

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

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Here some aspects of patterns of human aggression in groups of Gujarati and non-Gujarati individuals and determinants of human aggression in Gujarati culture will be discussed. For convenience this chapter is divided into two parts :

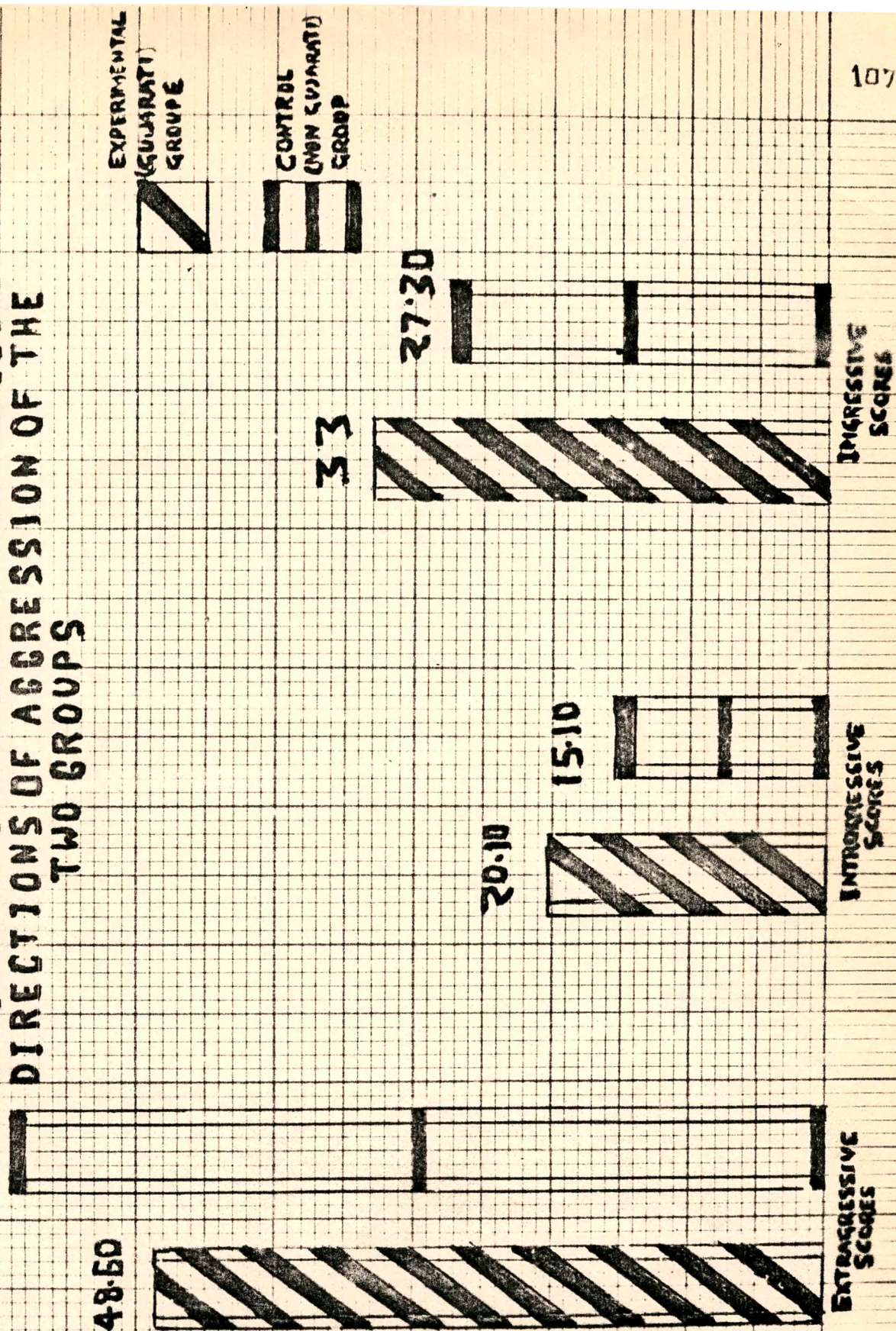
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|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| i) Patterns of human aggression | : | Under this heading three directions of aggression and three types of aggression will be discussed by testing hypotheses from one to sixth |
| ii) Determinants of human aggression | : | Under this heading various factors responsible for frustration aggression in Gujarati culture will be discussed. |

i) Patterns of Human Aggression :

i) Hypothesis I (Extraggessive)

Gujarati people have significantly better control over externalisation of their aggressiveness compared with non-Gujarati people.

