Politicization of Student Politics in Bangladesh: Historical Experiences and Contemporary Trends

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Abstract

The purpose of the study is to review the long glorious history of student politics in Bangladesh under different regime and to illustrate the recent trends of student politics. The study includes two parts, first part is entirely based on a literature review and second portion includes a field survey. Twenty two literatures have been selected as a data set through searching Web of Science, SCOPUS and Google Scholar databases by using the relevant keywords for reviewing the past experiences of student politics. On the other hand, a field survey has been conducted using the unknown population sampling technique, where student's perceptions toward present student politics have been explored. From the literature review, it is found that student politics in Bangladesh has a magnificent past history of fighting and greatest sacrifice for the national interest during all turning points of the country, including anti-British movement in 1940s, the language movement of 1948 to 1952, six point movement of 1966, mass upsurge of 1969, liberation war of 1971, and the falling of military dictator Ershad in 1990s. Unfortunately, the impression of this historic student politics have been transformed to the personal goal accomplishment after starting democratic forms of government in 1991, when student organizations are mostly found to be used as the political

weapons of mainstream political parties. The results of field survey also complemented that the perception of present party backed student politics is mostly focused on personal agenda or their mother party's political agenda rather than national or common interest of the students.

Keywords: Student politics, Student activism, Political parties, University students, Bangladesh

1. Statement of the Issues

1.1 Brief Statement About Student Politics

In general, politics refers to achieving and exercising the way of governance and creating a control mechanism over the citizen through a state power. According to Giddens and Sutton (2017), "politics concern the means whereby power is used to affect the scope & control of governmental activities". Politics is uniquely and distinctively connected with the activities of the state (Heywood, 1997; Miller, 1962; Laski, 1931). Moreover, politics is an activity that must require at least two people; therefore, student politics also needs at least two students. In this regard, Giddens and Sutton (2017) stated that, "when students unitedly play chief role in politics by means of united power to affect the scope and governmental activities that can be identified as student politics". Moreover, it can be said that student politics is a way of socialization by which the students can be prepared for demanding their rights, performing duties to the state, raising voices against the unfairness decisions by the authority as well as the government. But based on the nature and structure of the country, there are different types of student politics found by different authors (Heywood, 1997; Altbach, 1974; Ottaway, 1968). Reviewing the different categories, the following two types of student politics (Student Union & Party backed Student Politics*)* are very common around the world now a days.

Firstly, when a number of students or the whole student community of an academic institution, region or country united themselves under some conditions for demanding certain goals and they run the campaign in favor of their rights, it can be characterized as 'student union' (Altbach, 1993, 1974; Ottaway, 1968). According to the section 20 of UK Education Act of 1994, "the student union means an association of the generality of students at an establishment to which this part applies whose principal purposes include promoting the general interests of its members as students" (Tareq, 2017). Alam et al. (2011) found that students have opportunity to be involved in the student union by paying membership fees or voluntarily depending on the organization's structure. In most of the cases, the student unions are responsible to provide various support services for its members by directing cafeterias, small retail outlets, campus newspapers, study tour management, advocacy and administrative services, recreational activities as well. *Secondly*, each and every country have different national political parties except some few authoritarian countries (Heywood, 1997). These national political parties usually have their associated, partner or affiliated wings in different professional groups. In this cases, students unions are found as politicized bodies that creates the environment for developing future leadership. In few cases, student politics are directly connected with the mainstream political parties and they are performing in the educational institutions with the guidance and support of mother political parties

(Khaleduzzaman, 2014; Alam et al., 2011, Ullah, 2001). In this context, the student leaders remain mostly busy to execute the party agenda rather than student's services.

In the case of Bangladesh, Hannan (2000a) observed that student politics are closely associated with national politics. There are four major national political parties in Bangladesh, namely *Bangladesh Awami League* (BAL), *Bangladesh Nationalist Party* (BNP), *Jatio Party* (JP) and *Jamayati Islami Bangladesh* (JIB). Each of them has an affiliated political organization for the students i.e. *Bangladesh Chatro league* (BCL) under BAL, *Jatiotabadi Chatro Dal* (JCD) under BNP, *Bangladesh Islami Chatro Shibir* (BICS) under JIB (Alam et al., 2011). On the other hand, few countries are found where there is no direct relationship between student politics and mainstream political parties but student organizations are performing independently as a strong political force. Some African and Latin American countries are the good example of it (Alam et al., 2011; Alam, 2003). But, most of the cases, student organization (union) are responsible to manage the student affairs through providing support services, participating in the decision making and bargaining with the authority with a view to ensuring the betterment of its members. Most of the western countries (USA, UK, Canada, Australia, and the universities from EU countries) are the appropriate example of it (Altbach, 1993, 1989, 1984).

1.2 Student Politics in Global Context

The European students played an instrumental roles in the European nationalist movements of the 19th century, especially in the German revolutions of 1848 and the Russian revolutionary movements, whereas the academic community was not only concerned for the protecting democratic rights against authoritarian monarchies, but also focused on the nationalist movements (Altbach, 1989, 1970). In the 1920s and 1930s, the students' organizations were found very much supportive to the nationalist-based Fascist and Nazi movements in Italy and Germany respectively (Altbach, 1989). Students, from the both of left and right wing, were active in some European countries during the economic depression of the 1930s (Altbach, 1989). In the United States, a major student political movement was happened during the 1930s that was exclusively concerned on liberal or radical orientation (Cohen, 1988). American students were very much concerned in both the civil rights movement and against the Vietnam War in the 1960s (Fraser, 1988). In the year of 1968, students in Poland, Germany, and Spain with couple of other nations across the globe were found to be protested against the authoritarianism and imperialism of the nation state which collectively resulted in the social revolution in these areas (Acharya, 2017).

In Latin America, no third world nations were found where the students were involved in academic governance, rather students preferred to participate in ideologically-based nationalist political movements (Altbach, 1984). But after the Latin American reform movement of 1918, the university students of Argentina participated in its governance process for the first time (Walter, 1966). Later, it was spread out throughout the continent and accelerated the growth of the Latin American middle class which was included the students in the process of governance (Liebman et al., 1972; Walter, 1966). In addition, the students played an important role as an anti-establishment force through criticizing, showing huge

demonstration, creating interruption and organizing movements against bad governance of the political power of couple of third world nations (Altbach, 1984). South Korea, Philippines, Thailand, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Malaysia were the good instance of it. In some cases, students from both the third world and the industrialized nations were concerned on the national burning issues especially in the Vietnam War and racial problems in the United States (Levine, 1980). However, violence against the students and loss of lives have been much greater in the third world compare to the industrialized nations (Altbach, 1984).

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the students of India, China, Burma, Indonesia, and Pakistan were found very active in the nationalist upsurges (Altbach, 1970). Some countries (India, Vietnam and Burma) were liberated from the British with the active participation and great sacrificed by the students that was one of the most remarkable achievement of Asian student politics (Altbach, 1989, 1970). Even after achieving independence, the students from many Asian nations played a frontier role to build the nation as well as protest the irrational decision taken by the government as a political organized young forces (Altbach, 1970). In a few nations (such as Turkey, South Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Japan), the students are found as a strong challenger of the government (Alam et al., 2011; Altbach, 1970). Even the student strikes which took place in Indian universities during 1930s and 1940s were largely focused on national interest rather than university affairs (Altbach, 1970). In addition, students were actively involved in the articulation of the nationalist movements those who were mostly educated abroad (Altbach, 1989).

