
A Qualitative Study on the Attitudes of the Students in Higher Educational Institutions in West Bengal towards “Politics on Education & Education for Politics”

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ABSTRACT

Politics and education are two critical pillars of society that influence and shape each other in profound ways. Education is the foundation of a well-informed and capable citizenry, while politics is the mechanism through which societal structures and decisions, including those related to education, are governed. The relationship between politics and education is both complex and dynamic, as political ideologies, policies, and decisions often dictate the nature, content, and accessibility of educational opportunities. In turn, education plays a crucial role in shaping political attitudes and ensuring the participation of citizens in democratic processes. Political attitudes of its citizens are of crucial importance for a democratic country like India. In this study students' attitudes towards 'Politics on Education' & 'Education for Politics' can be determined by investigating the responses made from the students through a self-made open ended questionnaire validated by experts. The study is rooted in understanding the complex relationship between youth, education, and political awareness. Student's attitudes toward these issues can influence not only the quality of their own education but also future political and educational reforms. The study would ultimately aim to explore the depth of political awareness among students, their engagement with educational policies, and their readiness to influence political discourse, thereby contributing to a more politically literate and



active citizenry. There is a lack of understanding about the attitude of college and university students in west Bengal towards ‘politics on education’ and ‘education for politics’. This study aims to explore the attitudes of students of higher educational institutions in west Bengal towards ‘politics on education’ and ‘education for politics’, to identify the gaps in the current education systems and to provide insights for improving political awareness and civic engagement among students. This study explores the relationship between politics and education, focusing on how young adults perceive the role of politics in shaping their educational experiences. By examining the attitude of students in west Bengal, the region with a unique political landscape, this research provides valuable insights about how education promotes political awareness, critical thinking and social cohesion. The findings of the study will inform educational policies and initiatives, enabling policymakers and educators to develop targeted strategies that foster informed citizenship, civic engagement and democratic participation among adults. Ultimately this research has the potential to contribute meaningfully to the development of a more informed, engaged and active citizenry which is essential for the validity of democratic societies.

1. INTRODUCTION :

Politics has always played a significant role in education, for better or worse. Education and politics are known as two separate entities. Politics means the political groups that make up the social order, and education also consists of formal and non-formal education. Politics is involved with education at every level, from the way in which a school runs, a curriculum is taught, teacher training is done, and up to the ministry of education. There is a two-way relationship between politics and education. The influences of politics on education are: (a) the financial support and access to education; (b) the content and procedures of education; and (c) the scale of socio-political activism permitted to students and staff. Similarly, the influences of education on politics are: (a) political affiliation and citizenship training; (b) legitimization of political leaders; (c) sorting and selecting youths; and (d) political critics. The relationship between politics and education is multifaceted and complex, as politics can significantly influence education policies, funding, and practices, and education can, in turn, shape political ideologies and civic



engagement. The decisions made by politicians can have significant and positive effects on the quality of education that students receive. But both of them try to overpower each other. When politics overpowers education, there are some negative impacts of politics on education.

Political interference in education can have negative impacts on the quality of education. Education has now become the most important need in the field of politics. Seeing the present conditions of Indian politicians, they should be educated as a priority, as some of them don't even know much about Indian history, politics, and geography. As John F. Kennedy said, "Let us think of education as the means of developing our greatest abilities, because in each of us there is a public hope and dream that, when fulfilled, can be translated into benefits for everyone and greater strength for the nation."

Therefore, education in politics is much needed to build up ethical values in a political person. Education as an institution is a part of Althusser's ISA (ideological state apparatus), and politics has influenced and shaped the educational policies of the countries. Although both education and politics are two different institutions, there is a symbiotic relationship between these two. In some cases, politics and education have both added value to each other, and in most cases, politics has used education to promote an ideology and institutionalize a particular belief system. The ruling class has politicized education to produce a population that follows its social, cultural, and religious ideology.

Therefore, the present study focuses on the mixed results about the impact of politics on education while education is needed for politics and also tries to know how politics is involved at every level of education as well as what the students of higher education think about both the negative and positive impact of politics on education and the need of education for politics. This also covers research on how one can understand the relationship between politics and education, which is essential for recognizing the impact of political decisions on educational systems and the potential of education to shape political attitudes and behaviours.

