unequal treaties with India, establish FSU as a right of students and release all the imprisoned students (2063 B.S.).

One thing important to know is that in system where student politics develop the most sophisticated organizations and extensive involvement beyond the campus may be become systems in which student's politics are more repressively restricted (Levy, 1981).

Until 2025 B.S., there was good relation among student organizations. After Mansir, 2025 B.S., Communists made propaganda in the name of Akhil Nepal Free Student Union, distributing pamphlets and blaming unnecessarily to democratic students and their leader BP Koirala. The relation of student organizations were disturbed (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

At that period, that student organizations conducted movements separately. There was not harmonious relation among student organizations. They blamed each other's organization. Rana (2050 B.S.) in his book Nepal Student Union for Democratic Movement pointed out that the role of leftist students were very negative, when student movements conducted by the leadership of rightist students in 2022, 2023 and 2026 B.S.. Rightist students were regularly involved in strike and Satyagraha for getting rights to operate organizations inside and outside the jail,

whereas leftist students were withdrawing strikes and Satyagraha and went on to continue their classes in campuses.

Getting information about formal establishment of student organizations in Nepal, ANNFSU was first student organization established for to fight for nationalism, democracy and social justice. It believed that students had a responsibility to the country and to the people. Within the education sector, it declared that it was fighting for improved education for the students (Barnhart, June, 8, 1999).

Subedi (2048 B.S.) in his book pointed out that progressive student organization demanded for the improvement of education sector and they raised movements against American expansionism. In addition, they organized movements against Khampa, new education policy during the period of (2025-2032) B.S.

The NSU, established in 1970 AD, described as nationalist organization of democratic- socialist students. Since its inception, NSU has been in the forefront of the struggle for democracy. It has acted like a training ground for the future leaders of the Nepali Congress. NSU lunched several movements such as a 1971 AD movement opposing the government's New Education Policy. The government suppressed the movement and many students were jailed (Barnhart, June, 8, 1999).

Even though being a sister organization of Nepali Congress, NSU presented its first institutional agendas of releasing all the students penned in jail from the Akhil Nepal Student convention, taking re-exam of the previous year's pending exam of TU, making 50% discount on transportation and other educational materials of students. In addition, other issues were to make separate block to students health checks at hospitals, TU should give authority to 18 colleges, with draw security law i.e. the black law, release political prisoner and issues of national sovereignty.

Subedi (2048 B.S.) in his book 'Half century of Student movements' mentioned that during the period of (2017-2027) B.S., student organizations raised issues and conducted different movements like movements against the dictatorship, voiced for nationality, movements against western and southern expansionism, voiced for livelihood, social justice, students' rights and its preservation, unlawful arrest , torture etc.

Before the primary data collection, I thoroughly reviewed literature regarding student movements. Most of the secondary data revealed that during the period 2017 B.S. to 2021 B.S., political parties established their respective student wings so that they could manage their organizational work against the Panchayat regime as well as rivalry parties and their sister organizations. The banned political parties not only organize their political strengths but the system was one-step ahead to establish their supporter student organization.

During the period of 2022 B.S. to 2027 B.S., there were different conventions in the name of Akhil and had history of splitting and re- joining of leftist student forces. They passed different organizational agendas during their united and separate conventions. They conducted many debates and discussions on their ideological and other issues like democracy, autocracy, nationalism, education policies and others. Panchayat government repressed their conventions and programs many times and took many leaders to jail. They conducted different movements against the autocratic Panchayat regime. It was a period when there were many clashes and blaming game within Akhil fractions and among leftists and rightists forces. While, analyzing the priority sector of student movements during this time, they had given first priority to the issues of nationalism, the second political change and the last academic.

Student Movements (2028-2036) B.S.

In an interview with Akhil Nepal National Free Student Union Revolutionary (ANNFSUR) Unit president of TU, Prashai said that during the period of Panchyat regime, political parties were trying to get support from Nepalese people to overthrow the system. They thought student organizations might be a proper platform to implement their issues. They strategically set their faith-based organizations as student organizations in garnering support of the general people to overthrow the regime. Student organizations were established for gathering support for political movements by making them aware about the parties' ideologies and principles in building their mindset political (personal communication, June 18, 2011).

In an interview with Akhil Nepal National Free Student Union (ANNFSU) unit president of TU, Y.P. Acharya said that the time when there were few colleges and schools and the level of knowledge among the Nepali society was low, students took part in movements to aware the general public. Political parties raised their issues utilizing their student organizations that they were banned at that time. Political parties collect students in line with their student wings. Political parties' voices came from their respective students wings (personal communication, July 22, 2011).

In an interview with Unit president of Nepal Student Union (NSU), TU, I asked about the institutionalization of student organization. K. Koirala said that students were able to talk against the dictatorship and went out profoundly raise voices against the system as they were emotional, capable to stand and action oriented. Before 2036 BC, free student unions were not legalized. At that time, there were councils where students took part in election by forming their respective groups. Each group represented by their own ideology. Different ideological groups faced election and finally the popular group wins the election of council. By the formation

of organized groups steadily, student organizations were emerged (personal communication June 9, 2011).

Jhakri the past president of ANNFSU told me that the student movements until 2028 B.S. were not affected the academic sector seriously. After 2028 B.S., the student movements were productive to solve the national situation but degraded the university's academia (personal communication, July 24, 2011).

In an interview with ex-student leader and recent member of constituent assembly as of United Communist Party Maoist (UCPM), Rokka said that during the period of Panchayat regime, there was a great role of student organizations for the democratic movements in Nepal. Their organization did not have direct contact to political authority of their mother parties. That was not an easy access to contact the grounded leaders. Generally, they identified the agendas and prepared for the movement with agenda paper after an internal discussion (personal communication, June 16, 2011).

In 2027 B.S., NSU presented its first institutional agendas: release all the students taken to jail from the Akhil Nepal Student convention; with draw security law i.e. the black law; release political prisoners and issues of national sovereignty (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

In 2028 B.S., the Panchayat government adapted the practical and semester based education system in the name of National New Education Project. Student protested against the Panchayat continuing policy based education system. The slogan of the education policy was for betterment. However, unavailable professional human resources and insufficient physical facilities, the practical based education system did not work well (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

In an interview with ex-president of ANNFSU, R.K. Jhakri said that the education policy adopted by King Birendra in 2028 B.S. was not understood by the student leaders of that period. On the other hand, the situation might be created in such a way that they did not know the background of adopting the policy. At that time, the student organizations raised the issues like establishment of many universities and the rectification of examination system (personal communication, July 24, 2011).

In an interview with Professor, department of education, TU, P.L. Devkota mentioned that he was a student at the time of 2028 B.S. when students demonstrated for construction of Kuleshore-TU road. There were many students injured by these student movements. University administration demanded the Panchayat government and started to construct motor road. (personal communication, June 11, 2011).

Akhil in alliance with NSU conducted movement putting 28 points demands. Among the demands, the most crucial one was withdrawal of New Education System of 2028 B.S. (Subedi. 2048 B.S.) as taken from student movements (2027-2036) B.S...

With reference to Rana (2050 B.S.), NSU conducted strike at TU in 2029, Shrawan, 26, putting eight points' agendas. The agendas were TU should stop the regular closing of educational institutions, takeout code of conduct of not granting authority of free student's movements, remove Panchyat subject from Science and management faculties, not to control rights of access to higher education studies. In addition, the agendas were remove stringent policy of least number of pass result in the name of academic excellence, lower the number of educated unemployment, manage proper shuttle facilities to and from TU, dismiss all the YEN (regulation) like RAJKAJ APARAD, organization control, National direction and security, release all

the political prisoners, close the Gorkha Recruitment center and give independent publication rights.

Again, Rana (2050 B.S.) mentioned that the student movement of 2029 B.S. was unsuccessful due to the imprisonment of influential student leaders and infiltration of Panchayat supporter student leaders in to the organizing committee.

Before the 1979's movements, ANNFSU had experienced organizing movements around social issues. For example, in the early 1970's, small group of youths, including ANNFSU activists, revolted against the traditional party and tried to encourage the leftists by raising arms and taking action in their local area. They began an armed revolt against the local feudal property owners in the Jhapa region of eastern region of Nepal. A few land loads were executed as 'class enemies'. The movements failed to become nation-wide and vanished by 1975. The Panchayat jailed many ANNFSU members and four were killed immediately after their arrest (Barnhart, 1999).

After 1975, Nepal saw a resurgence of New Leftist organizations. The left reorganized and changed its course of action to focus more on mass movements. Influenced by China's Cultural Revolution and Back to village campaign, some Nepali students left the campuses, rejected their bourgeois education, and went underground, in disguise, to the villages. Their plan was to change the country by making the villagers conscious, educating them, and organizing them in preparation for the new revolution. Although no more than 50 students went underground and the campaign was unsuccessful, the event gained publicity because it was the student leaders who went to the villages (Bhushal, 1998, as cited in Barnhart, 1999).

NSU conducted nationwide movements on 12 Baishakh, 2032 B.S. The agendas were; to conduct election of FSU, students should have to provide podium in

National Development Service, dismiss the semester system and apply the annual examination system, implement private exam system, give facilities of exam center at many places, close entrance exam system. Likewise, stop the unnecessary code of conduct to students, increase scholarship number, decrease education fee, decrease inflation, release all the political prisoners by dismissing security law, the demands were not addressed properly but the movement took momentum throughout the country that made the student movements more popular (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

NSU organized another movement in 1972 for academic demands; again, the government suppressed the movements and imprisoned students (Barnhart, 1999).

Nepal Student Union started student movements' in 2032 B.S. putting 28 points agendas to the government where fraction of ANNFSU supported the movements and other group rejected. Due to this movement, the ANNFSU became frail by the internal conflicts. ANNFSU was divided into two wings called fifth and sixth (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

On April 1979 student marched in silent procession to picket the Pakistani embassy in Kathmandu against the execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto two days before, the leader of Pakistan's People Party. The demonstration also displayed the students' discontents with Nepal's regime and, " in an indirect manner, they demonstrated against the death sentence carried out earlier in the year upon two men convicted of the 1974 attempt on the King's life (Brown, 1996, as cited in Barnhart, 1999).

The demonstration against the execution of Bhutto was the beginning of the demonstration of student power leading to a mass upsurge in the Kingdom that brought the royal regime tottering on its feet, forcing it to concede a plebiscite on the form of government the people wanted (Kumar, 1980, as cited in Barnhart, 1999).

In 2035, Chaitra, student movements started against the Panchyat regime. The movements were conducted by Nepal student union, Federation and Akhil Fifth. The movement continues to 2036 B.S. and gained two major achievement that were compelled the regime to declare referendum and right to legitimate FSU (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

In Chaitra 26, 2036 B.S., students presented 26 points demands to the government and started movement against the Panchayat regime. They presented political, social and academic agendas during the movements.

The political agendas they had thrown were to release the detainees captured from 24/12/2036 movements conducted against the hanging of Julifir Ali Bhutto, apply the United Nation's Human Right Obligation and respect the people's sovereignty, rights, and freedom. The social agenda was to control the Inflation. Students had put academic agendas like give authority to establish FSU in colleges, with draw comprehensive exam, with draw entrance exam system, make thesis as optional paper, and remove within five years pass system. In addition, they had put issues like make system of changing subject in any level; apply the system of rechecking in presence of student representative instead of re-totaling. Students raised legitimate agendas like 50 % scholarship in technical education and 25% to other discipline for genuine students, withdraw the system of taking admission in each year and make one time admission system. They had also addressed other issues like give bus facility to go and come back from colleges, give reasonable cash to professors for copy correction, re-appoint all the service holder dismissed from TU service in 2032 B.S. and decrease college and school fees and others (Subedi, 2048 B.S.).

The movement began in Kathmandu valley and quickly spread throughout the country. It initially focused on educational demands and moved towards political

agendas. One of the main agenda was the right to have FSU with campus wide election. The students wanted to bring the democratic experiences into the student's body (Mahat, 1998, as cited in Barnhart, 1999).

During the curtail time of referendum 2036 B.S., ANNFSU started strike demanding 17 points agendas which was continue to three months though abortive (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

In an interview with general secretary of FSU TU, Bhattraï mentioned that the student movement of 2036 B.S. was academic apparently where as it was a political in orientation. At that time, the administration of campuses and university did not recognize student organizations as legal and responsible institutions that were why students demanded to establish a common platform for the welfare of students and finally it was established. The major academic achievement of Student organizations before 2046 B.S. was to establish FSU (personal communication, June 17, 2011).

In an interview with ANNFSU unit president of TU, Acharya said people got opportunity to take part in referendum the major achievement of the movement of 2036 B.S... The student movement of 2036 B.S. raised not only political agendas but also an issue of establishment of FSU as a common platform of all students and secured rights of education (Acharya, 2011). In line with Acharya, Unit president of ANNFSU (R) TU also had same view that the process of establishing student organizations took momentum during the period of 2036 B.S... The movement was successful to announce referendum of 2036 B.S. (A. Prasai, personal communication, June 18, 2011).

Added by Subedi the movement of 2036 B.S. was not only educational but also political. During the movement of 2036 B.S., one student leader presented 24 points agendas to the government. Among the agendas, one was to withdraw the

semester system. Other was problem in library and hostel and many more (J. Subedi, personal communication, July 7, 2011).

In May 24, 1979, King declared referendum and the people could choose between the existing Panchayat with appropriate reforms or a multiparty democracy. The referendum was held on 2 May 1980. The Panchayat systems succeeded with 54.7% while the multiparty received 45.3%. Panchayat led by a small margin and many pro-multiparty advocates felt that the voting was rigged. However, the students' demands to be allowed the right to hold student elections on campus were granted (Barnhart, 1999).

ANNFSU took just two agendas for student movements from its establishment. One is political and another was academic. It was active in movements of national interests following ideologies and principles of Nepal Communist Party Marxist and Leninist. At the time of 2036 B.S., it was known as Akhil fifth and it continued the history of participation in movements (Y.P. Acharya, personal communication, July 22, 2011).

Ex-student leader Subedi in an interview said student organizations became popular by raising educational issues and after being popular, further guided their political interest and it was a way of making their political organizations. Politics do not take any through straight track.

It runs random way. Everybody knows how much unusually present the student organizations to get their political interest. In total it is politics and it is obvious (Subedi, Interview, 15/06/2011).

Ex-student leader during 80s, Subedi said he wanted to show his legacy and contribution for greater change of society. Political agendas were the primary think that time. Even though he conducted a debate about what type of educational policy

should be made and how to make access of higher education to the students. That debate program was excellent (Subedi as mentioned at student movement (2027-2036 B.S.)).

Subedi said political movements were scattered. The main aim of those movements was to end the autocratic regime. However, did not know how to achieve the goal. Educational movements occur only through planned way. It has its certain rule and the leader can manage how to conduct such type (J. Subedi, personal communication, July 7, 2011).

In an interview with Acharya, the major achievement of student movement was compelled the Panchayat to announce referendum. It raised an issue of establishment of FSU as a common platform of all students. It raised issues of secured rights of education (Y.P. Acharya, personal communication, July 22, 2011).

The period was crucial for student movements. Political parties banned during this period massively utilized the student fronts for the movement of multiparty democracy. Value based student organizations conducted demonstrations against the political system and norms based students' agendas were thrown to university authority. Student organizations put academic agendas for the political purpose. As the strategy was if academic agendas were taken into consideration then there has been huge mass collection of students so that they could utilize the mass in to their political purpose. They raised many genuine academic agendas. They symbolically asked the government for multiparty democracy as the foundation of movement was built by the case of democratically elected Pakistani Premier's death penalty. The mass uprising compelled to announce referendum for political choice and gave mandate to establish FSU at different campuses. Even though, the result of

referendum was not in favor of demonstrators but made conducive environment of future movement for democracy aspirants.

Student Movements (2037-2046) B.S.

Kafle in an interview mentioned that the time when political parties were band, student forces were used to advocate their parties' ideologies to the people. The student force utilized by parties was connected to student organizations then student organizations were formally established. After the student movement of 2036 B.S., FSU was established as a common platform of Students. Political parties introduced formally their sister organizations as student organizations to compete on FSU election at TU. Formally, student organizations were introduced at University. Student organizations are necessary if they raise the issues of real students (B.D. Kafle, personal communication July 22, 2011).

In an interview with Unit president of NSU, TU, 'after 2036 B.S., student organizations geared up towards its institutionalization process as the state authority gave permission for its independent existence' (K. Koirala, personal communication, June 9, 2011).

The first student movements conducted after 2036 B.S. when the Panchayat government amended the constitution in third time what Rana mentioned NSU disagreed to the third amendment of the constitution of Panchayat in 2037 B.S. and conducted demonstration at different campuses of Kathmandu valley (2050 B.S.).

During the period of 2037 B.S., students of NSU presented different social and academic issues to the premier Surya Bahadur Thapa. Issues specially focused on inflation, daily basic needs of general people, and 11 points demands of farmers of Biratnager. In addition, they raised issues like withdrawal the decision of dismissing the job of teachers and staffs blaming in the name of democrats, free the Radio Nepal

and other Medias, and give license to operate magazine and newspapers (Rana, 2050 B.S.).

During 1980's, ANNFSU did many issues based movements. Their issue movements covered topics such as education, improvement of human rights, freeing political prisoners, freedom of press, and the right to organize programs (Bhattraai. R, 1998 as mentioned in Barnhart, 1998).

In an interview with Central committee member of NC, Bhandary said NSU supported NC to Satyagraha and to Surajpura kanda in 2042 B.S. (Personal communication, July 22, 2011).

Bhandary admitted that during the period of 2040-2044 B.S., NSU raised issues and conducted movements against the Panchayat regime in Surajpura Kanda and Mitramani Kanda. It took part and supported to Satyagraha conducted by NC. They also conducted movement on Kirtipur Cafeteria. At the time of tyrannical Panchayat regime, NSU was very weak. Our main political agenda was reestablishing democratic system and academic agendas were students' rights, physical expansion of university and colleges, quality education, and much more (Personal communication, 22/07/2011).

During 14-15 Sharwan, 2045 B.S., ANNFSU central committee set issues of withdrawing the compartmental and sent up exam system, ending the activities of Mandales at college premises, getting opportunity to read at colleges, block the administrative interference at educational institutions, provide intellectual freedom, not to decide ten plus two education system. Likewise, make facility to all subject to study at degree level, establish FSU at all colleges, guarantee the student rights at FSU, elect representative students and professors to TU council and withdraw social Education (Subedi, 2048 B.S.).

On 10/12/2045 B.S., Akhil conducted movement against the decision of Indian government of closing its all border to Nepal, which was directly against the international law and bilateral treaty. Students went to Indian Embassy to Nepal for putting memorandum. Student mass was repressed by the Nepalese government. More than 500 students were arrested and made decision banning to organize rallies. The situation made compel to the government to close all campuses for two months (Neupane, 2063 B.S.).

