

**Caste, Religion and Youth Politics: A Study of University Students of
Varanasi**

Dissertation

Submitted to

Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Lucknow

For the Award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

In

Sociology

**BABASAHEB
BHIMRAO
AMBEDKAR
UNIVERSITY**



**प्रज्ञा शील करुणा
ESTABLISHED 1996**

Supervisor:

Prof. Bibhuti Bhushan Malik

Submitted by:

**Ratnesh Kumar Yadav
(Enrollment No. 173/18)**

**Department of Sociology
School of Ambedkar Studies for Social Sciences
Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Lucknow
(A Central University), NAAC 'A' Grade
Vidya Vihar, Raebareli Road, Lucknow-226025, U.P., India
2020**

Declaration

I Ratnesh Kumar Yadav declare that the dissertation entitled “**Caste, Religion and Youth Politics: A Study of University Students of Varanasi**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy is an original work and has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this university or any other university.

Place: Lucknow

Date: 29-12-2020

Ratnesh

Ratnesh Kumar Yadav

M.Phil. Research Scholar

Department of Sociology

School of Ambedkar Studies for Social Sciences

B.B.A. University,

(A Central University)

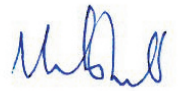
Lucknow

Certificate

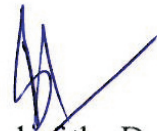
This is to certify that the M.Phil. dissertation titled “**Caste, Religion and Youth Politics: A Study of University Students of Varanasi**” submitted by Ratnesh Kumar Yadav is an original research work and has not been previously submitted in part or full part for the award of any other degree or diploma in this or any other university.

The Dissertation submitted to Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Lucknow satisfies the entire requirement as stipulated in the Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.)/ Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) regulations amended in 2017 and it is fit for submission and evaluation for the award of the degree of the Master of Philosophy of the University.

Date: 29-12-2020



Supervisor



Head of the Department

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Prof. Bibhuti Bhushan Malik, my supervisor for his kind support, valuable guidance and encouragement. I would like to thank my parents for their love and blessings. I express my gratitude to my family members for always standing beside me.

I have been benefited immensely by my teachers at the department of Sociology BBAU. I am grateful to all of them for their guidance. The office staff, Ajay Bhaiya, was very cooperative and helpful, thank to them. I would like to thanks the staff of BBAU Library. I would like to give special thanks to the students and my friends of Banaras Hindu University and Mahatma Gandhi Kashi Vidyapeeth, University for helped me during data collection.



Ratnesh Kumar Yadav

CONTENTS

Acknowledgment	III
List of Abbreviations	VI
Chapter 1	1-17
Introduction	
Statement of the problem	
Objective of the study	
Hypothesis	
Literature review	
Research Methodology	
Research Design	
Research approach	
Universe of the study	
Tools of Data Collection	
Chapter Scheme	
Chapter 2	18-30
Caste, Religion and Youth: A Profile	
Introduction	
Profile of the Youth in India	
Caste, Religion and Youth of Uttar Pradesh	
Caste, Religion and Youth of Varanasi	
Caste and Religion profile of the Respondent	
Conclusion	
Chapter 3	31-41
Youth Politics, Caste and Religion	
The role of religion in Indian Politics	
The role of caste in Indian politics	
Theoretical studies of caste and politics	
Conclusion	
Chapter 4	42-50
Youth Politics and Ideology	
Introduction	
Why political participation awareness is highly recommended by Youth?	
Youth's involvement in Politics	
Ideological perspective of Youth	
Conclusion	

Chapter 5	51-54
Conclusion and Recommendations	
• Bibliography	55-59
• Appendix	60-64

List of Abbreviations

1. **CSDS**- Centre for the study of developing society
2. **RTI**- Right to information
3. **RTF**- Right to food
4. **NSUI**- National students' union of india
5. **ABVP**- Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad
6. **SCS**- Samajwadi Chatra sabha
7. **CAA**- Citizenship Amendment act
8. **NPR**- National population Register
9. **NRC**- National register of citizens
10. **OBC**- Other Backward Castes
11. **SC**- Scheduled Castes
12. **ST**- Scheduled Tribes
13. **BJP**- Bharatiya Janta Party
14. **I.N.C**- Indian National Congress
15. **B.S.P**- Bahujan Samaj Party
16. **SP**- Samajwadi Party
17. **JDU**- Janta Dal United
18. **RJD**- Rashtriya Janta Dal
19. **AIMIM**- All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul

Chapter- 1 Introduction

Indian politics has been mostly discussed in the context of caste and religion-based mobilization by political parties. Many scholars have focused on caste and communal politics and its impact on electoral politics. Christophe Jaffrelot (2003), Sudha Pai (2002, 2010), Kanchan Chandra (2004), and Pradeep Chhibber (1999), Ashutosh Varshaney (2002), Steven I. Wilkinson (2010) has extensively worked on electoral politics in the context of Caste and Communalism.

In social science, many attempts have been done by scholars to understand how population size of a particular social community matter in electoral politics. In other words, the politics of vote bank can be seen as an attempt of mass mobilization of a particular social group by political parties. Mandal vs Kamandal politics will always be the best example to understand the politics of mass mobilization in the context of caste and religion.

Uttar Pradesh is one of the finest examples of both caste and communal politics. The identity, ideology has been shaped and reshaped over time and some issues turned out to be the representation of the state i.e. Caste politics and Communal Politics (Babri Masjid and Ram Mandir). Both caste and communal politics are prevalent in Uttar Pradesh, it is supposed to be the 'heartland' for both. The state of Uttar Pradesh inherited the caste factor which reflects in the politics of elections. It is an important factor in determining the winning party. The communal politics was inherited during the Babri Masjid and Ram Mandir controversy. Both caste and communal politics have shaped the identity of the state and politics over time. Polarisation found its base in the state with the caste and communal politics, the division of mankind, the communal and caste-based clashes became a part of every election in the state. (Moinuddin, 2017, pp. 67-68).

Some studies have focused on women's voting participation and their role in electoral politics. In a survey, Rajeshwari Deshpande analyzed women's voting pattern and reached the conclusion that women do not vote as a unit because their socioeconomic background influences their voting behavior. Women in India constituted half the population of the country. But still, the choice of the family must be followed by the women—the patriarchal system of Indian society is the major constraint in every part of women's life.¹

¹ <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/womens-vote-in-2014/article6151723.ece>

The study of youth in the context of politics has not been very much explored despite a sizeable section of Indian voters being young. Youth voters as a political category are not much focused as an issue of political interest and research until recent times. According to the Election commission, only youth voters constituted 69% of the total voter's population in 2014 Lok Sabha election.² So, the number always matters to the political parties. Attempts to mobilize youth to vote are not only done by political parties but also election commission, which has started many programs for electoral participation of youth. But still, the youth voters as a political category have hardly been an issue of political interest and analysis until recent times. It was only during the 2009 Lok Sabha election and in various assembly elections after the Lok Sabha election that there has been an increasing interest in the youth vote in India.

The manifestation of youth's opinion in politics has never been addressed separately under the theme of mass mobilization or pressure groups, while caste, majority and minority vote bank politics have been largely discussed in the social science field. However, youth shared the highest vote population in electoral politics. The recent poll survey has been done by CSDS on young voters, according to this survey over past elections indicated young voter's turnout was highest in 2014 which is 68% in comparison to 54 % in 2009 and 52% in 2004. In 2014 Lok Sabha election BJP managed 31% national vote share and formed a majority government, among the 31% vote, the share of the young voter was 34%.³

On behalf of youth's hope, politicians are targeting each other during the elections campaign. In the Delhi assembly election campaign congress leader Rahul Gandhi attack on Modi led BJP government to saying that "the Prime minister will be unable to step out of his house as the youth would beat him with sticks"⁴

While opposing the CAA, NPR and NRC, Akhilesh Yadav also targeting present government on the behalf of youth with the using slogan about growing employment crisis-

² <https://www.livemint.com/Politics/Z93FfTMIRhgdW9RFz8qyLN/2019-Lok-Sabha-elections-What-Indias-Gen-Z-wantsjobs.html>

³ <https://www.theweek.in/theweek/cover/2019/04/26/lok-sabha-elections-2019-meet-the-young-blue-bloods.html>

⁴ <https://www.financialexpress.com/elections/rahul-gandhi-targets-pm-modi-over-lack-of-jobs-says-youth-will-beat-him-with-sticks/1858197/>

“We do not need CAA or NPR, we need employment.”

He claimed that NRP is against the poor and Muslims brothers and said that BJP was deliberately talking about CAA, NRC and NRP to divert the attention of people.”⁵

Is the youth benefited from politician’s slogans or their opinion matter to these politicians who are using youth to target their opponents? Or youth will only become a pendulum in the current political ecosystem, where they as a voter category will fall under the mobilization on the issues of caste, communal, nationalism, and not on issues of their own? Or do they merely become the career of political party’s propaganda throughout the election campaign?

Apart from projecting young leaders in their respective political party, which, too, has merely become symbolic, as it does not make the proportionate representation of youths in the political party and also political parties have failed to meet youth’s aspiration. This study is specially focused on the university students who are part of the political youth wing to understand their perspective on the ongoing politics around Caste and Religion, and trying to capture their thoughts on ideology.

Indian youth as a category is extremely complex and difficult to ascertain at a time when there is no general consensus yet amongst scholars on its minimal definition. Nonetheless, the importance of youth as a demographic category due to its sheer size in the subcontinent is undeniable. Today the country’s age is 25 years. This makes India 10 years younger to china and 15 years younger to the United States, the fact is that today’s reality of a young population makes it impossible to ignore the youth. According to the Government of India’s department of youth affairs and sports, the youth is the group between the ages of 13 to 35 years. Youth development of the department had recommended that 18-30 years should be the age criterion for youth and that people. (Kumar, 2014) Keeping these facts in mind and the requirements of our specific studies which is political in nature, researchers have defined youth respondents as those between the ages of 24 to 30. The rationale for choosing 24 to 30 years as minimum and maximum age is because every participant is associated with political party’s youth wing or social organization, so for this study, the researcher needs experienced political activists who have participated in number of political and social event so that their response come from their own experiences.

⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fV_ZHagCoGY

Statement of the Problem

We take immense pride in saying that we live in a society where we celebrate “Unity in Diversity” but on the other hand society witness such incidents of caste and communal violence which threatens the integration of society. Political parties always tried to create “us and them” binary within a society in respect to their political agenda. Political polarization of society weakens the social harmony which leads conflict among communities.

Youth mobilization at large scale to participate in election always been done by Election commission of India as well as by number of political parties. Youth has been actively participated in social and political activities. But in electoral context, youth merely become the volunteer to spread the party’s propaganda during election campaign. Does youth’s opinion matter to the political party? Or youth only become the election winning tool for political party? Apart from Job, Unemployment and Education, youth also have strong opinion about the social issues which affects them. Until unless the opinion of youth will be ignored in politics the participatory electoral politics will be questioned.

Review of literature:

Political participation and protest politics of Youth in India

If we examine carefully the India’s freedom movement, we will find the active participation of students in the freedom struggle and its success. When called upon and inspired by Gandhi ji to participate in freedom movements, students stepped up in large number. Thousands of students supported the Non-cooperation movement and the Quit India movements in 1942 as they discontinued their studies. We can see that many of the students of that period went on to become successful leaders post freedom.

When the British and other coloniser came to India and took administration gradually, people were worried and full of fear. But we saw the emergence of active young leaders like Ashfaqulla Khan, Bhagat Singh, Khudiram Bose and Ram prasad bismil who tried to aware people with the nature and purpose of invasion, its consequences then and in future.

Post-independence, we observe that Youths raised their voices against the social injustice and the 1950s witnessed the emergence of student power in universities usually backed by political parties. Political parties supported students unions to optimize their opportunities for their purposes. The youth/student movements of 1960s and 1970s were stimulated by the rising unemployment, crippled and inadequate education system, inefficient governance and university and state relations.

According to Youth and Politics Survey (2011), Youth are in the category of politically aware citizens compared to older people. Here are some table from the same survey which is done by CSDS to understand that how Youth is highly aware in compared to others about social and political events and issues that's makes them as separate Political category like others used as vote bank but the politicization of youth and recognition as political category is still an emerging phenomena.

University students through their protest, demonstrations strike boycotts and other movements against the government acted indirectly as a powerful help to opposition. The students' revolt of Assam is the prime example of how youth power ascertain their impact against the government. The agitation of youth of Assam against the government started with the issue of immigrants, demanding to declare Assamese language as official language and reservation in jobs for home domicile. They eventually succeeded in bringing down the government and finally All Assam student union prevailed in forming the government for the first time ever as student union led government. (Brown, 2002, pp. 124)

Youths have been an internal dominant factor of Indian politics since Independence. During freedom struggle youth actively participated in the movements against the British rule and post-independence, we see the youth role was mostly categorised in three parts. These three categories include: first, the bureaucrat; second, the political worker and third comprising the peasant and factory workers.