The emergence of the Congress as a nationalist movement under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in 1920 coincided with the student movement which provided substantial assistance to the seniors (Rudolph et al., 1971; Altbach, 1970). After 1920, leftist Congress leader Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose acknowledged the student's contribution in their efforts to push the Congress toward a more radical political and strategic standpoint (Jayaram, 1979; Altbach, 1969). On the other hand, the idea of an independent Muslim state in the Indian subcontinent was strongly supported and nourished by All India Muslim Students Federation that was formed in India during the 1930s against the Congress backed student organizations (Nelson, 2011; Altbach, 1970). This initiative were finally succeeded through various movements in the creation of Pakistan in 1947 (Altbach, 1968), where the Muslim students played an important role. The experiences of foreign returned Chinese students and the students those who were attended in western colleges at China were found very active in stimulating student activism and radical movements in China (Altbach, 1970; Wang, 1966). As a result, the Chinese imperial government became so much concerned about student dissatisfaction that compelled the government to limit the numbers of foreign going students and to control their political activities as well (Altbach, 1970; Wang, 1966). In spite of this constraints, the students were continuing their activities as one of the most radical elements in the Chinese political equation during the late 19th century (Altbach, 1970). At last in 1911, a republican government was established instead of the dynasty by the joint pressure of the nationalists and the reformers (Altbach, 1970), but the situation was unchanged. With this dissatisfaction, the students showed huge demonstration on May 4, 1919 and again in 1949 demanding radical solutions to face major challenges of China, which ultimately brought the

Communists to state power (Altbach, 1970; Wang, 1966; Chow, 1960).

1.3 Brief Statement About Student Politics in Bangladesh

In some underdeveloped and developing counties, students unions are always biased by the national politics because of their weak political and prismatic socio-economic structure (Altbach, 1993, 1974, 1968; Andersen & Pant, 1970; Glazer, 1968; Hamilton, 1968). Weinberg and Walker (1969) pointed out that partisan political character of students and campus-based student politics provided systemic connections among student politics, the higher education system, and national political parties in South Asian countries. After the independence, Bangladesh has been being administered by both the elected government and martial law. Consequently, student politics has always been associated with campaigning for social change due to the demands of that time (Ullah, 2001; Hannan, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c). Clinton (2003) and World Bank (2002) found that the greatest enemy of Bangladeshi people is the political instability of their country, while the political leaders send their children abroad to pursue their education. As a result, they have no worries about the miserable degrading atmosphere of the country's HEIs. However, the so called political networking of the teachers and the students with the mainstream political parties converted the public universities into a field of politics rather than producing professional and innovators that is one of the dominant reason for deteriorating quality higher education in Bangladesh (Alam & Shahjamal, 2008). Rashid (2001) noted that a large number of students have been killed as a result of confrontational student politics in Bangladesh since 1971. It is very simple to understand that if the students are frequently killed in situations of unrest caused by student politics, the unrest does not remain confined to HEIs but it creates tension in the societies as well.

Students need at least average seven to eight years to complete their Bachelor with Master degree due to the so-called 'session jam' created by not only student politics but also teacher politics (Alam et al., 2011). Ara et al. (2012) showed that student activists were found to possess more violent and aggressive on the four dimensions such as political, social, institutional, and administrative violence as compared to non-student and student non-activists. Islam (2007) found that HEIs of Bangladesh are struggling with couple of limitations including nasty student and teacher politics. Ruud (2014) has investigated the way how the '*mastaans*' (violent strongmen engaged in the protection and extortion business) emerged out in student politics. After every national election, the first task of the student wing of the winning party is to capture the all educational institutions with its residential halls and expel the losing party supporters from the student halls immediately (Suykens, 2018; Khaleduzzaman, 2014). Since Bangladeshi politics is dominated by a 'winner takes all' mentality, the president and secretary of ruling student organization also control the arms men for protecting themselves and dominating over the general students as well as opposition followers (Suykens, 2018; Andersen, 2013).

Student politics is not a new phenomenon in the history of Bangladesh politics. The students played an important role in the anti-British movements under British regime, language movement of 1952, six point movement of 1966, mass upsurge of 1969, and liberation war of 1971 under Pakistan regime (Ullah, 2001; Altbach, 1989; Ghosh, 1969). During these period,

Altbach made remarkable contribution through his couple of research on Indian student politics focused on the historical role of students in various nationalism and social reforms movement (Altbach, 1989, 1984, 1970, 1969, 1968). On the other hand, very few research has been conducted on Bangladeshi student politics that mostly focused on students campaigning towards social change, transformation and consequences of student politics, relationship between student politics and mainstream political parties, role of students in nationalist movements under certain period of times etc. (Suykens, 2018; Rudd, 2014; Hossain et al., 2014; Andersen, 2013; Ara et al., 2012; Alam et al., 2011; Alam & Shahjamal, 2008; Rashid, 2001; Ullah, 2001; Hannan, 2000, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c). But most importantly, the literatures on the glorious history and the present scenario of student politics of the Bengal are not organized within one frame. On the other hand, after getting independence, student politics of Bangladesh have been utilizing as the political weapons of the mainstream political parties rather than student orientation (Hossain et al., 2014), especially after 1990. Most importantly, the standard of quality education swing to suffer on account of the nasty student politics supported by the mainstream politics. In this regard, it is very much needed to identify the trends of present party backed student politics following the past history.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

Reviewing the existing literatures, the purpose of the study is to review the long history of student politics in Bangladesh during British period to present and to determine the student's perceptions towards the recent trends of student politics.

1.5 Pre-understanding of the Theoretical Standpoints

The study of patron-client relations was mostly common in Southern Europe and Latin America, but it has increasingly emerged in other parts of the world later, where the rise of patron-client relations was found as part of the equivocal development of democracy (Barnard & Spencer, 2009). Patron-client relations in the Mediterranean, Davis (1977) argued that the relationship occurred 'whenever men [sic] adopt a posture of deference to those more powerful than they gain access to resources as a result'. This relationship involves the client honoring the patron by maintaining network or taking political support, in return for access to resources that leads to mutual reciprocal relationship (Hall, 1974; Scott, 1972; Weingrod, 1968; Foster, 1963). In this consideration, the theory of Patron-client relationship of John Davis (1977) is the appropriate choice for understanding the relationship between political parties and party backed student politics in Bangladesh, where the role of political party is considered as 'Patron' and the role of student wings are considered as 'Client'. In the context of Bangladesh, the leaders of student organizations are selected, financed, directed and controlled by their mother political party for holding the political control in the HEIs, whereas this party backed student organizations remain busy to execute the order of their party, involve with business and other income generating activities by using the political network rather than student affairs (Khaleduzzaman, 2014). On the contrary, the ruling party utilizes the young political forces to execute their manifesto, to show political demonstration for their political interest, to control the university campus in favor of the government that leads reciprocal relationship. In this regard, the following conceptual framework has been

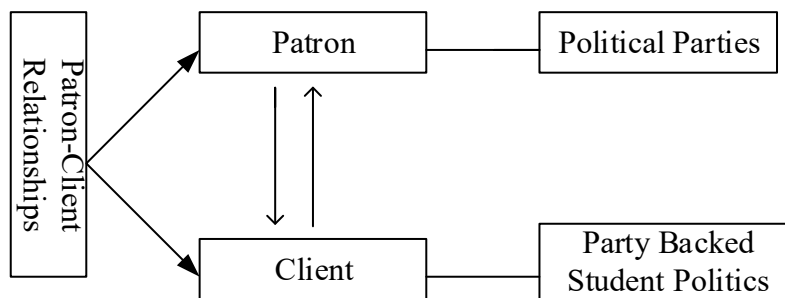developed after reviewing the theoretical assumptions relating with the context.