Nine student organizations NSU, Nepal Rastriya Student Federation Central Committee, ANNFSU tenth central committee, Nepal Progressive Student Union Central Committee, ANNFSU fifth central committee, ANNFSU central committee, Nepal National Student Federation central committee, Nepal Revolutionary Student Union, ANNFSU sixth signed on different issues and took part in movements in 27, Bhadra, 2046 B.S.. The issues raised were take action against the TU executive involved in saving that Mandale hooligan, remove the indirect move of restricting student organizational activities and give registration to all national level student organizations. In addition, the agendas were with draw the entire fault cases to political prisoner and student leaders, who raised issues of people's rights, change the constitution of FSU, 2036 B.S. in to more progressive and democratic. Likewise, fulfill all the academic demands raised by student organizations in different time and places, take action to those people involved in black marketing and creating artificial crises of people's daily necessary things, price hike, and commission system.

Bhandary said that they had set collective agendas of nine student organizations before 2046B.S. and put these agendas to university and the government. In an initiation of general secretary of ANNFSU Mr. Ghanashyam Bhusal and as a general secretary of NSU made conducive environment to work in a

group raising common agendas for the national interest. It was difficult to work in a common platform because the relation between Congress and Communist were not harmonious. Palace never wanted to have dialogue among these parties. We did hard job to start such collective forum and it was challenging at that time (P. Bhandary, personal communication, July 22, 2011).

Bhandary an ex-student of TU said student organizations had little involvement in student movements raising educational issues for educational change, development and reform. In case of educational issues , student organizations focused on administrative part like conducting regular class, fixing class duration, making course schedule but they were not involve in which course contents takes how much time to complete. They sometimes involved in introducing new courses in colleges. Student organizations were active very little in academic courses but their most of the movements were concentrated on political courses (P. Bandary, personal communication, July 1, 2011).

The motive behind conduction of student movements was garnering youths support against the Panchayat system. The strategy was that they raised academic issues first to strengthen their organizations. Student organizations recognized as the voice of students as they raised issues related to students. After raising such issues properly, they got mass students support for the movements. As we know, student organizations in Nepal were the sister organizations of political parties. Then, they had to fulfill the task of their parties' political ambitions. The situation before 2046 B.S. was that all political parties were banned and student organizations were only the formal source to advocate their respective parties' ideologies to the people.

When students' movements started, there were resistances to neutralize the student movements. The action and reaction between the demonstrators and the

government forces created unusual situation and many students were injured, manhandled and arrested. Then, the student mass came more aggressively that we know students are young blood and go on action if something wrong happened. The mass movements for the academic agendas shifted to mass movements for political causes. There were political actors behind the movements and their ambition was to accelerate the movements to fulfill their political ambitions. After reviewing many literatures of student movements, it has been learned that the Panchayat government had addressed many academic issues raised by student organizations but student organizations never stopped the movements. They again designed other issues and started to protest. We knew that issues are never ending. There was one after another issue for the movements. In my opinion, student movements took momentum in the background of political parties' planned demonstration strategy against the Panchayat system.

After 2036 B.S., student organizations focused on political, social and academic agendas. They raised political issues against the Panchayat regime. They raised voices for their political rights. There were many clashes amid student organizations. Until 2045 B.S. student organizations did not conduct movement in collaborate and that was supportive to the regime to continue third system. Even in academic agendas, they were not able to make consensus for the movement. They followed the movements conducted by political parties. Student organizations and political parties had collaboration and they conducted movements following the guideline of their respective parties only after 2045 B.S. When major political parties decided to go for movement then only the situation build to sit together to identify the academic as well as political agendas. There were many nationalistic agendas emerged when India blocked the Nepal- India boarder. After 2045 B.S., the sentiment

for mass movement emerged and student organizations played as catalyst for political parties. They developed many academic agendas for political purpose. Student organizations made commitment to work together for their common rights. During this period, the regime addressed many academic demands but students were not stopped. In 2046 B.S., student organization took part in political parties' movements where there were many student leaders arrested and some were killed. The movement for democracy became successful. They planned to go for academic movement after the reestablishment of democracy.

Before 2046 B.S., student organizations raised many academic issues and conducted demonstrations against TU leaderships and the Panchayat Governments. Mainly NSU and ANNFSU were the student organizations conducted movements raising academic issues. The issues related to TU exam system, student's transportation and health facilities, withdrawal of New Education System of 2028 B.S., amendment of fee structures, podium to National development Service, establishment of FSU and scholarship to genuine students.

Student Movements After 2046 B.S.

After the political revolution of 2046 B.S., student organizations were silent on the political system for twelve years. The role was clear that their agendas were academic. Instead of concentrating to academic activities, they brought the principles of political ideologies. They started to strengthen their party principles and philosophies at college level. They were busy on increasing their organizational memberships. Activities were centered on mass meetings, college level public meetings, cultural programs and other political programs. Student leadership 's mentalities were set in such a way that, any way they wanted to be party leader and

for to be they were always busy on strengthening their relations to party portfolios and always wanted to give message that they wanted to be party leader.

After all, ANNFSU TU unit president delivered that after 2046 B.S., all the restricted political parties started to operate in an environment of multiparty democratic system. Student organizations focused to advocate the ideologies of their respective mother parties. Student movements diverted as politics of force, creating atmosphere of classes among the student organizations. The situation was that there were two types of educational institutions started to grow. One was private and another was public. Due to this reason, there was some short of educational differences. ANNFSU objected the system of dual education system. Student movements focused equally on educational and political movements (Y.P. Acharya, personal communication, July 22, 2011).

There were conflicts and struggle among the student organizations. Each organization wanted to create conflicting situation to others to show their organizational existence. Strengths of political parties were shown by the election of FSU. Public believed that the FSU elections were the mini election of parliament. Political parties directly involved to student organizations' elections. They had used any means to elect their student organizations. FSU election was the prestige of political parties. It was a base of deciding the strengths of political parties how much sets the parties would get in general elections.

Student organizations repeatedly clashed to each other for and against the governments. Political parties always tried to make unpopular the opposition utilizing their respective student wings, conducting movements on the streets and the campus areas. They were used as the weapon of political parties working for and against the democratically elected governments. Teachers and staffs organizations were also busy

on getting executive positions from campus level to university high job. They were busy on getting appointments of different political positions by showing their existence on their respective teachers and staffs wings. The scenario was that nepotism and favoritism were taken place in every level of jobs and responsibilities.

In an interview with NSU central committee acting president, ‘student organizations did not have proper collaboration due to the differences in ideological ground. They had repeatedly clashed in academic institution, as they were aggressive in nature due to their young blood. They quarreled and had number of fights in college premises. There were disturbances in regular academic courses. The identity clashes hampered the academic institutions’ (P. Guragai, personal communication, June 3, 2011).

Jhakri (July, 22, 2011), ex-president of ANNFSU central committee said the student movements before 2046 B.S. were political and after 2046 B.S., they were more concentrated on globalization and economic sectors. The student movements before 2046 B.S. were of ideological.

In an interview with ex-student leader present Constituent Assembly member, Student movements are divided in to two parts. One is the student movements before 2046 and after 2046. The student movement before 2046 B.S. is political and the student movement after 2046 B.S. is academic (H. Rokka, personal communication, June 16, 2011).

Reviewing the literatures of history of student movements in Nepal, it has been learned that student movements for academic and political causes were categorized what Subedi in an interview mentioned as student movements before 2046 B.S. and between 2058 B.S. to 2062/63 B.S. were concentrated especially to

political movements. The student movements in between 2046 to 2057 were educational (personal communication, July 7, 2011).

There was positive work done by student organizations, the student movements after 2046 B.S. had taken mostly academic agendas. The effects of student movements after 2046 B.S. were directly addressed to TU. Student movements had raised and solved agendas like physical development of academic institutions, maintaining of regularity of academic courses and struggled for the rights and welfare of students of TU (personal communication, July 24, 2011).

I do not get any literatures and very few respondents gave clues of student movement during the period of (2046-2057) B.S. raising proper academic agendas.

In an interview with acting president of NSU, Guragai said NSU had played vital role for educational movements after 2046 B.S... NSU demanded health facilities to students of TU at teaching hospital. There is 25% health checkup free in Teaching hospital. It raised number of academic and political issues in different academic and political forum. It has raised issues in agriculture education sector also. After 2046 B.S. revolution, its focus is towards academic transformation (personal communication, June 3, 2011).

Again Guragai mentioned the academic issues raised by NSU that classrooms and its surrounding should be clean, University should run through academic calendar, examination should be in discipline, curriculum should be changed in changing context, all the academic institutions under the TU should be provided appropriate academic and physical foundations like library buildings etc. In addition, exam results should be displayed on time, transcript should be provided on timely manner in respective colleges and education should be scientific and employment friendly (personal communication, June 3, 2011).

In interviews, many respondents did not have such memorable incidents of academic issues raised by student organizations during 12 years of democratic transition.

Bhanadary in an interview claimed that during the period of Panchayat regime, the major focuses of the student movements were against the political system that prevailed at that time. It was their duty to speak for the nation. They had confidence that speaking in support of national interest automatically favor to students. After 2046 B.S., then only they could have to focus on movements to educational agendas (personal communication, July 22, 2011).

I got very little literatures of student movements for academic issues. The period was that student organizations rarely raised academic issues and mostly focused just for how to capture FSU. After the elections, most of the student organizations forgot the agendas and again raised the same in next FSU elections. Student leaders at that time were busy on advocating their respective party leader's political strengths. They were busy on carrying their respective parties' flag for to get peoples mandate so that after being at government they has been benefited.

The book 'Akhil Gyan' where Neupane (2063 B.S.) mentioned that in 2052 B.S., Akhil Nepal National Free Students' Union (Revolutionary) [ANNFSU(R)] conducted movements against TU executive's decision of three years exam system and annual fee deposit system in 2052 B.S. The book also shed light their direct participation on their party's underground movements. At that time, ANNFSU (R) put different academic agendas like free secondary level education, withdraw the national song, remove the compulsory Shaskrit education, make student friendly policy to vocational education and manage plus two education system (Neupane, 2063 B.S.).

Neupane (2067 B.S.) wrote in his book 'Twenty two Years in Student Movements' that, after 2058 B.S., ANNFSU(R) conducted academic movements against privatization and business in education sector, movements against TU decision of phasing out proficiency level, not making compulsory of Shaskrit education, rejecting Bourgeois education system, apply new Janabadi education system. In addition, increase investment in government schools and colleges, close temporary appointment of teachers and appoint on permanent seats, fulfill subject teachers instead of appointing other subject teachers, take SLC exam in villages, demands on scientific education, develop curriculums and subjects properly, increase practical base education.

In the same book, Neupane mentioned that, after 2058 B.S., ANNFSU(R) conducted political movements on release detainees of UNCPM cadres, ANNFSU (R) leaders and members make public BEPATA PARIAKA cadres and leaders of UNCPM. Likewise, he stressed other agendas like movements against the Kings autocratic rule following the guideline of UCPNM, Support Constituent assembly election to their mother party UNCPM, support on movements of other sister organizations movements of their own party and also support to other parties affiliated student organizations political movements.

In 13/12/ 2058 B.S., thirteen student organizations decided to go for and conducted unified students movements against the price hike of petroleum products (Press release by thirteen student organizations).

In 19/ 09/2059 B.S., four student organizations objected the Royal proclamation of 18/06/2059 B.S. (Press statement of NSU, ANNFSU, ANNFSU (U) and NPSU) and decided to go against the regime (Press statement of NSU, ANNFSU and ANNFSU united). The movement got momentum when seven student

organizations committed to act against the Royal proclamation supporting their respective parties' joint movements against the King's rule.

In 05/10/2059 B.S., three student organizations NSU, ANNFSU and ANNFSU (U) announced for movement against King's proclamation and suggested to appoint VC at TU according as the seniority and academic excellence. Decision should be as per the university constitution of its independent nature. In addition, student organizations made commitment to take part in election of FSU and made public the slogan of FSU election as the election for movement against the King's proclamation (Press release of three-student organizations).

In 25/01/2060, seven student organizations decided to go for the movements against the government and TU's unwillingness of addressing 54 points educational demands raised by student organizations. Student organizations made commitment to support seven parties' movements against the Kathaputali (titular) government (Press release by seven student organizations).

In Jestha 12, 2060 B.S., seven student organizations NSU, ANNFSU, ANNFSU(R), ANNFSU (U), NRSU, NSM and NPSU presented 64 points agendas to concerned authorities. The agenda related to public school, private schools, higher secondary schools, TU and Mahendra Shaskrit University, Ministry of Education and sports and others. Among the agendas, the seven student organizations put the following agendas at TU. The agendas were increase state investment in Higher education, return the decision of phase-out of proficiency certificate level, increase the number of TU colleges and set one TU college in each district, take action to those teachers and staffs who involved in another place for job during university service hours. Likewise, restart national development service, control extra financial burden and make administration more efficient, utilize the university property properly,

balance teacher student ratio, increase building, increase educational materials, increase books, build auditorium halls, make available drinking water system , provide furniture and sports ground. In addition, increase student enrolment, build exam hall, make publish educational calendar, give facilities to Dalit, Janajati, Andibashi, Madhesi, start MA in philosophy and Rural Development, start Master's degree in each zone and all district of valley. Also, make FSU constitution more student friendly, make different department of corresponding FSU, Make FSU council, make the curriculum more scientific and practical, and solve the problem of transcripts and certificates (sahayatra, Mukhpatra of eight student organization, 2067 B.S.).

In 12/02/2060, seven student organizations decided to conduct unified student movements if their 64 points demands did not address by the government and TU administration (Sahayatra, Mukhpatra of eight-student organizations, 2067 B.S.).

In 23/02/2060, seven student organizations closed all educational institution to fulfill their all-educational demands ((Sahayatra, Mukhpatra of eight-student organization, and 2067 B.S.).

In 29/02/2060, TU responded the demands raised by student organizations. The Office of the Rector, TU and the seven student organizations signed in agreements to fulfill their previous demands. Responded demands were related to increase in investment in higher education, withdraw the decision of phase-out of Proficiency certificate level, decided to start at least one college at each districts, no permission of permanent employee to work on other institution during their duet hours in TU and TU colleges. Likewise, made commitment to restart the National Development service program, TU administration has been made clean, fast and professional and service oriented, will be increased physical facilities of all TU

colleges, more library, sports, entertainments facilities will be provided. Exam system, teacher student ratio, curriculum and pedagogies will be made better, national and international programs and exposure visits should be maintained, Dalit, Janajatis, Adibasis, Madhesi and other marginalized students will be provided scholarships and cottas for admission in higher education. In addition, Rasan Card to students, 50 % discount to transportation and health check, establishment of educational communication center (Office of Rector, Tribhuvan University, agreement letter, 29/02/2060 B.S.).

In 2060 B.S., Student organizations unanimously decided to support the movements against regression conducted by seven political parties (Sahayatra, Mukhpatra of eight-student organization, 2067 B.S.).

In 25/03/2060 B.S., ANNFSU (R) presented 26 points agendas to Ministry of education and sports and conducted movement nationwide in 13-17/ 11/2060 B.S. Among the agendas, not all campuses of TU had even basic learning and research facilities. In addition, the campuses did not have basic facilities of physical infrastructures. That was why the organization demanded increase budget of TU and asked for make appointment of TU VC through election from TU assembly.

In 13-17/11/2060 B.S., ANNFSU(R) conducted educational and political movements. Among the agendas, the major agenda was end of King's rule and establish federal democratic republic Nepal (Neupane, 2063 B.S.).

In 06/11/2061 B.S., Six student organizations started movements against the King Gyanendra's royal move of implementing autocratic regime (Press release by Pokhrel. P). In 2061, same year, ANNFSU (R) raised movement demanding issues of federalism and end privatization of educational institutions (Neupane, 2063 B.S.).

In 04/01/2062 B.S., seven student organizations decided to actively participate on the movement against autocracy for the reestablishment of democracy (Press release by seven student organizations on the letter pad of NSU).

In an interview with ANNFSU (R) unit president of TU, Prasia said that the student movement of 2062/63 B.S. was the backbone that ultimately made success to withdraw King's autocratic rule (personal communication, June 18, 2011). During the movement, it activated its entire district, regional and zonal level units for the movement against tyrannical kings rule that ultimately thrown out all the residuals of symbols (Y.P. Acharya, personal communication, July 7, 2011).

Guragai in an interview said in 2062/63 B.S., NSU took lead role against King Gynandries autocratic role and place in forefront leading all students' organizations for the reestablishment of democratic system in Nepal (P. Guragai, personal communication, June 3, 2011).

In 2065 B.S., Nepal Student Union conducted different movements like: With draw the 5% tax system in education, Demonstration against the Nepal Oil Corporation's ,decision of increasing price of petroleum products, Demonstration against the activates of YCL, Demonstration against the TU decision of free raise of students, Demonstration ageist the load shedding (Sankranti, NSU Mukhpatra, 2067 B.S.).At the same time, eight student organizations conducted different movements like 50% discount on air transportation, entry at tourist area and museum to students. Free health care to the injured student on people's movement of 2062/63, free admission to the injured students on people's movements at government colleges; withdraw of syndicate system, boarder incrunchment issues ((Sahayatra, Mukhpatra of eight-student organization, and 2067 B.S.).

In 2066, NSU conducted movements in scarcity of schoolbooks in market at Janak Sishah Kendra, price hike in daily people's necessary commodities, pressure on democratic constitution making on time (Sankranti, NSU Mukhpatra, 2067 B.S.).

In Kartik 10, 2068 B.S., NSU and ANNFSU waved black flags at Prime-minister Baburam Bhattraï and Local Development Minister Top Bahadur Rayamagi. Police baton –charged the students when they tried to burn tires at Tudikhel in the district head quarter of Palpa, as they accused the government of doing injustice to the common people by increasing fuel price. Student union affiliated to various political parties band the Kathmandu valley as government unwillingness of addressing the student's demands. On the same day, the students pursuing Bachelor's degree in engineering and studying in the +2 levels in various colleges in the valley organized press conferences at the reporter's club on Tuesday. They said they would immolate themselves at 10 am on Saturday by wrapping themselves in national flags if the government fails to meet their demands of withdrawing the petroleum price hike announced by the government (The Kathmandu Post, January, 25, 2012, p. 1).

The major student's movements were the student movements of 2036 B.S., 2046 B.S. and 2062/63 and most of the student organizations had supported these movements vibrantly (B.B. Bista, personal communication, June 9, 2011). Before 2046 B.S., most of the agendas for the movement were political but not all the agendas and demands were political. In some case, outer layer of agendas were academic but its main sense was political. Student movements conducted for physical and academic changes of university and university campuses (H. Rokka, personal communication, June 16, 2011).

B.B. Bista regular student of TU said student organizations had raised both academic and political issues before 2046 B.S... After 2046 B.S., they were unable to

play the role that they had played before, as situation was different and better to center academic issues for the welfare of students and overall academia. Rarely did they engage on academic issues and no such result found for overall academic change. Student organizations presented their academic agendas at university and colleges for getting political benefit. Really, they did not have such academic interest as they felt themselves as political beast (personal communication, June 9, 2011).