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE :

2.1 STUDIES CONDUCTED IN INDIA:

Rani, J.J. (2001) conducted a study on "POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN (1989-1999) IN GUNTUR DISTRICT". This study was aimed at presenting the existential realities of women's political status of Guntur district. The study is based on the data collected from primary and secondary sources. Findings of the study showed that educated women discussed more political matters. Even with regard to participating in activities to affect political



decisions of local, state and national nature it is the more educated who are more likely to participate. Educated women voted more in elections who are in occupation are more interested than who are not in occupation.

Janaki, K. (2004) conducted a study on “A STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES OF WOMEN STUDENTS TOWARDS POLITICAL ASPECTS”. The present research study was aimed at measuring the levels of political attitudes, political participation and political apathy of postgraduate women students of colleges of Andhra University. The role, status and position of women in society and politics from Manu to modern India has been thus briefly examined and discussed in this study.

Sasikala, V. (2017) conducted a study on “INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL AWARENESS AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS POLITICS IN THE EXERCISE OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITIES OF HISTORY STUDENTS”. This study investigated the psychological factors such as attitude and awareness towards politics and sociological factors of how far civic responsibility is being exercised by the history students, through a survey method. The findings showed that females stay behind men in awareness and attitude towards politics.

Yanthan, M. (2019) conducted a research on “Political attitudes & political participation of students in higher educational institutions in Nagaland”. In the context of changes taking place in Nagaland, this study examined how the students in Nagaland are exposed to cross-currents of tradition and modernity, and how their perceptions are influenced by constitutional politics. The study also probed how the Naga students have viewed traditional political institutions and customary laws, and examined whether the spread of higher education has brought any changes in their political attitudes, orientations, and participation.

Somwangshi, S. (2019) conducted a research work on “Political Participation of University Students: A Study of Dalit Students Politics in the University Campuses of Maharashtra”. The primary purpose of this study was to understand and explain the spirit of student politics by relating it to the socio-economic and political conditions of the students and examining their political participation in the university campuses.

2.2 STUDIES CONDUCTED IN ABROAD:

Hepburn, M.A., Napier, J.D. (1983) studied the Patterns of student attitudes toward political institutions and participation. The purpose of this study was to replicate earlier research into the development of student political attitudes by examining the patterns of attitudes which emerged at the third, eighth, and



twelfth grades, including comparisons by gender and race. Overall results indicated that political attitudes are shaped by cognitive capacity interacting with social-political environmental factors.

Lean, A. (1996) measured the Attitudes of youth towards politics and politicians through surveys conducted between September and November 1994. The aim of this paper was to discover whether Australian youth as a group was apathetic and negative towards politics and politicians. The focus of study was on a range of young Australians including secondary school students, university students and fulltime employees.

Weakliem, D.L. (2002) conducted a study on "The effects of educations on political opinions: An international study". This study focused on investigating the effects of education on political opinions. The study was done by using data from the 1990 World Values Survey, which included 40 Nations and covered a wide range of opinions. The results suggested that education deserves more attention in explanations of National differences and historical trends in opinion.

Dassonneville, R., Quintelier, E., Hooghe, M. and Claes, E. (2012) conducted a study on "The Relation Between Civic Education and Political Attitudes and Behaviours: A two-year Panel Study among Belgian Late Adolescents ". This study aimed at exploring the relationship of formal civic education, open classroom climate and active learning strategies with political interest, efficacy, trust and participation. The researchers found out that formal civic education (classroom interaction) and active learning strategies were positively related to political attitudes and behaviours.

Alimba, C.N. et al (2017) conducted a study on Politics of Education: Implications for Conflict Initiation and Mitigation in Education. This study showed that the symbolic relationship existing between politics and education mutually reinforce each other for the growth of the system and society. In this study, the issue of politics of education was critically reviewed, bringing to bear its antecedents on education in terms of the political behaviours often exhibited by the ruling class in respect of education.

Torney-Purta, J.V. (2017) wrote a book entitled "The development of political attitudes in children". This book was based on a study of 12,000 elementary school children in eight large and medium-sized American cities, presenting the first large-scale study of political attitude formation in children.