The bureaucrats were from the upper middle class who wanted to join a government job. Their only aim was to get a government official position. Thus they were only limited to their studies

and mostly indifferent to the national issues going around that point of time. As they were only concerned with their degree and job so in a sense they were often seen as lost to the nation. The bureaucratic position seeking youth eventually after getting job were just a part of system against which other sections of youths protested and demonstrated their dissent. This class of youth were usually criticized, feared and pitied by the nation but luckily only small number of young men belonged to this class.

Second category included young men and women from rural as well as urban areas. Of the three categories, larger number of men and women come under this category. They were active and always aware and concerned with the national issues and movement. They extended their supports throughout the freedom struggle. When called upon to protest and join the movement like Non-cooperation movement and the Quit India movement, they with all capacity joined the movement. When Gandhi ji and other prominent leaders of congress were arrested, they kept the movement going strongly. No nation perhaps has seen and experienced such a spectacle.

Third category of Indian youth included the young men mostly from rural areas who were at the margin of poverty, who struggled to hunger, illiterate and politically unaware. These young men worked from their childhood to earn money for their family. They continued to struggle throughout their life and they were not seen as the sections that could turn the things around during the movements and struggles for independence. They were lost and didn't mean much to the societies. Though youths were happy with India getting independent but they were more concerned about the situation after the freedom of nation. The youth from rural and urban areas as well were more focused about the education, jobs, poverty, income growths etc. and regularly questioned the government accountability towards these.

The Indian youth are more connected to political issues and regarded as more active compared to the youth of other countries as the Indian young men and women were a strong pillar and took participation in Indian political freedom from the British and thereafter they till now have been actively connected to the political issues which concerned with the welfare of nations. They are also closely associated with the political parties like congress, the socialist party and the communist party as their student unions. American youth were influenced by the Indian youth,

they were made “Students for Wallace” groups on the similar lines of the Indian Political organization. (Jain, 1948, pp. 218-220)

India has had a long history of student protest politics. Student participation in the Freedom Movement forms a glorious chapter of modern Indian history. The nationalist movement for the first time provided a semblance of political identity to the Indian youth in general and student youth in particular. Student participation in politics at the time of freedom struggle and early years Post-independence, characterized by aggressive demonstrations and ideological objectives was considered noble and prestigious. Many of the present days political leaders in India received their political baptism in the student movements.

Some major protest politics by Youths are following-

1. Students of Calcutta's Eden Hindu Hostel burned Lord Curzon's effigy and boycotted examinations to protest against the partition of Bengal. During the next few years students of Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab were most active participants in national movement. Gandhi's non-cooperation movement attracted large number of students and youth into intense political activism.
2. Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 involved large number of students against the British.
3. The first national organization of students was set up in 1936, with the formation of the All India Students' Federation. It addressed a host of academic demands to the seven state governments that were there under Congress rule.
4. The All India Muslim Students' Federation, founded in 1937 under the auspices of the All India Muslim League was a blow to nationalist and radical AISF.
5. The climax of student political participation in the national movement was achieved during 1942 "Quit India" struggle launched by the Congress. Student radicalism stimulated by the "Quit India" struggle continued, although on a reduced scale, until the end of the Freedom struggle.
6. Student politics in Tamil Nadu came to limelight in the State wide agitation in 1965 against the use of Hindi as India's national language. Students played a vanguard role in the agitation and their support for the D.M.K. party helped to pave the way for its assumption of power.

7. Students spearheaded the electoral campaigns in 1967 which brought a non-congress leftist government to power in West Bengal. Later, however, when the Left Front Government was unable to implement a radical program, disenchanted and frustrated radicals among the student groups, joined the Naxalite movement with its total abjuration of parliamentary politics. College students in Calcutta have been one of the main forces behind the movement and "it is interesting to note that throughout the period between 1967 and 1970 Presidency College and the Hindu Hostel had been the hub of Naxalite activities, and this College has produced some of the best Maoist Students' leaders".
8. In an analysis of three cases of student agitation politics in Banaras Hindu University, occurring in 1958, 1965 and 1968 respectively, it was found by Anil Baran Roy that these agitations were the product of the forces of parochialization and politicization. (Hazary, 1988, pp. 106-110)
9. Recently, when the CAA (Citizenship Amendment Act) was passed, students from various universities particularly from AMU, JNU and DU raised their voices and demonstrated on the streets of Delhi.
10. Students have protested in cities across India after a masked mob stormed a high-profile university (JNU) in Delhi and attacked students and teachers with weapons including sledgehammers, iron rods and bricks, injuring more than 30. The attack at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), long seen as a bastion of leftwing politics, comes as students lead a nationwide campaign against a citizenship law introduced last month by Indian Government that is seen as targeting Muslims.

By and large student political activism during the freedom struggle had a noble and defined goal, namely, achievement of political freedom for the country. There has been a dramatic transformation of the student movement since Independence. The idealistic objective of achieving national independence and the broad radical objective of tackling enormous socio-economic ills and maladies have generally been replaced by unorganized and sporadic agitations aimed at specific benefits. The decline of ideological politics since Independence has led to "campus-politics" aiming to address only those issues which only benefit them and their parties in achieving certain results.

Youth unrest in politics

As we have discussed already that the protest held by students in the pre and post-independence are considered as the landmark in youth politics. But if we observe closely there has been shift in the motive and objective of student politics after independence. It has drastically changed as the current student politics and agitations are on the issues like jobs, ideological differences with main stream political environment and ideologies and the students also show dissents and at time protest fiercely against the laws or act which are considered against the constitutional rights.

Many scholars has addressed and tried to explain the reason which result in youth's dissent against the ongoing politics.

Myron weiner has attempted to map the spectrum of student protest politics in four ways: a) actions related to national politics in the school, university or college b) demands of students to the university authorities (c) students demands to non-university i.e. to government on issues of special concern and (d) irregular and sporadic demands of students associated with concrete demands. (Weiner, 1963, pp. 191)

Humayun Kabir has explained the discontent which lead to student unrest. The following factors of students have been described by Humanyun Kabir as the reason for these unrests: the loss of leadership by teachers, growing economic difficulties for large number of students, lacking jobs opportunities after completion of education, the inefficient existing system of education system and general loss of idealism in the student community and in the broader society. (Kabir, 1958)

Margaret L.Cormack discusses extensively the causes of student indiscipline. In India, she suggest three interconnected area of student distress and unrest, namely political-structural, professionalism and socio-psychological. Under the first factor, she explains that the politicization and bureaucratization of the institutions and universities just promoted the culture and issues likes favoritism, regionalism, casteism and political affliction as a base and source to appointment and promotion in higher institutions; involvement of students and faculties in party politics; role of paid protesters, unresponsive authorities and student unions used by political parties for their own benefits on the account of quality of education. Discussing the professional cause she explains that impersonality involved in the Lecture-examination system of higher studies, submissive nature of

academic faculties and authorities to outside pressure, flawed and stressed relation between authority and faculty member, faculty- student relations, undertrained, underpaid and overworked faculty members, rigid curriculum, the external examination system and the chase for degree not for education, all accounted for stressed and dissatisfied student indiscipline. Pointing towards the socio- psychological aspects of this she states that factors such as conflicting role of parents in correcting or guiding students, lack of association between faculty and students; counselling guidance not properly done , lack of good hostel amenities and impersonality in most of the hostels , the psychological immaturity of the most of the students , cultural consciousness and the disparity between sex mores and sex interest contributed to unreality in Indian university life. (Cormack, 1961)

Avid observer of Indian students' politics, **Philip G Altbach** has analyzed important institutional variations in student unrest's in India. Institutions that maintain academic excellence and better relationship between faculty and students are less likely to agitate and being in unrest. Among the causes of instability, discontent and unrest, he points out the following: the congruence between the ideals in the academic community and the broader society norms(caste , religion, regional affiliations or factional dynamics within universities have significant parallels to those in Indian society and politics) , the examination system , generation problem , different economic conditions and uncertainties of students and unplanned and insufficient expansion of educational system is obviously a cause of ambivalence and indiscipline. (Altbach, 1966, pp. 160-162)

Several surveys have shown that it is easy for Indian students to advocate concerted action to address college and university problems. Unplanned rise and expansion in higher education after the post-independence period is the main driving force behind student activism on campuses. "Expansion, says Altbach, is the key to the Indian university crisis. India's strong commitment to higher education and public demands has led to a continuous growth in universities and colleges without proper physical facilities or preparation. The exponential increase in government institutions has proved ineffective and has resulted in implacability and indiscipline. The academic environment in the student's community is far from conducive to the growth of a healthy personality. (Altbach, 1970, pp. 21)

One of the important factors which have resulted in on campus indiscipline and unrest is the politicization of the many universities. Students, faculty and administration have contributed in their own way to this. Political parties see and often utilize their opportunity and it becomes very easy to manipulate the students who are already trapped in their own internal conflict of academic life, institution politics and personal problems. Rudolph says that the politicization of educational institutions is marked by the take over and deviating the educational aims by proper, organized and regular infusion of communal and political interests. This is done to achieve their (political parties) specific purposes and interests.

If the university is the main source of student unrest, society and politics add nothing less to its advocacy. The Indian student is a big part of society culture and is vulnerable to his various problems and stresses. India, given its progress towards an urban and modern society, is still a "society of scarcity." The socio-economic conditions and deeper social transition challenge of an emerging society are illustrated by student unrest. "The cleavage between generations" – the older and the less educated generation and the younger generation in attendance at Universities, "the restricted range of opportunities for achievement and conviviality", and "scarcity of socially and economically rewarding opportunities for employment" are conditions of unrest in most third world countries. (Fischer, 1973, pp. 44) "Politics attract students intensely and put strong emphasis on them." Once students felt passionate enough about social problems, they also engaged in political movements and campaigns. "Through its relations with political parties student politics has a programmatic aspect". (Rudolph, 1971)

Student groups are split along political lines, "the phenomenon of social conflict politics that has marked Indian politics is actually expressed in the educational campuses". (Aiyar, 1971). The presence of Indian political parties in colleges and universities has eroded the students' autonomy and learning atmosphere and has intensified the political activism. Elders ' and politicians ' behavior patterns were detrimental for the values of the student community. The unfavorable aspects of Indian social and political culture have been expressed in various ways by Indian educational institutions.

Gap and Inadequacies in earlier studies

After conducting an exhaustive literature review on the theme of “youth and politics” researcher found that there is no separate academic work has been done on youth to understand their thoughts or views on the number of socio-political issues that has always been a part of political debate such as caste, gender and religion etc. However, youth actively participated in the electoral campaign and also their unrest with current political systems can be seen on the street across the country in the form of protest. So, it is must to understand in wider aspects that how youth manifest the socio-political issues apart from only being a political volunteer. The contribution of this dissertation may be add some literature on the youth politics in which youth’s perspective on caste, religion and ideology have been addressed separately.

Objective

1. To understand the involvement of youth in politics.
2. How caste and religion are given importance in youth Politics.
3. To understand the ideology of youth and their political orientation.

Hypothesis

1. Caste plays very important role in Politics.
2. Religion is considered to be a possible factor for polarization in politics.
3. Some Political parties uses caste and religion in electoral politics.

Methodology

Qualitative research has used for this study. Qualitative research can provide complex textual description of youth’s perspective that can be studied deeply. A qualitative researcher has to provide greater time with the participant of the study to understand the views, opinions, beliefs, emotions of the participant to the phenomenon being studied. It requires extra rigor and hard work to bring out effective understanding of the phenomenon.

Research Design

The research study has adopted a descriptive research design where the researcher will try to understand the experiences of youth, party’s organization members and views of various political

activists. A descriptive research design can afford to look at all the participants with different backgrounds and experiences.

Universe of the Study

This research has been conducted in two university of Varanasi district that is Banaras Hindu University and Mahatma Gandhi Kashi Vidyapeeth. Varanasi is culturally diverse with one of prominent universities of the country where students are always involved with various political parties. During the Ram Mandir movement led by BJP and RSS, Varanasi witnessed to three consecutive riots since 1989-90 to 1992. Varanasi riots of 1989 was the first communal violence erupted between Hindu and Muslim. A mini riots was also broke out in 2007. Many places in Varanasi marked as communal sensitive place because it is a religious place. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi came from Gujrat to Varanasi in previous Lok Sabha election to contest the election. The city also attracts many researchers to study the culture, the diversity and different kind of communities that have historically been a part of the city. For this research, diverse data have been collected to analyze the political phenomena in the context of Caste and Religion.