59 BARS SHOWING THE MEAN PERCENTAGE OF SCORES ON P-F STUDY VARIABLES OF DIRECTIONS OF AGGRESSION OF THE TWO GROUPS



It was found that in the direction of aggression on extraggression there was significant difference between Gujarati and non-Gujarati groups of subjects (Table 13). The mean percentage of extraggression response was significantly less (48.60), in Gujarati than in non-Gujarati subjects (59.00). This was in confirmation with the first hypothesis that Gujarati people have significantly better control over externalisation or overt exhibition of their aggressiveness compared with non-Gujarati people. This is further supported by the results of table 14 and 15 where Gujarati group of individuals compared with non-Gujarati group had significantly more mean percentages of introgressive and imgressive responses which are opposite to extraggressive responses. Findings are further supported by results of Table 20, 22 and 24 which reveal 'defensive' mechanisms of non-aggressiveness in Gujarati people. 'Extraggressive' responses attribute frustration to external world and frequently appear related to mechanism of projection. It is more "primitive" type of aggression and does not imply reality testing to the same extent as does introgressive responses. Gujarati people have significantly better control over externalisation of their aggressiveness and consequently are more mature and near to the realities of life.

It is also born out by day to day observation that common men in Gujarat are usually law binding and prefer to work according to rule. They usually reach in time to their place of work. People remain in queue, may be for ration, milk, bus, rail ticket, theater or even at the bank's counter. Rarely they travel without ticket in the city transport and very less bargain is there even at the vegetables shop. City bus conductors usually do not take more than the prescribed number of passengers at any cost. Life in general is more safe and least number of crimes are committed in Ahmedabad.

If it is so, one wonders about the sudden eruption of violence during 1974 in this State which became difficult to control. How one can explain the events? Here such supporting conceptions as displacement, substitution and repression explain the events. According to frustration aggression theory when inhibitions exceed instigation, expression of an aggressive response is blocked. Frequently some substitute aggressive response is performed through such mechanisms as displacement or response substitution. However, when inhibitions external or internal are at extreme, such alternative response may also be blocked. This blocking engender additional frustration and instigation. If such "residual" instigation to aggression is not discharged in some fashion it may remain active for

extended period of time and be augmented by additional frustration. It will release suddenly after a tolerance limit and on slightest provocation. It is this mechanism which is responsible for the paradoxical outbursts of violence observed in usually quite inoffensive individuals. ^{and Mendelsohn} (Megargee 1962; Blackburn 1968 a, 1968 b, 1969; Molof 1967).

There are persons as well as cultures which, under certain circumstances, may lash out and release all their aggression in one, often disastrous way, and afterwards revert to usual normal pattern. Maha Gujarat movement of 1966, communal riot in Gujarat of 1969 and this agitation of 1974 can be understood in this context. However, it is more of a menance ? than type who release aggression in small doses ^{and Mendelsohn} (Megargee 1962). Observations make us believe that phenomenon like contagion of violence (where a person, under ordinary circumstances keeps his aggressive behavior well suppressed, experience a release from these inhibitions in the violent mob situation) played an important role in the acute eruption and escalation of this agitation.

One can derive that in this culture inhibitions, external and internal, are much stronger

against externalisation of aggressive tendencies.

The fact that Gujarat is the only state in the country which is strictly following the prohibition policy and has not started state lottery which is another form of gambling, supports this thinking. The findings that suicidal rate is very high in Gujarat (The Times of India, December 15, 1973) and that crime (other than suicide) rate is lowest in Ahmedabad out of eight Indian cities (The Times of India, September 4, 1974) also support this derivation.

Hypothesis 2 (Intraggression):

Gujarati people significantly turn their aggression inwardly compared with non-Gujarati people.

Gujarati and non-Gujarati groups of individual were found to differ significantly on Introgressive responses under the direction of aggression. The mean percentage of introgressive responses was significantly more (20.10) in Gujarat subjects than in non-Gujarati subjects (15.10) (Table 14). This was in confirmation with the second hypothesis that Gujarati people significantly turn their aggression inwardly compared with non-Gujarati people.

There are clinical as well as experimental evidences that the direction of aggression is not always 'outward' but that it may be directed 'inward' or against the person himself also and are thought to be related to the mechanism of displacement and isolation. Here, feelings of guilt and self blame imply an evaluation of the self against external cultural standards, which, in turn, imply object relationships are better maintained and individual's are in touch with reality testing.