Student organizations not only raised academic issues at TU but also raised social issues what Prasai ANNFSU (R) Unit president of TU mentioned about the movements on price hike and dearness and it really touched heart of the people of our country (personal communication, June 18, 2011).

After 2046 B.S., there are two different situations. The situation during (2046-2058) B.S. and the situation during (2059-2063) B.S. and we can look on situation after 2063 B.S. During the first half, there were no such useful student movements, conducted for either academic or of political rights. Neither respondents of my research gave such example of student movements for academic or political rights. On the other hand, the literature gave such truth of norms or value based student movements.

The situation after 2046 B.S. was to raise educational issues. Most of the student organizations principally convinced on the issues of nationality, students' rights and support on their respective parties ideologies. Student organizations target should be of maintaining academic order and fight against the socio-political discrimination. As Nepal's one of the largest student organization NSU in its web site www.nsu.org.np mentioned that Nepal student union has regarded its unity as the first spirit, uniting all classes in the one institution and to solve the student's problem and protect their rights is the main response of this union. It is said that students are the

strong base of the nation, so the nation needs to have its youths to be very energetic, skillful, and honest towards itself. Nepal student union has been advocating for the overall problems of students like educational tools, scholarship, transportation, health care, hostel and free education system from the very base level to the college level. Therefore, being united enthusiastically to fight against the Students problems, student union has been supporting all Students as an ideology of the union.

However, besides following their responsibility and commitments', they were engaged on unproductive sector. Major student organizations NSU and ANNFSU during the period of (2047-2056) B.S. made engage on how to win FSU election, how to strengthen their parties in elections, how to get self-popularity. There were no unified student movements for the welfare of students. There were many clashes among student organizations. The classes among student organizations were due to either personnel ego or the ideological classes. Student organizations did not seriously raised academic issues for the support of students. There was always power struggle. Student leaders always busy on how to gain student power and government power. They always played as mudslinging each other.

The situation was different in second half that the political transition made conducive environment to rethink about movements. It has been learned that most of the student movements were conducted for political interests. If there were academic interests in real practice, then motive behind conduction of student movement obviously raise the academic agendas. After 2058 B.S., the different situation made them compulsion to raise academic agendas for political benefit. There were series of student unrest and they pointed out major students problems from schools level to higher educations. Unified student organizations raised 7,14, 54, 64, points educational demands to TU, ministry of education and sports, KU, Mahendra Shaskrit

University, Higher education board, Private Association of Boarding School of Nepal (PABSON) and other newly established and establishing universities during the period of 2059 to 2062 B.S.. They disrupted all academic institutions to fulfill their demands. All the academic institutions were closed, vandalized many times. Student organizations unified fight the concerned authorities by using different means. Student organizations at the beginning formally took their demands and set on dialogue democratically. They became flexible in their different agendas and compromises on different agenda even though their demands were not listen carefully then they did different level of movement for to pressurize the concern authority. They did closer educational institutions number of times, they pad lock many educational institutions many days, they vandalized educational institutions, they painted the concerned authority's face by black ink, they asked the guardians not to pay monthly fees, they asked teachers not to teach. All the concerned authority made agreement and showed willingness to address most of their demands but few demands were addressed in practice but all the other demands were not be fulfilled. In real sense the major motive behind conducting student, movements were to overthrow the monarchy. When monarch was overthrown by, the mass up rising, then after there was very rare cases for student movements for the rights of students.

After 2046 B.S., student movements return to norm based. At the beginning, they did not have ground to fight for democracy. They had to fight for student's issues. They had to contest each other for the right of students. They had to be sincere for identifying student's academic problems and knock the concern authorities to fulfill their demands. They got suitable environment to operate their institution for overall development of academia. They could compete to each other for maintaining better academic order. There were hundreds of academic issues that had to be raised

to TU administration. New energy and democratic system was supportive if student organizations raised genuine academic issues to contribute the students and the overall society.

Instead, there were no such countable student movements during (2046-2057) B.S. for the overall growth of TU and other academic institutions. After 2057 B.S., student organizations felt to sit together and explored agendas for student movements. During the period of (2059-2062) B.S., student organizations conducted hundreds of student movements raising genuine student's issues. I have mentioned the student's academic demands at the student movements after 2046 B.S. in the previous chapter. Major student demands were raised and the concerned authority had made some commitments to address the issues especially the issues raised to TU.

After 2046 B.S., student organizations were guaranteed political carrier. They had reason to fight for democracy. They had to work for welfare of students. Snellinger (2005) mentioned that student movements provided the students a forum in which they felt they made a difference; it allowed them to feel personally invested in the political process, but within a controlled sphere that did not challenges their mother organizations, which were running the state. They were busy on working in line with parties' guideline. The period of (2046-2057) B.S. were worst for student organizations that they did not get any achievement for students' academic rights whereas the political system was democratic.

After 2058 B.S., King Gyanaendra impeded in the parliamentary process that the role of student movements returned to political process. Amanda in her journal stated that since 2003, students had undertaken joint movements. The first was April 2003, in which their objective was to decrease the petrol prices. During that movement, they spoke about reinstate parliament and declared their support for the

five party joint movements against the regression. Again, student organizations aggressively present in street when King gave public announcement in 2005 B.S. During 2058 B.S. to 2062/63 B.S., student organizations were busy on street fighting for the democratic rights of the citizens and TU was a major center for pressure building for withdrawing the royal takeover. Ultimately, the long struggle of students in one part compelled the King to decide and reinstate the parliament and finally, the first secession of Constituent Assembly declared Nepal as a federal democratic republic.

Conclusion

I have reviewed political, social and academic issues raised by student organizations during its history in Nepal. Among the grand issues, political i.e. value based had been given more priority in all walk of history of Nepalese student's movements. Among the issues, the most prioritize issues until 2036 B.S. were the establishment of Free Student Union at university and their affiliated colleges and the issue of multiparty democracy. The issue of multiparty democracy was continuing to 2046 B.S... They had raised norms and value based agendas in different historical period of their movements where value based agendas were hoisted towards the conventional, steady and authoritarian political regime and norms based were to university authority.

In-depth analysis revealed that political agendas they had made so far in different attempts of their movements were not appropriate to collect mass support; they had put genuine academic agendas for the political purpose strategically. Most of their movements concentrate on the idea that they had first raised academic agendas for gathering genuine students' mass support, which finally accelerated and ended with political reasons. During that conventional period, Panchayat regime deliberately

wanted to solve genuine students' problems but felt rigid to solve, weather there would be chances of tabling multiple problems to overthrow the regime.

Describing in short the historical scenario of students' movements' juncture, the period 2007-2017 B.S. was breeding ground for their political ideology setting. Rightist student organizations usually promoted academic languages whereas Leftist voiced mostly through political language. After 2017 B.S when King Mahendra took executive power overthrowing majority led B.P Kerala's democratic government and banned political parties, they raised issues against the dictatorship, issues of nationalism, conducted movements against western and southern expansionism, voiced for livelihood, social justice, student's rights and its preservation, unlawful arrest and torture. The major student organizations during that period were Akhil and NSU. They raised their ideological and academic issues against the tyrannical Panchayat system and their respective academic institutions that was why they had jailed and tortured many times. The issues mostly centered on about democracy, nationalism, education policies and others. They had given first priority to issues of nationalism, the second political change and the last academic. Until 2028 B.S. students' organizations area of concentration so far was extending, strengthening and publicizing their organizations, as they were busy on their organization building in the political battleground. They were clever enough to sensitize the public and students about their rights.

As we know, students' movements raised norms and value based agendas and they were in broader level social, nationalist and political. It is necessary to mention here that the type of agendas they had set for the most crucial period 2036 B.S., which compelled the authority to announce referendum for political choice and gave mandate to establish FSU at different campuses were to release the detainees captured

from 24/12/2036 movements conducted against the hanging of Julifir Ali Bhutto, apply the United Nation's Human Right Obligation and respect the people's sovereignty, rights, and freedom. The social agenda was to control the Inflation. Students had put academic agendas like give authority to establish FSU in colleges, with draw comprehensive exam, with draw entrance exam system, make thesis as optional paper, and remove within five years pass system. In addition, they had put issues like make system of changing subject in any level; apply the system of rechecking in presence of student representative instead of re-totaling. Students raised legitimate agendas like 50 % scholarship in technical education and 25% to other discipline for genuine students, withdraw the system of taking admission in each year and make one time admission system. They had also addressed other issues like give bus facility to go and come back from colleges, give reasonable cash to professors for copy correction, re-appoint all the service holder dismissed from TU service in 2032 B.S. and decrease college and school fees.

Until 2045 B.S. student organizations conducted movement in their own efforts mean without collaboration and consultation with rival students' organizations. They did so only after making negotiation of their respective political parties. There were not cordial relations among student organizations that helped the regime lengthening their political tenure.

Before 2046 B.S., students' organizations also vehemently raised issues related to nationalism and foreign affairs, as of sentimental feeling or strategy to gather mass sentiment to overthrow the political system. The sentiment for mass movement emerged and student organizations played as catalyst for political parties' motivation of establishment of democracy. They developed many academic agendas for political purpose. They made commitment to work together for their common

rights. During this period, the regime addressed many academic demands but students were not stopped. During that period, there were many student leaders arrested and some were killed.

After 2046 B.S., student movements return to norm based. They had to fight for students' welfare. Beside few cases for students' welfare maximizing events, there were no such countable student movements during 2046-2057 B.S. for overall growth of TU and other academic institutions. After 2058 B.S., King Gyneandra impeded in the parliamentary process, student movements returned to political process. They conducted hundreds of movements raising norms based agendas to fulfill their value based agenda against royal takeover and TU was a major center for pressure building. They raised 7,14, 54, 64, points educational demands to TU, ministry of education and sports, KU, Mahendra Shaskrit University, Higher education board, PABSON and other newly established and establishing universities during the period of 2059 to 2062 B.S..

It is also necessary to know about the means they followed during their movements. At the beginning, they formally table their demands and ask for dialogue democratically. In most cases, they were flexible and understandable to possible fulfilling agendas. If their demands had not listened carefully, they would have launched different level of movement for to pressurize the concern authority. They did closer educational institutions number of times, they pad lock many educational institutions many days, they vandalized educational institutions, they painted the concerned authority's face by black ink, they asked the guardians not to pay monthly fees, they asked teachers not to teach and others.

The concerned authority had made some commitments to address their norms based issues where TU had responded the demands and the Office of the Rector and

the 7 student organizations signed in agreements. Big volume of issues rose to TU authority for the first time in history addressed at least on paper.

The long struggle of students' movements during 2058 to 2062/63 B.S. in one part compelled the King to decide and reinstate the parliament and finally, the first secession of Constituent Assembly declared Nepal as a federal democratic republic.

After 2063 B.S., again student organizations came to follow norms based movements, they are raising genuine students concerns but scenario is that there is very little progress on students' professional rights as freedom has crossed its territory and nobody listen any genuine issues without destruction and vandalism.

In short, literatures suggested that Nepalese student's movements officially started as norms based through Jayatu Shaskritam. Throughout its long history, it has been focused on value based movements following footsteps of norms based agendas. Now, country is in transition even though there is no option but to focus on norms based agendas.

CHAPTER V

ACTIVITIES AND EFFECTS OF STUDENT MOVEMENTS ON ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT

In Chapter IV, I have addressed the first research question about issues raised by student organizations during their movements in different periods of history. Here, the second question asked about activities and its effects. There were multiple issues raised by students' organizations and its multiple types of effects to higher education sectors. It was necessary to know about the background of issues building and the consequences. As we know, without knowing their activity characters, how do we assume its effects? That was why probable activities should be communicated to explore its consequences either constructive or destructive for academia.

In the previous section, most of the study related to secondary source of information whereas most of the parts of this section have covered primary sources. Most of the data collected during in-depth interviews and focus group discussions are the matter of this section. Secondary sources of information have also been incorporated, as it is important to fulfill gap between primary sources of information by secondary one and vice versa.

It was essential to know about student organizations' dynamic intention or strategy or orientation to be influential student organizations. That was why sub-contents were identified as ideologies orientations, organization building, student organizations' voices and administrative response, student organizations before and after 2046B.S, activities of FSU, conflict within and among student organizations so that their activities' effects could easily be identify in professional manner.

Professionally, they are students' welfare maxi-miser. Their norms based movements rigorously explores students friendly issues having weights on positive effects. If they have had other interests too then their intentions would strategically make designs of other models of activities.

Enlarging their activities, Ideologies orientations and organization building are the major sector necessary to explore. It was necessary to explore the factors influencing ideology orientations. Why and how did student organizations orient their respective ideologies to the general students? Is this the approach of their organization building? Weather, they have other approaches of organization building or not and how it effects on overall academic institutions?

I believe on critical thinking. Analyzing students' organizations activities through official agendas do not address all about its effects in academia. The other choice to explore the truth was to analyze it with conflict perspective. Literatures made it clear that there were conflicts within and among student organizations from the history of its establishment. Generally, student organizations are competing for strengthening their positions at higher education institution and FSU is a major platform. If there was competing situation then there might have space for conflict. Principally, without conflict within and among student organizations, there are little changes of leadership development. I liked to know the reasons behind the conflicting situations and the results of the conflicts so that I can present actually what types of effects it has made in higher education institutions. As we know, effects do not only mean to be negative, it has its positive consequences.

Again, student organizations' voices and administrative responses that how; to whom and for what reasons student organizations voice their issues to concerned

authorities and the authorities' responses. It was necessary to know the roles of these actors about the welfare of students and its effects.

Students' movements' history has been divided into two folds to get comprehensive knowledge about their nature, characters, positions, roles, responsibilities and activities before and after 2046 B.S. Comparative study putting primary and secondary literatures in hand would be helpful in getting knowledge about their activities and its effects in different socio-political situations.

The most important section that had to be focused to address my question was activities of FSU. In higher education institutions student organizations are active to be elected for FSU. They have to show their strengths in general students for emerging and continuing their presence as active and progressive student organizations. Study about the activities of FSU in an academic institution is one of the area, helps to identify ethical and unethical roles of student union. What types of organizational practices are there at FSU? How do student elected for the post? What are the issues raised by student organizations during the election of FSU? What are the motivations to be elected as representative of FSU? What type of constructive and destructive situations created during election of FSU? Do FSUs responsible for resolving academic and other issues of students and academic professionals or they have their different motives? We know that FSU is an issue-raising platform then it is obvious there will be effects by its results.

This section focuses on backgrounds of actions, actors behind the backgrounds, their actions and intentions. Primary interviews with students, student leaders, professors, academic heads and administrative heads have given mostly common and some different views on social, political and academic issues of student

organizations movements, direct and indirect activities, actors and their intentions and its effects.

Ideologies Orientations and Organization Building

My research question wants to explore historical trends of student movements and the state and non –state actors behind the scene. Likewise, I have to identify its effects in higher education system. In addition, I have to track down the suggestions and feedbacks for future student movements for better academic environment in government aided university-campuses of Nepal.

In the previous section, historical trends of student movements for academic and political reasons have been identified. Likewise, I have figured out non-state actors and their strategic roles for the movements, as student leaders who directly or indirectly involved in student movements for the sake of political change. In addition, I have reciprocated the resistance of state actors against the movements to continue the political system.

As we know, student leaders in support of students through the student organizations have conducted students' movements. Professors and executives of academic sectors are also the key players for making the environment. Student leaders, students, professors and executives of education sectors have been selected for the interview. After getting interviews with student leaders and general students, it has been easy to know their perception about student leaders, student movements, teachers and staffs and its overall effects of the higher education institution. In addition, it makes easy to know the interests and intentions of professors and executives of high education institute. Likewise, after getting interviews with professors and executives, it is easy to know the roles of their own, student

organizations, and their leaders in favor and against the institution, as they are also the important player of effecting academia.

Before intervening to respondents, it is also necessary to know about “ideology”. As a student leader myself felt that active involvement in student organizational activities is possible either after getting ideological orientation of organizational thoughts, principles, and philosophies or the circumstances makes compel to involve to any political institutions.

I asked in interviews about the background of respondents political activities. They described their circumstances compelled them to involve in student political activities. One of my respondents M. Bhattraï who is a general secretary of FSU, TU and central committee member of ANNFSU(R) says,

I came from political family. My father Dr. Baburam Bhattraï and mother Hisilayami both are working at central committee of United Communist Party of Maoist. I had worked under central department of UCPN (M) before, after comprehensive peace agreement between UCPN (M) and Seven Party Alliances, I came in student politics (personal communication, June 17, 2011).

Another respondent Y.P. Acharya, working as unit president of ANNFSU at TU says,

At the beginning, my family created situation of my involvement in politics. My family continuously taught me be independent and make self-decision what I want to do for myself”. When I had been reading at grade eight, I took the membership of ANNFSU. At the time of getting the membership, I was unknown about the ideology of that institution but after some time, I learned its ideologies and views. By the inclination from the very beginning, I am now at this position (personal communication, July 22, 2011).

In a research work, “Students’ involvement in ‘party politics’ in Bangladesh: the impact on Higher Education and national development, Alam and Shahjamal (2004) pointed out about how Students’ involvement in party politics. In government colleges and university, most of the student organizations distribute their publicity leaflets to the examinees when they take part in the admission test for enrolment in Higher education where they have to face a compulsory test which is known as the ‘admission test’. In addition, the institute’s student leaders usually meet with the examinees at the ‘test center’ to inform them of facilities provided for students once they are members of their ‘party’. Therefore, student leaders often offer newcomers accommodation on condition they join their political party. Not only this, a party offers ‘preparatory coaching for the admission test’ and that the instructors put pressure on new students to join their party. A few student organizations also provide free clothes, books and stationery for newcomers.

A senior party leader, now a central committee member of Nepali Congress and general secretary of NSU during 90s said that he had started student politics in 2033 B.S. The situation was that he was politically aware by the political awareness raised by gossiping. He shed light that Bam were interested to go jail that there was facilities of eating freely, whereas democrats went to jail for getting rights of the people (C. Bhandary, personal communication, July 22, 2011). That was the reason why, he inclined on rightist student front and started his political carrier.

Senior leader and Constituent Assembly member from UCPN (M), active in student politics in 1970s, said about his carrier in student organization,

Our school was little far away. During my course to go and back from school, there was situation of involving in political discourses. After completion of my SLC, I came to Kathmandu. Here, the student movements were in operation

on different issues. Unknowingly, I joined at a speech program, where student leaders were giving their speeches. After listening a student leader's speech, demonstration started. I became one of the demonstrators. I was involved in student movement unknowingly. Police arrived and arrested me, and took to police station, where rest of ran away. Next day police took me to Anchaladhis office and asked whether my involvement against the king's rule. I directly agreed about my involvement. Anchaladhis ordered the police to shut in jail. I was sentenced two years imprisonment and two thousand penalties. Without knowing the political ideology and involvement in any political groups or any student wing, I involved in student movement (H. Rokka, personal communication, June 16, 2011).