Tools of Data collection

Source of Data:

1. Primary data:

The researcher has used interview schedule to collect data from student studying at BHU and MGKVP universities.

2. Secondary Data

The newspaper articles, various interviews of political leaders, speeches made during election campaigns and views shared on social media and you tube by the political leaders, party members have been analyzed.

Chapter scheme

Chapter 1 is about introduction of the whole study including literature review, research objective and research method to give insight of the research.

Chapter 2 analyzes in great detail about profile of the study area and the respondent.

Chapter 3 explores the meaning of being a political activist from the perspective of a university youth and the issues that most attract youth in politics. The youth are more aware of political events so they emphasized that awareness about the ongoing political debate is must for every citizen of the country because electoral politics is all about promises and policies for the betterment of the people. The least participation in politics can make our politicians unchecked, so participation is must to control politicians and keep debate around the policies active. While analyzing data from the field, the youth beyond the political lines seems very much concern about the unaware citizen and their inactive participation in politics. In this chapter, the ideology of youth will be discussed in detail. The youth seemed to find difficulties in giving proper response to what is ideology? Mostly those youth gave proper response who are in higher education or actively participate in cadre camp where ideology is discussed by the organization of political parties. For example, the youth wing of the Samajwadi Party and Congress are very less aware of their respective political ideology because their party does not organize cadre camp to give proper training to their worker. While the BJP's youth actively participate in cadre camp, so their response was very quick during the interview. But one major issue is common to every youth of the political parties that they are only used to spread the propaganda and engage in a political campaign. This prevents youth to explore or having healthy dialogue to the common people apart from propaganda and election campaign.

Chapter 4 focuses on the issues of political polarization around caste and religion. This chapter will include empirical as well as secondary data to make wider understanding of youth's perception of caste and communal politics in current time. Youth think that there is an urgent need to reframe the policies related to marginalize section of the society because politician uses caste sentiment in the name of reservation that mixed the caste politics and reservation politics and the benefit of reservation policies must reach to those people who actually needed it. However, caste in politics is all about the electoral equation that is always done by every political party because the Indian society is based on the caste system that's why the political parties distributed tickets to the

candidate according to their caste in context of their constituency's caste equation. While caste-based polarisation has always been done by all political parties, but religion-based polarization is limited to some political parties—only those who raised religious issues in their speeches and manifesto.

Chapter 5 is about conclusion and recommendations of the study. This study is specially focused on Youth and their views on caste and religion based politics. The youth are the most important and dynamic segment of the population in any country. Youth are engaged either actively or passively in politics and are associated with political parties. All the participant equivocally said every citizen should be aware of political affairs and policies as they feel that electoral politics is all about policies and promises which will have impact on everybody's life. Youth think that most of the people are unaware about the politics that affects their everyday life. The least participation in the active politics and the low level of awareness about the policies, may be against or in favour of people. Youth think that every ideology must have some basic similarity such as belief in equality, prosperity and diversity. Humanitarian ground must be foundation of any ideology, must be no place for violence act. Every youth is agreed that the politics around caste can be benefited to some caste but religion based politics only create communal tension which breaks the communal harmony and sometimes it become very harmful to the society in terms of riots, demolition of religious places, hate speeches and communal remarks on particular religious community.

Reference:

- Aiyar, S. P., *Politicization of Indian Students, Frontiers in Education*, Vol. 2. No. 2, 1971, p. 13
- Altbach, P. G., *India and the World University Crisis*, in Altbach, P. G., (ed.), *The Student Revolution*, Lalvani, Bombay, 1970, p. 21.
- Altbach, P. G. *Student Politics: Historical Perspective and the Changing Scene*, op. cit., 1966 pp. 160-162
- Brass, P. R. (2010). *The Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*. Oxon: Routledge
- Jaffrelot, C. (2000). *The Rise of Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt*. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, (pp. 86-108).
- Brown B. B. *The Word's Youth*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002, p. 124.
- Cormack, Margaret L., *See Who Rides a Peacock: Indian Students and Social Change*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and mixed Methods Approaches. (4thEds.)*. London, USA: Sage publication
- Fischer, Joseph,, *The University Student in South and South East Asia*, Minerva , Vol. II, No. 1, Autumn, 1973, p. 44
- Hasan Zoya, *Parties and Party Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 8.
- Hazarika, B. (2015). *Voting Behaviour in India and Its Determinants*. *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 22-25.
- Hazary, S. C. (1988). *Protest Politics in India*. *The India Journal of Political Science*, pp. (106-110).
- Jaffrelot, C. (2016). *Caste and Political Parties in India: Do Indians vote their Caste- While casting their vote?* In A. Kohli and P. Singh. (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics* (pp. 152). New York, Routledge.
- Jain, G. P. (1948). *Indian Youth after Independence*. *Pi Lambda Theta Journal*, (pp. 218-220).
- Kabir, Humayun, *Student Unrest: Causes and Cure*, Orient Book Co., Calcutta, 1958.

- Mehara A. K., *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Sage Publications, 2001 p. p. 23.)
- Moinuddin, S. (2017). *Mediascape and The State: A Geographical Interpretation of Image Politics in Uttar Pradesh, India*. Switzerland : Springer International Publishing AG.
- Pai, S. (1996). *Transformation of the Indian Party System: The 1996 Lok Sabha Elections*. Asian Survey, pp. (1170-1183).
- Rudolph, L. I., Rudolph, S. H. & Ahmed, K., "*Student Politics and National Politics in India*", Economic and Political Weekly, Special Number, July 1971.
- Sharma P. *Working of Parliamentary Democracy in India*, Modern Publishers and Distributors, 1986, p. 01.
- Sunil Kumar, *Communalism and Secularism in Indian Politics-Study of BJP*, Rawat Publication, Delhi, 2001. p.47.
- Varshney, A. (2002). *Ethnic conflict and Civic life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. London: Yale University Press.
- Verma, A. k. (2014). *Uttar Pradesh- Communal Polarisation vs Caste Calculus*. *Economic and Political Weekly*.
- Weber, M. (1974) *The Theory of Social and Economical Organisation*, Oxford University Press, New York, p.373.
- Weiner, Myron, *The Politics of Scarcity*, Asia, Bombay, 1963, p. 191.
- Wilkinson, S. I. (2004). *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Chapter 2

Caste, Religion and Youth: A Profile

Introduction:

Every nation and its society are divided in some manner. India is a unique country because of its diversity in terms of religion and castes. India is diversified in its structure of society which is generally divided on the basis of caste and religion. Youth are the most dynamic block of the society and they play important role in defining how these two i.e. caste and religion will impact them and the society.

Youth Profile in India

India is accounted for substantial share of world population. By 2010, India accounted for 17.8% of the world population, recording an increase of 2.7% in its share since 1970. This growth is projected to continue and by 2030, Indians would account for 17.97 of global population. India's share in the decennial addition to global population increased from 18.13 during 1970-1980 to 22.87 during 1990-2000 and is projected to decline to 18.69 by 2020-2030. India is expected to have 34.33% share of youth in total population by 2020. The share reached its maximum of 35.11% in the year 2010. China in contrast is seen to have reached the highest share in the year 1990 at 38.28% and is projected to have the share of youth force shrinking to 27.62% by the year 2020, a situation which Japan has experienced in around 2000. It is observed that India has the relative advantage at present over other countries in terms of distribution of youth population. India's advantage in young population is also evident when it is compared with other Asian Countries. India is seen to remain younger longer than China and Indonesia, the two major countries other than India which determine the demographic features of Asia. These three countries together accounted for 68 % of population of Asia in the year 2010 and the share of Asia itself is about 60% in world population.

India is the youngest country amongst the BRICS. It is estimated that by 2020 the working age population in India would be about 592 million, second to that of China's (776 million). The median age is expected to be about 29 years, way lower than China (42 years), Russia (38 years) and South Africa (27 years). However, in absolute numbers, India has the largest number of young people. In other words, this has been understood as the 'youth bulge' that is expected to lead to a

demographic dividend—the idea is well known, and fairly extensively researched (James 2008; Chandrasekhar, Ghosh & Roy, Chowdhury 2006).

The vision document that guides youth policy in India is the National Youth Policy (NYP 2014), which defines youth as those in the age group of 15-29 years, comprising as per the Census of India 2011, about 330 million, close to 27.5 % of the population. One among the eleven priority areas in the NYP 2014 is that of ‘participation in politics and governance’, which mostly talks about facilitating participation and civic engagement at all levels of governance.

A cross-sectional survey of youth population (18-33 years) found that contrary to popular opinions of alienation and disconnect, the youth are actually quite interested in political issues. This is different from experiences in the US, where apparently young people do not participate in voting. In 2012, a presidential election year, 45% of the young (18-29) voted while 72% of the oldest (65 and older) voted. But interest in political issues does not neatly translate into political participation, such as voting in elections, membership of political party/student wing of any political party, participation in election campaign activity, participation in election rallies and meetings, participation in fund collection.

In the 1990s, India witnessed a major participatory upsurge among the socially underprivileged, across caste, economic class, gender or localities. This phenomenon was termed as the second democratic upsurge. The interest of Indian voters in politics and their participation in election-related activities has been consistently rising since the 1990s and urban youth is no exception to this trend. While the level of electoral participation is on the rise, though marginally, there is hardly any rural-urban difference in the level of electoral participation amongst urban youth and rural youth. The findings of the study conducted in 2009 indicate that both urban and the rural youth participated in electoral activities in more or less similar numbers. Furthermore, the findings indicate that electoral participation is not limited only to upper-class urban youth. Participation in an electoral activity was seen across all economic classes among urban youth though the participation was slightly higher amongst the upper class urban youth than those in the middle or poor class. But electoral participation was much higher amongst rural youth than urban youth irrespective of the economic class.

Caste, Religion and Youth of Uttar Pradesh

Uttar Pradesh, India's fourth largest state in land area, covering a total of 240,928 square kilometers; contains 75 districts divided into four geographic regions, namely, Western, Central, Eastern, and Bundelkhand regions (Government of Uttar Pradesh, n.d.) and Varanasi also known as Benares, Banaras or Kashi, the city on the banks of the river Ganges in Uttar Pradesh, India, 320 kilometers (200 miles) south-east of the state capital Lucknow, comes in the Eastern region . While Uttar Pradesh is India's fourth largest state in land area, it is the state with the largest population in the country. This is also a state that sends the largest number of political representatives to the Lok Sabha which means that it is a very important state politically. (Report) In 2011, it had a population of 199.8 million, which accounted for 17 percent of India's population (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, 2013). The sex ratio in Uttar Pradesh (912 females per 1,000 males) is lower than that for India as a whole (943).The state is characterized by a large rural population; just 22 percent of the state's population resided in urban areas in 2011.Economically, Uttar Pradesh displays a mixed picture. With a Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) of Rs 890,265 at current prices in 2013–14, it ranked second among the states of India in GSDP and accounted for nine percent of the national GDP (Planning Commission, 2014).

Caste-wise population of Uttar Pradesh and India

Caste Group	Uttar Pradesh	India
Upper Caste	20	26
Other Backward Caste	54.5	44
Schedule Caste	20.7	16.63
Schedule Tribe	0.57	8.6

Source: Census of India, 2011

Religion-wise population of Uttar Pradesh and India

India is home to 1.4 billion people – almost one-sixth of the world's population – who belong to a variety of ethnicities and religions. While 94% of the world's Hindus live in India, there also are substantial populations of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and adherents of folk religions.

For most Indians, faith is important: In a 2015 Pew Research Center survey, eight-in-ten Indians said religion is very important in their lives. India's massive population includes not only the vast majority of the world's Hindus, but also the second-largest group of Muslims within a single

country, behind only Indonesia. By 2050, India's Muslim population will grow to 311 million, making it the largest Muslim population in the world, according to Pew Research Center projections. Still, Indian Muslims are projected to remain a minority in their country, making up about 18% of the total population at midcentury, while Hindus figure to remain a majority (about 77%).

The table below shows the percentage of different religions in India and in Uttar Pradesh respectively.

Religion	India (%)	Uttar Pradesh (%)
Hindu	79.8	79.73
Muslim	14.2	19.26
Christian	2.3	0.18
Sikh	1.7	0.32
Buddhist	0.7	0.10
Jain	0.4	0.11
Other religions and persuasions (incl. Unclassified Sect.)	0.7	0.01
Religion not stated	0.2	0.29

Source: Census of India, 2011

With so many religious group and religion, it becomes a very powerful instrument in the hands of policy makers to guide the national issues with religious influence. And youths are the most affected with these because they study in different universities and are associated with various social organization and they carry forward the message. They can be easily be divided or brought together in the name of religion.