Table 10 also deals with the interesting class of aggressive behavior which is known as "self punitive" response. On the one hand psychoanalytic theory of aggression holds that unexpressed hostility is "turned inward" in the form of depression and masochism (Freud, 1959 a). In contrast to this, learning theory suggests that at least one mechanism by which "self aggression" is acquired is that it was proven to be an effective means of reducing or avoiding even more intense aversiveness from other (Skinner, 1953). Whatever theoretical explanation one accepts, this 'self punitive' behavior prevails to a great extent in Gujarat. The fact that suicidal rate is high in Gujarat. (The Times of India, December 15, 1973)

supports this statement. Further, it is the common observation that in Gujarat residential houses are named after the death of some near and dear one like father, mother, wife, daughter or son. One may see frequently bungalow's name like 'Matra Smruti', 'Pitra Smruti' '.... Smruti' which means in the memory of mother or father or some one. Here other types of naming the houses are 'Jogi Krupa', 'Shiv Krupa', 'Matra Krupa' '.... Krupa' which convey the meaning that persons are residing in that house due to the obligation of some God or mother or some one. Residential localities are named like 'Raj Ghat', 'Vijay Ghat', 'Shantivan' which are names of well known cremation grounds (Samadhi's) of our beloved national leaders. This sort of naming is in contrast to many other cultures where residential houses are named after some living individual who reside in it. Examples are 'Rashtrapati Bhavan', 'Narayan Nivas' etc. which means residence of some living one. (It is a different matter that public places are named after the death of some great person, but none of the individual reside there constantly). It is a part of many culture to pay a visit once in a while on some occasion or anniversaries to a memorial and pay respect but how much self punitive it can be to live in a 'memorial' or in a 'cremation ground' for one's total life span or to live under the feelings of obligation constantly.

'Jainism' as a religion and as a way of life has great influence in this region. Historically, it is deep rooted in this culture. Self punitive behavioural patterns are not only practiced but valued and worshiped in Jainism. One wonders if this culture has internalised these self punitive behavioral patterns from Jainism. Not only this but history also reveals that 'Non-Violent' (rather self punitive) modes of tension reduction became ultimately more effective and satisfying this region. Mahatma Gandhi fought India's freedom movement on the basis of 'Non-Violence'. At one time there was a practice prevailing in Saurashtra; Charan-Bhat known as 'Barots' in Saurashtra from centuries, were expressing public opinion through their folk songs, In a way they were people's undeputed ambassadors to the kings. In extreme circumstances, to represent people's wishes they used to chunk out (Khandave) their head before the king.

It is not surprising if Gandhiji had adopted a self punitive behavior pattern because he was brought up in this culture. In the present agitation also it was anxiety over Mr. Morarji Desai's fast which was said to be instrumental in the dissolution of State Assembly and consequently for the end of the struggle. A movement heading towards such type of action (hunger strike, indefinite fast, self immolation) is a more serious

indication of public upheaval. Because they are usually adopted as a last resort and if the condition of the leader on fast deteriorates, aggression in public mounts up rapidly. If unfortunately, it further leads to any casualty, outburst of public anger in the form of violence is unavoidable. In this region and culture this must be considered again as a danger signal.

Hypothesis 3 : (Imaggression):

Gujarati people will significantly evade their aggression in an attempt to gloss over the frustration compared with non-Gujarati people.

Gujarati and non-Gujarati groups of subjects were significantly different on imaggressive responses under the direction of aggression (Table 15). The mean percentage of imaggressive response was significantly more (33.0) in Gujarati subjects than in non-Gujarati subjects (27.30). This was in confirmation with the third hypothesis that Gujarati people will significantly evade their aggression in an attempt to gloss over the frustration compared with non-Gujarati people. This is further confirmed by findings of Table 25 where two groups of subjects differ significantly. The mean percentage of M-A + 1 responses was significantly more (33.60) in Gujarati subjects than in non-Gujarati subjects (29.30) M.A. and 1 responses involve absolution from blame by

either excusing one self or excusing some-one else. Imaggression responses minimise the frustration as the aggression is evaded in an attempt to gloss over the frustration by employing the mechanism of repression.

Table 7.1 and 7.2 also reveal protest behavior with a tinge of humour which is an attempt to minimise the frustration and to gloss over it. In a democratic set up this type of communication has a meaning. When people are bitter put 'below the threshold of violence' they adopt this sort of communication to convey their discontent. In parliamentary discussions and debates such 'verbal castigations' and 'Jokes' are not uncommon. It is not mere humour but has a meaning behind it and one may take up this as a first signal leading to bigger events. 'Blind procession' is a satire on blind politician whereas the 'broom procession' symbolises the strength of women folk in the state.