Once popular in student movements, president of Prithibi Narayan Campus FSU and central committee member of ANNFSU during 80s, a senior leader and now chief editor of Mulyankan weekly, briefed about his days of political inclination what he said to me about his student political background,

Movement against Panchayat regime started from Baishak, 2, 2036 B.S. in Pokhara. The period that, I was studying in IA second year. I did not know about the ideology based politics at that time. The movement was against the Panchayat system that attracted me. After the referendum, students of Prithibi Narayan College divided into two groups. One was leftist and other was rightist. I became bam due to the relation with communist colleagues even though I did not know the politics and ideology of communist at that time (J. Subedi, personal communication, July 7, 2011).

Student of different countries were inspired by political thoughts and ideologies not only by the way of recruitment but also by motivating from the issues

of nationalism or during the movement of democracy. Shahjamal (2007) in his research explained that students, especially students of higher education are well aware of not only their own rights and claims but also claim the interest of their countries. Being inspired by nationalism, students have taken part in liberation wars against the colonial powers in many countries, and at the same time, students have mobilized for academic issues. That is, after the successful movements or during the course of the movements, students become student leader or party leader or activists.

I interviewed with female student leader, ex-president of ANNFSU central committee and asked about the circumstances being the student political activist. She says:-

When I was studying in grade seven, I took the active membership of ANNFSU and came in student politics. Social incidents made me obliged to be active in student political course. I had not set my mind to be active in student politics by the individual impression. The situation was that I frequently went to principle office bringing issues for regular classes and facilities of educational equipment to our school friends. I had been encouraged to be potential for getting leadership in one hand and the other, ANNFSU showed interest on national and international incidences and I was also one of the listeners, gradually derived and made me devoted. However, most of our political friends were involved in student politics after getting knowledge about its principles and philosophies (R.K. Jhakri, personal communication, 24/07/2011).

In an interview with B.D. Kafle, a senior professor of department of education TU, I asked about his involvement, he answered that he had not done student politics

but as a democrat, he simply engaged at professor union (personal communication July 22, 2011).

I asked the former vice chancellor of TU about his carrier in student leadership. He says,

‘When I was a student of grade 7-8 at Patan School, I involved in student politics. There was student faction and I was commoner of that faction. I was also a president of inter Patan student faction. When I was working as student leaders, I gradually inclined to leftist thoughts. I was a president of student union of Tri-Chandra when King’s decision of autocratic rule came in action in 2017 B.S. After 2017 B.S., all student unions were banned. I was taken to jail in Paus, 12, 2017 B.S. (K. K. Joshi, personal communication, July 25, 2011).

Before getting formal interview of ex VC of TU, I thought myself that Mathema might come from student politics background as trend in TU executive decision was political with party based. I asked him whether he was appointed as VC as academician. K.B. Mathema says:

I myself thought about the question. Some people said that I was academic person; some said that I was appointed due to my family background of martyrs; somebody told that Ganesman Singh appointed me as I was from Newar community. In 2032 BC, I was a campus chief. In the command of Anchaladhish, police came to my college to arrest student leaders of Nepal Student Union and Akhil and asked me to inter into the college giving reference of TU vice chancellors decision letter. I resisted university vice chancellors’ decision of intervening college of giving authority to inter police in to college premises. Police attacked me. Finally, VC dismissed me from the

position of campus chief. In addition, I resigned from the job. I started writing academic articles in favor of democracy. Due to this reason, I was rewarded as VC due to my brave nature at the time of Panchyat regime and deep interest in academic sector (personal communication, June 12, 2011).

In Nepal, student leaders' incline with certain student organization or political party incidentally or ideologically. In a research work, Alam and Shahjamal at Bangladesh explained that he did not involve with any party. One evening, he had been returning from tutelary work and found, his stuff and bed was not in the room. After a while, he had been informed that he would have to join their political party otherwise he would lose his room in the hall. In addition, the threat was very real. His family background didn't allow him to afford private accommodation; therefore he had no alternative but to join their party (2004).

I have tried to get answers from student leaders and university executive about their background of ideology orientation. Getting background of political thoughts acquisition means, I think, there might have some effects due to their engagement role. I made a point that student movements were carried out in deep thirst of political interests and one of the phenomenon's of organization building is knowingly and unknowingly involvement of student in organizational activities. During the process of social mind recruitment in line with or the guidance of political party, there are many fault procedures applied which by the way affected individual carriers and academic excellence.

The political foundations of students and university leaders gave me guideline for further exploring the organization building mechanisms of student organizations at TU, which by the way supportive to collect truths of its effects in academia.

Student organizations can take active role in organized way only if they take part in their organization building activities for positive causes. During organization building, they set different activities which in turn favorable or unfavorable to university system. In addition, it does not mean that they always set political activities, may be, most of their activities are academic.

In an interview with Bhattraï, I asked her role in organization building at TU. She replied that, after new admission, they usually conduct meetings, and give memberships of their organization to general students and select leaders among the members. She pointed out that organization has to be done according as their organizational charter. They organize cultural programs once or twice in a year (personal communication, June 17, 2011).

Again, I asked about its effects in academia. She responded that there are no negative effects to academia by their organization building process. Political knowledge is necessary to the students of Master's degree. In addition, these types of programs organize rarely at University (personal communication, June 17, 2011).

'Politics in the university decision making', a journal written by Khati (2005) explained that the much greater involvement of a student body in politics seems to have sent a message that student set their political ambitions higher than their academic goals. Political parties are eager enough to grab such students and groom them to become the cadres.

I became confused that the respondent Bhattraï is grumed from political orientation and her orgnaization's activites according to her did not effect negatively the overall academic course where as another research work in the same line explained about political motivation might have negative effects due their decision making role. As ideology oriented student leaders have carrier to their respective

parties, and decisions might be guided by political inclination then how they would be absolute in favour of university's academic activities.

Asking the same question to another respondent, the acting president of NSU central committee, Guragai mentioned that, formation of units of sister organizations of political parties in an academic institution is an example of democratic practice. Students having different political ideologies sit together and make platform of their own organization mean the real evaluation of societal cohesion. It helps to build an environment to make fair competition. Students would select their favorite organization. No residual of dictatorship remains in society. Due to these practices, societies have multi views, multi ideologies and multi feelings (personal communication, June 3, 2011).

Guragai explained all about positive aspects of student organization even though they have various political orientations, as most of the student organizations of Nepal are of political party affiliation. Reviewing the literatures of professional student organizations, the organization building activities are favorable in making university as a center of excellence.

In case of Upper Iowa University, student organizations activities that believe and implement excellent organizational work that cultivate programs, activities, and events aim to develop their members as whole persons. That is, groups aim to help its members grow in the areas of leadership, scholarship, social awareness and involvement, spiritual development, career preparation, and several other developmental areas. Organizations demonstrate commitments to the university as ideal of an inclusive campus by achieving an environment where students of diverse backgrounds are welcomed. Every individual has the capacity to contribute and offer their own perspective, which collectively benefits on the organization's behalf.

Ultimately, student organizations provide an opportunity to get involved and develop oneself personally and professionally by interacting and participating with others with similar interests and diverse experiences (Organization hand book, 2011-2012).

Again I asked the same question to Bhandary, ex-general student of TU, I asked about the way of building student organizations, he said that the general problem of students are of making ID card, admission, filling exam form and others. Student organizations help such problems and get trust from general students. The way is that student leaders of student organizations formally come to introduce themselves to make good relation... They invite their parties' senior leader, make speech programs, and ask us to participate to their program. They try to deliver their parties principles, beliefs and ideologies among the student mass for getting support of the student and they lure them to be a membership to extend their organization (personal communication, June 1, 2011).

There are many reasons behind distributing memberships of student organizations at university premises. Professional student organizations positively act as per the rule for the welfare of students and overall academic excellence, whereas political faith based distribution of membership to show their political strengths in number, or utilize the members in their political interest through demonstration during political programs.

Referring literatures of Weeramunda (2008), in Sri-lanka University, Liberation Tiger of Tamil Elam and their sister wing as student organization i.e. Karuna Faction recruit new members to use them at universities for making ground for protests and other disruptive activities which bring discredit to the government in power and thereby contribute to destabilizing it.

Student organizations have to do programs to show their organizational strength. Different student organizations have different ways of building organizations. Some ways do not hamper the daily students business where as others directly effects to their education. In an interview with NSU Unit president, Koirala mentioned that it is obvious that the programs conducted by student organizations effect to education. Program should be academic and intellectual instead of political. The program made for political interest automatically affects the educational institutions. Student organizations should not do such activities on exam time and regular academic sessions and it has been better to organize such programs in leisure time (K. Koirala, personal communication June 9, 2011). It means student organizations disturbs the regular academic course organizing different programs in the name of organization extension, which Koirala mentioned in different language is ongoing bad practices of student organizational activities at University.

In a focus group discussion, I put a question to respondents that whether student organizations forcefully asked to participate in their political program during their regular course of organization building process? One of the respondents, Silwal, the regular student of TU said that without students the students organizations could not organize program and students had to participate on such program. They should have to come for informing their program but they could not do padlock and did not forcefully tells us to participate on the program. It is not a good practice. Guardians sent their children to the college for higher education and they have to labor hard to fulfill the cost of the education. If they knew that, their children are engaged on listening speech of political program during class time obviously they felt sad. There are many student organizations in TU, If all student organizations forcefully took the

students to their political programs then it really affects the academic environment and individual itself (Focus group Discussion, 12/06/2011).

Some of my respondents were student leaders and others were silent watchdog of the activities of student organizations. Student leaders said, they did not forcefully involve the students to their cultural, political and academic programs and had not padlocked the institution to gather mass for the program. General students also put the same view. They did their programs once or twice in a year. As in underdeveloped counties, students unions are always biased by national politics because of their socio-economical and overall social conditions (Altbach, 1993). They invited their parties' senior leader, make speech programs, and ask the students to participate to their program. They try to deliver their parties principles, beliefs and ideologies among the student mass for getting support of the student. It has also been seen that student organizations are set just to make voices against the political and academic system so that the oppositions will get benefit through youth demonstration against the political system. The oppositions have utilized their respective student organizations in university and its colleges, through protest and disruptive activities to fulfill their mundane objectives.

Throughout the interview, the primary observations revealed that there is very little academic disruption due to organization building activities at university premises. It does not mean that there were no effects in overall academic courses of students. As literatures suggests that political faith based student organizations' activities regarding organizations building have certain intention, that is why, they obviously have direct or indirect effects the overall academic courses.

Conflict Within and Among Student Organizations

Let us begin the story from the news published on 20/04/2012 at ekantipur.com that minor debate between the student unions affiliated to Nepali Congress and the Communist Party of Nepal turned violent at Pashupati Campus in Kathmandu. Around a half dozen student leaders sustained injuries in the clash between All Nepal National Free Student Union (ANNFSU) and Nepal Student Union (NSU). The injured students were sent to Om Hospital. Ramesh Khadka of NSU has been admitted to the hospital's ICU following a serious head injury. Nepali Congress General Secretary Prakash Man Singh later went to the hospital to meet his party's injured NSU cadres. A group led by ANNFSU central committee member Ain Mahar attacked Arjun Bhandari, Sanjay Shrestha, Mahesh Karki and Rajeev Shahi Congress cadres, with a khukuri. He had also reportedly opened three rounds firing. "However, students escaped unscathed without any bullet injury as the bullets pierce into the wall of the campus building," said Manoj Baidhya, president of the Pashupati Campus chapter of Free Student Union. On the contrary, ANNFSU Vice-chairman Nawraj Poudel claimed the firing was from the NSU side. "There was a minor clash after NSU cadres tried to disrupt our leaders from entering the college using hired gangsters. Our friends were also injured in the clash," he claimed. When asked, chief of Gaushala Police Inspector Atul Raj Bohra, who is looking into the case, stayed away from commenting on the case. Nobody has been detained in connection with the incident.

Here, I am discussing conflict in practical and theoretical basis. It is unavoidable in any interpersonal relationship or among members of any group and can be a very positive experience, if managed properly. It believes that conflict is something to be avoided, an experience of failure. But, it does not have to lead to

failure, defeat, separation or finish of individual relationships. We have had different ideas about what is best for us and what is best for our group. However, if conflict is change in the form of ego or proud then there might be the situation of destruction, which damage individual or group image.

I am expressing knowledge base of conflict putting university authority and students at center.

Alabi (2001)'s literature 'Conflicts in Nigerian universities: Causes and management' has logically expressed how it prevails at university system. It has been mentioned that conflicts are inevitable in any organization. In a university there are more than two units and have to share their functional boundaries in achieving their set objectives, where groups with differing nature of students, lecturers and administrative staffs. They have to work harmoniously together and share their boundaries of exchange of knowledge. There is conflict within the communities under university system, namely students, academics, administrators, non-academics and their unions.

Alabi (2001)'s literatures are so useful that cleared my knowledge base of conflicts among multiple actors at university system. He states,

The non-academics who perform support function might feel unappreciated by both the superior academics and the potentially more prestigious students. The administrators might also clash with students and staff in carrying out their functions of recruitment, admission, examination and provision of welfare services for the staff and students. The academics have a complex dual role of teaching and research. The two, though reinforce one another, could be a source of much tension over the individual's division of time, energy and commitment.

In addition, Alabi confined the result that conflicts usually result into disruption of university programmers like boycott of lectures, loss of lives, properties and closing down of institutions. These activities have ended into the shortened academic programmers leading to extended university calendars (2001).

Let's see again an example of result of conflict among student organizations, cited from nepalelectionchannel.org on 21 April, 2012. An incident of press freedom violation occurred at Koteshwor in capital on April 20, 2012. The cadres of All Nepal National Free Students Union (ANNFSU) affiliated to the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) turned violent and vandalized the Nagarik daily's stall at Koteshwor accusing the daily of publishing 'biased news' about the clash at Pashupati Multiple Campus of Chabahil a day before. The daily had published news about ANNFSU students' clash with Nepali Congress-aligned Nepal Students Union activists over a minor dispute.

As we know, student organizations are playing different roles. Firstly, they have to obey some rules and regulations from the university and at the same time, they follow the instructions of their mother parties. To play double role, student organizations overlook the rules of the university. At TU, there are different student organizations of different political parties operating. They have their own ideologies and principles. They have their different working styles. My study aimed to explore student movements and its effects in academia and research has to be done at TU. To identify the effects, one of the components helpful for providing justification might be conflicts among and within student organizations. If this happened so then, we can analyze the effects.

In an interview with senior leader of UNCPM, I asked about the relation among student organizations during his period. H. Rokka said that the situation of relation among the student organizations were as that of the relation among Dalits and

other cast, which is still prevailing in our villages. There was worse relation between NSU and ANNFSU as the two major student organizations of that time. After 2033 B.S., they realized that there must be accord between two major student organizations to fulfill their task of conducting movement against Panchayat regime. Leftists' students realized that the Janabad and revolution would not be possible without multiparty system. In addition, the democratic student organizations realized that without multiparty system there was no possibility of democratic socialism. Both organizations had same goal. The student movements of 2036 B.S. started to attempt the goal of multiparty system (personal communication, June 16, 2011).

In a query of conflicts within student organizations, there were dissimilarities amongst the left student organizations Akhil Fifth and Akjhil Sixth. Leftist party leaders were young and they had been said the young Bam Parties leaders. Young leaders rarely followed directions of their seniors but they had competition within themselves (H. Rokka, Personal communication, June 16, 2011).

In an interview with ex-general student of TU central campus, I asked the reason behind clashes among student organizations at TU. Bhandary mentioned that the foremost reason behind it was their differences in organizational principles. Due to the reason, their conversations, working style, lifestyle, thinking way, all were different to each other. Usually, each organization rejected the others' agendas whereas the agendas were really prepared for the development of overall academia. Cocks fighting among and within were the general phenomenon. The major cause was for position and responsibility. They were trying to get positions, wanted to upgrade within position, interested to take responsibilities in financial, administrative and academic sectors (personal communication, June 1, 2011).

“Conflict is defined as an overt behavior arising out of a process in which one unit seeks the advancement of its own interest in its relationship with others”

(Lammers, 1969).

In an interview with Bhandary, who gave an example how the political interest made conflicting situation. In an election of FSU Tri-Chandra, 2065B.S. he said the central delegate of NSU to Tri-Chandra College was gun fired raising the issue of construction of chemistry building. The candidate of vice-president of ANNFSU fired the gun. If reason was financial one to fire the gun then other organizations should have also taken part in action (Personal communication, June 1, 2011).

I liked to know about the conflicts among the student organizations so that I could get its multiple effects in an academia. I interviewed with regular student of TU and asked about the reason behind. Bista replied that there were differences in principles, ideologies, policies, strategies and working styles of student organizations. There were politics of bigotry among student organizations. If FSU is not cooperative and engaged on massive financial cases then, situation of conflicts grew up. If there were situations of appointments and tender bids, there were immense mobilizations of student organizations to get in favor. These were the mal practices in university and university colleges (personal communication, June 9, 2011).

In an interview with Unit president of ANNFSU, TU committee, I asked about the reasons behind conflicts among student organizations that made quarrels and fights. Acharya said:

Fights happen at inter and graduation level colleges as students are aggressive due to their hot blood. Most of the quarrels are due to the personal reasons.

Political quarrel never go to clashes. The news published in most of the media

that the classes among student organizations were political reasons paradoxically (personal communication, July 22, 2011).

I asked to know about the institutional relations among student organizations, differences in getting leaderships within student organizations, unfair competitions and the roles played by them to stop such situation. ANNFSU(R) unit president of TU replies,

ANNFSU(R) TU does not have rivalry to other student organizations operating at TU. There are some sort of conflicts and it is natural. Within our organization, there is also conflict. In a group of dear, there are first, second and third leaders. Leadership has to be done by views. That is why there are conflicts of views to be a live for organizations. Outlook of conflicts are different but in real, it is because of differences in ideologies and views. Student organizations are the sister organizations of different political parties then, It is not possible to order them to do this and that. We can do it only in our own organization. Problems within and among the organizations are being resolved by mutual understanding (A. Prasai, personal communication, 18/06/2011).

Guragai in sentimental mood talked about the way of thinking negatively to the differing organizations and act as repressive way is the anarchist culture. In Democracy, there should be respect of others views. The condition is that if there is one student organization's monopoly then there is no ground of the voices of others (personal communication, June 3, 2011).

It is also a reason behind clashes, creating conflicting situation at university premises.

Responding impacts of conflicts among student organizations, Bhandary responded that the conflicts among student organizations made 40% degradation of intellectual and physical progress of university. Due to the unharmonious relationships among student organizations with different ideology, there were situation of conflict in university and colleges. There were unnecessary debates just for very mediocre issues like admission. These types of debate finally made clashes. It ultimately jeopardize the situation and even downtrodden. This type of role made situation of degradation of university colleges. That was why there should be harmonious relation among student organizations to build overall academic institutions for better academic performance (Personal communication, June 1, 2011).