Figure 1. Theoretical framework of the study

2. Methodology of the Study

There are two parts of this study including literature review and a field survey. First part is based on a comprehensive literature review where qualitative data has been considered. According to 6 and Bellamy (2012), data creation methods refer to the procedure of constructing raw material for further investigation. In this context, data has been created through reviewing literature, which included textbooks, peer-reviewed articles, published or unpublished thesis, newspaper articles and some key relevant reports. The literatures have been searched through the 'Web of Science' and the 'SCOPUS' databases which are retrieved by the University of Science and Technology of China that has been prolonged to Google Scholar, as enough relevant literatures could not be found through selected databases. At first, we searched from both databases by using the following selected keywords, where the literature exploration filtered the time between 1971 to November 28 of 2018 and searched only through 'Title', the document type was 'Article', language in 'English', and the research domain area was 'Social Sciences'. Subsequently, we found 155 articles from Web of Science and 266 articles from SCOPUS by utilizing the following key words. After reviewing the article's abstract and findings, only two (2) articles are found that are relevant to the scope of this study, among them one were overlapped in both databases under couple of key words. As a result, only two (2) articles from these two databases are finalized as the data set in this study.

Table 1. Data creation procedure

Keywords	Databases	No. of Articles	Relevant Literatures
Students Politics	Web of Science	149	Suykens (2018), Alam et al. (2011)
	Scopus	258	Suykens (2018)
Students Politics in Bangladesh	Web of Science	2	Suykens (2018), Alam et al. (2011)
	Scopus	1	Suykens (2018)
Students Politics in Higher Education	Web of Science	4	0
	Scopus	7	0

After that, we searched again through Google Scholar by using the same key words for expecting more relevant literatures. Finally, a good number of articles, books, unpublished thesis, and some reports relevant to student politics of Bangladesh have been found. But after reviewing those documents, twenty (20) more relevant literatures have been selected that are the most suitable within the context of this study. In addition, couple of newspaper reports have also been explored with this literatures for getting multi-dimensional perspectives. After reviewing the literature, the data has been arranged chronologically under different regime. In total, twenty two (2+20) pieces of literatures are finalized for the data set of this study that are shown below:

Table 2. Data set of this study

	Selected Literatures
1	Ahmad, Q. H. (2000). *Quality of Education and campus Violence: Case Studies of Dhaka and Rajshahi Universities*. Dhaka: The University Press Limited.
2	Ahmed, M. (1991). *Bangladesh: Constitutional Quest for Autocracy 1950-1970.* Dhaka: The University Press Limited.
3	Alam, G. M. (2010). *Students' Involvement in 'Party Politics': Impact on Education*. Germany: VDM Verlag.
4	Alam, G. M., Rabby, T. G., Boon, T. L., Khan, I., & Hoque, K. E. (2011). National development and student politics in Bangladesh. *African Journal of Business Management, 5*(15). https://doi.org/10.5897/AJBM11.813
5	Alam, K. M. S. (1991). *The Student Politics of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Bisshabiddalya Shikkha O Shahittya Parishad.
6	Andersen, M. K. (2013). *The politics of politics: Youth mobilization, aspirations and the threat of violence at Dhaka University.* PhD thesis. FS & PhD Thesis no. 85/2013. University of Copenhagen.
7	Ara, S., Mir, M. A. K., Samad, S. S., & Ahmed, R. (2012). A comparative study on violent and aggressive attitudes and activism among students and non-students. *Rajshahi University journal of life & earth and agricultural sciences,* 40.
8	Hannan, M. (2000). *Bangladesher Chatro Andolan-Er- Etihash 1830-1971 (History of Bengal students' movement-1830-1971).* Dhaka: Agami Prokashoni (In Bengali).
9	Hannan, M. (2000a). *Bangladesher Chatro Andolan-Er- Etihash 1990-1999 (History of Bengal students' movement-1990-1999).* Dhaka: Agami Prokashoni (In Bengali).
10	Hannan, M. (2000b). *Bangladesher Chatro Andolan-Er- Etihash: Bangbandi period (History of Bengal students' movement-Bangobandhu period).* Dhaka: Agami Prokashoni (In Bengali).
11	Hannan, M. (2000c). *Bangladesher Chatro Andolan-Er-Etihash: Ershad period (History of Bengal students' movement- Ershad period).* Dhaka: Agami Prokashoni (In Bengali).
12	Hasanuzzaman, A. M. (1998). *Role of the Opposition in Bangladesh Politics*. Dhaka: The University Press Limited.
13	Hossain, M., Alam, M. M., & Shahriar, S. (2014). Students' Perceptions Study on 'Student Politics' in Bangladesh. *International Journal of Economics and Empirical Research, 2*(1). https://ssrn.com/abstract=2942614

14   Kabir, B. M. M. (1999). *Politics of Military Rule and the Dilemmas of Democratization in Bangladesh.* New Delhi: South Asian Publishers Pvt. Limited.

15   Khaleduzzaman, M. (2014). Students Unrest in Higher Education Level in Bangladesh a Study on Dhaka and Rajshahi University. *IOSR Journal of Research & Method in Education (IOSR-JRME), 4*(2). https://doi.org/10.9790/7388-04230616

16   Ruud, A. E. (2014). The political bully in Bangladesh. In Piliavsky (ed.), *Patronage as politics* (pp. 303–325). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107296930.015

17   Shahjamal, M. M. (2007). *Student Politics and Quality of Education: An Exploratory Study on Dhaka University* (Master thesis). Retrieved from http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.633.4621&rep=rep1&type=pdf

18   Sayeed, A. (1994). *Major Zia'r Razottokal (The Regime of Major Zia)*. Dhaka: Kakoli Prokashoni (In Bengali).

19   Siddiqui, Z. R. (1997). *Visions and Revisions: Higher Education in Bangladesh 1947-1992.* Dhaka: The University Press Limited.

20   Suykens, B. (2018). A Hundred Per Cent Good Man Cannot do Politics': Violent self-sacrifice, student authority, and party-state integration in Bangladesh. *Modern Asian Studies 52*(3). https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X16001050

21   Ullah, M. (2001). *Shat Dashaker Chartro Rajnati O Ananao Proshango (Student Politics of Sixties and Other Issues).* Dhaka: Agami Prokashoni (In Bengali).