In Table 7.1, items 3,4, and 5 reflect struggle of common men for food, shelter and clothing. "Monghwari Garba" presents the way people coped with frustration. This way people handled their frustration during 'Bhaktikal' in India. 'Sound the horns' reflects common belief that even if you beat the drums, big people will turn their deaf ears to you. Items 8 and 9 reveal how doctors and artists used their knives and brushes to

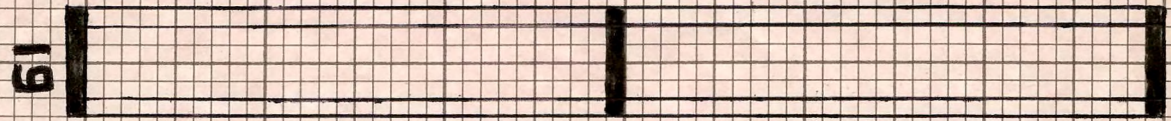
air the people's grievances. Phylogenetically it may be considered the prototype of strikes. Item 10 and 11 reveal the extent to which the popularity of Chief Minister had gone down in the eyes of people and the extent of hatred they harboured towards him.

Table 7.2 reveals protestations with other assertive acts. Item 1 represents the disappointment and the hope whereas "Mashal Sargash" symbolizes peoples determination for confrontation with the source of frustrations. Items 3 to 17 represent a fairly strong campaign to evolve public opinion and to pressurize the government to accept the demands. All these activities were within the scope of 'Non-Violence' about which this region has a fair experience. Events shown in the table also reveal participation of professional organisations in the present agitation and influence they have in the modern political and economic life. One may again take note beginning of such participation in any mass movement as 'union activities' play a big role in paralyzing the national economy and consequently influencing government decisions. Commencement of such participation is again a warning signal for serious disturbances in this region.

BARS SHDWING THE MEAN PERCENTAGE OF SCORES ON P-F STUDY VARIABLES OF TYPES OF AGGRESSION OF THE TWO GROUPS

EXPERIMENTAL
(GUJARATI)
GROUP

CONTROL
(NON-GUJARATI)
GROUP



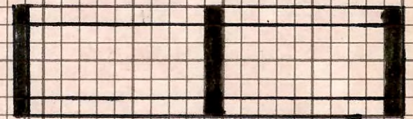
EGO-DEFENSIVE
SCORES

31.70

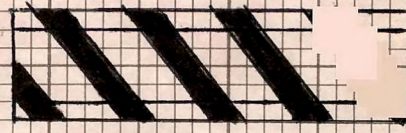


OBSTACLE-DOMINANCE
SCORES

21.70

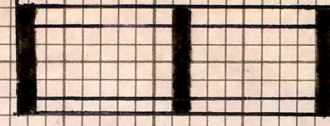


22.00



NEED-PERSISTENCE
SCORES

17.70



Hypothesis 4 : (Obstacle Dominance)

Gujarati people will significantly verbalize the obstacle which stands out in their way compared with non-Gujarati people.

Table 16 reveal that the mean percentage of obstacle-dominant responses is significantly more (31.70) in Gujarati subjects than in non-Gujarati subjects (21.70). This is in expectation with fourth hypothesis formed on the basis of observation conducted in the first phase of the investigation. In this type of aggression, the barrier that occasions the frustration stands out in the response. Obstacle-dominance would represent a type of aggression in which aggressive response is curtailed or inhibited before either of the destructive or constructive modes can be actuated, possibly because of a conflict between them. Table 6 in the first part of investigation consists such responses in the forms of demands verbalizing removal of all those persons or situations that caused the frustration.

Table 12.2 also reveals that certain individuals are perceived as source of frustration e.g., merchants, landlords, wealthy persons, police and

politicians in power. But these individuals remain in a preferred and protected situation in the society and aggression directed towards them elicits a relatively great amount of retaliation and punishment. In extreme situations they became victims as shown in the present table. However, in less extreme situations anticipation of retaliation and punishment had displaced aggression towards persons in a less favourable and protected position who were unable to mobilize adequate retribution. Small shopkeepers victimised in this agitation represent the later condition. In mob situations as reason diminishes some innocent persons are also victimised but it was not so prominent in this agitation. It is also important to note that violence against person was actually an attempt to humiliate those individuals or their agents who were perceived as sources of frustration. It was only an attempt to humiliate their psyche rather than to injure them physically. In fact this culture is not accustomed to such acts.

Hypothesis 5 : (Ego-Defence)

Gujarati people will elicit significantly less ego-dominated reactions to frustration compared with non-Gujarati people.

Table 17 reveal that the mean percentage of ego-defensive response is significantly less (46.20) in Gujarati subjects than in non-Gujarati subjects (61.00). This is in expectation with fifth hypothesis formed on the basis of observations conducted in the first phase of the investigation. Ego-defensive responses are frequently destructive (of others or of oneself) in import, is practically synonymous with hostility or destructiveness.