In a focus group discussion one of my respondent the regular student of TU university campus says,

In every day, there are clashes between students' organizations in one and other campuses. It is because of their ideological differences and it is a general phenomenon. Different student organizational programs are affecting students' activities. Involvement of student organizations in constructions of college infrastructures, pressing the campus authorities to open tenders results to their connivance constructors, acting like hooligans in campus premises and outside, all these are for monetary gain in such disturbances general students are troubled. The clashes among student organizations at open streets resulted bloodshed and the injuries really bit the heart. Due to closing of colleges, guardians are desperate that their ambitions to make their children to be qualified denizen on hail (Pandey, Focus Group Discussion, 12/06/2011).

Conflicts among student organizations results negative effects are not found only at TU and TU affiliated colleges in Nepal but there are such incidents happened at the campus of Dhaka University.

Ahmad (2000) pointed out that culture of armed grouping, capturing and making control over university campus and dormitories had been developed in Dhaka University. Using muscles and arms are general phenomenon against the opponent groups. Cadre is used as a same word of panic and fair.

By the clashes among different political groups as student organizations, there were series of political violence and they use firearms that cause the fatality of many students. The result was cases of injuries, death of many students and political violence causes unexpected closing of the university (Shahjamal, May, 2007).

Reviewing literatures, it has also been learned that conflicts among student organizations are also happened by the role of university administration. Though a university is an academic enterprise, a lot of academic effectiveness rests on administrative support machinery. That is why; management competencies of university managers determine largely the harshness of conflicts within the university. Managers who have tendencies to repression and rigidity are particularly conflict-prone (Miner, 1973).

The current student politics has created serious distrust among the student organizations and student leaders and their activities. The main reason behind the conflicting situation among the student organizations are their thoughts, principles, ideologies and agendas. Due to the differences in organizational principles, their conversations, working style, lifestyle, thinking way, all were different to each other. The differences made the situation of unnecessary debates just for minor issues like admission.

Student Organizational Voices and Administration Response at TU

Student organizations are a platform for dialogue of student ideas, concerns, professional development and service. Administration is committed to mentoring its student leaders by serving in advisory capacities to each organization. Student organizations raise academic issues for the welfare of students and overall academic sector. Academic administration is the sole responsible authority of solving the genuine problem of students if possible by their resources.

In our general sense, university administration might solve the genuine agenda of students when students voices in professional manner.

“University should also have to set proper guideline following the fundamental principle of rights of individual and the organization of raising the agendas. Otherwise, university has to face challenges and disruptions” (Obondoh, 2002).

I raised different questions within the topic to my respondents. First, I asked one of my respondents in focus group discussion about the way of presenting student’s agendas to university authority. In addition, if the authority did not take the agendas seriously then what is the next step of student organizations? Joshi one of the regular students of TU said they believe on peaceful way and their role is to follow academic movements. First, they submitted their agendas and issues to concern authority and give ultimatum. I studied that one of the most effective agencies at the University for influencing University decision-making is the student body (Altback, 1968). If concern authorities do not listen to their voices then they go on padlock the university administration. Even though the concern authority do not address their problems then there might happen anything like riot, vandalism, strikes depends upon the situation and circumstances (Focus Group Discussion, 12/06/2011).

In an interview with unit president of NSU, TU, I asked whether university authority invites the student leaders to participate and share their views on issues of university students concerns.

Koirala replied:

It depends upon the leaders like Vice chancellor, Rector and Registrar. They should have to change first to change the university. I have been to VC, Rector and Registrar offices frequently for delegation and talked on different issues of university. In addition, I have been with them on different programs organized by other organizations and myself and delivered speeches, shared views on different dialogue series but formally, they have not organized and invited me to take part on issues of university reform, up great the institution and way of making its prosperity. In contrast, TU administration blamed that the student organizations having different ideological differences reacted while trying to invite the representative of different student organizations at a single platform. Student leaders and student organizations will be responsible and creative for the betterment of university only if university administration asks them to participate and get suggestions and feedbacks on their educational program and projects (personal communication, June 9, 2011).

The role of student leaders and university administration are different. In case of the University at Albany, administration respects and supports students' efforts to exercise their rights. Authority provides the appropriate support for the successful implementation of events. Every effort is made by the University to respond affirmatively to all requests to engage in protest activity. Though, consideration must be given to the time, place and manner of the protest activity to insure the health and safety of the participants and the non-interference with authorized University

business, activities or events (2012). Such initiatives are rare in Nepalese higher education institute, especially at Tribhuvan University.

In addition, system in Albany University (2012) is that, protest activities are most likely to be conformed to an outdoor location. The use of amplified sound is only being permitted when it is not disturb of any university programs and as long as it is consistent with the University's sound policy. Students who conduct disrupts authorized university activities or programs are required to leave the event and subject to University judicial action. .But, In Nepal, student organization can do anything and there is no such action in practice. They put voices in any way whereas, university may response or not.

Asking about participating student leaders for improvement of university system, ANNFSU, ex-president, Jhakri said that she had contacted some departments and dean offices and conducted dialogues for the improvement of TU. However, there was no history of the university administration, inviting them to participate on dialogue and discussions for the improvement of overall university (personal communication, July 24, 2011).

In an interview with Bista, a regular student of TU, I raised a question on why student organizations padlocked and conducted strikes at TU. Bista said:

This country is like a "Madal Jun Bajdaina Nabajahi". Authorities do not entertain the agendas by formal and democratic way. Student movements are also the result of government's carelessness. TU does not make academic calendar, unable to change the exam system, does not want to speak on issues of library then students present themselves aggressively. Administration does not do even a minor thing then what the student do, they have no option but to

go for movement and take action for their purgative rights (personal communication, June 9, 2011).

One of my respondents answered the same way that State and TU administration are irresponsible and do not listen to the voices of students and their genuine demands, and that type of culture as on the increase. If demands are not listened through peaceful way, students presented themselves aggressively. Results might be closing strike and they vandalized the university properties (M. Bhattra, personal communication, June 17, 2011).

To resolve such problems, Alabi (2001) in his book 'Conflicts in Nigerian universities: Causes and management' mentioned that attitude of respect and trust is necessary for encouraging personal self-development for creating working environment. The authority must be experienced at crisis management and have organization management capacity to enable the university to attain its goal. There must have skill of effective coordination of the various conflicting interests that the resources from both internal and external environments must be "successfully harnessed, prudently used and rationally distributed".

In other's reactions on the same question, A. Prasai said:

In our country, government does not address the genuine demands of people and the groups in general way. If demands do not fulfill through peaceful way, the way of getting response is close, padlock and strikes. In Nepal, all political parties have opened their sister organizations in all echelon like student, teacher and staff. They also protest actively. If government responds at the beginning stage, it automatically controls. Creating such situation in academic institution is really an unpleasant scenario (personal communication, June 18, 2011).

In an interview with Unit president of ANNFSU(R), I raised a question, how university takes the agendas that concerning organization demands to University authority? How much serious they are to take initiation in practice? A. Prasai said:

Proper plan has to be made for long run activities. Students' do not have patience to wait for a lingering time. We have not made any activities with proper plan. We go to delegations putting issues related to administration, sports and others. We have done interactions with university authority to maintain academic calendar. They felt commitment to fulfill students' demands. Two years master's course finishes in four years. However, in practice they are unable in maintaining academic calendar and regular courses. In other university like Oxford and Howard, university runs through academic calendar. TU listen our agendas but problem is in its implementation (personal communication, June 18, 2011).

In our general sense, there are many internal factors that cause student dissatisfaction and put demands to university authority. That might be policies, plan, program type, rules and regulation and other factors. Other reasons are lack of communication and consultations between students and authorities in a variety of viewpoints (Adela& Akinsolu, 2009).

I asked ANNFSU ex-president, the types of agendas rose by ANNFSU and addressed by university authority. Jhakri responded that, they took the agendas like ameliorating exam system, trust building in exam system and making educational calendar. In addition, they raised availability of mark sheet, transcripts, and instruments related to examination. They also demanded one science campus of TU in each districts, increase of number of plus two, decrease of admission and tuition fees and establishment of agricultural university. University fulfilled some of their

demands and others are still on pending. University should fulfill all these demands by itself (personal communication July 24, 2011).

Nepal is not only country having different problems among the student organizations and university administration. In case of University of Kenya, there are problems among administration and students. Regular students often demands for their involvement in university governance and there is situation of unrest. There is lack of proper and established mechanisms for consultation. Authority is not accessible at all that they only make appearances to consult during times of crises which further make complex the problem of decision making. Situation is that most decisions are often made under pressure in crises. Then, these decisions end up not being well informed because of lack of adequate for consultation that makes the managers largely remain reactionary (Obondoh, 2002).

In the same literature, Saint added that existing mechanisms of campus governance contribute to de-stabilizing Internal and external tensions and constrain university responsiveness to the needs of local and stakeholders, as well as society in general (1995).

I asked Professor Kafle in an interview about the type of issues raised by student body and how did it responded. He replied that most of the student organizations come in the office bringing issues of office managements, staffs slow delivery, irregular teachers' presence and development of physical infrastructure. It is good job of students to put such demands. In some cases, their demands are unnatural. There are cases of quarrels, fights and destructions. There are cases of burning Dean Office and Colleges. Students are also undisciplined. They are aggressive even in a small issue. However, TU administration is meeker. In Nepal, without burning tire, without vandalizing public property no body listen the voices. TU also does not listen

to the demands without doing such activities. Due to these reason, TU has become victim though their demands may be genuine (personal communication, July, 22, 2011).

Acharya, Unit president of ANNFSU, TU committee pointed out that they put different academic issues at the table of VC and other executive heads. They put their views strongly rather formally so that they believed in peace. They never believed in stone throwing but during the movements, the action might be guided by the situation. If the administration do not listen by the way of official dialogue and discussion, there might happen disruption or use to take action by force. They were ready to take any type of risk in any time for the welfare of students (personal communication, July22, 2011).

I asked a question in an interview with the Professor of Sociology that student organizations raised issues of copy rechecking, providing lower grades in exam and prolonged time of thesis finalization; Devkota replied that if system is not smooth everybody raise questions. After knowing about discrimination in copy checking, giving lower marks, and giving poor marks in practical exams, privileged to their closest one then why do not they raise questions. If system is not fair, students' do not accept the culture. If system has number of pitfalls then students also attempt to benefit such (personal communication, June11, 2011).

Professor Kafle in an interview said that most of the student organizations came in his office bringing issues of office managements, staffs slow delivery, irregular teachers' presence and development of physical infrastructure (personal communication, July 22, 2011).

There are differences in student organizations in Nepal and abroad' how they voice the students' affairs'. Universities of developed economics have long been

practiced the student protest activities and administrations have also sensitively responded the students' demands. They have had democratic culture and practices, and followed the adequate rules, and regulation that bonded both institutions.

Whereas, the system in some developing economics have more or less similar to Nepal, but in certain cases our student organizations and university administrations' practices are bizarre and exemplarily.

In case of Nepal, my respondents responded in such matter that students tabled different academic issues at university authorities. First, they followed democratic norms and values putting agendas formally. They asked to solve their problems through discussions and dialogues. Their intention was not uncompromising. At last, they presented themselves aggressively to fulfill their demands. They follow the obstructive means like padlocking, closing, disruption, vandalism, and burning tire, burning effigies of university authorities, manhandling and destroyed the university properties. Only after, university authorities asked them to sit on table to solve their problem. After all, university authorities had solved some problems of students.

Differences Among Student Organizations Before and After 2046 B.S.

Before preceding the interviews, I have to clearly my own opinion about the differences among student organizations before and after 2046 B.S. The foundation of student organizations with different ideologies is in the higher education institutions. They also serve as instruments of motivating students. Tertiary education in particular is fundamental to the construction of knowledge and knowledge itself has become a vital factor for political stimulation.

Before entering into the primary research section, the secondary literature of students' movements and its causes had already been reviewed. The following literature is a path founder of my research work.

Before debating primary and secondary literatures of students' organizations' role before and after 2046 B.S., I felt to include direct quote from an article of Journal of Social Development in Africa in which Olugbade (1990) said:

Students are formally divorced from material production; they cannot be divorced from ideological and political struggles. Because ideology and politics have a dialectical influence on material production, students can be said to have one leg in social reproduction and another leg outside of it. This ambivalent location in social reproduction in general lies at the root of the limitations of the students' role, and it is at the same time the objective cause of the ambiguity of this role. When a political climate becomes hostile to students, the government loses one of the most essential agents of positive mobilization. Hostile political climate to student activism is inimical to the nation's progress, development and stability.

In Nepal, the political system before 2046 B.S. was party less and underground political party's leaders taught large volumes of philosophies and ideologies of politics to students through student organizations to make favorable environment for political movements of democracy. We were witnessed about student activists, its roles, responsibilities, activities, motivation and results before 2046 B.S. We got answer 'why they taught' these volumes but, to continue in getting answer about student organizations' professionalism after 2046 B.S. as there is no such concrete achievement so far.

During my research work, I thought that if I get differences in student organizations and their leaders' roles, responsibilities, motivation and characters before and after 2046 B.S., then my quest of seeking answers of identifying effects by

their timely changed differences would be acknowledged. Such effects might be arranged in justifiable way to answer research questions.

In an interview with Unit president of ANNFSU (R), I asked, 'have you seen differences among student organizations and their leaders before and after 2046 B.S.?' Prasai said:

Before 1990 AD, students' leaders were ideological, creative in giving views, committed in their respective parties and able to fulfill respectable political job. They had feeling of scarifies. After completing their education, they could join on their profession. They could continue politics in their leisure time.

They knew political philosophy very well but they were very serious on their education. After 1990 AD, the trend of dirty politics started. Politics of mussel and money started instead of politics of views and ideologies. Fair political situation was not build. Leaders were not responsible to the nation and for the people but started to be individualistic. This is the worse situation ever known (personal communication, June18, 2011).

I asked Bhattraï, general secretary of FSU, TU about the leaders before 2046 B.S., that they were honest to their respective organizations and conscientious for academic activities whereas after 2046 B.S., they are not so serious in getting education; they are not so accountable as compared to the previous leaders. They are cheating to students and they are selfish. They are trying to use the organization for their own monetary benefit by which the corruption at FSU is started. Political parties are Unable to control their cadres in party system. Impunity is harbored among wrong doers in our political parties; this type of culture is mimicked in student politics (personal communication, June 17, 2011).

It has been learned that the student movements after 2046 B.S. had to fulfill the task of academic agendas. They had raised and solved agendas like physical development of academic institutions, maintaining of regularity of academic courses and struggled for the rights and welfare of students. Whereas there were anarchist cultures within student, leaders like using weapons in a general issues and cases. Students were arrogant and had destructive nature. Their movements in some part damaged the regular course of academic excellence.

I got the two similar views from two different student organizations leaders about the leadership role of student organizations before and after 2046 B.S. Rokka, the ex-student leader and present Constituent Assembly member pointed out that after 1990 AD, government applied liberal economic policy. Student movements followed the same path that they also became liberal. Student leaders before 1990 were knowledgeable. They had the capacity to talk at street, parliament and government. Student leaders before 1990 are the leaders of political parties. After 1990 AD, student leaders followed the path of safe landing. Before 1990 AD, the leaders of student organization had an ambition to put the country into safe haven (personal communication, June 16, 2011).

However, after 1990 AD, the dedication is decreasing on. Today, student leaders are engaged on corruption, hooliganism, miss use of authority, so that student organizations are becoming unpopular. If student organizations perpetrate on such track then they will disappear. That is why; student organization should change their attitude towards the right direction in time (H. Rokka, personal communication, June 16, 2011).

In an interview with Professor Joshi who was once VC of TU told me that student political course hampered his education when he was student leader during

50s but after getting suggestion from his teacher named Surya Bahadur Shakya who became VC of TU who was sincere during getting his education and in the course of politics. He involved in student politics in 2008 B.S. and withdrew it at 2020 B.S. (K. K. Joshi, personal communication, July 25, 2011). It means that Dr. Joshi, as a student leader during his student life was scrupulous in his studies and worked as responsible student leader.

Professor Kafle in an interview made a perception about student leaders during his student life that replied that the student leaders before 2060 B.S. were simple, polite, discursive, and academically sound. They were committed to their organization, organizational ideology, party guideline, principles, and flag. However, today's leaders have neither studious nor moral ethics. They only talk about the previous revolutions. They have forgetter their right path. That is why, nobody count today's student leaders. Their leadership characters are degrading day by day and what leadership should have to maintain by them i.e. feeling of responsibility, honesty and study culture (B.D. Kafle, personal communication July 22, 2011).

During the time when my respondent a senior leader of UCPNM, ex-student leader acting in leadership position during 80s said that the time when all the political parties were banned, political parties with the help of their sister originations transferred their party views.

Student leaders of that time were honest and discipline. The major characters of involving in student politics were honesty, discipline, sincerity and knowledge. Student leaders of 2036 B.S. are in a decision making position of today is political parties. At that time, the student leaders who got victory of FSU were honest, responsible. Today, there is no prestige on student leadership because corruption and hooliganism are rampant. If student organizations really feel their duties,

responsibilities and the roles then it is useful but if they forget their responsibility it is worthless and nobody support them (Rokka, Interview, 16/07/2011).

I like to bridge some student activism of Nigeria. In Nigeria, the nature of student's activism before independence was majorly to fight colonialism. In 1925, the Nigerian students joined their counterparts in West Africa to form the West African students union. Nigerian students had taken that leadership, which in 1942 demanded the self-government of the West African colonies (Adelabu & Akinsolu, 2009). But, the focus of student activists was redirected to national building in the post – independence period (Ajayi, 1992).

Likewise, to find out the Nepalese student organizations roles after 2046 B.S., I asked NC leader about what roles played by student movements, student organizations and student leaders after 2046 B.S.? Bhandary said:

Student organizations after 2046 AD headed towards negative direction.

Student organizations started thinking politics as a platform of moneymaking.

They thought that FSU is a platform of moneymaking. An environment was built to expense hundreds of thousands rupees to compete for FSU election.

The image of student movements and student organization started to decline towards the direction of vanishing, if even, student movement has been raising genuine academic issues. No doubt, Student movements have given political contributions. Nevertheless, after 2046 B.S., it has not raised any popular program as compared the movements conducted before 2046 B.S. (personal communication, July 22, 2011).

After the acknowledgement of the activities of student organizations after 2046 B.S., I started to delve into what should be the role of student organizations for the university and the overall society.

World conference in higher education conducted by UNESCO, Paris in 5-9 October 1998 (as cited in UNESCO, 2002) suggested about student organizations campus activities that have to provide social and cultural activities that enhance the education and personal development of students. They provide services and programs needed by students that are not directly provided by the institution. They provide opportunities for students to develop leadership skills and individual responsibility through participation and leadership in student activities and organizations.