22   Ullah, S. M. A. (2013). Student Politics in Bangladesh under Military Autocracy. *Asian Studies: Jahangirnagar University Journal of Government and Politics*, 32.

Secondly, a field survey has been conducted for getting an image of the recent trend of student politics in Bangladesh, where a survey refers to a set of predetermined questions given to the representative sample of a population in order to generating quantitative data (Smith et al., 1994; Borg & Gall, 1989). Following the conditions, this survey has been asked the students through a pre-determined close ended structured questionnaire with a view to collecting representative data from sample population. The four first established general public universities of Bangladesh has been considered for selecting the respondents i.e. University of Dhaka (1921), University of Rajshahi (1953), University of Chittagong (1966) and Jahangirnagar University (1970). Since the number of population (students) is unknown, the sample size can be derived by computing the minimum sample size required for accuracy in estimating proportions by considering the standard normal deviation set at 95% confidence level (1.96), percentage picking a choice or response (50% = 0.5) and the confidence interval (0.05 = ±5) (Godden, 2004, Cochran, 1977). Following the formula [Necessary Sample Size = (Z-score) ² * Standard Deviation*(1 - Standard Deviation) / (margin of error) ²], the estimated sample size is 384 that are equally divided among these four universities, where 96 respondents has been selected for each university through convenient sampling.

3. Discussion and Analysis

3.1 Historical Experiences of Student Politics in Bangladesh

3.1.1 British Era

Though student politics for many nations is a comparatively recent phenomenon starting with 1960s, the students of Bangladesh had a long history of student activism as part of the nationalist movement. India became under the British Regime in 1757 and achieved independence after almost 200 years in 1947. In the independence struggle, the students were associated with various social reform movements as well (Jayaram, 1989). The partition of Bengal in 1905 may be treated as a land mark in the history of student political activism in India at the very beginning of 20th century (Ullah, 2013). Under the British colony, the students have played a major role by generating various movements focused on national issues, especially after introducing Dhaka University Central Student's Union (DUCSU) in 1926 (Tareq, 2014). Therefore, *Swadeshi* (Movement for Autonomy) movement and the non-cooperation movement made the student politics institutionalized for the first time in the first quarter of the 20th century (Tareq, 2014). After 1930s, the students of Bangladesh demonstrated an important role in the struggle for establishing democracy and getting independence from the British authoritarian rule (Hannan, 2000). At the very initial stage of student politics, students as the conscious part of the Bengal were influenced by the Bengal Renaissance and they demanded for free and compulsory education for all (Chatterjee & Ray, 1997; Seal, 1971). On the contrary, the British ruler imposed the educational policies on Bengal that were totally different from the internal policies which have executed within the UK and this made the Bengali students anger (Hannan, 2000). Under this circumstances, the Bengali students were forced to campaign in favor of their rights against British policies. After 1940, the existing student organizations were to organize themselves for fighting against suppression, deprivation and humiliation of the Bengali students by the British ruler, and simultaneously demanded for the country autonomy (Sarker, 2002; Banerjee, 1998; Joshi, 1972). At the end of the British rule, students took part in various anti-British movements, especially in the Civil Disobedience Movement, anti-riot activities, the Quit India movement (Ghosh, 1969) and worked enthusiastically to resolute the conflicts between the Hindus and the Muslims (Chottapadhyay, 1980).

3.1.2 Pakistan Era

After partition of Pakistan, the student workers of the Muslim League became deeply frustrated by the policies chased by the rulers of Pakistan and they formed the East Pakistan Muslim Students League (EPMSL). By the beginning of February 1948, the EPMSL thrown a movement for the recognition of Bengali as one of the state language of Pakistan (Ullah, 2001). In this regard, a combined committee of action (COA) was formed with the representatives of EPMSL, '*Tamuddin Majlis*' (an Islamic cultural organization) and the student unions of the different residential halls of Dacca University which declared strikes in Dacca University including other educational institutions of East Pakistan (Tareq, 2014). Ullah (2013) found that after the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the student community of East Pakistan emerged as the main source of power to protest against all sorts of suppression,

oppression and exploitations by the West Pakistan Government. The students also observed strikes for the demand of preparing a democratic and secular constitution for the new established state (Choudhury, n. d.). Moreover, both the leftist and rightist student wings of East Pakistan steered the historic Language Movement of 1948-1952 for establishing 'Bangla' as their mother tongue (Ullah, 2013), that was the major contributions of the students in the history of student politics during Pakistan era (Hannan, 2000).

In 1954, the East Bengal students declared 22 point demand, which focused education for all and they also moved to obliterate the disparity between the two parts of Pakistan (Hannan, 2000). Again the students showed their anger against couple of non-democratic provisions to the constitution in 1962 taken by Ayub Khan's (President of Pakistan) and they demanded for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan (Ullah, 2013; Ullah, 2001). Later, the students were united for Bengali autonomy under Six-point movement by the East Pakistan *Awami League* leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The students also fought for the release of Sheik Mujibur Rahman from the *Agartala* conspiracy case in 1969. Moreover, the students were the main force in organizing the mass uprising in 1969 that accelerated the fall of Ayub Khan (Ahmed, 1991). At the end of Pakistan period, hundreds of thousands of students of Bangladesh took part in the independence war of 1971 in various capacities against Pakistani Military and their collaborators (Kabir, 2002). Among them, many students are sacrificed their lives in the battle field that made them heroes of independent Bangladesh (Bhatnagar, 1971). Some of the key student leaders of those time were Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (One of the principal organizers of EPMSL in 1948), Syed Nazrul Islam (President of Salimullah Muslim Hall Students Union in 1940s), Tajuddin Ahmed (One of the founder of EPMSL in 1948) who would subsequently lead the national liberation struggle of Bangladesh (Tareq, 2014; Kasru, 2012). Some of these leaders not only played a patriotic role during critical times of the nation, but also were meritorious students while they were in the university (Kabir, 2002; Ullah, 2001).

3.1.3 Bangladesh Era

3.1.3.1 Sheikh Mujib Era

Moving on to 1971, leftist student organizations played a vital role in achieving the independence of the country, whereas rightist student organizations were mostly inactive on this occasion (Ullah, 2013). After the independence, *Bangladesh Awami League* (BAL) formed the government and consequently the campus politics were controlled by their associated student organization, named *Bangladesh Chatro League* (BCL). During this regime, the student community also urged the government to take proper steps for making a secular and scientific education policy for the new build nation (Ullah, 2013; Hannan, 2000b). The students demanded to send their representatives from the student community in the education policy commission (Hannan, 2000b). During this regime, intra-party conflict in BCL was a relentless phenomenon. Among all student organizations, *Chatra League* (JSD) with its parent organization became a strong opposition force and were the main challenger of that regime (Jahan, 1980). In this period, there was a rich culture of co-existence among all existing student wings (Tareq, 2014).