Hypothesis 6 : (Need persistence)

In their reaction to frustration Gujarati people will significantly persue the goal for solution of the problem despite the obstacles compared with non-Gujarati people.

Table 18 reveals that the mean percentage of need persistence responses is significantly more (22.00) in Gujarati subjects than in non-Gujarati subjects (17.70). This is in confirmation with ~~sixth~~² hypothesis formed on the basis of observation conducted in the first phase of the investigation.

Conceived as generically, aggression is closer to enterprise or self assertion than to hostility and in N-P responses solution of the frustrating

problem is emphasised by pursuing the goal despite the obstacle. This need persistence represents a constructive (some times creative) form of aggression.

Table 12.1 in the first phase of investigation reveals violence against property. This type of collective violence is a by product of collective efforts to asserts disputed rights. One can see two broad type of actions behind such instances. (1) when an agent of authority lays claim on some valued resources, leader, land, consumer goods, food articles, property, money or somethingelse and members of affected, population forcibly resist that claim. Violent resistance to taxation, levy, price rise, corruption and detention of a leader has been probably the common origin of large scale collective violence in India. Food riots and many attacks on the police have essentially the same character. (2) In the other kind of action a group of people visibly lay claim to certain objects or actions and some other group (here agents of government) forcibly resists either the symbolic statement of the claim or its actual exercised. Looting of shops, post-offices and banks, hijacking buses, delaying public transports, blocking roads, and damaging public buildings fall into this category, but so does the typical violent demonstrations.

The collective violence is a by product in the sense that agents of authority seize a great many valued resources and powers in essentially the same way without forcible resistance and that many groups lay collective claims to without meeting immediate retaliation. Given the initial action, the presence or absence of violence depends on (a) availability of organised groups prepared to challenge the claims being made, (2) structure of power, (c) the capacity of deprived groups for collective action (d) and the forms of repression employed by the authorities. In the present agitation both the groups were highly organised. Government was having heavy police arrangement and border security force was deployed, whereas people were organised under the banner of Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti, and for the time being both groups were not ready to keep aside their claims. Thus confrontation was inevitable which resulted in violence.

Social scientists (e.g. Mack and Snyder, 1957) have noted that conflict relations always involve attempt to gain control of scarce resources and scarce positions or to influence behavior in certain directions. Conflicts thus arise are designed to destroy, injure, thwart or otherwise control another party or parties.

Conflict relations do not represent a breakdown in regulated conduct but rather a shift in the interaction process between parties. But is conflict something basically undesirable and totally negative? This is not quite correct. Conflict instigates innovations for social progress; it stimulates people to devise ways and means for resolving blocks to social development and work out more effective solutions to social problems. A completely conflict-less society is neither possible, nor perhaps desirable (Ganguli, 1972). A few specified forms of aggression are socially acceptable and encouraged in most of the civilised societies. Persistence, renewed striving and continued efforts, in over coming obstacles to one's success, are regarded as desirable traits. In fact, we often use the adjective "aggressive" to describe the kind of person who displays intensity, perseverance and initiative in pursuing his personal goal (Henry, 1949). This may be equally true with social conflicts also.

ii) Determinants of human aggressive acts during agitation.

Aggressive behavior has been studied from various angles and in this context the analogy of six blind men attempting to describe an elephant when each

could touch only part of it, fits in well. None the less, each view point present some truth. Though, 1974 turbulence in Gujarat was triggered by immediate situational factors, however, to understand this agitation, one must trace the dynamic interplay of physical, economic, political and social forces in the region which influenced the group sensitivity to its current environment. "Mood" of the public was product of all these forces. Communication block and alination aggravated the situation. Within the broad frame-work of frustration aggression theory, the contribution of each of these factors for the accute eruption of aggression and violence in the region is discussed here.

Physical Space and agitation

Lorenz (1966) suggests that unlike non-verbal animals, man's rapid technological development has outstripped the slower evolution of innate inhibitions against the expression of his aggressive instigation. It reflects that aggression has physiological as well as environmental roots. To decrease human violence through education or elimination of frustration through successful poverty programme will not be of much avail. Instead, Lorenz has suggested the creation of more and more opportunities for the release of human

aggression through participation in sports and other harmless competitive activities. Lorenzian thesis has not passed unchallenged, however, it will be relevant to mention here that one demand of Nav Nirman Samiti in this agitation was for better sports facilities. Most of the schools and colleges in Ahmedabad are constructed as far as physical space is concerned and many do not have any playground. Severely disturbed areas in the agitation were those which were densely populated. Gandhi Road, Relief Road, Khadia Char-rasta, Pankor Naka, Kulupur, Dariapur and Raipur were few of these places which were frequent scenes of arson, looting, fire and stone throwing. More and more physical space in the city is getting converted for commercial exploitation. When human being remains physically restricted for a pretty long time, he needs to become overactive at least sometime and this overactiveness may be translated into agitation and violence on slightest provocation.