The sense of the declaration of UNESCO conference had already been followed by Nepalese student organization during 80s that Bhandary a prominent leader of NC, in the same context to my query answered that students had habit of learning at his time. Professors were temperate mind with their high gentility. There was no ground of copying and bullying. Students put their views from their side. Students were docile with professors. Most educated one recommended to VC. Leaders always inspired students to get better education. Kadar Bhakta Mathema was an exemplary VC of TU. Student organizations were not involved for delegation to recommend VC. If somebody went to any door of leader for the recommendation then leaders directly ruled out and told them to complete their respective academic course (Bhandary, Interview, 22/07/2011).

I asked to unit president of ANNFSU, TU about positive and negative effects of student movement he talked about raising their forefingers to the higher authority if there was something wrongdoing by the authority. The negative effects were the growing culture of displaying arms and carrying munitions and fighting just for minor issues were seriously dire. That culture was not supportive to both the University and student organizations and further aggravating the situation (Y.P. Acharya, personal communication, July 22, 2011).

In an enquiry on student organizations role before and after 2046 B.S., ex-VC of TU, Joshi said that before 2046 B.S., student organizations used to put forth academic agendas. The student organizations demands were supportive to university and the students. Due to these movements, national level political agendas were addressed. In Nepal, Student movements had played vital role for getting democratic system. Today is, picketing like close, strike, burnt fire, are unwanted. Such activities were never in favor of student, their organizations and political parties (personal communication, July 25, 2011).

I had assumed to compare the leadership before and after 2046 B.S. their role, responsibility, duty, obligation and characters weather they had managed or not during their time of student leadership movements. Then, it was necessary to ask about their leadership role weather they had accomplished or not. Then one of the student leaders of NSU, Guragai mentioned that student politics should have focus both on ideological and academic ground, that they must be more academically sound than other general students. In any academic institution, there are many student organizations. Leadership should be more visionary and competitive to place the position differently than the other student organizations. If there is no visionary leadership, no one can be impressed and there is no delivery. E.g. if somebody wants to take leadership of Nepal Student Union, than some short of knowledge regarding principle of congress and socialism should be known. If some foreigner came to educational institution, than leadership should have capability to introduce themselves in line with their vision and goal.

Sometimes, leader should participate in seminars and he has to deliver speeches so adequate cognizance is necessary (P. Guragai, personal communication, June 3, 2011). In addition, all the respondents declared that, the student leadership of

twentieth century was more competitive as compared to present student leadership. ANNFSU central committee president told me that student organization and their movements after 2046 B.S. were not very focused on ideological and social benefit. The student movements after 2046 B.S. have had dual characters. The movements were to look at academic but in practice, it was political (R.K. Jhakri, personal communication July 24, 2011).

While going back to the history, student organizations had more responsible to students' welfare as compared to present. They are active putting forth for their party's agendas. In a current situation, they are not responsible to student's genuine demands (Pahadi, Focus Group Discussion, 12/06/2011).

While discussing the TU student organizations role, present situation is not satisfactory as compared to past. Student circle knew that student organizations has played crucial role in different past movements that student organizations have good reputation in getting rights of people. They have done some works for the welfare of their class (Timalsina, Focus Group Discussion, 12/06/2011).

In addition, Paudel made clear about the student organization and their leaders that leadership should be according as views and grounds. Their vital agendas should be academic in nature. They generally claimed that they discussed such issues in documents but in practice they are very little aware of it. They are following wrong track and it is against the students welfare (Paudel, Focus Group Discussion, 12/06/2011).

Throughout the interview and literatures, it has been learned that past student leaderships had genuinely presented their academic and political agendas to the concerned authorities. They were sincere, hardworking, academic, responsible, inspiring, and believable and committed for welfare of students. In addition,

politically they were committed, visionary and believed in concrete ideology.

However, unfortunately, the present student leaderships have lacks of such characters; they are inclining towards corruption, hooliganism, destruction, individualism, misuse of authority and cheating.

FSU as a Platform for Politics, Academic Activities, Conflicts and Disruptions of TU

Historically, FSU as a platform of promoting rights of students. The rights might be norms or value based. In general student organizations deal with norms based issues but in some cases it also serves the value based agendas. That is why they have toppled powerful dictatorships and served as the scruples for nations.

The platform is used to fulfill the aspirations of people for justice, dignity, and equality. Then, there is no surprise that most repressive government jail, torture and murder student activists and not to give authority to operate such institution.

People those in power understand the significance of student movements often more so than student activists themselves (Omatsu, April, 2002).

Student movements have sufficient proofs to be associated with welfare of students and the country as a whole. The movement activities are done by student organizations. Student organizations' breeding grounds are the university premises. There is more than one student organizations' operating at universities. The attraction of student organizations depends upon their roles and agendas. The formal platform to play their role is FSU. Activities of student organizations for the post of FSU or during the post of FSU determine their strengths and weakness in creating environment for movement activities.

A major part of students' union activities consisted of activities such as debates, declamation contests, poetry sessions, music concerts, tournaments and

raising issues of student concerns to the concerned authority etc. and these promotes competitive spirit among students to excel in various fields besides studies. Elections provide an excellent opportunity to learn how a democratic process works. It promotes democratic culture including tolerance to opposing views, accepting verdict of the majority, working together including the opponents. It also helps students acquire organizational skills, inter-personal abilities and enhance communication skills.

Unfortunately, as the importance and influence of students' unions increased over the years, political parties' interference increased and became more direct in many cases. Elections, especially at universities, became more expensive and started to blow money outside the campuses to influence the elections.

I got a discussion paper presented by Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency [PILDAT] (August, 2008) on the topic Proposed Revival of Students Unions in Pakistan, I got a valuable document that the initial trend of academically bright students leading the students' union elections was replaced by the domination of students' unions by the favorites of one or the other political party. Ruling political parties also started playing a greater role and even tried to influence university administrations to take sides in students' politics in some cases.

Again the literature vehemently presents the case that student leaders used arms against rival students and also to teachers and university administration. The society became more politically polarized, likewise campuses. In response to the unjust interference of some of the past ruling parties to support their favorite individuals and organizations among students and facilitate their success in election, other students and organizations started resisting such trends, which soon started

transforming into armed clashes within the campuses leading to the suspension, delay and disruption of academic sessions. The student's politics is badly affecting the primary function of the educational institutions (PILDAT, August, 2008).

At the beginning, I asked about the date of establishment of FSU in Nepal. Joshi ex VC of TU replied that FSU had been established in 12/09/2017 by the decision of Panchayat government. They appointed president, secretary and treasurer; whereas other positions were fulfilled by direct election (personal communication, July 25, 2011). It means the system of appointment was not democratic that student organizations were not prepared to fight for the positions directly through their respective student organizations. It took nineteen years to establish FSU as a real forum of students.

In an inquiry about its official establishment, P.H. Guragai, an acting president of NSU said:

When students went to hand over the memorandum at Pakistani embassy against the abuse of human right –a dictatorial role of Pakistani military, responsible to hang Pakistan's premier Julficur Ali Bhutto, Nepal government did massive repression to the demonstration. They continue movements against Panchayat regime ultimately compelled to decide in favor of FSU in 2036 B.S... FSU was always utilized as a platform of fighting against Panchayat regime. Again, its roles after 2046 B.S., He mentioned that it is a platform of raising educational issues to academic institutions (personal communication, June 3, 2011).

In an interview with general secretary of FSU, TU, I asked what FSU has been doing for TU. Bhattraï told me that after election of FSU, they asked the authority about their boundary of responsibilities. They raised issues like the irregularity of

professors and staffs. They had red inked on attendance registers of those professors who were absent for a long time. In response, Departments opposed their work and padlocked respective departments. They engaged on dialogue to build academic syllabus of different subjects with university professors (personal communication, June 17, 2011).

I raised a question to ex-general student about student organizations' involved in fulfilling their promises after FSU election. Bhandary replied saying that issues of library, sports ground, drinking water, toilet, practical room, science room and others were their priority slogan of FSU election before. They had made commitments to solve the problems but after the election, other defied organization tried to block their activities. Again, they had to follow the same agendas in next election (personal communication, June 1, 2011).

I think student union is the most representative and powerful if it functions as per rule. A good student union has student respect and support by opening its doors to all interested students.

Guragai, acting president of NSU responded that, 'FSU is a common platform, where students with different opinions and philosophies work together to fulfill the students demands. To win the election, different student organizations put organizational agendas in front of students circle. Students identify their leaders by their performance like candidates' ideologies, views, beliefs, capacity and qualification. After the election of FSU, different voices emerge. Elected body slows down their activities and defected try to put obstacles to governing organizational activities. Rampant political conflicts start for power exercise. One factor struggle for their existence where as other try to defect them. Due to these reasons, the elected body is unable to fulfill their promises' (Interview, 03/06/2011).

I asked Bhattraai at what extend organizations had been successful to fulfill the agendas that rose in FSU election. Bhattraai said that they had fulfilled some extend that they had promised in FSU election. Their main agenda was to remove corruption from FSU. Only minor problem like clean toilet and potable drinking water were resolved (personal communication, June 17, 2011).

Again, asked about the perfect function of FSU, Guragai replied that today's FSU are more concern in political issues rather than educational. Most of the students studying at university have been facing enforced political situation. Students asked FSU leadership to concentrate on activities like picnic, educational tour and others. Students become aggressive if they get low marks in exams and protest against the department heads in front of departments. The reason behind this is the presence of disqualified leadership in FSU. Due to this reason, administration, students and intellectuals become frustrated. No academic activities have been functioning properly. Proper leadership is essential to maneuver FSU. Then only, students get benefit from their leadership who follow the direction and guideline of intellectuals to conduct the institution progressively (personal communication, June 3, 2011).

During interview session with unit president of ANNFSU (R), I raised, 'How have you been involved to fulfill the agendas committed to FSU election'? How do you run your organization? Prasai said:

First Organization has to be done by vision and then educational agendas. In the previous FSU election, our main agenda was to make FSU corruption free. After making FSU corruption free, educational mafia, do not get proper platform to operate. There is a connivance between educational mafia and corrupted. After removing corrupt persons, educational mafia automatically run away from TU. After FSU election, we have completed our commitment

as if we have made agendas like maintaining educational calendar, providing proper drinking water and proper management of toilets. To fulfill the demand, we decided to present Himal Sharma matured one as a candidate of ANNFSU(R) who is general secretary of central committee of ANNFSU(R) and finally we won the election. We are serious to fulfill the agendas committed to the university students before FSU election. Most of them resolved. We are always being with students for the sake of students (personal communication, June 18, 2011).

In the same question, Bhattraï replied that they had taken two types of agendas. One supportive to change the prevailing condition of campuses, university administration i.e. changes the priority of professors to their private colleges, reactivate administrative, and bureaucratic functions, provide proper physical facilities, and quality assurance. ANNFSU(R) had promised to remove corruption in all FSU throughout nation. Another was commitment of changing the curriculum (personal communication, June 17, 2011).

In an interview with NC leader recognized as popular student leader during 90s, I asked him about ‘During your student life, there were different student organizations operating in colleges, what were the roles of student organizations’?

I came to know about FSU election where Nain Singh Mahar, vice president of Nepal Students Union, affiliated to Nepali Congress said the tenure of the FSU was extended as part of the conspiracy of CPN-UML-affiliated All Nepal National Free Students Union and UCPN-Maoist-affiliated All Nepal National Independent Students Union-Revolutionary (ANNISU-R). Similarly, Himal Sharma, president of ANNISU-R alleged that extension of the FSU tenure was a conspiracy to delay the FSU election (The Himalayan Times, June 11, 2011).

Bhandary said:

Sister organizations of political parties having national dominance were proactive at university colleges. Some of the activities of student organizations guided by their respective political parties where as others activities designed as per their organizational own interest sometimes, in some cases though student organizations showed collective action. The student organizations elected to FSU were found to be more responsible whereas the student organizations failed to elect at FSU were comparatively irresponsible to the university Colleges (personal communication, June 1, 2011).

In a focus group discussion, I asked whether the commitments had been fulfilled by student organization after the FSU election. Silwal replied that prior to the election of FSU, student organizations put commitments that they would do this and that after electing to FSU, the commitment had not been fulfilled. They were the cadres of political parties and had not trying to fulfill their commitments (Silwal, Focus Group Discussion, 12/06/2011).

During an interview, I asked Bista about the main reasons of unfair competition among student organizations in recent years. Bista replied with example that there were two major students' organizations competing at Tri-Chandra multiple colleges for FSU election in 2065 B.S. After four month of the election, there was a tender called for chemistry building. Due to the case of tender, firing occurred in between two major students' organizations. The bullet fired by ANNFSU vice president's candidate of FSU 2065 B.S. election had injured central delegate of FSU election 2065 B.S. of NSU. After all, this incident took political color. There were different political debates and discussions happened. Finally, it was learned that the incident was not the case of tender or monitory intention but it was due to the cause of

politics and might intend to take revenge of FSU election results (personal communication, June 9, 2011).

During analyzing the primary documents I remembered the literatures of political interference at university system in Kenya that Kenyan public universities affairs was found to be adverse to the university autonomy and academic freedom, hence worsening of governance. The key policy deliberating forums are in the hands of the government. The academicians and students only have limited in the determination of academic and social-welfare policies (Obondoh, 2002). Where as in Nepal, individual political parties, their sister organizations and the government have their political excess of worst doing to the university system and FSU is one of the working platform of that type.

I asked Guragai about what do you say about increasing penetration of political parties' sister organizations in FSU?

Guragai said:

FSU is a common platform of free student aims to work for the rights of students, where students of independent views and ideologies select their leaders freely and independently. The leaderships exercise democratic norms and practices and complete their tenure successfully. FSU is a platform of exercising democratic practices. Students have different political orientations. They are prepared and inclined to any ideology, as they knew the objectives, working styles and thinking of established political parties. When they came to university education, they usually support to the student organization whose ideology matches to the party to which organization support to implement the vision of party ideology. The politics that has been done by the understanding

of party ideology has to be taken positively as students are conscious about the matter (personal communication, June 3, 2011).

Bista replied in a question both the positive and negative parts of FSU that is a platform which generates political and social awareness. It has taught and exercised about responsibilities, duties and rights of students. A platform unites all students. It has raised issues like good infrastructures, faculties, subjects, teaching learning environment etc. for the overall development of academic institution and successful in many cases. It has resisted putting issues like price hike, discrimination, corruption and many more. It has its great contribution of overthrowing the tyrannical Panchayat regime (personal communication, June 9, 2011).

Again, Bhattraï replied about the movements of student organizations and its effects to regular academic calendar of TU. FSU and student organizations are responsible of doing strikes and closing. One closing makes long disturbance to student academic course. It is really a detrimental practice. It hampers all factors of academic circle (Personal communication, June 17, 2011).

During interviews sessions, there were some questions automatically raised without preparation before, and the cause was knowledge by the vast literature reviews. Graft related issues mentioned at PILDAT (August, 2008) that student leaders also indulged in commercial conspiracy and received graft from contractors or suppliers of goods and services to university in return for allowing them to work smoothly or using their influence on behalf of the contractors with the university administration.

The matter is asked to Bhattraï that it is not good to say there is a corruption in FSU. If there is audit in each year, how corruption occurred? Not only student organizations but also the major embezzlement of the fund has been done by campus

administration. The budget System having annual fiscal system and making responsible to FSU automatically ends corruption cases in FSU. For student welfare per student charge 100/- rupees and there is 1000 students admit annually. Utilizing that money by FSU in annual program and publishing magazine which liquidates apparently means there is no such corruption in FSU (Chapagai, Focus Group Discussion, 12/06/2011).

During interview period, I have reviewed literatures about student organizations election so that I can elaborate the situation, interest and results in line with Nepalese context. The rivalries among the various student organizations have prevented a total student movement. When one student union gives the call for a strike, the others will oppose it. Each organization tries its best to find out issues over which they can agitate by mobilizing students. When a student organization leads a march against the authorities, it is considered the best available method to gain political influence among the students. However, the facts that this will be a political advantage to that organization compelling the others to somehow oppose such strikes and thereby diminish the mobilizing potential of that organization. The political parties have been successfully exploiting the students to do mercenary work for them. They have politicized the student community so that they can be made use of in critical situations. The fact that student youth leaders have been given party tickets to contest elections. Repeatedly false promises have been given to the students and youth regarding employment opportunities.

Moreover in my knowledge, the political parties have failed to adopt a healthy and positive attitude towards student problems. They do not allow an autonomous student movement to grow. They always interfere unnecessarily in educational matters. They exploit the students and present overstated picture of student

complaints. For narrow political interest, students are encouraged by them to engage in demonstrations and agitations. The problem is that students also seek political support, for being elected to university bodies and then join party for future career in politics.

In a query of corruption at TU and its affiliated colleges, I asked ANNFSU (R) unit president of TU, “Why does not TU assembly make corruption free FSU by amending law of compulsory auditing system?”

Prasai said:

In reality, we have not raised agenda of annual audit system in FSU, TU yet. There is huge financial transaction at university administration whereas FSU budget is limited. If the system of annual audit is practiced at FSU then students might question to huge corruption at TU administration. That is why; they are knowingly not interested to apply the rule of compulsory audit system of FSU annual expenses. It is an example of growing corrupt culture of university system. In our village, people say that KUKUR LAYE NAGIK AUNA NADINA HADDI FALDINE. Same as they are doing to be safe for further investigation (Personal communication, June 18, 2011).

Many works have been done by student organizations and their respective FSU at university and other colleges. During interviews, I did not get sufficient answers of other activities conducted by student union, which I collected from different sources of information.

The agitating ‘Student Unions’ who staged a sit-in at the ‘Central Department of Tribhuvan University’ (TU), protesting against the TU’s decision to phase out the ‘Proficiency Level Certificate’ (PCL), obstructed TU officials from entering the university with the aim to bring the entire university to a standstill as part of the

pressure campaign. They also locked up the Vice Chancellor, registrar, and rector in their respective offices. The sit in protest ended up following an agreement between the agitating student unions and the education ministry on 23 July. The three major student unions, Maoist-affiliated All Nepal National Independent Students' Union (ANNISU-R), NC affiliated Nepal Students' Union (NSU) and UML affiliated All Nepal National Free Students' Union (ANNFSU) agreed to end their strike against PCL phase out after the Ministry of Education (MOE) agreed to make higher secondary education more accessible and affordable to the needy students. At the agreement signed on 23 July, MOE agreed to intensify the process to open community Higher Secondary Schools (HSS) teaching science along with other streams in all 240 constituencies of the country with a quota for at least three teachers paid by the government. The ministry of education has also agreed to gradual increment of the teachers' quotas and staffs at the HSS (United Nations Nepal, August, 11, 2010).