Fryer, T. (2023) wrote an article against the question, "Do the political attitudes of students change during their time in higher education? In this article, the author characterizes the experience of higher education (HE) as many contemporary political divisions, including those related to Brexit, Trump, and coronavirus policy. However, the academic literature was unclear whether HE played a causal role in



changing people's political attitudes or was simply a proxy. Furthermore, in many contexts, there was limited descriptive evidence on whether students' political attitudes changed during HE. The findings were interpreted through a critical realist lens—evidencing that HE could have a causal role to play in creating contemporary political divisions.

2.3 SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEW:

While conducting this study, the researcher reviewed many literature from Indian and abroad, though there was no such study that directly related to the topic of the study. Some studies and articles which were indirectly related to the topic and these have a great effect to introduce the research study. Both the research studies conducted in India as well as in abroad used several methods such as mixed methods approach, large survey methods, comparative study, percentage analysis, cross-sectional & longitudinal analysis etc. and data was collected through using semi-structured or structured questionnaire, multistage purposive sampling, available literature and developing Political Awareness Test, Attitude towards Politics Scale and Exercise of Civic Responsibilities Scale etc.

An overview of the reviewed research studies and articles introduced the gaps that exist in research on the selected variables of the study. The reviews also direct us the way to go forward for further research.

2.4 GAP FOUND FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW:

A research gap is an unexplored or under-explored areas or topic revealed during review of literature that has scope for research or further exploration. The gaps identified and directions gained here:

As per the population, many of the Indian studies related to the variables have been done especially in Nagaland, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra & Tamil Nadu but West Bengal is found to be untouched by the researchers.

Among the studies reviewed in abroad it was noticed that the population of the studies covered : Elementary school children, Secondary school students, late adolescents and youths as well as University students and the area of studies covered : Patterns of students attitude towards political institutions & participation, attitude of youths towards politics and politicians, effects of studies on political opinions, relation between civic education and political attitudes & behaviour, the implication of politics of education, issues of politics of education, development of political attitudes in children, change of political attitudes of students during their higher education etc. On the other hand, in India most of the studies conducted especially on political status of women students and Dalit students, civic



responsibilities of history students of several universities in several states. Comparison of attitude & participation and also political awareness between male and female was studied in some cases. From the review it is revealed that majority of the investigation have studied related to political perceptions, political awareness, political participation and attitude towards politics on the civic responsible behaviour of students. But the Attitudes towards 'Politics on Education' and Attitudes towards 'Education for Politics' may be untouched by the researchers. This study will help us to understand the significant relationship between education and politics. Thus, the need for further discussion in this direction is revealed.

Thus, the review of studies will make us understand to select variables, methodology as well as how to conduct the appropriate study to reach the objectives.

3. EMERGENCE OF THE PROBLEM:

The British colonial government established an education system to create a class of educated Indians who would help them in administration. From that period to the post-independence period, the education system evolved a lot. After independence in 1947, the Indian government focused on education as a means of nation-building. From that period, education improvised a lot in its way of progressing to the welfare of the nation as well as society. Political institutions empowered Indian education and education also enhanced Indian politics in return. But, political parties in India as well as in each state influenced educational policies, decision making processes. We have a lot of evidence that political parties politicized education. While politics try to overpower education there exists negative impacts of politics on education.

In the current political scenario in West Bengal , frequent changes in university administrations based on the ruling party's preferences, deprivation of efficient & qualified candidates in the recruitment process in education sector as well as in the admission process in universities due to the effect of political influences, bureaucratic

delays in the recruitment process leading to unemployment regarding the ruling party's stagnant attitudes, content in school textbooks sometimes altered to reflect the political ideology of the ruling party, Student politics leading to campus unrest, Tensions between central and state governments over educational policies and funding are happening due to the politicization of education. Education has played a crucial role in raising political awareness, with educated individuals more likely to engage in political processes. Historically, student movements in West Bengal have been at the forefront of political change, with



education institutions serving as hubs for political activism. Education can build up the future of the students as well as society by shaping political behaviour and attitudes of individuals. It is now so much needed to understand the relationship between politics and education and to know how the students of higher educational institutions in West Bengal think about political questions, what perceptions they have about the current political scenario. By understanding the attitudes of the students of Higher Educational Institutions in West Bengal we will make a clear framework in what direction our state will go in the upcoming years.