Economic Climate and Agitation

Economic conditions of an area are intimately related to the amount of mass aggression displayed in that area. There is some evidence for frustration in economic field leading to instigation to violence. An American study by Hovland and Sears (1940) correlated

the annual number of lynchings during the years 1882 to 1930 with overall index of economic conditions as well as the value of cotton crop. Lynching and economic activity were negatively correlated to the extent of 0.61 to 0.65.

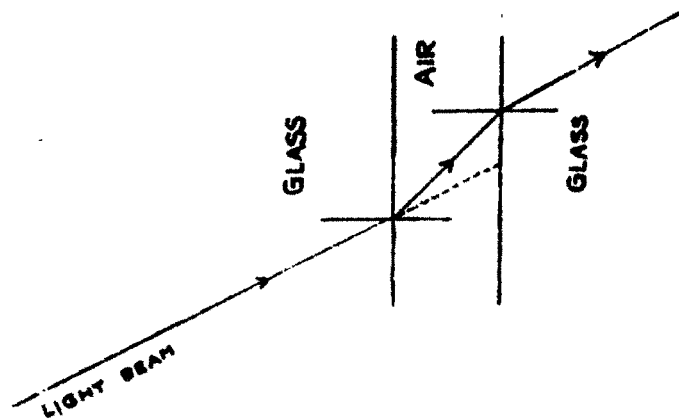
Nayer (1975) analysed that there was a greater long term upward trend in crime and violence during the 1960's than during the 1950's. This difference is attributed to the differential performance of the polity and the economy during those two decades. Using data pertaining to national and per capita incomes, agriculture production, wholesale prices, tax revenues and deficit financing, the author shows that during the 1950's the masses experienced modest improvements in living standards, accompanied by little governmental imposed deprivation in the form of taxes and savings. The 1960's, in contrast, was a period of economic travail, brought about by the strains of heavy Investment in Heavy Industries and by the financial burdens of the wars with China in 1962 and with Pakistan in 1965. Marshal (1927) stated that "Scant rainfall means poor crops, poor crops mean hard times, and hard times mean discontent." The discontent can be focalized upon the political party in power. Since regional economy depends to a large extent on monsoon

and the fact that Gujarat is a food deficit region, above explanation is very much applicable to this region. Prior to this agitation state faced the drought for three consecutive years. In July - August 1973 the other extreme of it was when Gujarat had faced the worst havoc by flood in the history of preceding 42 years, Unprecedented price rise of groundnut oil which is the main and for many only source of fat consumption, of grain and disappearance of essential commodities followed the flood. Simultaneously petroleum product prices hiked in the international and more in domestic market made every commodity dearer and added to the injury.

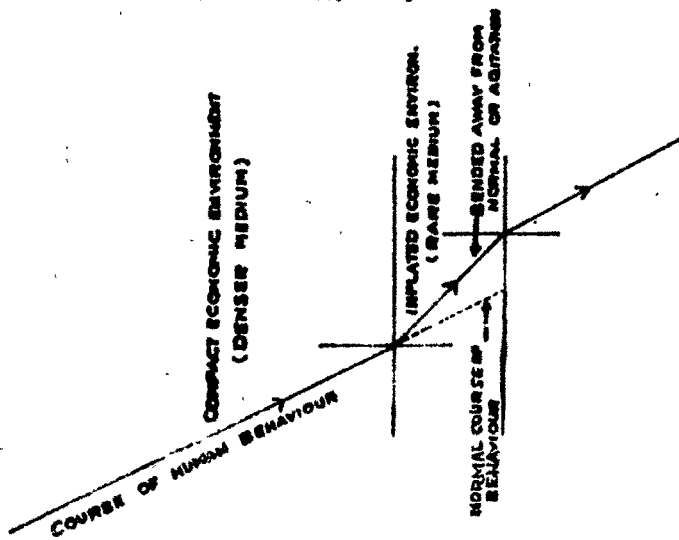
The economic environment in the region at the time of agitation was diametrically opposite compared to preceding year. Cumulative effect of drought for 3 consecutive years, flood, hike in the petroleum prices, inflation and scarcity of essential commodities resulting into black marketing, were instrumental for this new economic change. It was so sudden that people could not get enough time to adjust with the new economic realities. They became massively non-adaptive and reacted sharply in the form of agitation.

DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF 'LAW OF REFRACTION' IN CONTEXT TO '74 GUJRAT AGITATION.