In a focus group discussion, I asked about students' organizations achievable role and the wrongdoing, one of the respondents Pahadi said, students' movements so far have some achievements that they have concession in college admission, transportation fare and rose in scholarships amount. The wrong doings were that they did strikes just for minor issues, burned tires at campus premises, disrupted educational institution in different ways, trespassed in examination rooms to accomplice to the examinee and vandalized public properties. By the political reason, intentionally they either supported or rejected deans, campus chiefs according to their ideological partisan (Focus Group Discussion, 12/06/2011).

The recent news on the topic 'Student unions demand withdrawal of transportation fare hike' published on nepalnews.com pointed out some positive work done by student organizations. Student unions affiliated with various political parties

have demanded immediate withdrawal of public transportation fare announced by the government. Issuing a joint press statement, 13 student unions said the fare hike is unjustifiable and that the government should withdraw it right away. Student unions demanding withdrawal of the hike included the Maoist-affiliated All Nepal National Independent Student Union-Revolutionary, UML-affiliated All Nepal National Free Student Union, Nepali Congress-affiliated Nepal Student Union and Madhesi Student Forum. The unions have also urged the government to make the scientific adjustment of transportation fare across the country after consultation with experts and stakeholders.

In different situation, I asked general secretary of FSU TU, ‘Why does ANNFSU(R) differ than other organizations?’ Bhattraai said:

We are talking openly about easy approach education to all the children of general public. Our views are different from others in such respect that we request to get rid of the culture of corruption and illegal activities specially fund defrauding. There are certainly differences in structure, working style, ideology, and views than the other organizations operating at TU (personal communication, June 17, 2011).

Again, I asked Guragai, ‘what has been affected by FSU to individual, academic institution and overall nation. Whether there might be situation of thinking about its continuity or closer in near future?’ Guragai replied:

FSU has its responsibility to work for the rights of students. It speaks from the side of students. It has its duty and role during the transitional period of nation. The reactions and roles of FSU has been directly and indirectly supporting and ordering to the policy makers for making proper decisions. There is no reason for closing FSU in near future. The situation of creating environment of

corruption in FSU is due to the carelessness of TU administration. Until now, there is no system of auditing FSU annual expenses. If university makes a decision of doing so then automatically the confusions of making perception about FSU ended. Closer of FSU means TU administration will get ground that is more fertile for corruption as there will be no such institution to raise issues regarding corruption and others (personal communication, June 3, 2011).

In my perception, Free Student union provides opportunities for students to develop leadership skills. FSU acted as a prime platform of creating awareness about political, academic and social issues of governments, academic institutions and the society. It is a forum of students of various thoughts, ideologies, sentiments and visions in building consensus to identify proper issues of students to be presented to the concern authority for overall development of academic sector.

At different times of its history, it raised agendas related to maintaining academic calendar, suitable teaching learning environment, proper library facilities, well-constructed sports ground, easy access to clean drinking water, and toilets, well managed practical rooms and science rooms and maintaining orders of regularity of professors and staffs. They had shown activeness in building syllabus of different academic subjects. They engaged on dialogue to build academic syllabus of different subjects with university professors. FSU has been directly and indirectly supporting and ordering to the policy makers for proper policies decisions.

They showed commitment to resolve the problems before the election. After the election, other defied organization tried to block their activities. Again, the student leaders raised the same issues in next election and again made commitment to do so. After the election of FSU, different voices emerge. Elected body slows down their

activities and defected try to put obstacles to governing organizational activities.

Rampant political conflicts start for power exercise. One factor struggle for their existence where as other try to defect them. Due to these reasons, the elected body is unable to fulfill their promises.

Students become aggressive if they get low marks in exams and protest against the department heads in front of departments. The reason behind is the presence of disqualified leadership in FSU. Due to this reason, administration, students and intellectuals become frustrated. After 2046 B.S., FSU headed towards negative direction. They started thinking politics as a platform of moneymaking and FSU is one of that platforms. An environment was built to expense hundreds of thousands rupees to compete for FSU election. FSU have some male practices like involvement in construction. Due to the ideological differences, there were clashes among student organizations. It hardly effected the overall academic environment. Most of their issues related to their personnel interest. The image of student movements and student organization started to decline towards the direction of disappearances.

Student leaders have raised issue of corruption many times. TU administration has not shown interest of auditing FSU annual expenses. There is huge financial transaction at university administration whereas FSU budget is limited. If the system of annual audit is practiced at FSU then students might question to huge corruption at TU administration. If FSU is not function, well then TU administration will get easy ground for corruption and become lazy, as there will be no such institution to raise issues regarding corruption and others.

Conclusion

I have reviewed literatures of history of student movements in global and national contexts. South Asian and African University students' movements were

more common in our contexts and America, Japan, Indonesia, China and Iranian students movements were in some part different orientations. In some part of the world, there is no or very short history of student movements where as in another part of the world, there are professional student organizations with most of their activities or movements are in favor of students welfare maximizing. In third world countries, situations were different that value orientations of different characters had dominated what we say professional i.e. the norms based movements which made multiple effects on academia. That is why, I felt difficult to calculate their legitimate roles, responsibilities and its impacts.

In this section, I had to answer what effects these movements have on the overall academic environment of TU on past and present contexts. It was really a tough task; I had followed primary and secondary sources of information side by side. It was necessary to know about their contextual orientations, activities structures and comparing their past and present setup.

What types of activities had performed by students' organizations so that there were effects on academia or what were the effects by the activities of students' organizations at TU? To get answer of this research question, first I had selected university executives, present and past student leaders, past and present general students of TU, central level student organizations leaders and central level party leaders who during their student life were active in student movements. The most important thing that I had to know at first was about their ideology orientation and organization building. Student movements were carried out in deep thirst of political interests and one of the reasons of organization building was knowingly and unknowingly involvement of student in organizational activities. During the process of social mind recruitment, there were many fault procedures applied by which

students' individual carriers and academic performance weakened. Political effects are seen after conduction of political programs in the name of ideology orientations and awareness rising.

In some cases, there are positive effects that general students make aware about political philosophies. Interactions with party and student leaders build exposes that their confidence level in the public sphere increased. However professionally, student organizations should have focus on issues related to academic and extra curriculum activities. Students symbolically interact that there are multiple effects after ideology orientations and most of them have faced worst scenarios that higher education institutions strongly rethink about the procedures followed and act differently, formulating pro-university and pro-students friendly law.

Value based movements need certain type of organizational structure in parties and student organizations. Study of students' organizations building was necessary. How they build their organizations? What were the activities practiced to build norms and values based student organizations?

First of all, they introduced themselves and their organizations through their ideology, principles, believe system, scarifies and activities practiced. They usually followed membership distribution campaigns, cultural programs, and political programs to strengthen their organization. They usually raised genuine students' problems and in some cases, asked to co-operate their organizational building activities. But in few cases, they forcefully involved the general students to their mundane organization building activities. Certain type of faith or ego based extremism and immature organizational decisions hampered regular course of university.

In the name of organization building, student organizations invited political party leaders for ideology related speeches. Likewise, direct involvement of political party leaders in university internal affairs resulted conflict between students of different political thoughts. The culture of rejecting opposition's good opinions has been wrong practice that ultimately affects academic environment. Practically , general type of problem disturbed the regular course was sound pollution in regular class room results less participation ; repetition of courses in next class.

The current student politics has created serious distrust among student organizations and student leaders and their activities. The main reason behind is conflict within and among students organizations. The conflicting situation among the student organizations are their differences in thoughts, principles, ideologies and agendas. Due to the differences in organizational principles, their conversations, working style, lifestyle, thinking way, all were different to each other. The differences made the situation into unnecessary debates just for minor issues and finally it becomes major that entirely affects to overall academic environments.

Institutionalization of academic institutions depends upon how administration response students' genuine voices. Students of developing and developed economics have been practicing differently their protest activities and administrations have also sensitively responded their demands in developed one that they have had democratic culture and practices, and followed the adequate rules, and regulation that bonded both the institutions whereas, systems in some developing countries have more or less similar to Nepal. In our contexts certain cases are that student organizations and university administrations' practices are bizarre and exemplarily.

My study wanted to reflect effects of students' movements. Then, it was necessary to know about their roles, responsibilities, characters, motivations,

mentality, attitude, behaviors, ideology, nature, culture and practices that denounce mode of their effects. Interviews and literatures logically emphasized that past student leaderships had genuinely presented their academic and political agendas to the concerned authorities. They were sincere, hardworking, academic, responsible, inspiring, and believable and committed for welfare of students. Politically, they had committed and visionary and believed on concrete ideology. Nevertheless, the present student leaderships have lacks of such characters; they are inclining towards corruption, hooliganism, destruction, individualism, misuse of authority and cheating. Differentiating the past and present leadership vehemently made public the crisis in student leadership characters that has now creating multiple effects to academic institutions.

Student organizations are the prime platform for students concerns then it is necessary to go through its positive work done. My research has revealed that it has provided opportunities for students to develop leadership skills, acted as a prime platform of creating awareness of political, academic and social issues of governments, academic institutions and the society. It has made such a forum that student of various thoughts, ideologies, sentiments and visions have been working together in building consensus to identify proper issues of students to be presented to the concern authority. Likewise, from its history, it has been raising agendas related to maintaining academic calendar, suitable teaching learning environment, proper library facilities, well-constructed sports ground, easy access to clean drinking water, and toilets, well managed practical rooms and science rooms and maintaining orders of regularity of professors and staffs. They have engaged on dialogue to build academic syllabus of different subjects with university professors. FSU has been directly and indirectly pressing the policy makers for proper policies, decision at TU

and other university administrations. All these duties and responsibilities after all have positive effects to academia.

As we know, FSU as a prime platform for activities of student organizations, we can see its effects that each student organizations principally commits to resolve all necessary issues directly related to students after being elected into FSU. After the election, elected body slows down their activities and defected try to put obstacles to governing organizational activities. Due to these reasons, the elected body is unable to fulfill their promises. Again, the student leaders raised the same issues in next election and again made commitment to do so.

We have discussed in short the most essential results in favor of student organizations and their movements the dynamic effects in academia. The other side of its face, exponentially growing culture of anarchism that if they get low marks in exam, they protest in front of department heads, vandalize departments, place black ink to the face of teachers and close academic institution for long time. If any of the group member do not understands the exam question paper, the whole students have to reject the exam. Student organizational movements in the name of student's welfare and rights have plugged into culture of impunity. Activities of FSU after 2046 B.S. has bared the most worst situation that they started thinking politics as a platform of moneymaking and FSU is one of that platforms. An environment was built to expense hundreds of thousands rupees to compete for FSU election. To recover that money, they involve in breaking beading of construction of college infrastructures to give the contract to their like person or form.

Again, political activities of student organizations and union have encouraged criminals on the campus. Criminals and antisocial forces help student organizations to win the college union elections by terrorizing the rivals. Elections breed violent

clashes too and this is an opportunity for the antisocial elements to come to the campus. Many students have suffered injuries and several others have lost their lives in campus violence. Here also the parent political parties and their feeder organizations help the student leaders with men and money to win the student election.

Analyzing the situation, the educational institutions have become the recruiting centers and the student organizations the recruiting agents of political parties indirectly. These organizations conduct propaganda work for the various political parties and they try to promote partisanship to the party among students. The vaunted politics has hindered educational reforms. The parochial students' organizations oppose any type of quality improvement in education. They stand not for quality but education for more and more people. Students agitate over issues, which do not have any relevance for them.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

In this chapter, I have summarized all about issues of student movements, activities of student organizations and its effects in academia throughout my professional research journey.

When I was a university student at Tri-Chandra College, TU, I played an active role as a student leader and experienced much about student organizations' activities and their movements. It was my interest to do this study in professional manner. I was serious to know thoroughly about the causes of student movements, direct and indirect actors behind the scene and their effects on Nepalese higher education institutes. At the beginning, I thought I could easily do these research activities as it was my area of concentration but after getting consultations, feedbacks, literature reviews and preliminary interviews, it was vague. Research questions were changed repeatedly. Research works have been done in such a way that literature reviews related to the topic were studied first. Before literatures suggestions, historians, political activists, student leaders and writers were consulted to enter into pinpoint of available materials. After that, some research questions had been developed for preliminary survey and went to TU central campus as a research site for primary source of information. As method of data collection, In-depth interviews and focus group discussions have been done. During first phase of interviews, I received feedbacks for selecting proper research questions. I became clear to identify useful questions focusing past and present events of student movements and its effects.

The conceptual frame designed in chapter II assumed according to topic, changed repeatedly which have been made in proper shape after repeatedly changing research questions for the study. I have assumed causes of emergence of student activities and movements. After heavy collections and in-depth reviews of literatures, I have pointed out grand issues of the matters during different socio-political time frame. It has been learned that ideology orientation and organization building are the basis for the activities and movements. In addition, I have pointed out different institutions for and against the movements and activities. In the framework, I have mentioned political, academic, social and other matters active and reactive for the movements in past and present context. By the result, there might have been multiple effects in academia. After all, the model became the major guiding principle to draw conclusion and has given proper direction for the future implication of this research work.

I tried to conduct the research using a single theory but it not sufficient for the study. Multiple social science theories were used to justify the matters. Wh-questions were asked to explore the issues and its results, where different grand theories have their value based importance in different time, space, situation and conditions. It has been mentioned at ‘Concern about theory’ sub-section of this chapter.

I had two specific research questions. The first one has been addressed by systematic review of documents on agendas based student movements mostly by literature reviews and then in-depth- interviews, whereas second one is addressed by focusing on in-depth-interviews and focus group discussions then literature reviews. It has helped to provide knowledge about how issues builds, who were the direct and indirect actors behind the scene, what were their motivations and intention for and

against the movements, and how did these role models in practice effect positively and negatively to overall development of higher education sector of Nepal.

I have organized my findings chapters in the form of ideological orientations, organization building, student organizations' voices and administrative response, student organizations before and after 2046 B.S, activities of FSU, conflict within and among student organizations, which has made helped me to make explicit the activities and effects of student movements and resistance politics. During the course of interpretation, it was necessary to extract implications for future course of action. For this purpose, many documents abroad beside literatures, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions in Nepalese contexts were studied. Finally, this chapter has been concluded briefing the core agendas of student movements throughout its history, different direct and indirect actors behind the movements, political, social and academic effects and how this research work can be connected for the overall development of higher education sector of Nepal.

Conclusion

Following interpretive paradigm, historical methods and multiple theories, I have identified issues raised by students' movements, activities of students' organizations and its effects in different historical context of Nepal, taking TU as research field. Research work has been conducted through systematic examination of past events and then tallied by getting in-depth interviews and focus group discussion with concerned stakeholders. There is partly relevant some theories in my research journey. No such particular theory accepted throughout the study.

There were norms and value based issues raised in all walk of history of Nepalese student's movements. Among the issues, the most prioritized issues until 2036 B.S. were the establishment of Free Student Union at university and their

affiliated colleges and the issue of multiparty democracy. The issue of multiparty democracy was continuing till 2062/63 B.S., where value based agendas were hoisted towards the conventional, steady and authoritarian political regime and norms based were to university authority. It means all primary and secondary data revealed that student movements were not solely associated for the professional rights of the students but the political rights of the citizens. Throughout its history, one thing common was that students' movements, resistance to the movements, authorities' action and resistance to their action were the common phenomenon.

The major achievement of their movements before 2046 B.S. was that of the movements of 2036 B.S that compelled to announce referendum for political choice and gave mandate to establish FSU at different campuses. Even though the result of referendum was not in favor of demonstrators, it nonetheless made conducive environment to future movement for democracy aspirants. Political agendas that the student organizations had made so far in different attempts of their movements were not appropriate to collect mass support; they had put genuine academic agendas for the political purpose strategically. Panchayat regime deliberately wanted to solve genuine students' problems beside the agenda of multiparty system.

Describing in short the historical scenario of student movements' juncture, the period 2007-2017 B.S. was breeding ground for their political ideology setting. Rightist student organizations usually promoted academic languages whereas Leftist voiced mostly through political language. After 2017 B.S when King Mahendra took executive power overthrowing majority led B.P Kerala's democratic government and banned political parties, they raised issues against the dictatorship, issues of nationalism, conducted movements against western and southern expansionism, voiced for livelihood, social justice, student's rights and its preservation, unlawful

arrest and torture. The issues mostly centered on about democracy, nationalism, education policies and others. They had given first priority to issues of nationalism, the second political change and the last academic. Until 2028 B.S. students' organizations area of concentration so far was extending, strengthening and publicizing their organizations, as they were busy on their organization building in the political battleground. They were clever enough to sensitize the public and students about their rights.

Until 2045 B.S., student organizations conducted movements with their own efforts without collaboration and consultation with rival students' organizations. They did so only after making negotiation with their respective mother political parties. There were not cordial relations among student organizations that helped the regime lengthening their political tenure.

Before 2046 B.S., students' organizations also vehemently raised issues related to nationalism and foreign affairs, as of sentimental feeling or strategy to gather mass sentiment to overthrow the political system. The sentiment for mass movement emerged and student organizations played as catalyst for political parties' motivation of establishment of democracy. They developed many academic agendas for political purpose. They made commitment to work together for their common rights. During this period, the regime addressed many academic demands but students were not stopped. During that period, there were many student leaders arrested and some were killed.

After 2046 B.S., student movements returned to norm based. They had to fight for students' welfare. Beside few cases for students' welfare maximizing events, there were no such countable student movements during 2046-2057 B.S. for overall growth of TU and other academic institutions. After 2058 B.S., as King Gynendra impeded in

the parliamentary process, student movements returned to political process. They conducted hundreds of movements raising norms based agendas to fulfill their value based agenda against royal takeover and TU was a major center for pressure building. They raised 7,14, 54, 64, points educational demands to TU, MOE, KU, Mahendra Shaskrit University, Higher education board, PABSON and other newly established and establishing universities during the period of 2059 to 2062 B.S..

They formally tabled their demands and asked for dialogue democratically. In most cases, they were flexible and understandable to possible fulfilling agendas. If their demands had not listened carefully, they would have launched different level of movement to pressurize the concerned authority. They did close educational institutions number of times, they padlocked many educational institutions many days, they vandalized educational institutions, they painted the concerned authority's face by black ink, they asked the guardians not to pay monthly fees, they asked teachers not to teach and others. The concerned authority had made some commitments to address their norms based issues where TU had responded the demands and the Office of the Rector and the 7 student organizations signed in agreements. Big volume of issues rose to TU authority for the first time in history addressed at least on paper.

The long struggle of students' movements during 2058 to 2062/63 B.S. in one part compelled the King to decide and reinstate the parliament and finally, the first secession of Constituent Assembly declared Nepal as a federal democratic republic. After 2063 B.S., again student organizations came to follow norms based movements, they are raising genuine students concerns but scenario is that there is very little progress on students' professional rights as freedom has crossed its territory and nobody listen any genuine issues without destruction and vandalism.

In these concluding remarks, I have pointed out the policy issues of student organizations during their movements in Nepalese history. Here, if issues were exposed in order then there had been obviously some effects in each period of issues buildings. There were actors and re-actors behind the issues, multiple backgrounds of its making, positive and negative impacts so far, which has supported to identify problems and future research course.