Youth Population of Uttar Pradesh and India

Uttar Pradesh	20.3 %
India	19.2 %

Caste, Religion and Youth of Varanasi

Varanasi is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. Its early history is that of the first Aryan settlement in the middle Ganges valley. By the 2nd millennium BCE, Varanasi was a seat of Aryan religion and philosophy and was also a commercial and industrial Centre famous for its muslin and silk fabrics, perfumes, ivory works, and sculpture. Varanasi was the capital of the kingdom of Kashi during the time of the Buddha (6th century BCE), who gave his first sermon nearby at Sarnath. The city remained a center of religious, educational, and artistic activities as attested by the celebrated Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang, who visited it in about 635 CE and said that the city extended for about 3 miles (5 km) along the western bank of the Ganges.

Varanasi has been a city of Hindu learning through the ages. There are innumerable schools and countless Brahman pandits (learned scholars), who are responsible for the continuation of traditional learning. There are three universities, including the large and important Banaras Hindu University (1915), and more than a dozen colleges and high schools.

The city is a center of arts and crafts and of music and dance. Varanasi is famous for its production of silks and brocades with gold and silver threadwork. A renowned carpet-weaving center is at Bhadoi. Wooden toys, bangles made of glass, ivory work, and brass ware are also produced in Varanasi.

Average literacy rate of Varanasi in 2011 were 75.60 compared to 66.12 of 2001. If things are looked out at gender wise, male and female literacy were 83.78 and 66.69 respectively. For 2001 census, same figures stood at 77.87 and 53.05 in Varanasi District. Total literate in Varanasi District were 2,403,903 of which male and female were 1,389,116 and 1,014,787 respectively. In 2001, Varanasi District had 1,694,405 in its district. (Census 2011)

Out of the total Varanasi population for 2011 census, 43.44 percent lives in urban regions of district. In total 1,597,051 people lives in urban areas of which males are 845,331 and females are 751,720. Sex Ratio in urban region of Varanasi district is 889 as per 2011 census data. Similarly, child sex ratio in Varanasi district was 881 in 2011 census. Child population (0-6) in urban region was 190,725 of which males and females were 101,422 and 89,303. This child population figure of Varanasi district is 12.00 % of total urban population. Average literacy rate in Varanasi district as per census 2011 is 78.41 % of which males and females are 83.30 % and 72.92 % literates

respectively. In actual number 1,102,671 people are literate in urban region of which males and females are 619,660 and 483,011 respectively.

As per 2011 census, 56.56 % population of Varanasi districts lives in rural areas of villages. The total Varanasi district population living in rural areas is 2,079,790 of which males and females are 1,076,526 and 1,003,264 respectively. In rural areas of Varanasi district, sex ratio is 932 females per 1000 males. If child sex ratio data of Varanasi district is considered, figure is 888 girls per 1000 boys. Child population in the age 0-6 is 306,426 in rural areas of which males were 162,340 and females were 144,086. The child population comprises 15.08 % of total rural population of Varanasi district. Literacy rate in rural areas of Varanasi district is 73.38 % as per census data 2011. Gender wise, male and female literacy stood at 84.17 and 61.89 percent respectively. In total, 1,301,232 people were literate of which males and females were 769,456 and 531,776 respectively.

The table below shows Caste and Religion wise population of Varanasi.

Caste-wise voter population in Varanasi

Caste	Population in thousand
Brahmin	250000
Bhumihar	1,50,000
Vaish	2,00000
Kayastha	65,000
Yadav	1,50,000
Kurmi	150000
Chaurasia	80,000
Dalit	80,000

Source: Economics Times of India, 2014

Religion-wise population in Varanasi

Religion	Population in percent
Hindu	70.11
Muslim	28.82
Sikh	0.22
Christian	0.340.12
Buddha	0.04

Source: Census of India, 2011

The different proportion of the caste and religion shown in the table reflect that Varanasi has mixed combination of all though the prominent contributor in the population of Varanasi are Hindu and Muslims in that order respectively. The dominant political discourse revolves around these two religions.

Caste and Religion Profile of the Respondent

Caste of the Respondent:

Indian politics seems to revolve around the issues of caste. The main reason for caste-based politics is political representation of weaker section of the society. The issue of social justice is important for all these castes. Caste does define the association of youth with different national issues. The table below shows the percentage of interviewed students of different caste groups.

Sl.No.	Caste Group	Respondent	Percentage
01.	Scheduled Caste	12	18.46
02.	Other Backward Caste	29	44.61
03.	Upper Caste	24	36.92
	Total	65	100

On the question of caste based discrimination, Students said that “In university caste politics come to the fore during recruitment and admission and sadly faculties and administrators in their own ways promote caste based discrimination.” Ethnic discrimination among students is not very effective, students believe that the nature of society is caste based due to which caste discrimination can be seen during admission and recruitment in Universities. Some students belonging to Upper caste community said “they also face discrimination in admission and recruitment. In the present government, your ideology is more important than your caste for example, if you are following or

associated with RSS ideology then there is a possibility of your recruitment whether you are from upper caste or lower caste.”

In the recent time, students belonging to Dalit and backward community have continuously agitated against the unfair admission and recruitment in BHU and many other universities. Their main allegation is about the discriminatory nature of faculty member in Universities.

The responses from the students belonging to different caste depicts how caste plays important role in forming and shaping the structure of their ideology and their involvement over issues in politics. The caste-based discrimination for any caste group whether upper caste or lower caste effects every youth.

Religion of the Respondent:

Sl.no.	Religion	Respondent	Percentage
01.	Hindu	56	86.15
02.	Muslim	08	12.30
03.	Christian	01	1.53
04.	Sikh	00	00
	Total	65	100

Religion in Indian politics has always been the driving force in every political issues and in the election as well. Religion is used by policy makers as a very potent tool to polarize or mobilize the citizens. If we look closely and try to comprehend, we will find that youth are the most affected by the use of religion in political debate or issues. Religion is such a strong medium which even discard the real issues which affects youth and their progress.

To apprehend the politics going on the ground of religion, the researcher interviewed 56 students from Hindu, 8 from Muslim and 1 from Christian religion. Barring BJP's associated youth, everyone else said that AIMIM and BJP use frequently religious issues in politics. On the other hand BJP youth wing students said that SP and AIMIM exploit religious issues in politics. But apart from political orientation, all youths unanimously agreed that every political party involve in religious politics because of electoral equation.

According to the prevailing circumstances, the Muslim community is afraid of politics in the name of religion; after the temple-mosques issue and Citizenship Amendment Act, these have lined up the BJP government in the center of communalism. An official of NSUI says that not only Muslims are harmed by religious issues but also our daily routine and the relation with Muslims also affected. Moreover we suffer from the need not to stand by the country's minorities.

Students associated with BJP said that religion is a matter of our faith, when our faith is being questioned then it becomes important and needs to be discussed in politics. A research Scholar who holds a significant position in ABVP said that religion had always been the guiding force of politics in India. Only religion can lead the country in right direction. That's why religion is important in politics. But we do not support any kind of violence in the name of religion.

Gender of the Respondent:

The table below shows the number of respondent based on gender

Sl.No.	Gender	Respondent	Percentage
01.	Female	10	15.39
02.	Male	55	84.61
	Total	65	100

The first thing which strike out is the number of female respondent which is comparatively very low to male. The participation of female students in the politics of university is very limited. The main reason for this is the dominance of patriarchal nature of every institution of India. There are only 10 female out of 65 students, including 3 associated with NSUI, 4 with SCS and 3 female students only participated in social movement. Only 3 out of 10 students are looking forward to pursue a future in politics, while seven others say that we lack opportunities in politics through which we can make politics our profession. Society and family restrict us from participating in politics. In universities, most of the positions in student organization of any political party are dominated and held by boys. Some female student who actively participates in social movements said that whenever we speak and share our opinions about any particular social issues or

ask/demand for something regarding our safety, should not be politically seen. It is everyone's constitutional right to speak for their rights and after all we are an aware citizen of this country.

Education level of the Respondent:

Sl.No.	Education	Respondent	Percentage
01.	Graduation	12	18.46
02.	Post-Graduation	35	53.84
03.	Research Scholar	18	27.69
	Total	65	100

Among the students interviewed by the researcher, 12 are graduates, 35 are post graduates and 14 are research scholars. While the analyzing data, it is reflected that respondent's education level somehow matters. For example most of the research scholar in their response mentioned the political scientist, academicians and their respective icon. Though graduate student's responses were not very in-depth in comparison to research scholar and also they failed to support their opinions and arguments with strong reference like research scholars. It is important to have literary knowledge in order to understand the depth of any social or political issues because every issue somehow is influenced by its historical roots.

In this research, researcher found and learned that the financial condition of the family does not become an obstacle in joining politics or discussing it. There are many students whose families are socially and economically weak but they actively participate in political and social movement. And also many of them have contested in university election to show their ability that a politician should have.

Respondent associated with political youth wing:

Sl.No.	Political Youth wing	Respondent	Percentage
01.	BhartiyaJanta Party/ABVP/RSS.	20	30.76
02.	Samajwadi Party/SamajwadiChatrra Sabha.	20	30.76
03.	Congress/National Student union of India	15	23.07
04.	Issue based politics	10	15.38
	Total	65	100

Respondent from University:

Sl.No.	University	Respondent	Percentage
01.	Banaras Hindu University	35	53.85
02.	Mahatma Gandhi Kashi Vidyapeeth University	30	46.15
	Total	65	100

For the research, a total of 65 students have been interviewed including 35 students of BHU and 30 students of Mahatma Gandhi Kashi Vidyapeeth. In order to achieve the objectives of research, only those youth were interviewed who are associated with political youth wing and social organization. In which there are 20 from ABVP, 20 from SCS, 15 from NSUI and rest of 10 respondent from various social organization who have issue based participation in politics and social movement. All of them are considered as political activist in this research.

Conclusion

India accounted for substantial share of world population. India is expected to have 34.33% share of youth in total population by 2020. It is observed that India has the relative advantage at present over other countries in terms of distribution of youth population. India's advantage in young

population is also evident when it is compared with other Asian countries. India is seen to remain younger longer than China and Indonesia. Indian politics seems to revolve around the issues of caste. It is commonly known that Indian society is caste based society. Caste based clashes among different caste group can be seen easily in Indian society. Caste always considered as important tools in electoral politics. The main reason for caste-based politics is political representation of weaker section of the society. The issue of social justice is important for all these castes. Almost one-sixth of the world's population lives in India – who belong to a variety of ethnicities and religions. While 94% of the world's Hindus live in India, there also are substantial populations of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and adherents of folk religions. For most Indians, faith is important: In a 2015 Pew Research Center survey, eight-in-ten Indians said religion is very important in their lives. The role of religion in politics comes in the form of communal politics or ethnic politics. Most of the Communal riots had happened due to issues of hurting religious sentiment. Most of the riots happened to get electoral incentives by the political parties or politicians.

Reference

Varanasi City Population (2011). Retrieved from

<https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/state/9-uttar-pradesh.html>

ET Bureau (2014). *Lok Sabha polls: Caste to play an important part in Varanasi*. Retrieved from

<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/lok-sabha-polls-2014-caste-to-play-an-important-part-in-varanasi/articleshow/34858816.cms>

Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports. (2014). *National Youth Policy*. Retrieved December 4,

2016, from <http://yas.nic.in/documents/national-youth-policy-2014>

Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India. (2017). *Youth in*

India. Retrieved from http://mospi.nic.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/Youth_in_India-2017.pdf

Population council. (2016), *Understanding the lives of adolescents and young adults in Uttar*

Pradesh, India. Retrieved from <https://www.projectudaya.in/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/UP-Report-pdf.pdf>

Paramasivan, C. (2016). *Demographic Profile of Youth in India*. Retrieved from

[https://www.slideshare.net/paramselp/demographic-profile-of-youth-in-india#:~:text=census%20India%202011,-](https://www.slideshare.net/paramselp/demographic-profile-of-youth-in-india#:~:text=census%20India%202011,-,As%20per%20the%20census%202011%2C%20youth%20population%20in%20India%20amounted,age%20group%20of%2025%2D29)

[,As%20per%20the%20census%202011%2C%20youth%20population%20in%20India%20amounted,age%20group%20of%2025%2D29](https://www.slideshare.net/paramselp/demographic-profile-of-youth-in-india#:~:text=census%20India%202011,-,As%20per%20the%20census%202011%2C%20youth%20population%20in%20India%20amounted,age%20group%20of%2025%2D29)

Social welfare statistics, Ministry of social justice and empowerment, Government of India. (2018)

Retrieved from

<http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/HANDBOOKSocialWelfareStatistice2018.pdf>

f

Chapter 3

Youth Politics, Caste and Religion

"To ignore religion is to ignore a live wire. Religion is an institution or an influence and like all social influences and institutions, it may help or it may harm a society which is in its grip."

-Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Introduction

Focuses on the issues of political polarization around caste and religion. This chapter will include empirical as well as secondary data to make wider understanding of youth's perception of caste and communal politics in current time. Youth think that there is an urgent need to reframe the policies related to marginalize section of the society because politician uses caste sentiment in the name of reservation that mixed the caste politics and reservation politics and the benefit of reservation policies must reach to those people who actually needed it. However, caste in politics is all about the electoral equation that is always done by every political party because the Indian society is based on the caste system that's why the political parties distributed tickets to the candidate according to their caste in context of their constituency's caste equation. While caste-based polarisation has always been done by all political parties, but religion-based polarization is limited to some political parties—only those who raised religious issues in their speeches and manifesto.

The Role of Religion in Indian Politics

Religion and politics have been intertwined ever since the evolution of history of human kind. Ruling or dominant classes have used religion, religious symbols, ideas and institutions to strengthen and hold their control over the political system. The marginalized and oppressed communities have raised the questions and challenged the established political system and dominance. They sought inspiration from the religious teachings and messages to stand against injustice and oppression. The relationship between religion and politics goes deep and therefore, religion and politics cannot be seen in isolation. (Partha, 2001)

India's uniqueness lies in diversity and one such diversity is the practice of multi religions. We cannot imagine Indian society without the presence of religion and despite being a secular country, India seem to be a communal where religion is the main tool in the hand of political parties to mobilize all sections and classes to gain the political advantages and accomplish economic goals. Using religion for political advantages is modern technique and the British during its rule used this in India in the later part of nineteenth century. (Mukherjee, 1991)

With the introduction of principle of electoral representation in public institutions by British, communalism has become an important part of Indian politics as religion and communal identities have been specifically highlighted for electoral purposes. Ironically, the Indian national movement too is the history of Indian society communalization as the uprising of anti-colonial consciousness was closely connected to religious revivalism. Leaders of the nationalist movement like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai etc. used religious events and sentiment such as kali puja, the ganesh puja, the protection society of cows, etc. in order to evoke anti-British sentiment among masses. (Panikkar, 1991)

Mahatma Gandhi, when started to lead the Indian National Movement, sensed and felt the need of unity and harmony among different communities and classes to counter the established and powerful colonial rule of British. Hence, he tried to bring different religious communities specially Hindus and Muslims together. Nevertheless, Mahatma Gandhi never wanted to promote the secular image specifically as the Congress, though he always looked and aspired to bring peace on communal base on the ground of equal regards for all religions. However he never assumed that his utterances, actions and use of vocabulary like "Ram Rajya" and cow protection would be used and understood in totally other way by the elites and people of other religions. (Narang, 2005)

Religion is not accepted in its institutionalized form. Everyone is entitled not only to practice any such religious belief and ideas but can also express his belief and ideas through such clear acts which are approved by his religion. The present circumstances are such that people in the name of religion do not hesitate even for mass destruction, e.g., the incident involving Godhra (Gujarat riots 2002) and the demolition of Babri Masjid. The traumatic experiences of violence at the time of Babri Masjid demolition remain in human minds even today. Sadly, religion has grown into

such an important factor and used as tool in the process of communalization that the real problems like poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, population explosion, corruption and pollution have faded away.

India has history of delicate relation between communities. Over several years secular and religious political movements have been in battle over power and politics, philosophy and mass mobilization in the name of religion in Indian society have continuously challenged secular powers. The Indian constitution acknowledges India as a secular state and grants the various religious groups and minority communities the fundamental rights for their cultural development. The Indian constitution does not discriminate its people on the grounds of their religious practices and views. Every religious group shall be fully protected from discrimination by the State.

If we explore a historical context to the question we find that religion and politics were interacted closely from the civilization of the Indus valley to the advent of Islam, the second from advent of Islam to the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the third between uprising of 1857 and India's independence in 1947 and the fourth, post-independence. Religion and politics have always been connected closely in all these processes and stages however the nature, the intensity and the dynamics of this connection were different and varied during each phases. (Sharma, 1989)

In 1947, India experienced a great violence ever when it clearly got divided on religious ground. When Pakistan was founded, more than one million people were slaughtered. Even after the Independence, the strong connection between religion and politics persisted and has been further strengthened by several recent factors; the first being the emergence of political parties based on religious belief and ideology. In fact, numbers of such parties have increased with time. Such parties only use religion and belief for their specific political gains, and are not secular in political approach. For instance, Hindu Maha Sabha, Ram Rajya Parishad and Jana Sangh (later BJP) all have used the hindu sentiments to polarize and mobilize the Hindus for their political advantages. Similarly, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, which was founded in 1925 by Dr. K.B. Hedgewar has become a major political factor in the Hindi speaking Northern states of India.

While ostensibly confining its activities to cultural spheres, the RSS operates at the political level through its various front organizations such as the Bhartiya Janata Party, Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh and Akhil Bhartiya Vidhyarthi Parishad. In recent years, it has been making use of a much wider front organizations that is the Vishwa Hindu Parishad." Similarly the Indian Union Muslim League, Jamaat-e-Islami, the Majlis-e- Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen have likewise exploited the religious sentiments of the Muslims. These parties have taken on themselves the responsibility of protecting and defending the Muslim community from the alleged tyranny of the Hindu Majority. These parties have often opposed the secular measures by invoking imaginary fears in the minds of Indian Muslims, who have some apprehension of Hindu dominance. (Roy, 1989)

Researcher got most diverse opinion on the questions being asked about the role of religion in electoral politics. Every participant were agree that religious issues must be kept out from electoral party because it is a matter of faith. But unfortunately there are some religious issues which is still being used for polarization of vote. One of the student leader were said that "we must understand religion's basic fundamental principle, our ancestor defined religion with some logical perspective for example what the religion of Water is? Quench thirst. But now we are expecting magical thing from religion and seriously discussing it such as which god is fly in the sky, which one is sitting in the fire etc."

Religious politics affects everyday life and also it's create disharmony and conflict in society. One of the NSUI leader said that "our life also affected by Religious politics, we worried about us and friends from other religions whenever tensed situation arouses because of Mandir-Masjid politics."

In Indian politics, Majority and minority appeasement politics have been play by political parties. But it has not any positive consequences instead created tensed situation for every people who may not part of this politics. One of the ABVP leader said that "Majority and minority appeasement politics is only for getting vote not for the empowerment of any community. You can see that there are many institute has been developed in the name of minority empowerment but does it really help them to empowerment, that is the same for majoritarian, they also do not get benefit of majoritarian politics."

Youth leader also believed that only social justice politics can prevent the communal politics because “Religious politics strengthen to caste based society. If you identified yourself as Hindu then automatically you came under the caste hierarchy, whenever religion based polarization happen, the debate about getting representation of socially backward or constitutional rights or you can say that the politics of social justice becomes the counter of religious polarization.”(Youth leader, SCS)

The Role of Caste in Indian Politics

There are number of research has been done in academia about Caste in Indian politics. Most of the research were tried to understand the phenomena of caste and politics from village level to constituency level, sometime extent it to the national level politics. Only a few go beyond these rather narrow confines to look at the empirical relationship between caste and politics in the larger arenas of the district or the state. Though together they cover fairly well different aspects of this relationship, the fact remains that none of these studies offer, for various reasons, an integrated view of the role of caste within the context of the overall political system. Some studies of Indian politics, notably those of the Rudolphs and Kothari, have now made an attempt to fill this gap. Employing a broader perspective than has generally informed the pioneering efforts of social anthropologists (who are, incidentally, also responsible for a good part of the literature in the field), these studies have translated the locality-bound findings of the earlier works into generalized propositions that link together the micro and macro levels of operation of caste-politics relationships. What is more, they have also managed to relate the caste-politics interaction processes to other processes of social mobilization and political development that characterize Indian society. As a result we now have fairly well integrated theories of the role of caste in politics. (Ahmed, 1970).

Theoretical studies of Caste and Politics

Three specific frameworks are generally used in theoretical studies of caste and politics and not just for caste analysis in a restricted electoral politics sense but these are important in every discussion, and dimension of caste-political relationships. These are:

1. Caste provides a large base for democratic political organization. It is obvious that those participating or engaged in political competitions have to mobilize, express and extend their assistance to political parties and for the purpose they try to connect with different organizations and soldiery groups of large masses. The Indian society where a caste is the basic principal of social organizations and activities, the political organizations connect and consolidate their base with respective caste groups and this way, caste identity becomes instrumental in the process of mobilization for electoral and political support. Therefore, as Kothari says it, “it is not politics that gets caste-ridden, it is caste that gets politicized. (Kothari, 1970)
2. Caste is more widely used for rural region mobilization rather than urban areas. In urban areas, regional and linguistic identities, class or employment interests, or governance policy and performance considerations are often more important factors than caste influences. Even though, ethnic factors still exist in the urban societies, but the new functions and role of the individuals and the impacts of an expanding economic, intellectual and political life there significantly reduce the caste influence. (Rosen, 1967) Even in the rural areas, caste and solidarities are not the only factors which affect the political activities. Other factors like Patron-client relationships, kinship networks, and factional structures impact the rural mobilization and political support. (Kothari, 1970)
3. Caste communities which are distinguished internally from one another on socio-economic aspects and thus affected by social mobilization processes lose the capacity for unifying action in politics, particularly when their principal goals and aspirations are achieved. Education, income, occupation and general lifestyle differences reduce or limit the area of common interests in the caste community, leading its members to other non-caste groups and social patterns. (Kothari, 1970) As the boundary of caste identity is breaking down gradually, political parties can more easily mobilize support directly from members of the caste community by appealing to them on ideological, class and employment grounds, or on political sentiments. (Rudolph, 1967)

According to the research data, every youth agreed that now caste and religion issues in electoral politics is just a propaganda for vote bank politics. And also caste politics is not new to India, it has a long history. One of the participant traces the history of caste politics said “India is caste based society, caste politics were exist from Phule (social reformers) to Shivaji and so on.

Sambharaje, son of Shiva ji was killed by the Manusmriti laws because he was the one who openly challenged Brahmin's hegemony. After that Mahar community started mobilize against Brahminical force and openly attacked on them. Shivaji made a club of 97 caste against Brahminical forces. So, it is clear that the importance of caste in politics has a long history."

At the beginning, when the regional parties were emerged with the agenda of social justice, electoral representation of marginalized have benefited to the marginalized but still we can see that the question of representation of marginalized section in every institution is remain there. As one of the youth leader associated with Samajwadi party said "every political party claimed or promised that they worked or working for the marginalized but as we see that from the emergence of regional parties their main focused is only to become voice of marginalized and working on the agenda of their representation. As Rajni Kothari said that the Caste politics is not the result of regional parties but the politicization of caste happen which is considered as political representation of marginalized." But now such kind of political empowerment is limited to vote bank politics.

One of the NSUI youth leader argued that "yes if laluyadav did not become CM of Bihar then may be the voices of marginalized is remain suppressed and they do not live respectful life that they had not before Laluyadav regime. But he also said that recently I was in chitrakoot, a district of UP, visited cole tribe villages, where I found that still they do not have electricity, clean water, education and also they do not avail any government scheme due to lack of education." So now the question is must asked to those who claim they are Masiha of marginalized, why these people do not get anything after the seven decade of independence. That's why we must think that there is an urgent need to side the vote bank politics and do some work for those who left marginalized. He also argued about the inclusiveness of marginalization must be extended from social to economical across the caste line, said "Marginalization can be on the both basis social as well as economical, in politics you must have economically empowered otherwise you will be also considered as marginalized."

Somehow, the role of caste politics is prevalent in University too. When researcher tries to know about the caste politics in university, the common answer came from respondent is that in

university caste politics is often played by the faculty member. Here your recruitment and PhD admission are decided by your caste lobby. So, its impact on youth is to involve them into caste politics before entering into the campus.

In BHU, there were many protest organized by SC, ST, and OBC group against the unfair process in recruitment and admission.

“Caste politics is same everywhere, in university, if there is a fee hike issue may be whole student will be united to stand against it but if there is some issue that may be related to reservation category than the mobilization will not be the same as happen in fee hike” (ABVP, research scholar)

Is Indian politics has failed to achieve the constitutional objective? Are we still doing politics around caste and religion to win the election? Youth are seems to be disappointed with the current political system, even they are supporting their respective political party but felt hopeless because they think that after seven decade of independence we are not reached where we are supposed to be, we are still debating around caste and communal issues.

There should be a legal accountability of those promises that are in the manifesto of political parties. Politics is out of common people because of expensive election campaign, one of the NUSI member said that “Paswan family can contest election but I am not due to lack of financial support, so I can consider myself marginalized in politics even I came from upper caste Brahmin family. That’s why I would prefer to say that there is an urgent need to reframe the policies for the marginalized section. It must include the every aspect of marginalization.”