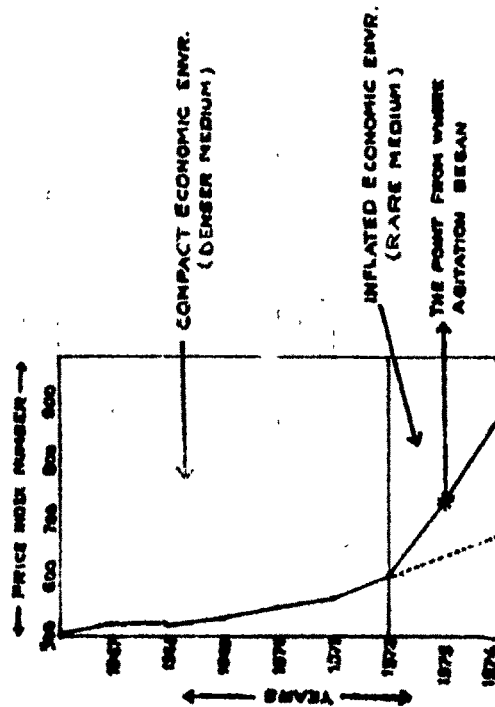
Application of 'LAW OF REFRACTION'
in relation to light beam in the
physical world.



HYPOTHETICAL APPLICATION OF
'LAW OF REFRACTION' IN RELATION
TO HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IN THE
PSYCHOLOGICAL WORLD



ACTUAL APPLICATION OF 'LAW OF REFRACTION'
IN RELATION TO HUMAN BEHAVIOUR WHICH
RUNS ALONG WITH THE LINE OF PRICE INDEX
NUMBERS



ABOVE GRAPH SHOWS AVERAGE PRICE INDEX NUMBERS OF
THE CORRESPONDING YEARS. 1974 AVERAGE IS TAKEN OUT OF
FIRST NINE MONTHS ONLY. FIGURES ARE ROUNDED TO THE NEAR-
EST WHOLE NUMBER. DATA ARE BASED & ADJUSTED ON THE
BASES OF PUBLICATION ISSUED BY TEXTILE LABOUR AGEN-
CIES, IN 1974.

(VADRECHA V.S. 1974.)

The 'law of refraction'* in relation to light in the physical world surprisingly worked here with human behavior. In this context two artificial economic environment (medium) were created which were sharply divided by a very narrow time line. The former economic environment was denser or to say more compact whereas later economic environment was inflated (rare). The human behavior while passing from compact to inflated economic environment bended away from normal course. And one may call this 'bending away from normal' as agitation. Diagrammatically it is shown on page.127 a.

Here intensity of agitation will be equivalent to the angle of bended line from its base provided other variables remain constant. And this angle in turn will depend upon the economic environment. However, there is another law related to synaptic transmission in physiology known as "all or none law" operating here in conjunction with the law of refraction. This gives the explanation why mass agitated behavior instead of operating bit by bit burst out in accute form at a point and then stopped,

*The bending of a light beam as it passes from one material into another is known as refraction. According to this law when light ray passes from denser medium into rare medium it bends away from normal.

though economic environment remained inflated. According to this law when summation of stimulus (here inflationary effect) become enough to cross the threshold then only discharge can take place and it comes to a stand still until new summation become enough to cross it again.

Political Climate and agitation

An important feature of rioting in pre-Independence India was that widespread rioting would follow every major effort by the Congress party to wrest political power from Britain. The relation between riots and political events even at a local rather than a national level, are not too remote. Rising political aspirations for some groups and fear of loss of political status and power for other groups seem to instigate this type of violence.

In the present context, it is the known fact that Mr. Chimanbhai Patel, whose oust was apparently one of the main aims of the agitation, became Chief Minister against the wish of congress high command. He became Chief Minister after ousting Mr. Ganshayam Oza who had blessings of the central leaders. It is beyond the scope of this investigation to discuss whether centre played any role in ousting Mr. Patel by utilizing the opportunity, however, it was Congress

high command who ultimately asked him to resign and later on Mr. Patel proclaimed that Central Government policies towards Gujarat was instrumental to the commencement of agitation. Central-State relations during the regime of Mr. Patel were not harmonious. ^{Whosoever} ~~However~~ might have been behind it, it would have not acquired momentum if peoples distress with State Govt. have not reached to its climax. Thus political atmosphere in the State became uncomfortable and State Government could not handle the situation adequately. This instable political situation worked as a catalytic agent to trigger the agitation.