The most important thing I have in mind is about ‘activities and its results ‘or their movements and the consequences. Actually, I tried to explore the causes for raising issues and its multiple affects; constructive or destructive. To know about their activities settings, first I had to know about their ideology orientation that student movements were carried out in deep thirst of political interests and one of the reasons of organization building was knowingly and unknowingly involvement of student in organizational activities. During the process of social mind recruitment, there were many faulty procedures applied by which students’ individual careers and academic performance were weakened. Political effects were seen after conduction of political programs in the name of ideology orientations and awareness rising.

In some cases, there are positive effects in the sense that the general students were made aware about political philosophies. Interactions with party and student leaders contributed to exposures so that their confidence level in the public sphere is increased. However professionally, student organizations should have focused on issues related to academic and extra curriculum activities. Students symbolically interact that there are multiple effects after ideology orientations and most of them have faced worst scenarios at higher education institutions.

Value based movements need certain type of organizational structure in parties and student organizations. Study of students’ organizations building was necessary.

How they build their organizations? What were the activities practiced to build norms and values based student organizations? In this regard, first of all, student leaders introduced themselves and their organization through their ideology, principles, belief system, scarifies and activities practiced. They usually followed membership distribution campaigns, cultural programs, and political programs to strengthen their organization. They usually raised genuine students' problems and in some cases, asked to co-operate their organizational building activities. But in few cases, they forcefully involved the general students to their mundane organization building activities. Certain type of faith or ego based extremism and immature organizational decisions hampered regular course of university.

In the name of organization building, student organizations invited political party leaders for ideology related speeches. Likewise, direct involvement of political party leaders in university internal affairs resulted in conflict between students of different political thoughts. The culture of rejecting opposition's good opinions has been a wrong practice that has ultimately affected academic environment at the university.

Institutionalization of academic institutions depends upon how administration response students' genuine voices. In our contexts certain cases are that student organizations and university administrations' practices are bizarre and exemplarily. Interviews and literatures logically emphasized that past student leaderships had genuinely presented their academic and political agendas to the concerned authorities. They were sincere, hardworking, academic, responsible, inspiring, and believable and committed for welfare of students. Politically, they were committed, visionary and believed on concrete ideology. Nevertheless, the present student leaderships lack of such characters; they are inclining towards corruption, hooliganism, destruction,

individualism, misuse of authority and cheating. Differentiating the past and present leadership vehemently made public the crisis in student leadership characters that has now creating multiple effects to academic institutions.

If student organizations are the prime platform for students concerns then it is necessary to go through its positive work done. My research has revealed that it has provided opportunities for students to develop leadership skills, acted as a prime platform of creating awareness of political, academic and social issues of governments, academic institutions and the society. It has made such a forum that student of various thoughts, ideologies, sentiments and visions have been working together in building consensus to identify proper issues of students to be presented to the concern authority. Likewise, from its history, it has been raising agendas related to maintaining academic calendar, suitable teaching learning environment, proper library facilities, well-constructed sports ground, easy access to clean drinking water, and toilets, well managed practical rooms and science rooms and maintaining orders of regularity of professors and staffs. They have engaged in dialogue to build academic syllabus of different subjects with university professors. FSU has been directly and indirectly pressing the policy makers for proper policies, decision at TU and other university administrations. All these duties and responsibilities after all have positive effects to academia.

As we know, FSU as a prime platform for activities of student organizations, we can see its effects that each student organizations principally commits to resolve all necessary issues directly related to students after being elected into FSU. After the election, elected body slows down their activities and the defeated try to put obstacles to governing organizational activities. Due to these reasons, the elected body is unable

to fulfill their promises. Again, the student leaders raised the same issues in next election and again made commitment to do so.

Student organizations in one part can be seen as dynamic force where as in other part showed exponentially growing culture of anarchist characters. Political activities of student organizations and union have encouraged criminals on the campus. Criminals and antisocial forces help student organizations to win the college union elections by terrorizing the rivals. Elections breed violent clashes too and this is an opportunity for the antisocial elements to come to the campus. Many students have suffered injuries and several others have lost their lives in campus violence. Here also the parent political parties and their feeder organizations help the student leaders with men and money to win the student election.

The current student politics has created serious distrust among student organizations and student leaders and their activities. The main reason behind is conflict within and among students organizations. The conflicting situation among the student organizations is the result of their differences in thoughts, principles, ideologies and agendas. Due to the differences in organizational principles, their conversations, working style, lifestyle, thinking way, all were different to each other. The differences made the situation into unnecessary debates just for minor issues and finally it becomes major that entirely affects to overall academic environments.

Analyzing the situation, the educational institutions have become the recruiting centers and the student organizations the recruiting agents of political parties indirectly. These organizations conduct propaganda work for the various political parties and they try to promote partisanship to the party among students. The vaunted politics has hindered educational reforms. The parochial students' organizations oppose any type of qualitative improvement in education. They stand

not for quality but education for more and more people. Students agitate over issues, which do not have any relevance for them.

In short, Nepalese student's movements officially started as norms based through *Jayatu Shaskritam*. Throughout its long history, it has been focused on value based movements following footsteps of norms based agendas. In building organizations for the movements, they actively engaged in advocating their respective parties' ideologies. During the course, they had followed both positive and negative means which had multiple effects on academic excellence of TU and affiliated colleges.

Implications

Conclusion of this study has provided some noteworthy findings that have improved our understanding of student's movements' issues and its multiple effects on higher education institutions. It has suggested a number of implications for student affairs practice and future research. Student movements have a long and rich history in Nepalese higher education sector and will continue to have a place in our institutions of higher learning.

Conceptually and theoretically, this subjective paradigm based research has underlined the tasks as issues of students' movements, how, why and when do issues generate? It has described the ground for the movements, direct and indirect actors behind the scene and their roles, resistance against the issues makers, situations building and issues termination, different normal and complex phenomenon and its multiple effects through the angle of multiple line of thoughts. In each part of my conceptualization, there is space for study implication. Further research might focus on role of direct and indirect actors supporting their issues based movements. Again, future research might be focused on issues like: if higher education institutions had

been hardly affected by student movements and activities then what measures were suitable to neutralize their events. In other word, these effects have assisted institutions and institutional agents better serve these activists, tackle genuinely their demands, and see itself how much they are clear in their academic goals for higher education learning. Understanding about issues and its effects associated with students movements can also have policy and program implications. Colleges can better understand how to make deal with policy makers and create opportunity for suitable political and academic spaces.

REFERENCES

- Adelabu, M.A., & Akinsolu, A.O. (2009). Political education through the university: a survey of Nigerian university students. *Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 3(2), 46-53.
- Ahmad, Q.H. (2000). *Quality of education and campus violence: Case studies of Dhaka and Rajshahi Universities*. Dhaka: The University Press Limited.
- Ajayi, S. (1992). *Personnel management in Nigeria*. Lagos: Edition F. Communication.
- Alabi, A.T. (2001). *Conflicts in Nigerian universities: Causes and management*. Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin.
- Alam, G.M., & Shahjamal, M.M. (2004). *Students' involvement in 'party politics' in Bangladesh: the impact on HE and national development*. Prepared for First National Education Conference on Whither Policy Reform in Education: Lessons and Challenges.
- Altbach, P. (1966). *Students and politics*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Altbach, P. (1968). Student politics and higher education in India. *Students and Politics*, 97(1), 254-273. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/20023808
- Altbach, P. (1968) *Student politics in Bombay*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Altbach, P. (1974) *Student politics in America: A historical analysis*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Altbach, P. (1984). Student politics in the third world. *Higher Education*, 13(6), 635-655. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/3446867
- Altbach, P. (Ed.). (1989). *Student political activism: An international reference handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

- Altbach, P. (1993). The politics of students and faculty. *Journal of Education and Social Change*, 5(13), 41-61.
- Barnhart, S. (1999, June 8). *Students as protagonists of democracy*. Kathmandu: Author.
- Bhatta, C.D. (2007, January 12). Nepali youth and tomorrows' politics. *The Rising Nepal*, p.6.
- Bhutt, I. H. (2009). *Revisiting student politics in Pakistan*. Bargad, Gujranwala: Pakistan.
- Bickford, D. M., & Reynolds, N. (2002). Activism and service learning: Reframing volunteerism as acts of dissent. *Pedagogy*, 2(2), 229-252.
- Bone, D. J. (2005). *The social map and the problem of order: A re-evaluation of 'Homo sociologicus'*. Retrieved from www.informaworld.com/index/759129829.pdf
- Bottomore, T. (1979). *Political sociology*. The University of California. USA: University of California.
- Broido, E. M., & Reason, R. D. (2005). The development of social justice attitudes and actions: An overview of current understandings. *New Directions for Student Services*, 110, 17-28.
- Carr, C. L. (1998). Tomboy resistance and conformity: Agency in social psychological gender theory. *Gender and Society*, 12(1), 528- 553.
- Central for Economic Development and Administration. (2007). *Financing the higher education in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Author.
- Chris, B. (2005). *Cultural studies: Theory and practice*. London: Sage. Retrieved from www.sagepub.com/upm-data/16884_00_Barker_Prelims.pdf

- Cole, G.A. (1998). *Organizational behaviors. theory and practices*. London: Ashford colour press.
- Dahal, D. R. (2004). *New social movements in Nepal*. Retrieved from http://www.nepaldemocracy.org/civic_education/Social%20Movements.pdf
- Eight Student Union. (2067 B.S.).*Sahayatra*. Kathmandu: Author.
- Feuer, L. (1969). *The conflict of generations: The character and significance of student movements*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Fields, A.B. (1970). *Student's politics in France: A study of the Union National Des Etudiants de France*.New York: Basic Books.
- French, W. L., &Bell, C.H. (1999).*Organization development*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1989). *Sociology*.London: Polity Press.
- Goodspeed, R. (2005, March 21-April 29). *A history of American student activism*. New York, NY: American Way Foundation.Retrieved from http://www.goodspeedupdate.com/wp_content/HistoryofStudentActivism101-Syllabus.pdf
- Government of Nepal. (2006).*Ministry of Education and Sports*.Retrieved from <http://www.moe.gov.np>
- Gregg, N. (1993).*Trying to put first things first: Negotiating subjectivities in a workplace organizing campaign*. New York, NY: Fisher and Davis.
- Gupta, G.S. (2012,July 13). *Politics has replaced philosophy*. Delhi: Author.

- Gusfield, R.J. (1971). Student protest and university response. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 395, 26-38. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/1038573
- Habermas, J. (1972). *Knowledge and human interests*. Portsmouth, N. H: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Heywood, A. (1997). *Politics foundations*. London: Macmillan.
- Hitt, A. (2009). *Organizations*. Wisconsin-Madison: Marquette University Law School.
- Hoftun, M., William, R., & John, W. (1999). *People, politics, and ideology: Democracy and social change in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.
- Huczynski, A., & Buchanan, D. (1985). *Organizational behavior*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Interim Constitution of Nepal*. (2007). Kathmandu: Government of Nepal.
- Khatri, R.D. (July, 2005). Politics in the university decision making. *Tribhuvan University Journal*, 25(1), 113.
- Komives, S.R. (1994). Women student leaders: Self-perceptions of empowering leadership and achieving style. *NASPA Journal*, 31, 102-112.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. London: Sage Publications.
- Lammers, C. J. (1969). Strikes and mutinies: A comparative study of organizational conflicts between rulers and ruled. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 14, 558-572.
- Lipset, M.S. (1966). University students and politics in underdeveloped countries. *Comparative Education Review*, 10(2), 132-162. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/1186213

- Levy, D. (1981). Student politics in contemporary Latin America. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 14(2), 353-376.
- Lund, T. (2005). The qualitative-quantitative distinction: Some comments. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 49(2), 115-132.
- Lutz, G. J. (1971). The Chinese student movement of 1945-1949. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 31(1), 89-110. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/2053054
- Marisela, R. (2010). *College student activism: An exploration of learning outcomes* (Master's dissertation). University of Iowa, USA.
- May, T. (2001). *Social research: Issues, methods and process*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.
- Miles, M.B., & Huberman, A.M. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis*. California, CA: Sage Publications.
- Miner, J. B. (1973). *The management process theory, research and practice*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Modigliani, A., & Francois, R. (1995). The role of interaction sequences and the timing of resistance in shaping obedience and defiance to authority. *Journal of Social Issues*, 5, 107-123.
- National Planning Commission. (2002). *The tenth plan*. Kathmandu: Author.
- National Planning Commission. (2007). *Three year's interim plan (2007-2010)*. Kathmandu: Author.
- Natufe, O.I. (2001). *Resistance politics: An essay on the future of Nigeria*. Paper presented at the International Conference on The Challenges and Opportunities of Globalization at the Dawn of the Millennium Washington, D.C., USA. Retrieved from http://www.waado.org/nigerdelta/essays/Natufe_Howard.htm

- Navia, C. N. (2008). *The path to activism: A qualitative study of how six undergraduates of color became activists while attending the University of Michigan*(Unpublished master's dissertation). The University of Michigan, USA.
- Nepal Student Union. (2067 B.S., Magh).*Mukhpatra of Nepal Student Union*. Kathmandu: Author.
- Neupane, L. (2063). *Akhilgyan*. Kathmandu: Vision Publication.
- Neupane, L. (2067 B.S.).*Twenty two years in student movement*. Kathmandu: ANNFSU(R) Central Committee.
- Obondoh, A. (2002). *Politics of participatory decision making in campus governance*. Kenya:Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi.
- Olugbade, K. (1990). Graduate student. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 5(1), 39-57.
- Omatsu, G. (April, 2002). *Student activism resource handbook*. Northridge, CA: California State University.
- Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency. (2008).*Proposed revival of students unions in Pakistan* (Discussion Paper No. 7). Islamabad, Pakistan: Author.
- Petras, J. (1964). *General remarks on politics and students*. Manuscript. University of California.
- Profitt, N.J. (1996). Battered women' as 'victims' and 'survivors': Creating space for resistance. *Canadian Social Work Re-view/Revue Canadienne de Service Social*,13, 23-38.
- Rana, G. (2050). *Nepal student union in democratic movement*. Kathmandu: Nepal Student Union Western Regional Co-ordination Committee.

- Ritzer, G. (Ed.). (2003). *The Blackwell companion to major contemporary social theorists*. London: Blackwell Publishing. Retrieved from www.scribd.com/doc/23414610/Ritzer-George-Encyclopedia-of-Social-Theory-Vol-1
- Rootes, C. (1980). Student radicalism: Politics of moral protest and legitimating problems of the modern capitalist state. *Theory and Society*, 9(3), 473–502.
- Rootes, C. (1990). Student movements in advanced western societies. *Associations Transnationals*, 4(1), 207–17.
- Saint, W.S. (1995). *Universities in Africa: Strategies for stabilization and revitalization*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Schmitz, C.A. (1997). *The translation of organizational behavior theory of college student organizations* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
- Shahjamal, M.M. (2007). *Student politics and quality of education: An exploratory study on Dhaka University*. Norway: University of Oslo.
- Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological analysis. *American Psychologist*, 56, 319-331.
- Singh, D. (1946). *The Indian struggle, 1942*. Lahor: Author. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/20023808
- Smelser, N. (1963). *Theory of collective behavior*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Snellinger, A. (2005). A crisis in Nepali student politics? Analysing the gap between politically active and non-active students. *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, 1(2), 18-43.

- Street, J. L. (1997). *Leadership development: A comparison of strategies for college student organizations* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
- Subedi, J. (2048 B.S.). *Half century of student movements*. Pokhara: Subedi Publication.
- Tarrow, S. (1994). *Power in movement: Collective action, social movements and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thapa, J. (2009). Student union at government aided colleges and universities in Nepal. *Nepal Magazine*, 23.
- Tilly, C. (2004). *Social movements, 1768–2004*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers. Retrieved from [www.amazon.com/Social-Movements-1768-2004 ...Tilly/.../1594510431](http://www.amazon.com/Social-Movements-1768-2004...Tilly/.../1594510431)
- Tribhuvan University. (2060 B.S., Jestha 29). *Agreement letter*. Kathmandu: Office of Rector, TU.
- United Nation Education and Cultural Organization. (2002). *The role of student affairs and services in higher education. A practical manual for developing, implementing and assessing student affairs programmers and services*. Paris: Author.
- University of Albany. (2012). Student involvement and leadership, planning protest activities: A guide for student organization. New York, NY: State University of New York.
- Upper Iowa University. (2011-2012). *The official handbook for students involved in clubs, organizations, and Greek life*. Iowa: Office of student Activities.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2008). *Ideology and discourse. A multidisiplinary introduction*. Barcelona: Pompeu Fabra University.

Weeramunda, A.J. (2008). *Socio political impact of student violence and indiscipline in universities and tertiary education institutes. Report of the research study.*

Sri Lanka: Education Sector Development Project (ESDP). Retrieved from

<http://www.ekantipur.com/2012/04/20/capital/campus-turns-into->

[battlefield/352633html](http://www.ekantipur.com/2012/04/20/capital/campus-turns-into-battlefield/352633html)

ANNEX: PARTICIPANTS AND FIELD DETAILS

Respondents	Description	Time/place
Prof. Dr. Padam Lal Devkota	Central Department of Sociology TU	11/06/2011, central Department of sociology
Dr. Basu Dev Kafle	Central Department of Education TU	22/07/2011, Open University office New Baneswore
Ex-Vice-chancellors of TU Kadar Bhakta Mathema	VC office TU	12/06/2011, Mathema resident, Lalitpur
Kamal Krishna Joshi		25/07/2011, Joshi resident, Lalitpur
Ex-student leaders Chandra Bhandary	Central committee Member Nepali Congress	22/07/2011, Bhandary resident, Gairegau
Jhalak Subedi	Ex-central committee Member ANNFSU	15/07/2011, Anamnager
Hari Rokka	Constituent Assembly Member	16/06/2011, CA office Simhadurbar,
Present student leaders Pramod Hari Guragai	Acting President NSU, Central committee,	03/06/2011, NSU office
Manusi Bhattraai	Central committee member ANNFSU(R) and general secretary FSU TU, central	17/06/2011, TU FSU office

Kailash Koirala	campus President NSU, TU, committee	09/06/2011, TU, compound
YP Acharya	President ANNFSU, TU , committee	22/07/2011, TU compound
Anil Prasai	President, ANNFSU (R), TU, committee	18/06/2011, TU compound
General Students		
Bir Bahadur Bista	Present student of Education TU	09/06/2011, TU compound
Pitamber Bhandary	Past student of conflict studies TU	01/06/2011, Anamnager resident
Focus group Discussion		
Madhav Pandey	Regular students of TU central campus	12/06/2011, TU compound Kirtipur
Govinda Ballav Joshi		
Pardeep Paudel		
Bikash Baral		
Sailendra Chapaghai	Thesis year student of TU central campus	
Umesh Silwal		
Raj Timalsina		
Hari Pahadi		