The result of reservation policy is not satisfactory because OBC, SC, ST and women are still facing lack of representation in every constitutional institution. Many student movement happen across the Indian university against the discriminatory act on the basis of Caste, Religion and Gender. One of the research scholar who is Brahmin by caste and associated with NSUI said “In this government, you will be recruited if you are from upper caste and appreciate RSS Ideology. These government is against to all those people who have disagreement with their ideology.”

One of the senior youth leader associated with Samajwadi party said with quoted Rajni Kothari that the emergence of regional parties started politicizing caste for their social, economic and

political empowerment. Similar to this NSUI youth leader also quoted Rajni Kothari about the caste politics in terms of their empowerment.

But still marginalized people have to assert for their rights which means that they are still far away from constitutional guarantee. SC, ST and OBC member are still demanding for their constitutional rights and adequate representation in government and non-government institution. Every political party promise to deliver social justice agenda if they voted to power but still promise is undelivered that lead disappointment among marginalized.

One of the research scholar who is doing issue based politics and fight for social justice agenda, said “as our body has many part, we are try to equally take care of each body part to stay healthy, if any of our body part is unhealthy that affect our whole body. Similarly, if any community of our society kept away from their rights will lead unequal society and create conflict among society.” Youth think that there is an urgent need to focus on these deficiency in politics which overcome the disappointment among people. And also we must have think about the remaining question of representation of marginalized, so we can create just an equal society that’s what our constitution guaranteed to the people of India.

Conclusion

We can conclude that the current political system doesn't give importance to youth's opinion because the caste and religion centric politics benefited to the political party at large. According to youth, the current policy for the marginalized section of the society should be reframed and try to reach out to those people who still doesn't get proper meal, education and electricity after seven decades of the Independence. When the current policies doesn't deliver the expected outcome then we must have to think about it and do something that is needed. But in the name of caste and religion politics seems politician only worried about their winning equation not about its impact on the social and communal harmony.

According to youth, that reservation policy has failed in the matter of giving adequate representation to SC, ST and OBC because they are still facing the representation problems in various government institutions like University, Secretariat etc. Researcher did not find any youth whose attitude is against reservation policy but they seem worried about how less impactful it is. Youth thinks that politician must differentiate between caste politics and reservation politics and try to focus on the result of policies which had been made after a long struggle.

Every youth is agreed that the politics around caste can be benefited to some caste but religion based politics only create communal tension which breaks the communal harmony and sometimes it becomes very harmful to the society in terms of riots, demolition of religious places, hate speeches and communal remarks on particular religious community.

Youth said that unfortunately Caste and Religion used by every single political party in electoral politics. In the public domain this also exists that people also part of such politics, people voted on their caste and communal identity. So we can say that it is happening from both sides politicians as well as voters.

References:

- Ahmed, B. (1970). *Caste and Electoral politics*. Asian Survey, Vol. 10, No. 11, Elections and Party Politics in India: A Symposium. pp. 979-992
- Basu, P.P. (2001) "*Religious Cleavage, Politics and Communalism in India*" in Rakhahari Chatterjee (ed), *Politics India: The State-Society Interface*, New Delhi, South Asian Publishers, p. 259.
- Kothari, R. (1970). *Politics in India*, Orient Longmanrs, New Delhi and Little Brown & Co., Boston. pp. 235-238
- Mukherjee, A. (1991) Colonialism and Communalism in Sarvepalli Gopal (ed.). *Anatomy of a Confrontation, The Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi Issue*, New Delhi, Viking, p. 165.
- Narang, A.S. (2005). *Indian Government and Politics*, New Delhi, Gitanjali Publishing House, p. 529.
- Panikkar, K.N. (1991) (ed.), *Communalism in India History Politics and Culture*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, p. 7.
- Roy, A. (1989) "*RSS and Its Cultural Ideological Roots*" in Moin Shakir(ed.) *Religion State and Politics*, New Delhi, Ajanta Publications, pp. 57.
- Rosen, G. (1967). *Democracy and Economic Change in India*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles. pp. 38-42
- Rudolph Lloyd I. and Susanne Rudolph Hoehner, (1967). *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London. pp. 26-81.
- Sharma, T.R. (1989) *Religion and Politics in Modern India: A Historical Overview* in Moin Shakir (ed.), *Religion State and Politics in India*, New Delhi, Ajanta Publications, p. 41.

Chapter 4

Youth Politics and Ideology

Introduction

This chapter tries to explain the importance of political participation, awareness and ideology from the lens of youth who are engaged with their respective political party. Political awareness and participation are interconnected at some degree such as without awareness you may not be able to decide that which political party support your concerned issues. As we study the relationship between political awareness and political participation, Robert Putnam undoubtedly remains valid. Political consciousness, or understanding of current activities and issues, primarily helps to dictate the citizens' attitude towards political system whether they engage effectively or not in politics. (Putnam, 2001)

Citizen of a democratic system needs to have at least an understanding and basic comprehension of the political system in which they communicate interests and elect their representatives, since information and knowledge is a precondition for effective political engagement. If people are reluctant and refuse to understand what goes on around them, it also contributes to non-involving citizenship. The strength of any democratic system lies in truly aware and informed citizens.

While developing structured interview schedule, two separate section of questions with the theme of “youth and politics” and “youth and ideology” have been made to understand that why youth participate in politics? And what is youth’s understanding about ideology that followed by them? Apart from these questions, participants were asked about the inclusive politics, issues of marginalized section and ideological differences. The interpretation of empirical data discussed in detail with the help of theory throughout the chapter.

Why Political participation is highly recommended by Youth?

This chapter also explores the meaning of being political activist from the perspective of university youth and the issues that attracts youth most in politics. The youth are more aware about political events so they emphasized that awareness about ongoing political debate is must for every citizen of the country because electoral politics is all about promises and policies for the betterment of the people. The least participation in politics can make our politicians unaccountable, so participation

is must to keep politicians responsible and keep debate around the policies. While analyzing data from field, beyond the political line youth seems very much concerned about the unaware citizen and their inactive participation in politics.

Youth think that most of the people are unaware about the politics that affects their everyday life. The least participation in the active politics and the low level of awareness about the policies, may be against or in favour of people. Through his work, Robert Dahl (1979) highlighted how politically aware citizens are seen as a core and central component of the political ideology and an integral aspect of democracy. He argued that the informed people are those individuals who grasp and are aware of the political and social developments surrounding them. Political consciousness or intelligence is thus regarded as a practical and necessary part of a stable democracy. (Dahl, 1979)

The people's participation at policy level is always considered as remarkable because policies sometime become law that give power to the common people such as Right to Information Act. And sometime the policy become social security that is the nature of welfare state, In India, Right to food Act has 10 year struggle history to become act from filed PIL about the rotten grains in the government's godown from people's movement. One thing is same in the both movement RTI and RTF is that the both movement were started by the civil society organization.

Currier's (2006) work on the 2004 election: "The theory of social movement tends to view elections as black holes that drain energy and resources away from non-institutionalized politics or works as catalysts which boosts the social movements with an increased degree of participation and advocacy."

Nevertheless, most scholars coincide and accept the facts put forward by McAdam and Tarrow (2010), who say in their claims that the relationship between social movements and elections was hardly carried out systematically, which may help us foresee how social movements influence elections and vice versa.

Any issues or questions every popular social movement or struggles raise become political and national discourse as people often are part of these movements in large numbers, and their presence draw politicians to help their concerns. Social movements and electoral politics have affected one another to a certain degree.

For example, the hazardous situation of farmers is getting worse day by day. They have no organized movement or representation in Government or politics. One of the scholar associated to Social justice Politics said that even in social justice agenda farmers are excluded. In Lok-sabha election campaign, he met a group of farmers who said that youth are not fighting for farmer's right then how they expect us to support their social justice agenda?

Above examples show the lack of inclusive agenda and solidarity support to the marginalized. One senior leader of ABVP said that "in India, there is no political party who have common agenda about the inclusive politics and the social justice." Another scholar said that "somehow everything is influenced by politics, it affects individual's life too. If we do not participate in politics it may have adverse effect. When my student life started getting influenced by politics then I decided to involve in politics."

Researcher did not found any respondent whose attitude was against student politics. All of them equivocally said that everyone must participate in politics to influence policies that make your life better and create harmonious environment in society.

In their work, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba postulate, as not only political interest and political participation are related but also they implicate each other (Almond and Verba 1963). Political participation forms the part of micro level study and research of political behavior that influence the macro political behavior (Milbrath 1965).

According to every participant, participation in politics doesn't mean that you become leader someday or contesting election, it is about to be an aware citizen who understands his responsibility and is vocal about injustice. Society needs more aware citizen than political leader. Milbrath assessed political participation on the basis of political involvement in an active-passive spectrum and classified population into three categories: "apathetic," "spectators," and "gladiators". We may also assume that the field of political engagement is studied in many aspects rather than in specific terms. This includes participation by voting, involvement in other than electoral events, and non-election participation in political marches and demonstrations.

Youth's involvement in politics

Youth described politics in different way, across party line youth's view on politics is almost similar. Here, Researcher quoted some of participant's view on youth that will help to understand what politics is about? And why they are involved in politics?

“Politics determines the directions and conditions of country, we should have some contribution because Politics is the soul of country, and soul must be healthy for the development of country. Now a days, the fake news issues is being widely spread that mislead our country and detached the citizen from real issues. I think that there should be strict rule to check the content and the authenticity of news, otherwise it will mislead and ruin our country.”(Research scholar, NSUI)

“Everyone said that we are in politics for serving the Nation, but my political objective is to develop my backward area from where I belong, and also poverty problems always hurt me the most, as such people don't get proper education due to lack of financial support. Somehow I managed to take care of 13 children's education who belong to SC. I am glad that one of them had contested Panchayat election because he was able to get the proper education that made him aware about their political rights.” (Research Scholar, ABVP)

“I involved in politics because I think constitutional objectives can only be met by politics. It is the best way to establish relationship between political representative and the voters. Student always have been part of political movement, there are many student leaders who hold the top position in electoral politics. Anti-capitalism and quest for the social change issues attracted me towards youth politics however social change cannot happen only by changing political regime, we must include economical change because only few have resources but majority of the citizen lack access to even basic necessities.” (Research Scholar, SCS)

The general argument of youth disengagement of politics is dismissed by Cliff Zukunft and his colleagues. Rather, they say that young people are more committed to American politics today (Zukin et al. 2006). On the other hand, a 2007 World Development Report (World Bank 2006) shows that young people in high income countries and various middle-income countries may become less concerned with politics and less influenced by traditional institution while interest in

politics and political affairs among youths is certainly on the rise in low-income countries like India, China and Nigeria. In the report, they found that the percentage of young people who believe politics matters is around half the percentage of the older age groups in most of the middle and high-income countries but in the countries such as China, India, Nigeria, Vietnam and Zimbabwe youths are as interested in politics and political affairs as old age group while In Indonesia and the Islamic Republic of Iran, interests in politics is the highest amongst the youths and it declines as we go up the ladder in the age groups gradually. (Bank, 2007)

In India, there has been a steady rise in voter turnout over the years. India saw a significant participatory rise in the 1990s among the socially deprived sections by caste, income, class, gender and communities. This turnout was labeled as the second democratic upsurge, but the voting amid youths remained fairly constant. If in recent times others factors taken into consideration, such as movement and demonstrations launched by Anna Hazare in 2011 against corruption in the political and bureaucratic system existing in India, it depict and state whole other story. Anna Hazare's persistent appeal for youth to support him in his fight against corruption and the media focus on the participation of this age group demonstrate the importance of youth in the country's political domain. (Kinjal Sampat, 2014)

Ideological Perspective of Youth

This study tries to analyze the ideological perspective of youth. All the respondent said that humanitarian ground must be foundation of any ideology, must be no place for violence act. Though youth are also believed that there are some ideology who is threat to our country for Nationalist, Maoist ideology is dangerous for our country and for Socialist, Bahujan and Centralist, the RSS ideology (Nationalist) is dangerous for our country.

And also every participant has similar views on believing in ideological differences. But some of them who follow nationalist ideology, also concerned that there should not be any conspiracy against country in the name of ideological differences.

“In every society people have different views and this is our cultural identity, we believe in “we” not in “I”. Indian intellect has acquired knowledge from the other world and imparted it too. One

thing must be clear that in the name of ideological differences, there should be no difference or conspiracy against nation” (ABVP, research Scholar)

One of the senior youth leader and ABVP position holder said that in India no one has clear understanding of ideology.