So, there is an urgent need to design a study on the “Attitudes towards Politics on Education and Education for Politics of the Higher Educational Institutions in West Bengal.”

4. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

Despite the crucial role of education in shaping political awareness and civic engagement, there is a lack of understanding about the attitude of college and university students in west Bengal towards ‘politics on education’ and ‘education for politics’. The current education system in west Bengal may not be adequately preparing students for informed citizenship, and political influences on education may be impacting the quality of education. This study aims to explore the attitudes of students of higher educational institutions in west Bengal towards ‘politics on education’ and ‘education for politics’, to identify in the gaps in the current education systems and to provide insights for improving political awareness and civic engagement among students.

The present study will be conducted under the title: **A Qualitative Study on Attitudes of Students in Higher Educational Institutions in West Bengal towards ‘Politics on Education’ & ‘Education for Politics’.**

5. RATIONALE OF THE STUDY :

The rationale for studying the Attitude of the students in higher educational institutions in WB towards “politics on education and education for politics” is rooted in understanding the complex relationship between youth, education, and political awareness. Higher education serves as a key stage for the formation of political views and civic engagement. Students, as future leaders and decision-makers, are deeply impacted by educational policies and the broader political context in which their education occurs. Their attitudes toward these issues can influence not only the quality of their own education but also future political and educational reforms.



Key points for the rationale include:

- **Understanding Political Socialization:** University students are often exposed to diverse ideologies and experiences that shape their political beliefs. By studying their attitudes, we can better understand how higher education serves as a space for political socialization.

- **Impact of Politics on Education:** Educational policies, funding, curriculum design, and access to education are all influenced by political decisions. Investigating students' perspectives can shed light on how political involvement or disillusionment affect their views on these critical issues.

- **Education for Politics:**

Higher education is not only about gaining academic knowledge but also about preparing students to become informed citizens. Understanding students' attitudes toward politics helps assess how well institutions are fostering critical thinking, civic engagement, and a sense of responsibility toward political participation.

- **Shaping Future Policies:**

Students' attitudes toward politics on education and education for politics can provide valuable insights for policymakers to create more inclusive and relevant educational systems. This research can inform the development of curricula that encourage political engagement and awareness among young people.

- **5. Global and Local Implications:**

In an era of increasing political polarization and global challenges, understanding how students perceive the role of politics in education is crucial for fostering dialogue and collaboration. Their attitudes reflect not only their national context but also broader global issues, making this study relevant in both local and international perspectives. The study would ultimately aim to explore the depth of political awareness among students, their engagement with educational policies, and their readiness to influence political discourse, thereby contributing to a more politically literate and active citizenry.

6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY:

- I. What are the attitudes of the students in higher educational institutions towards 'Politics in Education'?
- II. What are the attitudes of the students in higher educational institutions towards 'Education for Politics'?



7. METHODOLOGY:

7.1. Research Design:

The present study was a qualitative study based on an open-ended interview with students of higher educational institutions and analysed using thematic analysis. The researcher made an open-ended questionnaire with 5 items for collecting qualitative data and provided it to the selected samples to perform a structured open-ended interview through online using google form to determine their attitudes towards “Politics on Education and Education for Politics”.

7.2. Participants :

The participants for this study were 13 students from an Education University in Kolkata, West Bengal. Participants in this study were purposively sampled to achieve the diverse aims of the study. Among the participants, 53.84% were male and 46.14% were female. And 84.61% were PG students and 15.38% were UG students.

7.3 Interview Procedure :

Online interviews through google form were conducted (13 participants) to understand deeper perspectives about the role of politics in education and vice versa. This interview was focused to collect data related to transcript of discussions, themes about political influences, student experiences and suggestions for reforms and changes. By combining these items, a comprehensive picture of students’ attitudes towards the intersection of politics and education can be treated.

8. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION :

While analysing the data collected from the research samples, the researcher has followed the Transcendental Realism Approach. This approach was postulated by Miles and Huberman in the year 1994 in text “Qualitative Data Analysis”. This approach is a way of qualitative analysis which includes three necessary steps such as – a) data reduction, b) data display, and c) drawing and verifying conclusions.