Socialization process of Gujarati Youths and Agitation

Differences in the amount of aggression demonstrated in different cultures are produced by drastically different learning experiences and socialization process. People derive values and attitudes toward others from these learning experiences. These values and attitudes determine whether and when it is appropriate to use aggression and force. In some societies, aggression is viewed as the normal way of handling interpersonal disputes. In other societies, aggression is prohibited and censured. Some forms of aggression are stringently forbidden in most of the civilised societies, others are consistently, though

less vigorously forbidden. However, a few specialised forms of aggression are socially acceptable. Persistence, renewed striving and continued efforts in overcoming obstacles to one's success are regarded as desirable traits in most of the societies.

Given an instigation to aggression, the occurrence of aggressive behavior against a frustrating agent depends largely on the extent to which parents permit their children to behave aggressively and on their techniques of socialization.

Here youth participated were mostly of middle class background and their parents inculcated an awareness of social problems in them. The agitating youths can be regarded as attempting to 'act out' the expectations their parents have installed in them and on the other side parents are likely to be at ease when children share their suffering and discontentment in this way. In Gujarat people are law binding and meticulous but at the same time very much assertive and conscious about their rights. So any disequilibrium in life disturbs them a lot. They cannot tolerate it. The conditions prevailing before the agitation eventually disturbed them much and they reacted sharply towards those conditions.

In the beginning of agitation, the aggressive overt responses were totally prohibited due to strong tradition of repression and internal proscription in this culture. It was internalised. It was only later on that some overt and direct aggressive responses could not be averted. It can be seen here that the 1974 agitation in Gujarat was more issue-oriented than many of its counterparts. It served the purpose in a way. It restored the image of the young man in Gujarat that he is no more hedonistic but a cause-oriented man.

Communication block, alination and agitation

Most people in society are performing acts of aggression to their capacity in the areas where they are effective and where they can operate. However, they maintain a harmonious communication, share the common understanding and have an unsigned agreement which allow them the extent to which they can commit the act of aggressiveness. This untold agreement also put the limit beyond which they are not permitted to operate. One can name it a sad-omesochistic click. But when the communication among them is miscalculated, paralysed or blocked the check system does not work effectively and they commit acts of aggressiveness beyond the said limit. Thus eruption

of public violence occurs, where each party throws away the previous understanding and tries to establish new territories whereas the affected group counteracts. As in the personal relationship misunderstanding is caused either by faulty or lack of proper communication the same may happen in the social situations. Here either one party is unable to communicate its viewpoint or the other party is unable to accept and understand that communication. This inability of people to communicate properly lead them to resort extra constitutional measures.

Secondly, the political stability of a society is somewhat dependent upon its citizens being ~~ti~~ meaningfully to the institutions of the community. When individuals perceive that they can not influence events important to them within existing frame of reference and have fewer channels of communication to air their grievances, a sense of powerlessness and feelings of alineation comes, then they feel little committed to the leaders and institutions of the society. Thus when grievances are felt intensely and the bonds to the institutions of community are weak, there is likely to be an explosion of discontent. Participants in this upsurge were middle class in origin and university students who were feeling powerless to change their position. They had lost complete faith in the

leaders and political institutions of the community and presumably had little hope for improvement through organised negotiations or other normative channels of expression. It becomes evident if we see the charter of demands they put during the agitation. Demands for resignation of the Chief Minister and dissolution of the State Assembly reveal that people had lost faith in the leaders and political institution of the State. Demands for job oriented education, sports facilities and rationalization of college fees were related directly to student community and students were feeling powerless to effect these conditions important to them within existing frame of reference. In fact they represented their grievances several times to the leaders but when these normal channels of communication became ineffective and totally done away with, they desperately resorted to abnormal means of communication in the form of agitation.

Through agitation they have not only expressed their anger but also extended communication and exerted control over Government. It is also true in relation to other demands for food, oil, cheap medical aid and free primary education. Common men was struggling very hard for all these.

Those who live in this region will agree that education has become a big business in Gujarat. Same is true with medical aid. There is hardly any good medical facility available for textile workers in Ahmedabad city known as "Manchester of the East". Thus common man feels powerless and helpless before these conditions. Analytic data from people who suffered enforced passivity indicates that these experiences are directly responsible for later need to be active and be intolerant to passivity (Furst 1972). Thus violence in this instance became alternative path way of expression and gain and became the means of communication with those who were in power or at the root of these conditions.

Though communication was blocked between Government and students (failure of talk between Chief Minister and student leaders on 'increase in mess bills' which triggered the tarbulence), there was good communication between public and students which facilitated the movement. In clinical literature there are so many instances where younger fellow express aggression on behalf of the whole family in case family had difficulties in expressing its anger. Here community had communicated its anger chiefly through students. It is collusion between students and public which was very much on surface.