3.1.3.2 President Zia Era

General Zia took over the state power through coups and counter coups in November 1975. After his absorption in power, the existing student organizations took a stand and launched agitation against Zia's authoritarian activities and the militarization of the politics (Ullah, 2013). Students exposed by the demonstration on the streets and thrown their anti-government programs for the withdrawal of martial law and emergency powers, demand for parliamentary democracy, release of all political prisoners and the restoration of all kinds of print and electronic media (Hasanuzzaman, 1998; Sayeed, 1994). With this pressure, President Zia issued a military decree in July 1976 that is known as '*Political Parties Regulation* (PPR)' by which the political parties were allowed to operate their political activities (Hasanuzzaman, 1998). As an effect of PPR, all existing student organizations also got approval to do politics in the country as well as in the educational institutions (Sayeed, 1994). This was the first strong legal basis to allow the student politics as a partner organization of the mainstream political parties in HEIs (Siddiqui, 1997). Thus, the *Bangladesh Chatra League* (BCL), *Chatra Union*, *Chatra League* (Scientific Socialism), *Islami Chatra Shibir* (ICS) became the student wings of the mainstream political party of *Bangladesh Awami League* (BAL), *Communist Party of Bangladesh* (CPB), *Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal* (JSD), and *Jamat-i-Islami Bangladesh* (JIB) respectively.

Zia regime perceived another student's resentment in 1977, when the government took decision to hold referendum in order to legitimize the rule of president Zia and tried to establish a student organization '*Jaitotabadi Chatra Dal* (JCD)' in favor of his own political party BNP through applying divide and rule policy among the students and using coercive power against the political opposition (Ullah, 2013; Sayeed, 1994). As a result, a number of frequent clashes and violence had been taken place between JCD and other opposition student organizations by which the congenial atmosphere of the educational institutions became paralyzed (Ullah, 2013). Apart from this, Zia regime faced another challenge in 1980, when all opposition political parties launched their anti-government movement on the streets to extricate the regime in order to get rid of the controlled democracy by President Zia (Ullah, 2013; Hasanuzzaman, 1998). Under the banner of a ten-party political alliance, student supporters of the opposition parties raised their voice against the decision of changing the nationality from '*Bangalee'* to '*Bangladeshi'*, returning to Islamic ideology from a secular position (Hasanuzzaman, 1998; Alam, 1991). During Zia regime, more than thirty clashes took place in the educational institutions between JCD and the opposition student organizations whereas five were killed, more than five hundred were injured and many educational institutions especially the universities and colleges were remained closed down for long time (Westergaard, 1986).

3.1.3.3 President Ershad Era

After the assassination of President Zia, H. M. Ershad took over state power on March 24 of 1982 and governed the country till the end of 1990. During his regime, President Ershad formed a political party named *Jatiyo Party* (JP), and also formed a student front namely '*Notun Bangla Chatra Somaj* (NBCS)' (Ullah, 2013) for establishing a young force against existing student wings (Hannan, 2000c). The first strong challenge in his regime came from the student community in September 1982, when Ershad tried to impose a new education

policy that focused on Islamic ideology (Riaz, 2004; Kabir, 1999). Student's movement got further momentum due to the suppression policy on the student's processions that were organized in Dhaka University on November 07 of 1982, where a number of students were wounded and arrested (Ullah, 2013). It accelerated the student's movement and assisted the leftist alliance to be transformed into '*Students Action Committee* (SAC)' on November 21 of 1982, where JCD and other rightist student organizations formed '*Sangrami Chatra Jote* (SCJ)' (Ullah, 2013; Kabir, 1999). Under the banner of SAC and SCJ, students took an oath to create a strong movement against the new education policy (Kabir, 1999) as well as they demanded a people-oriented, scientific and secular education policy with the demands of withdrawal of Martial Law, release of student leaders and creation of a congenial democratic atmosphere in the campuses as well as in the country (Ullah, 2013). Considering the pervasiveness and impulsiveness of the student's involvement, Ershad declared close down of many educational institutions including Dhaka University. But this attempt of Ershad could not even stop the student's movement, though they declared a 10-point program on March 10 of 1983 (Hannan, 2000c; Alam, 1991).

During the Upazila election in 1985, the student organizations again launched an extensive protest against the Ershad rule all over the country, which heightened the anti-Ershad student's movement day by day (Kabir, 1999; Alam, 1991). The students of Dhaka University made a procession on February 13 of 1986 against the students wing NBCS backed by Ershad, but unfortunately a student, Raofun Basunnia, of *Jatio Chatra League (JCL)* was killed by the brutal fire by the police. On November 10 of 1987, when the student community observed Dhaka capture program demanding the resignation of Ershad, a demonstrator named Nur Hossain was killed due to indiscriminate shooting by the police who marked '*Soirachar Nipat Jak'* (Down Dictatorship), '*Gonotontro Mukti Pak*' (Liberate Democracy) on his chest and back respectively (Ullah, 2013). In October 10 of 1990, five students were shot dead including Jehad Hossain, more than 100 were serious injured by the police, when they tried to show a huge demonstration in front of the secretariat (Ullah, 2013). In this circumstances, students promised that 'we would not give up whatever blood we have to pay for this, whatever lives we have to sacrifice until the autocracy falls and we would not go back until victory comes' (Bulletin, 1990). In this context, all student organizations unitedly formed the '*Sarbo Dolia Chatra Oikkya'* (All Party Student Unity-APSU) in November 1990 and they signed a joint declaration highlighting the process of democratic transition (Hasanuzzaman, 1998). Student crushed all plans taken by Ershad and disobeyed all coercive measures taken by the government including curfews. In this situations, Ershad became perplexed and was forced to resign to the nominee of Combined Opposition Alliance (COA) (Hannan, 2000c; Hasanuzzaman, 1998). Siddiqui (1997) considered the role of students in anti-Ershad movement as the most meaningful contribution by student politics in post-independent Bangladesh.

3.1.3.4 Under the Parliamentary Forms of Government (1991 to Till)

After falling the Military regime of Ershad in 1990, the student organizations became closer to their mother parties. The leaders of student organizations are selected by the mother parties, the programs and decisions are determined by the political party leaders (Shahjamal, 2017).

Sometimes, the committee of these student organizations are elected or selected by the students or the mother political party those are not even students (Hossain et al., 2014). Sometimes the leaders extend their studentship year after year for holding the leadership position in their organizations (Shahjamal, 2017). The student leaders earns power, property and status even in their student life by the support of mother political party without being involved in any job or business during these periods (Shahjamal, 2017; Hossain et al., 2014). In support of their mother parties, one organization took the opposition stand against another organization that caused an instable situation at the campuses of HEIs. The student organizations were also assisted by the political parties with money, machines and muscles (Rudd, 2014; Sayeed, 2005). Sayeed (2005) addressed the student organizations as the private armies of the political parties in Bangladesh. It is also found that the student wings of ruling party remain busy in capsizing the opposition students' wings from the campus (Sayeed, 2005). A total of 147 students lost their lives during 1972 to 2017 due to political conflicts in the five autonomous public universities , where 74 in the University of Dhaka (DU), 27 in the University of Rajshahi (RU), 16 in Bangladesh Agricultural University (BAU), 24 in the University of Chittagong (CU) and 06 in Jahangirnagar University (JU) (http://perspectivebd.com/archives/557).