It involves analyzing the non-numerical data, such as interview transcripts to identify patterns and themes. Qualitative analysis is followed through ‘Manual Analysis’ and ‘Content Analysis’. Content analysis has been done through www.freewordcloudgenerator.com where collected data are analyzed and interpreted through explanation of all the answers and viewpoints of the samples. Each interview



policies and the roles of different stakeholders are essential in shaping the system. The words "Influences" and "Allocation" suggest a focus on how resources, power, or decisions are distributed within this system and what forces or actors have the ability to shape it. "Funding" and "Priorities" imply that financial resources and their allocation play a critical role in how the system operates and are likely central concerns in the debate or text analysed.

This figure highlights a discussion focused on how larger systems (likely educational or governance-related) are shaped by policies, funding, and roles. The prominence of words like "System" and "Policy" suggests that the primary concern is with the overarching structure and rules that guide decision-making within this system. There seems to be a strong focus on resource allocation and how various influences affect these decisions.

QUESTION 3: Has politics ruined India’s education system? - give your opinion on this in brief.

Analysis: This question of our study aims to find the knowledge and awareness about politics and its impact on education. The facts received from the data reflects that almost everyone gives importance to this question. Regarding this need all the respondents opined their views whether politics ruined India’s education system or not. In this study analysis have been shown by Content analysis through www.freewordcloudgenerator.com that are exposed below:

Figure: Facts about politics have ruined India's education system or not.





Interpretation:

This above figure emphasizes the ideas of "Informed," "Right," and "Citizens," which likely suggests a focus on the role of informed citizenship within a democratic or political system. The term "Participate" also stands out, indicating that the study might explore the importance of active engagement and participation by citizens in governance or social processes. Words like "Think," "Critical," "Aware," "Engage," and "Enabling" imply a focus on fostering critical thinking and awareness among citizens. This may relate to discussions on how an informed populace is vital for the functioning of a democratic society, where citizens are aware of their rights and responsibilities. Others notable words include "System," "Indian," "Democratic," and "Promotes," which likely reflect the context being specific to Indian democratic governance. There is also a focus on empowering citizens to actively shape or influence the system they are part of, as suggested by words like "Fosters," "Shaped," & "Leaders." In summary, the word cloud points to an analysis of how informed and critical citizens are crucial for a functioning democratic system, particularly in India. It highlights themes of citizen participation, awareness, and the importance of an enabling environment that fosters critical engagement in political and social matters.

QUESTION 5: Why has education become the most important need in the field of Politics?

Analysis: The first question of our study aims to find the knowledge and awareness about politics and its impact on education. The facts received from the data reflects that almost everyone gives importance to this question. In this study analysis has been shown by Content analysis through www.freewordcloudgenerator.com that are exposed below:

Figure: Facts about the most important need of education in the field of politics.



**Interpretation:**

Two words “Citizens” and “Informed” are the most dominant, suggesting a strong emphasis on the idea that informed citizens are critical to the success of any democratic or social system. The focus is likely on the importance of educating or empowering citizens with knowledge, enabling them to actively participate in governance and decision-making processes. Importance of knowledge and being informed connects to the idea that citizens must understand the issues affecting their country and take active roles in societal development. These two words “Leaders” and “Country” indicates a focus on leadership and how informed citizens contribute to building a strong country. There might be an underlying theme of promoting responsible, well-educated leaders who are chosen by informed citizens. Words like “Promote”, “Understand”, and “Critical” suggest an emphasis on fostering awareness of key societal or political issues. The text seems to advocate for the promotion of values such as participation, understanding, and the need for citizens to think critically about their country's political and social landscape. Words like “Empowerment” and “Growth” could point to discussions around how informed citizens and effective leadership promotes overall societal development, with citizens playing a crucial role in shaping the future of their country.

Overall, this figure could be reflecting a text that advocates for civic education, the promotion of responsible leadership, and active participation in governance through informed decision-making which are the most important need of education in the field of Politics.

9. MAJOR FINDINGS:

➤ On the basis of interview, maximum respondents opine their view on politics as it is the art of influencing people and more narrowly to take control over the governance. Some of them say that politics is more precious as the process of decision-making. Most of them take politics as it significantly affects the education system such as what is taught in school, colleges and universities and who gets access to higher educational institutions.

