

Working Paper 305

**Conflict and Education in
Manipur: A Comparative
Analysis**

Komol Singha

ISBN 978-81-7791-161-9

© 2013, Copyright Reserved

The Institute for Social and Economic Change,
Bangalore

Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC) is engaged in interdisciplinary research in analytical and applied areas of the social sciences, encompassing diverse aspects of development. ISEC works with central, state and local governments as well as international agencies by undertaking systematic studies of resource potential, identifying factors influencing growth and examining measures for reducing poverty. The thrust areas of research include state and local economic policies, issues relating to sociological and demographic transition, environmental issues and fiscal, administrative and political decentralization and governance. It pursues fruitful contacts with other institutions and scholars devoted to social science research through collaborative research programmes, seminars, etc.

The Working Paper Series provides an opportunity for ISEC faculty, visiting fellows and PhD scholars to discuss their ideas and research work before publication and to get feedback from their peer group. Papers selected for publication in the series present empirical analyses and generally deal with wider issues of public policy at a sectoral, regional or national level. These working papers undergo review but typically do not present final research results, and constitute works in progress.

CONFLICT AND EDUCATION IN MANIPUR: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Komol Singha*

Abstract

Conflict, violence and social upheaval have been the greatest threats to mankind since the dawn of civilisation. Poorest communities, children and education sector are among the most severely affected by conflicts, especially in the developing countries. Understandably, education is considered as the cornerstone of socio-economic and cultural development of a society/country. Manipur, one of the India's north-eastern States, has been facing different forms of conflicts for long, ranging from insurgency to secessionist movement; from terrorism to ethnic clashes, and the fight over resources. Having realised the gravity of the issue, the present study tries to assess degree of educational development the state could achieve despite the lingering conflicts in the State. An attempt is also made to ascertain whether the growth of education tends to curtail conflict or conflict tends to restrain educational development.

With the help of primary and secondary data, as also by comparing growth trends between variables of conflict and education, the study has found that conflict does not affect educational growth in the State, but it makes children to out-migrate for their studies. In the recent past, though conflict is at its peak point (stalemate) educational development level has not suffered but has grown at a faster rate than in earlier times in the State. Based on Brahm's inverted U shape conflict hypothesis, the State is expected to return to normalcy and enjoy a peaceful and developed life very shortly.

Key Words: Education, Conflict, Manipur, Ethnic Community

JEL Classification: D 74, I 124, I 125, O 15, Q 34

"Education is like a double-edged sword. It may be turned to dangerous uses if it is not properly handled"—— *Wu Ting Fang*

Introduction

Education is the cornerstone of socio-economic and cultural development of a society/country, and its importance for human development, economic growth, etc., is analysed extensively in the seminal works of T. W. Schultz since early 1960s (Singha, 2013). Education has emerged as the most important single input in promoting human resource development, achieving rapid economic development and technological progress, creating a social order, based on the virtues of freedom, social justice and equal opportunities (Singha, 2010; Reddy, 2008; Gill, *et al.*, 2005). Education plays a vital role in the present world, for not only raising the standard of living but also as a mechanism to prevent conflict situations.

On the other side, conflicts and violence are becoming concurrently rife; an increase in educational attainment at all levels is found to impact life on several aspects— economic (such as hunger or poverty or joblessness), social (deprivations like or homelessness or widowhood) and psychological (such as fear or insecurity of all people) (Singha, 2013). However, in-depth study of the impact of conflict is a very recent phenomenon, and very limited research seems to have been done on the issue (Gates and Strand, 2012). The study by Brendan O'Malley (2007), 'Education under Attack' published by

* Assistant Professor, ADRTC, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore – 560 072. E-mail: komol@isec.ac.in.

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is considered as the first ever detailed study of its kind (UNESCO, 2010a). However, the role of education on conflict resolution is currently a highly debated issue in the academic circle. Also, the analysis of “conflict in fragile states” has gained significant attention among the academic community and policy makers in the recent past.

Given the complexities cited above, the present study tries to assess educational development status in the midst of conflict and violence in the state of Manipur. An assessment is also made whether the growth of education curtails conflict or conflict restrains educational development. The type of conflict that affects educational growth on the one hand and the type of education that curtails conflict on the other hand, if any, are also discussed in this paper. Further, the paper compares the development status of education between Manipur and the all India average.

To achieve the above mentioned objectives, both primary and secondary data were employed. The primary data were randomly collected in the month of June to July 2012, from 52 Manipuri students studying in Bangalore (India) and secondary data were collected from published sources like Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, National Sample Survey Organisation, etc. The collected data have been processed and presented by employing simple statistical methods like correlation, frequency distribution and percentage change over time, etc. Due to some constraints like the nature of data available with us, the present study could not apply advanced econometric models like causality analysis, panel data analysis, etc. Therefore, some approximation was bound to be made, and the study confines its scope to simple growth and the structure of education and conflict in the state vis-à-vis India. The term “conflict” will interchangeably be used with “armed conflict” throughout this paper, and it includes the activities that affect public life in the State (e.g. insurgency related conflict, inter and intra community conflict, civil societies’ movement and students organisations’ agitation, etc.). Similarly, the term “educational development” will interchangeably be used with “educational growth” and it implies teaching-learning environment within the State. It is the proxy of literacy rate, enrolment rate, quality of education, etc.