Table 3. Major experiences of student politics during different regimes after 1990

Era	Major Experiences
BNP Era (1991-1996)	During this period, JCD became the partner of the government and they captured all university campuses and student's dormitory using their ruling power (Hannan, 2000a). The dormitories are found as the hunting ground for the ruling student leaders (Ullah, 2001). The general students are bound to join the meetings, rallies, processions and other political programs of ruling student wings for securing their accommodation in the student's hall (Panday, 2018; Alam et al., 2011). On the contrary, the other student organizations were near to out of the campus and the dormitory. Siddiqui (1997) stated that the students linked with ruling party operated as a pressure group for gaining some undue facilities from the administration. During this period, it is commonly found that the bidders are prevented by the ruling student wings from dropping their tenders (Panday, 2018; Ullah, 2001). Even the ruling JCD interfered in the tendering process of university development project and earned money from the building project, whereas the opposition BCL felt them deprived (Hannan, 2000a). Consequently, clashes between the different political students organization happened in one hand and intra-party clashes also occurred on another that ultimately caused death of many student activists. In this period, the BCL initiated anti-government movement with the guidance of their mother party. As a result, the university faced unscheduled closer due to the clash between JCD and BCL. Ahmad (2000) recorded about 300 incidents of political violence at the Dhaka University campus caused the death of 17 student activists and the university was closed for 43 days during this period.

BAL Era (1996-2001)	The same culture of student politics appeared in all the universities of Bangladesh during this regime (Hossain et al., 2014; Hannan, 2000a). The only change was the people but the political culture and nature were almost unchanged. During this regime, BCL took control over all university campus as well as the student halls. The same role that BCL played during the BNP regime, JCD played during the AL regime. Hannan (2000a) showed that the status of the student organizations depend on the status of their mother parties. During this period, BCL also involved with tendering violence in the university campuses as well nearby area of the campuses. Intra-party clashes also happened in the university premises for holding political domination on each other (Alam, 2010). The JCD, opposition student wing, were very active to observe the strikes announced by their mother party rather than students affairs that also created session jam in the university (Alam et al., 2011).
BNP Era (2001-2006)	Similar student politics took place in this regime, where JCD regained its lost place and BCL took the stand of opposition group. During 2001 to 2006, 173 days were *hartal* (Strikes) days that was declared by the then opposition party BAL against the ruling BNP (Alam et al, 2011). In this case, BCL not only supported with this strike but also demonstrated their existence actively in the battle. The university class and exam were not held in these strike days that ultimately created session jam. The opposition student wings had no opportunity to get seat in the halls, even no chance to observe their political program in the campuses. Besides, political clashes between the major student wings were the common phenomenon in that time that was the threats for congenial learning environment.
BAL Era (2009-2013)	Same thing is happened under BAL government after 2009, when BNP as opposition party called strikes and their student wing JCD supported it, the university remained close. Most of the higher educational institutions were frequently closed *sine die* due to violence and destruction created by different sections of student wings that time (Khaleduzzaman, 2014). During this period, the political wings of the opposition parties were either weak or capsized from the campus, the different fractions of ruling party student wings were busy in establishing their group supremacy in the campus (Suykens, 2018). As a result, the political clashes took place among different fractions of the ruling party wings that not only hampered the sound academic environment but also it sometimes caused the killing of students. At some point of time, innocent and non-political students were also getting killed, which were evident through the killing of *Bishwajit Das* in 2012 who was beaten to death by a group of BCL activists who wrongly identified him as a member of their opposition party (Panday, 2018).
BAL Era (2014-2018)	Unfortunately, the same scenario is still going on under the present government, BCL backed by the ruling *Awami League* hold their domination in all universities with its continuation and JCD didn't get chance to enter into the campuses. At present, BCL has been able to crown itself as the de facto administrator of all public universities. Intra-party political clashes have also become a common phenomenon in the university campus. The last victim of the student politics, *Saad Ibne Momtaz*, a final-year student of Fisheries Faculty of the BAU, had been beaten with cricket stumps and iron rods by BCL cadres on April 2014 in the campus those who died later on in the hospital. Not only *Sadd* but also *Abu Bakar Siddique* of the University of Dhaka, *Sharifuzzaman Nomani*, *Sohel*, *Rustom*, *Nasim* of the University of Rajshahi, *Zubayer* of Jahangirnagar University have also been latest victims of the corrupted and murderous student politics of Bangladesh (http://perspectivebd.com/archives/557).

However, both BAL and BNP, two leading political parties in Bangladesh, have a national committee, regional sub-committees, and units in almost all public universities (Suykens, 2018). It is also found that the most crucial part of politics are practiced in the student halls (Suykens, 2018; Hossain et al., 2014), whereas the body of ruling student wings enjoy the ownership of residential halls unofficially. There is no opportunity to raise the voice from the general students without the consent of the ruling student wings in the university. However, the student organizations are financed and controlled by their mother political parties (Siddiqui, 1997) that is very uncommon in other countries. Sometimes, student organizations supplement the political parties in national movements and this has been found in Germany, Indonesia, France and some African countries but the student organizations of none of these countries became the wings of mainstream political parties (Shahjamal, 2017).

3.2 Recent Trends of Student Politics in Bangladesh
3.2.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

This survey was conducted exclusively amongst the university students randomly those were studying in the university during 2001 to 2018.

Table 4. Demographic features of the respondents

Measures	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Male	263	68.49
Female	121	31.51
Age		
Below 20 Years	26	6.77
21 to 25 Years	110	28.65
26 to 30 Years	134	34.89
31 to 35 Years	68	17.71
35 Years plus	46	11.98
Educational Level		
Bachelor (Ongoing)	136	35.42
Master (Ongoing)	134	34.89
Master (Completed)	114	29.69

Table 4 showed that 68.49 per cent respondents were males and 31.51 per cent were females. Among them, 35.42 per cent respondents were studying at Bachelor level, where 34.89 per cent were studying Masters Level. Besides that about 30 per cent respondents have already been completed their Master degree. Most of the respondents are found under 21 to 30 years of age those were continuing their university studies. This study mainly concentrated to collect the recent character of student politics from the early stage graduates and the running students.

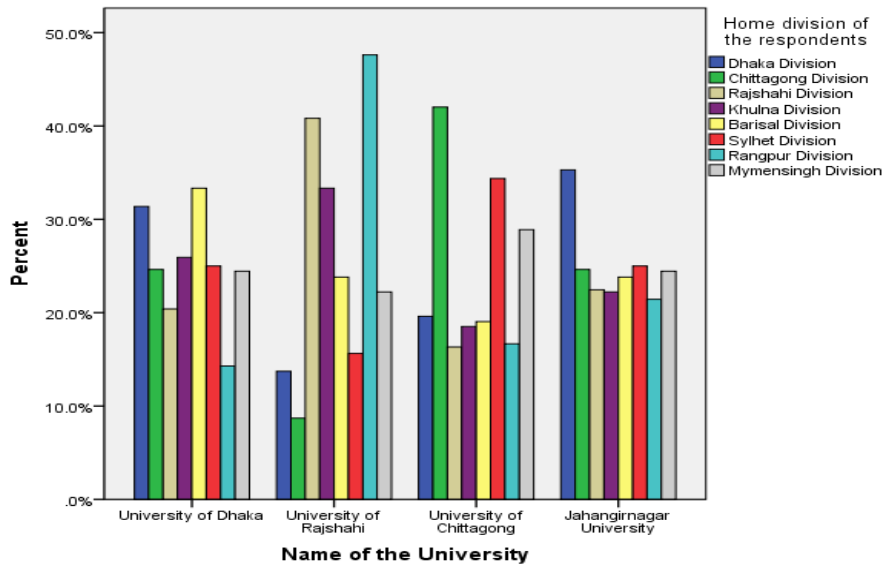3.2.2 Home & University Accommodation of the Respondents