“One of the research scholar explain why we must have different ideological views, and said, “In a garden different color of flowers look so beautiful rather than the garden which has only one color of flower. So, in a socially diverse country like India we must have respect for others feelings and ideologies which makes our country more colorful.” (Research Scholar, SCS)

“Ideology is the basic foundation of any political party, without following ideology may be you will become the most untrusted human in the world. Because it decides your attitude towards things. We do not discriminate someone because of ideological differences. Instead of creating conflict, we sit with different ideological person to exchange our thoughts because we belief that problem could be solved by the talking not by considering someone enemy because of ideological differences”. (Research Scholar, Social activist)

All the participant believed that every political party have ideological base but there is a major differences between political ideology and the Ideology such as the political ideology can be changed for getting power like post poll alliance in different political party with different ideology. It has happened many times in the political history because as one of the research scholar said that “here no one cares about ideology because they do not have the real understanding of ideology. Everything can happen in politics for the power so the question about ideology doesn’t mean much in Indian politics.”

Youth think that every ideology must have some basic similarity such as belief in equality, prosperity and diversity. Most of the youth seemed to find difficulties in giving proper response to what is ideology? Mostly those youth gave proper response who are in higher education or actively participate in cadre camp where ideology is discussed by the organization of political parties. For example, the youth wing of the Samajwadi Party and Congress are very less aware of their respective political ideology because their party does not organize cadre camp to give proper training to their worker. While the BJP’s youth actively participate in cadre camp, so their response

was very quick during the interview. But one major issue is common to every youth of the political parties that they are only used to spread the propaganda and engage in a political campaign. This prevents youth to explore or having healthy dialogue to the common people apart from propaganda and election campaign.

Conclusion:

The aim of this chapter was to find out the importance of political participation, awareness and ideology from the lens of youth who are engaged with their respective political party. Based on the study conducted by the researcher, it can be easily concluded the youth are engaged either actively or passively in politics and are associated with political parties. All the participant equivocally said every citizen should be aware of political affairs and policies as they feel that electoral politics is all about policies and promises which will have impact on everybody's life.

If we look at those protest which were led by Youth from different universities, most of the protest were happened against the government policies. Every government have to face youth's protest in their regime even in pre independence India militant and politically sound youth had attacked several times on British government. However, youth always have been always politically aware in every time period but unfortunately in Indian politics youth's manifestation of opinion is still ignored and also the politicization of youth and considered youth as a political category are emerging phenomena.

When asked about the ideology and their views on this, only few of them were able to define their understanding of ideology and their respective parties' ideology. Those participant who couldn't explain about ideology and their party's ideology, feel the need of better youth cadre camp structure and regular organization of cadre camp like AVBP and RSS which have structured youth cadre and organize regular camp and are very clear on their ideologies. However, everyone admitted that the youth cadre of every party is used as a tool to lead forward the party's propaganda and political campaign.

Most of the youth seems that their thoughts are not given much value by their respective political party. That is major disappointing factor for the youth because they do not become merely propaganda spreader they want that their opinion and their issues should be discussed separately in the politics. But, now days we can clearly see that how political leader used youth in many different ways such as target their opponents, appeal to participate in their political rallies, to spread their propaganda at grass root level and so on.

References

- Bank, W. (2007). *World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next*. Washington : The world Bank and Oxford University Press.
- Cliff, Z. S. M. (2006), *A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life, and the Changing American Citizen*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dahl, R. A. (1979). *Procedural Democracy* . In J. S. Fishkin, & P. Laslett, *Philosophy, Politics, and Society* (pp. 97-33). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Gabriel Almond, S.V. (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kinjal Sampat, J. M. (2014). *Interest in Politics and Political Participation*. In S. Kumar, *Indian Youth and Electoral politics: An Emerging Engagement* (pp. 20-21). New Delhi: Sage Publication India Pvt Ltd.
- McAdam D, Tarrow S. 2010. *Ballots and barricades: on the reciprocal relationship between elections and social movements*. *Perspect. Polit.* 8:529—42
- Milbarth, L.W. (1965). *Political Participation: How and why do people get involved in politics?* Chicago: Ranc McNally.
- Putnam, R. (2001). *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of american community*.(p. 35). New York: Simon and Schuster.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

Introduction:

The youth are the most important and dynamic segment of the population in any country. Our nation is witnessing a historic demographic shift. Youth shows strong passion, motivation and will power which also make them the most valuable human resource for fostering economic, cultural and political development of a nation. A country's ability and potential for growth is determined by the size of its youth population. Youth are the creative digital innovators in their communities and participate as active citizens, eager to positively contribute to sustainable development. This section of the population needs to be harnessed, motivated, skilled and streamlined properly to bring rapid progress for a country. Youth can promote social economic development and sustainable growth in India; they offer a roadmap for programs and priorities that aim to address the need of the society. The vision document that guides youth policy in India is the National Youth Policy (NYP 2014), which defines youth as those in the age group of 15-29 years, comprising as per the Census of India 2011, about 330 million, close to 27.5 % of the population. One among the eleven priority areas in the NYP 2014 is that of 'participation in politics and governance', which mostly talks about facilitating participation and civic engagement at all levels of governance and it is reflected through the responses of the respondent.

The objective of the research is well achieved from responses of the students. The responses truly reflect the issues and ideas we need to address and to consider in new emerging political representation and policies.

The first objective of the research is "To understand the involvement of youth in politics". The youth are more aware about political events, so they emphasized that awareness about ongoing political debate is must for every citizen of the country because electoral politics is all about promises and policies for the betterment of the people. The least participation in politics can make our politicians unaccountable, so participation is must to keep politicians responsible and keep debate around the policies. While analyzing data from field, beyond the political line youth seems very much concerned about the unaware citizen and their inactive participation in politics.

Youth are engaged either actively or passively in politics and are associated with political parties. All the participant equivocally said every citizen should be aware of political affairs and policies as they feel that electoral politics is all about policies and promises which will have impact on everybody's life. Youth think that most of the people are unaware about the politics that affects their everyday life. The least participation in the active politics and the low level of awareness about the policies, may be against or in favour of people.

If we look at those protest which were led by Youth from different universities, most of the protest were happened against the government policies. Every government have to face youth's protest in their regime even in pre independence India militant and politically sound youth had attacked several times on British government. However, youth always have been always politically aware in every time period but unfortunately in Indian politics youth's manifestation of opinion is still ignored and also the politicization of youth and considered youth as a political category are emerging phenomena.

“How caste and religion are given importance in youth Politics” is the second objective of this research. On the basis of the responses, the finding of this objective is that There is an urgent need to reframe the policies related to marginalize section of the society because politician uses caste sentiment in the name of reservation that mixed the caste politics and reservation politics and the benefit of reservation policies must reach to those people who actually needed it. However, caste in politics is all about the electoral equation that is always done by every political party because the Indian society is based on the caste system that's why the political parties distributed tickets to the candidate according to their caste in context of their constituency's caste equation. While caste-based polarisation has always been done by all political parties, but religion-based polarization is limited to some political parties—only those who raised religious issues in their speeches and manifesto.

Every youth is agreed that the politics around caste can be benefited to some caste but religion based politics only create communal tension which breaks the communal harmony and sometimes

it become very harmful to the society in terms of riots, demolition of religious places, hate speeches and communal remarks on particular religious community.

The third Objective of the research is “To understand the ideology of youth and their political orientation”. Youth think that every ideology must have some basic similarity such as belief in equality, prosperity and diversity. Most of the youth seemed to find difficulties in giving proper response to what is ideology? Mostly those youth gave proper response who are in higher education or actively participate in cadre camp where ideology is discussed by the organization of political parties.

Humanitarian ground must be foundation of any ideology, must be no place for violence act. Though youth are also believed that there are some ideology who is threat to our country for Nationalist, Maoist ideology is dangerous for our country and for Socialist, Bahujan and Centralist, the RSS ideology (Nationalist) is dangerous for our country.

And also every participant has similar views on believing in ideological differences. But some of them who follow nationalist ideology, also concerned that there should not be any conspiracy against country in the name of ideological differences.

Recommendations

In order to understand the youth's perspective about caste and religion based politics, researcher tried to recommend some important point that came from data which is useful to the government officials, Non-government organizations, Academicians and to those who are working on and consider youth as social or political category in social science.

1. Political system of India must encourage for the participation in electoral politics and aware people about real issues.
2. Youth should not be used by political parties as a propaganda spreader, instead of it, manifestation of youth's opinion must be part of policy making or in decision making process.
3. Caste politics and reservation politics should be discussed separately. Both are different.
4. Diversity should be respected and have open space for it. Only diversity can strengthen democracy not uniformity.

Bibliography:

Aiyar, S. P., *Politicization of Indian Students*, Frontiers in Education, Vol. 2. No. 2, 1971, p. 13

Altbach, P. G., *India and the World University Crisis*, in Altbach, P. G., (ed.), *The Student Revolution*, Lalvani, Bombay, 1970, p. 21.

Altbach, P. G., *Student Politics: Historical Perspective and the Changing Scene*, op. cit., 1966 pp. 160-162

Ahmed, B. (1970). *Caste and Electoral politics*. Asian Survey, Vol. 10, No. 11, Elections and Party Politics in India: A Symposium. pp. 979-992

Brass, P. R. (2010). *The Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*. Oxon: Routledge
Jaffrelot, C. (2000). *The Rise of Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt*. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, (pp. 86-108).

Brown B. B. *The World's Youth*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002, p. 124.

Bank, W. (2007). *World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next*. Washington : The world Bank and Oxford University Press.

Basu, P.P. (2001) *Religious Cleavage, Politics and Communalism in India* in Rakhahari Chatterjee (ed), *Politics India: The State-Society Interface*, New Delhi, South Asian Publishers, p. 259.

Chandrasekhar, C.P., Ghosh, J., Roy Chowdhury, A. (2006). *The 'Demographic Dividend' and Young India's Economic Future*, Economic and Political Weekly, 41 (49), 5055-5064.

Cliff, Z. S. M. (2006), *A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life, and the Changing American Citizen*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cormack, Margaret L., *See Who Rides a Peacock: Indian Students and Social Change*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and mixed Methods Approaches*. (4thEds.). London, USA: Sage publication

ET Bureau (2014). *Lok Sabha polls: Caste to play an important part in Varanasi*. Retrieved from <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/lok-sabha-polls-2014-caste-to-play-an-important-part-in-varanasi/articleshow/34858816.cms>

Dahl, R. A. (1979). *Procedural Democracy*. In J. S. Fishkin, & P. Laslett, *Philosophy, Politics, and Society* (pp. 97-33). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Fischer, Joseph,, *The University Student in South and South East Asia*, Minerva , Vol. II, No. 1, Autumn, 1973, p. 44

Gabriel Almond, S.V. (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hasan Zoya, *Parties and Party Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 8.

Hazarika, B. (2015). *Voting Behaviour in India and Its Determinants*. IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS), 22-25.

Hazary, S. C. (1988). *Protest Politics in India*. The India Journal of Political Science, pp. (106-110).

Jaffrelot, C. (2016). *Caste and Political Parties in India: Do Indians vote their Caste- While casting their vote?* In A. Kohli and P. Singh. (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics* (pp. 152). New York, Routledge.

James, K. S. (2008). *Glorifying Malthus: Current Debate on 'Demographic Dividend' in India*. Economic and Political Weekly, 43 (25), 63-69.

Jain, G. P. (1948). *Indian Youth after Independence*. Pi Lamba Theta Journal, (pp. 218-220).

Kabir, Humayun, *Student Unrest: Causes and Cure*, Orient Book Co., Calcutta, 1958.

Kinjal Sampat, J. M. (2014). *Interest in Politics and Political Participation*. In S. Kumar, *Indian Youth and Electoral politics: An Emerging Engagement* (pp. 20-21). New Delhi: Sage Publication India Pvt Ltd.

Kothari, R. (1970). *Politics in India*, Orient Longmans, New Delhi and Little Brown & Co., Boston. pp. 235-238

McAdam D, Tarrow S. 2010. *Ballots and barricades: on the reciprocal relationship between elections and social movements*. *Perspect. Polit.* 8:529—42

Mehara A. K., *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Sage Publications, 2001 p. p. 23.)

Milbarth, L.W. (1965). *Political Participation: How and why do people get involved in politics?* Chicago: Ranc McNally.

Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports. (2014). National Youth Policy. Retrieved December 4, 2016, from <http://yas.nic.in/documents/national-youth-policy-2014>

Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India. (2017). *Youth in India*. Retrieved from http://mospi.nic.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/Youth_in_India-2017.pdf

Moinuddin, S. (2017). *Mediascape and The State: A Geographical Interpretation of Image Politics in Uttar Pradesh, India*. Switzerland : Springer International Publishing AG.

Mukherjee, A. (1991) Colonialism and Communalism in Sarvepalli Gopal (ed.). *Anatomy of a Confrontation, The Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi Issue*, New Delhi, Viking, p. 165.

Narang, A.S. (2005). *Indian Government and Politics*, New Delhi, Gitanjali Publishing House, p. 529.