➤ According to most of the respondents, the role of politics in education is multifaceted. As per their views, Politics influences educational policies, funding, curricula and overall progress and quality of education.

➤ As per the opinion of most of the respondents, education empowers individuals, fostering critical thinking, informed decision-making citizens.



According to some of them, the present Indian Politicians should be educated as a priority to have enough knowledge about Indian history, Geography, economics, politics, science and technology too.

➤ According to most of them, politics played a significant role in shaping India's education system. Though some aspects are detrimental, the future of the Indian education system will largely depend on the addressing attitude of upcoming challenges in the field of politics.

10. SUMMARY & DISCUSSIONS :

The study reveals that respondents perceive a deep, inseparable link between politics and the Indian education system. Politics is viewed not just as a mechanism of governance, but as a primary force that dictates educational funding, curricula, and institutional access. While education is celebrated as a tool for individual empowerment and critical thinking, there is a strong consensus that the quality of the system is often compromised by political agendas. A notable finding is the call for mandatory educational qualifications for Indian politicians to ensure they possess the foundational knowledge—ranging from history to technology—necessary to lead a modernizing nation.

The findings highlight a tension between the **idealistic role of education** and the **pragmatic reality of political influence**.

- **Politics as a Curricular Architect:**

The respondents' view that politics shapes "what is taught" aligns with the global concept of the "hidden curriculum." In India, changes in government often lead to the rewriting of history or social science textbooks. This suggests that education is frequently used as a tool for nation-building or ideological alignment rather than purely objective learning.

- **The Paradox of Empowerment:**

There is a clear paradox in the data: education is intended to create "**informed citizens**," yet political interference is described as "**detrimental**." This suggests a need for greater academic autonomy to shield classrooms from shifting political winds.

- **The "Educated Politician" Debate :**

The demand for educated leaders reflects a growing public desire for **technocratic competence**. In a complex global economy, respondents feel that "lived experience" is no longer enough; leaders need formal literacy in history, geography, politics, law, economics and science to make informed policy



decisions. However, this raises a democratic dilemma: would educational mandates for politicians unintentionally exclude marginalized groups who have historically been denied access to schooling?

- **Future Outlook: Policy vs. Practice:**

The study concludes that the future depends on "addressing upcoming challenges." This implies that while policies like the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 aim for reform, their success is entirely dependent on **political will**. Without a shift in political attitude—from viewing education as a patronage tool to viewing it as a national investment—the "multifaceted" influence of politics may remain a barrier to quality.

11. CONCLUSION :

Political socialization refers to the process through which individuals develop their political attitudes, values, and beliefs. Education is a crucial agent of political socialization, especially in shaping young adults' perspectives on politics and governance. This framework suggests that the educational system not only prepares students academically but also politically, influencing their understanding of civic duties and democratic participation. From the present study, it has been found that the attitude of students towards "Politics on Education" and "Education for Politics" is a major issue towards shaping the political attitude of individuals, improving the education system and making informed and critical citizens.

The study concludes that the future of Indian education is not merely a matter of pedagogy, but of **political attitude**. The upcoming challenges—such as digital inequity and global competitiveness—require a shift from "control-based" politics to "enabling" politics. Without addressing these underlying political dynamics, even the most robust educational policies may fail to produce the "informed decision-making citizens" the respondents envision. That is why we should adopt following recommendations:

Higher education institutions should provide grants, scholarships, or research opportunities for students interested in studying the intersection of politics and education. This can help generate more knowledge on how political ideologies and policies impact education. Universities should take an active role in advocating for educational policies that benefit both students and society. They should support policies that reduce the cost of education, improve its quality, and make it accessible to all. Institutions should create safe spaces for students from all backgrounds to engage in political discussions. Promoting diversity in perspectives will help students develop a well-rounded understanding of political matters. Encourage transparency in how university policies are made, particularly those that affect students



directly, such as tuition fees, resource allocation, and curriculum design. When students see how policies affect their education, they are more likely to become politically active. Engage students in university governance by including them in decision-making bodies such as boards of trustees or curriculum committees. This will allow students to have a voice in the policies and practices of their institutions, fostering political engagement and responsibility.

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