Figure 2. Diversification of the respondents

Figure 2 showed that all four universities are diversified in the consideration of admitting students from different locations. More than 60 per cent students came from other districts than the located university. Only exceptions for University of Rajshahi, more than 50 per cent respondents came from other districts that is less diversified compare to other three universities. This diversified trends of the respondents emphasized the necessity of accommodation for the students in the university campus or nearby campus. Since, majority of the students came from the other districts, they must need to manage their accommodation in the university student halls or in nearby private rented mess. Among the respondents, majority of the students (64.58 per cent) were occupying in the university halls, where 27.86 per cent respondents were staying in the private rented student's mess.
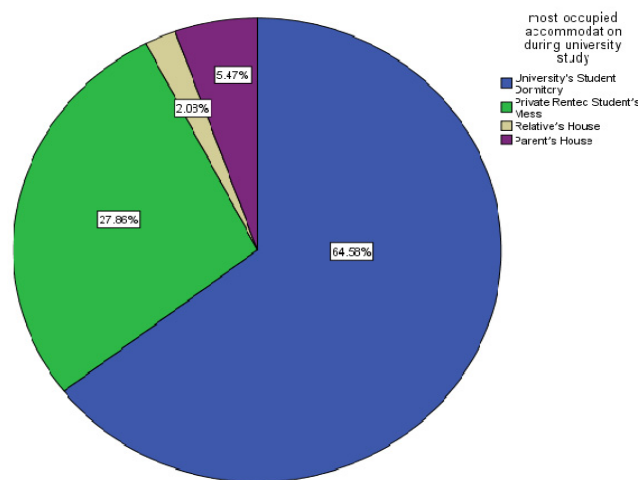

Figure 3. Accommodation of the respondents during the study

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According to the provisions, the seats of this students halls should be allotted among the students considering the merit position and home location, but unfortunately the seat allotment of the student halls depend on the political ideology or political networks of the students and this process is controlled by the ruling political student wings unofficially (Hossain et al., 2014; Khaleduzzaman, 2014). The students must be loyal to the ruling student organization and they have to join in the meetings, processions, rallies of ruling student wings compulsorily, otherwise they have to lose their seats in the halls (Suykens, 2018). So, it can be said that 64.58 respondents are somehow politically connected with ruling student wing either actively or mentally, where 27.86 per cent respondents mostly belongs to opposition student wing followers or politically neutral those who were forced to stay in private rented mess that is reflected in Figure 3.

3.2.3 Involvement of Student in Politics based on Gender, Discipline and Family Background

Table 5. Students involvement in politics based on gender, discipline and family background

	Involvement of student in politics		Total Frequency
	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Gender			
Male	130 (49.43)	133 (51.57)	263
Female	30 (24.79)	91 (75.21)	121
Major Discipline			
Arts and Humanities	26 (46.43)	30 (53.57)	56
Social Science	31 (55.36)	25 (44.64)	56
Business Administration	24 (42.86)	32 (57.14)	56
Physical Science	17 (30.36)	39 (69.64)	56
Biological Science	17 (30.36)	39 (69.64)	56
School of Engineering	21 (40.38)	31 (59.62)	52
School of Law	24 (46.15)	28 (53.85)	52
Total	160	224	384
Parents Involvement in politics			
Yes	49 (79.0)	13 (21.0)	62
No	111 (34.47)	211 (65.53)	322
Total	160	224	384

Table 5 showed that 49.43 per cent male respondents are involved in student politics, where 24.79 per cent female respondents were found in political engagement that is half of the male respondents. Since, Bangladesh is a male dominated society, female involvement in politics is not only less in the university level but also in the local and national level politics (Alam et al., 2011). Table 5 also demonstrated that the students from Arts and Humanities (46.43%), Social Science (55.36%), Business Administration (42.86%), and School of law (46.15%) are involved more in politics compare to the students of Physical Science (30.36%) and Biological Science (30.36%). This results indicated that the students from the laboratory based discipline were less involved in politics due to their huge academic pressure compare

to other non-technical disciplines. It is also found that 79 per cent students are involved in politics by the influenced of their parent's political involvement. On the contrary, 34.47 per cent students were involved in politics, where their parents were not involved in politics.

3.2.4 Trends of Involvement in Student Politics under Different Regime
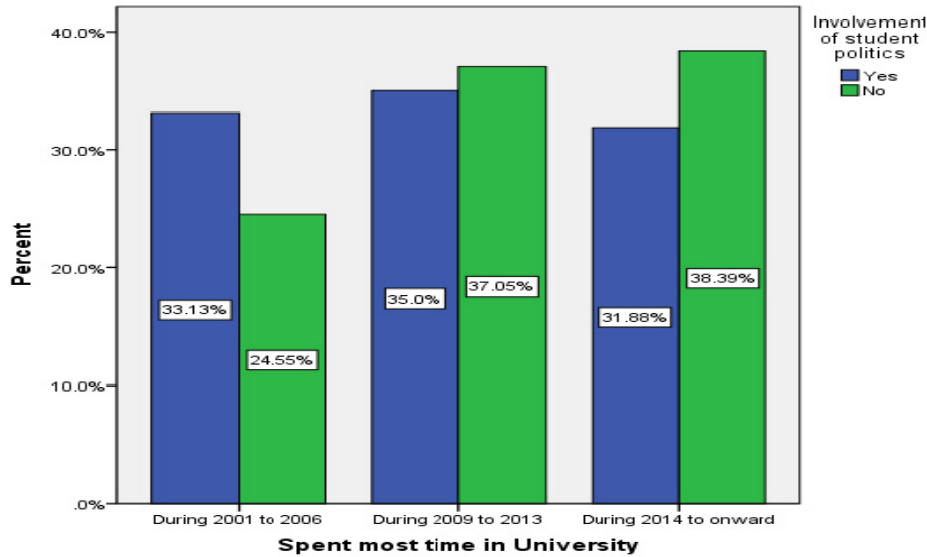

Figure 4. Trends of student involvement in politics

Although the negative image of student politics has been emerged in the Bangladeshi society after 1990 due to the confrontational party backed nasty student politics (Shahjamal, 2017), there is not a big change of this trend considering the number of students involved in politics during 2001 to 2018. Figure 4 showed that the rate of student involvement in politics remains almost same to some extent under three different regime. When the government changed, only the people changes but the political environment unchanged.