Pai, S. (1996). *Transformation of the Indian Party System: The 1996 Lok Sabha Elections*. *Asian Survey*, pp. (1170-1183).

Panikkar, K.N. (1991) (ed.), *Communalism in India History Politics and Culture*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, p. 7.

Putnam, R. (2001). *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of american community*.(p. 35). New York: Simon and Schuster.

Population council. (2016), *Understanding the lives of adolescents and young adults in Uttar Pradesh, India*. Retrieved from <https://www.projectudaya.in/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/UP-Report-pdf.pdf>

Paramasivan, C. (2016). *Demographic Profile of Youth in India*. Retrieved from <https://www.slideshare.net/paramselp/demographic-profile-of-youth-in-india#:~:text=census%20India%202011,-,As%20per%20the%20census%202011%2C%20youth%20population%20in%20India%20amounted,age%20group%20of%2025%2D29>

Roy, A. (1989) *RSS and Its Cultural Ideological Roots* in Moin Shakir(ed.) Religion State and Politics, New Delhi, Ajanta Publications, pp. 57.

Rosen, G. (1967). *Democracy and Economic Change in India*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles. pp. 38-42

Rudolph Lloyd I. and Susanne Rudolph Hoehner, (1967). *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London. pp. 26-81.

Rudolph, L. I., Rudolph, S. H. & Ahmed, K., *Student Politics and National Politics in India*, Economic and Political Weekly, Special Number, July 1971.

Sharma, T.R. (1989) *Religion and Politics in Modern India: A Historical Overview* in Moin Shakir (ed.), Religion State and Politics in India, New Delhi, Ajanta Publications, p. 41.

Sharma P. *Working of Parliamentary Democracy in India*, Modern Publishers and Distributors, 1986, p. 01.

Sunil Kumar, *Communalism and Secularism in Indian Politics-Study of BJP*, Rawat Publication, Delhi, 2001. p.47.

Varanasi City Population (2011). Retrieved from <https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/state/9-uttar-pradesh.html>

Varshney, A. (2002). *Ethnic conflict and Civic life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. London: Yale University Press.

Verma, A. k. (2014). *Uttar Pradesh- Communal Polarisation vs Caste Calculus*. Economic and Political Weekly.

Weber, M. (1974) *The Theory of Social and Economical Organisation*, Oxford University Press, New York, p.373.

Weiner, Myron, *The Politics of Scarcity*, Asia, Bombay, 1963, p. 191.

Wilkinson, S. I. (2004). *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Appendix- A: Interview Schedule

Open ended question:

Respondent Detail-

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Gender:
4. Caste:
5. Religion:
6. Education:
7. Home Town:
8. University:
9. Father occupation/Income
10. Mother occupation/Income
11. Political affiliation:
12. Associated to any social organization:

Youth and Politics:

1. Are you interested in politics? Yes/No क्या आप राजनीति में रूचि रखते हैं? हाँ/नहीं
2. Have you ever participated in any political activities? If yes, please explain about the event. क्या आपने कभी किसी राजनीतिक कार्यक्रम में भाग लिया है? यदि हाँ, तो कृपया उस कार्यक्रम के बारे में विस्तार से बताएं.
3. Why do you participate in that activities and event? आप इस तरह के कार्यक्रमों या गतिविधियों में क्यों शामिल होते हैं?
4. Could you tell me, why do you involve in politics? आप राजनीति में क्यों शामिल हुए? क्या आप मुझे इसके बारे में कुछ बता सकते हैं?
5. What is politics? Could you explain it? राजनीति क्या है? कृपया इसके बारे में विस्तार से बताएं?

6. Do you agree that students must be active in politics? If yes, why? If no, why not? क्या आप इस बात से सहमत हैं कि छात्रों को राजनीति में सक्रिय होना चाहिए? यदि हाँ, तो क्यों? यदि नहीं, तो क्यों नहीं?
7. According to you, what are those political issues that attracts you to be part of political discourse/activities? आपके अनुसार वो कौन से राजनीतिक मुद्दे हैं जो आपको राजनीतिक बहस में शामिल होने के लिए आकर्षित करते हैं?
8. Why political discourse or activity are important for you? राजनीतिक बहस या राजनीतिक गतिविधियाँ आपके लिए महत्वपूर्ण क्यों है?
9. What do you think about inclusive politics? समावेशी राजनीति के बारे में आप क्या सोचते हैं?
10. Who are excluded and need to be included in our political process? हमारे राजनीतिक प्रक्रिया में कौन लोग शामिल नहीं हैं, जिन्हें शामिल किये जाने की जरूरत है?
11. Do you consider them marginalized in Indian politics? क्या आप भारतीय राजनीति में उन्हें वंचित समझते हैं?
12. What are the reason for their marginalization? उनके हाशिये पर होने के क्या कारण हैं?
13. What about those people who doesn't agreed with your political view? Is the political views divide people between "we and they"? If yes, please explain it how? उनके बारे में आप क्या कहना चाहेंगे जो आपके राजनीतिक नजरिये से सहमत नहीं हैं? क्या राजनीतिक नजरिया लोगो को "हम और वे" में पृथक करता है? यदि हाँ, तो कृपया इसे विस्तार से बताएं.
14. What do you think about the politics of marginalized people? Do you think that the issues of marginalized people must be raised in politics for their Upliftment? वंचित तबके के लोगो की राजनीति के बारे में आप क्या सोचते हैं? क्या आपको लगता है की समाज में वंचित लोगो के उत्थान के लिए उनके मुद्दे को राजनीति में उठाया जाना चाहिए?
15. Is there any such political party who represent the politics of marginalized people? If yes, please explain about the political party and their political agenda for the same. क्या यहाँ ऐसा कोई राजनीतिक दल है जो वंचित तबके के लोगो की राजनीति का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है? यदि हाँ, तो कृपया उस राजनीतिक दल और हाशिये के लोगो के सन्दर्भ में उसके राजनीतिक मुद्दों के बारे में बताएं.

Caste and Politics:

1. Does caste play an important role in politics? If yes, please explain it why and how? क्या राजनीति में जाति का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान है? यदि हाँ, तो कृपया विस्तार से समझाएं कि क्यों और कैसे?
2. Is your social life ever have been affected by caste politics? If yes, please explain it how? क्या जाति की राजनीति के वजह से आपका सामाजिक जीवन कभी प्रभावित हुआ है? यदि हाँ, तो कृपया विस्तार से समझाएं कि कैसे?
3. Have you ever faced caste discrimination? If yes, explain about that situation. क्या आपके साथ जातीय आधार पर कभी भेदभाव हुआ है? यदि हाँ, तो कृपया उस घटना के बारे में विस्तार से बताएं.
4. How do you differentiate between caste politics and reservation politics? आप जाति की राजनीति और आरक्षण की राजनीति में कैसे भेद करते हैं?
5. According to you, what are the reasons behind caste to become the central agenda of political party? आपके अनुसार, वो कौन से कारण हैं जिसके वजह से जाति का मुद्दा राजनीतिक दलों का मुख्य मुद्दा हो गया है?
6. Do you consider caste as a central agenda in politics? If yes, how? If no, what is the central issues in politics? क्या आप जाति को राजनीति का मुख्य मुद्दा मानते हैं? यदि हाँ, कैसे? यदि ना, तो राजनीति का मुख्य मुद्दा क्या है?
7. Is there any political party who used caste as tools to win the election? If yes, please explain about it. क्या कोई ऐसा राजनीतिक दल है जो चुनाव जीतने के लिए जाति का प्रयोग करता है? यदि हाँ, तो कृपया उसके बारे में विस्तार से बताएं.
8. What about the role of caste in university politics? How student understand it? विश्वविद्यालय की राजनीति में जाति की क्या भूमिका है? छात्र इसको किस तरह से समझते हैं?

Religion and Politics:

1. Do you consider religion is important in politics? If yes, how? If no, what is important issue in politics? क्या आप धर्म को राजनीति का महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा मानते हैं? यदि हाँ, कैसे? यदि नहीं, तो राजनीति महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा क्या है?

2. What is your view about the religious issues that is being used into electoral politics?
What are those religious issues that is being used in electoral politics? चुनावी राजनीति में किये जा रहे धार्मिक मुद्दों के बारे में आपकी क्या राय है? वो कौन से धार्मिक मुद्दे हैं जिसका इस्तेमाल चुनावी राजनीति में हो रहा है?
3. Is your social life ever have been affected by religious politics? If yes, please explain about the same. क्या आपका सामाजिक जीवन कभी भी धर्म की राजनीति के वजह से प्रभावित हुआ है? यदि हाँ, तो कृपया इसके बारे में विस्तार से बताएं.
4. Have your ever faced discrimination on the basis of religion? क्या आपने कभी धर्म के आधार पर भेदभाव का सामना किया है? यदि हाँ, तो कृपया उस घटना के बारे में विस्तार से बताएं.
5. Do you agree that caste and religion based discrimination happen in student politics? क्या आप सहमत हैं कि छात्र राजनीति में जाति व धर्म के आधार पर भेदभाव होता है?
6. What are the differences between majoritarian and minority appeasement politics? Could you explain about it? बहुसंख्यक और अल्पसंख्यक की तुष्टिकरण की राजनीति में क्या अंतर है? क्या आप इसके बारे में विस्तार से बता सकते हैं?
7. Is it good for Indian democracy to used religious issues in the electoral politics? If yes, how? If no, why? Please explain about it. क्या भारतीय लोकतंत्र के लिए चुनावी राजनीति में धार्मिक मुद्दों का प्रयोग किया जाना अच्छा है? यदि हाँ तो कैसे? यदि नहीं, तो क्यों नहीं? कृपया इसके बारे में विस्तार से बताएं.
8. Is there any political party who used religious issue to polarize people? And why they do it? क्या कोई ऐसा राजनीतिक दल है जो धार्मिक मुद्दों का प्रयोग ध्रुवीकरण के लिए करता है? और क्यों करता है?
9. Now days, why religious issue becoming the central agenda of politics? आज के समय में क्यों धार्मिक मुद्दे राजनीति का मुख्य मुद्दा बनता जा रहा है?

Ideology and Youth.

1. What is ideology according to you? आपके अनुसार विचारधारा क्या है?
2. Do you consider ideology is important in politics? क्या आप राजनीति में विचारधारा को महत्त्व देते हैं?
3. How do you understand the political ideology? आप राजनीतिक विचारधारा को कैसे समझते हैं?
4. Do you consider yourself as ideological person? क्या आप खुद को वैचारिक व्यक्ति मानते हैं?
5. Which ideology do you belong to? Why? आप किस विचारधारा को मानते हैं? और क्यों?

6. Have you join any ideological camp of such political parties? क्या आप कभी किसी राजनीतिक दल के वैचारिक कैंप से जुड़े थे?
7. Is there any such ideology which is threatening to our country? If yes, How? If no, what threaten the secular fabric of our country? क्या यहाँ कोई ऐसी विचारधारा है जो हमारे देश के लिए खतरा है? यदि हाँ, तो कैसे? यदि नहीं, तो तो ऐसा क्या है जो हमारे देश की धर्मनिरपेक्षता के लिए खतरा है?
8. What do you think that Indian society has been more divided on the caste and religion politics or on ideological differences? आप क्या सोचते हैं कि भारतीय समाज सबसे ज्यादा जाति और धर्म की राजनीति पर बंटा है या विचारधाराओं के अलगाव पर बंटा हुआ है?
9. Do you believe in ideological differences? Yes/No. if yes, what kind of differences? क्या आप वैचारिक अलगाव में विश्वास करते हैं? हाँ/नहीं. यदि हाँ, तो किस तरह के अलगाव में विश्वास करते हैं?
10. Does your friend circle have ideological diversity? क्या आपकी दोस्ती अलग अलग विचारधारा मानने वाले लोगो से है?
11. What do you think about them who doesn't follow the same ideology that you have? आप उनके बारे में क्या सोचते हैं जो आपकी विचारधारा का अनुसरण नहीं करते हैं?
12. Do you think ideology govern politics? If Yes, How? If no, what govern the politics? क्या आप सोचते हैं कि राजनीति को विचारधारा प्रभावित करती है? यदि हाँ, तो कैसे? यदि नहीं, तो राजनीति को क्या प्रभावित करता है?
13. How does your ideology react to Caste and Religious issues in politics? आपकी विचारधारा राजनीति में जाति व धार्मिक मुद्दों पर किस तरह प्रतिक्रिया देती है?
14. Do you consider political and ideological view are one and similar? If yes, how? क्या आप राजनीतिक नजरिया और वैचारिक नजरिये को एक समान मानते हैं? यदि हाँ, तो कैसे?
15. How do you differentiate between political views and ideological views? आप राजनीतिक नजरिये और वैचारिक नजरिये में भेद कैसे करते हैं?