3.2.5 Involvement of Students in Politics based on Time and Accommodation

Table 6. Involvement of students in politics based on time and accommodation

| | Involvement of student in politics | | Total |
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Frequency
Time of Involvement in Student Politics			
University Level	112 (29.17)	-	-
College Level	41 (10.68)	-	-
High School Level	07 (1.82)	-	-
Not Involved Yet	-	224 (58.33)	-
Total	160 (41.67)	224 (58.33)	384

Accommodation during university study			
University's Student Dormitory	115 (46.37)	133 (53.63)	248
Private Rented Student's Mess	44 (41.12)	63 (58.88)	107
Relative's House	0 (0.0)	08 (100.00)	08
Parent's House	1 (4.76)	20 (95.24)	21
Total	160	224	384

Table 6 showed that 41.67 per cent respondents were directly involved in student politics, where 58.33 per cent respondents were not registered with any political party. Among the respondents, most of the students (29.17%) were engaged in politics at university level, then the college level students (10.68%) followed them. It is also found that 46.37 per cent students of the university halls were directly involved in politics, obviously they are actively connected with ruling student wing, where other 53.63 per cent students have to support the ruling student wing by compulsion, not by choice. On the other hand, 41.12 per cent students of total respondents those who were living at private students mess were involved in politics, where most of the students belong to opposition student wings.

3.2.6 Reasons of Involvement in Student Politics

Table 7. Reasons of student involvement in politics

Student political parties	Reasons for students involvement in politics (Frequency/Per cent)						Total
	Political base of families	Attraction in political ideology	Survival in university	Political dominance	Get good job	No politics	
BCL	14 (22.95)	06 (9.84)	20 (32.79)	04 (6.56)	17 (27.87)	00	61
JCD	12 (26.09)	08 (17.39)	10 (21.74)	04 (8.70)	12 (26.08)	00	46
ICS	02 (8.33)	22 (91.67)	00 (0.00)	00 (0.00)	00 (0.00)	00	24
LSO	00 (0.00)	29 (100)	00 (0.00)	00 (0.00)	00 (0.00)	00	29
N/A	00 (0.00)	00 (0.00)	00 (0.00)	00 (0.00)	00 (0.00)	224	224
Total	28 (7.29)	65 (16.93)	30 (7.81)	08 (2.08)	29 (7.55)	224(58)	384

Table 7 explained that total 41.67 per cent students were involved in student politics among total respondents. Among them, 16.9 per cent students were influenced to join in politics by the political ideology and 7.3 per cent students were inclined to join in politics by the influence of family's political background. But, most of the students those who were influenced by the political ideology came from leftist student organizations (LSO) (100% of total respondents from LSO) and rightist student wing ICS (91.67% of total respondents from ICS). Unfortunately they were not belong to the two mainstream leading political student wings BCL and JCD. In this context, it can be said that present student politics are dominated by some other personalized factors rather than political ideology. These personalized factors included surviving in the university (7.8%), getting a good job (7.6%), and showing political dominance (2.1%). So, the total percentage of personalized factors (7.3+ 7.8+ 2.1+ 7.6=24.8%) are much bigger than ideological attraction that belongs to 16.9 per cent. In other

words, the respondents from this two mainstream political wings (liberal in nature) were mostly influenced to join in politics due to get personal benefits rather than ideological fascination, where other two (leftist and rightist) student wings were mostly ideology driven but they are very few in numbers and their mother parties were never in state power of Bangladesh.

4. Conclusions

Student politics in Bangladesh has a glorious proud history of struggle and utmost sacrifice for the national interest during all crisis movements of the country, including anti-British movement in 1940s, the language movement of 1952, six point movement of 1966, mass upsurge of 1969, Liberation War of 1971, and the toppling of military dictator Ershad in 1990s (Panday, 2018; Alam et al., 2011; Ullah, 2001; Hannan 2000, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c). Even, after the independence of Bangladesh, student organizations were actively involved with the national interests as well as the student affairs till 1990. Until then, student leaders were mostly ideology driven who were required to get elected through the direct consent of their members (Hannan, 2000a). In this process, mostly brilliant students were elected in the leadership positions (Kabir, 2002). Panday (2018) also found that the vivacity of the student politics was quite high as they remained busy in dealing with pro-people activities, working in favor of the students as well as for any greater national interest during that time. Even though, all student organizations had co-existence in the university campus as well as in the student halls during 1971 to 1990 (Hannan, 2000b, 2000c).

Unfortunately, the notion of student politics has been shifted towards the individual goal attainments instead of the national interest including student affairs after entering into the parliamentary forms of government in 1991 (Panday, 2018; Suykens, 2018; Kabir, 1999). Now student politics are considered as the extension of the national politics. The student wings are found chasing each other under all political regimes, especially after 1990 (Alam et al., 2011). The ruling student wings always dominate all around the campuses and capsized the opposition followers from the campus that hinders the sound academic environment (Ahmad, 2000). From the discussion it is found that the followers of two major student wings (namely, BCL & JCD) entered into the student politics due to gain some personal benefits (i.e. surviving the university campus, getting a good job, dominating in the campus) rather than ideological attraction, especially after 1990 (Panday, 2018; Suykens, 2018) (see Table 8).

Table 8. Summary of the trends of student politics in Bangladesh

Regime	Governed by	Nature of Student Politics	Focused
British (1757-1947)	British Colony	Student Union Type	Nationalist Movements
Pakistan (1947-1971)	Military Rule	Do	Do
Bangladesh Era (1971 to till)			
Sheikh Mujib Era (1971-1975)	BAL	Political Party Backed but Unofficially	National Interest

President Zia Era (1975-1981)	Military + BNP	Officially Political Party Backed	National Interest + Party Interest
President Ershad Era (1981-1990)	Military + JP	Do	National Interest + Party Interest
Khaleda Era (1991-1996)	BNP	Do	Personal Benefit + Party Interest
Hasina Era (1996-2001)	BAL	Do	Do
Khaleda Era (2001-2006)	BNP	Do	Do
Hasina Era (2009-2013)	BAL	Do	Do
Hasina Era (2014-2018)	BAL	Do	Do

After 1990, the clashes have been happening between the ruling and opposition wing student organizations for controlling the campus dominance. There are lots of student activists those who were killed by the hands of existing confrontational student politics, even some innocent students were also murdered. In this circumstances, the hapless parents count the moments with great anxiety, whether their beloved offspring would come home after completion of education within the stipulated time, or be a dead body sacrificed at the platform of dirty student politics which snatch two to three years more from the life of every students due to session jam (Suykens, 2018; Soikot, 2010). At this moment, the clashes have been mostly occurring among the different fractions of ruling student wings that also hamper the sound academic environment (Panday, 2018). However, the mother political organization always try to hold their existence alive in the academic institutions with the presence of their student wings, where the student wings act as the substitute organization and boosts their activities in the educational institutions to save the interests of their mother political parties instead of serving the interests of general students (Ullah, 2013; Hasanuzzaman, 1998). So, it can be said that the relationships between political parties and their allied student wings are closely associated with the nature of 'patron-client relationship' by Davis. Though the students of Bangladesh have contributed significantly in different national as well as academic movements till 1990, many intellectuals have claimed that the present conflicting devastating political activities by party backed student wings are the main obstacles towards ensuring quality education in the universities (Shahjamal, 2017; Hossain et al., 2014, Khaleduzzaman, 2014). In this circumstances, all political parties including government should make a consensus immediately in the decision of withdrawing their existing political backing to the student organizations for revitalizing the glorious history of student politics as well as re-establishing congenial academic environment with the co-existence of all students.

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