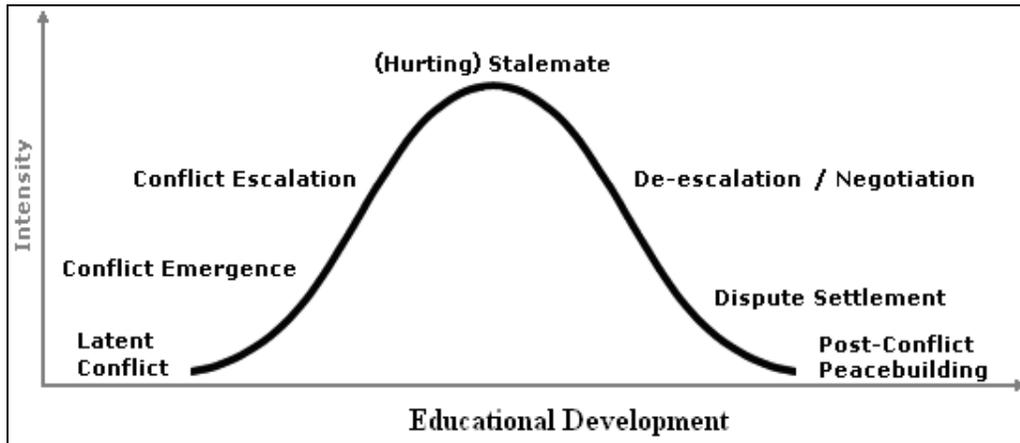
Conceptual Framework

Conflicts are regarded as key catalysts for social change (Dupuy, 2008). Their productive transformation towards social progress can, as a rule, only succeed when the particular ability of individuals and collectives to manage and resolve conflicts peacefully and constructively, in addition to the reliability of the corresponding societal, institutional and legal framework conditions is properly channelized (Seitz, 2004). Resolving conflict by sustainable dialogue in a society can be achieved after attaining a certain level of educational development, i.e., when the society is well convinced and aware of the consequences of war and conflict (UNESCO, 2011; 2010a; 2010b; Amamio, 2004).

Education may be a driver of conflict by fuelling grievances, stereotypes, xenophobia and other antagonisms, but can also be a way of contributing to conflict resolution and peace building (Smith, 2010). Conflict is a necessary and inevitable dynamic in all human relationships. However, education gives awareness and opens up mind, and expands our horizon. Education spreads not only awareness but also informs us about our rights and the services that we can access. It also enables us to understand our duties as a citizen and encourages us to follow them (Mitchell, 2006). Though education

creates some sort of conflicts and misunderstandings in the initial stage of the development trajectory, it controls and resolves conflicts at the end as the educational level increases and reaches a certain level in the society (Dupuy, 2008; Brahm, 2003). In the process, it looks like an inverted U shape (Brahm, 2003), as provided in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Conflict Pyramid with the Growth of Education



Source: Modified from Brahm (2003)

When and how fast the peak point of conflict (Stalemate, as given by Figure 1) will reach and how long it will remain in the state of stalemate, is determined by the institutional effort, level of education and enlightenment (Singha, 2013; Brahm, 2003). In this context, the study reports of UNESCO have recommended imparting quality education to children for a peaceful world (UNESCO, 2011; 2010a; 2010b). Similar recommendation has also been given by many scholars viz., Kotite (2012); Burde, *et al.*, (2011); Agbor (2011); Collier (2004); Smith and Vaux (2003); Bush and Saltarelli (2000); Tyack and Hansot (1981) and others. Therefore, conflict and violence that have been confronting us will hopefully come down after attainment of a certain level of education and development of the society.

Brief Literature of the Study

Conflict, violence and social upheaval have been among the greatest threats to mankind since the dawn of civilisation (Amamio, 2004). Poorest communities, children and the educational sector are among the most severely affected by conflicts, especially in the developing countries (UNESCO, 2010b; Boyden, *et al.*, 2002). Despite a number of affirmative actions, conflict resolution programmes, rehabilitation works undertaken by the UNESCO, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and other agencies, their anticipation of a peaceful world after the Cold War, or at least halving the conflict incidence by 2015 (Collier, 2004) have been shattered by ever increasing conflicts in the world, especially the Muslim nations (Dupuy, 2008; Amamio, 2004). Several new threats in varied forms have emerged in the world in the recent past. According to Yilmaz (2008), most of these conflicts (almost 90%) are intra-national

conflicts, occurring within the borders of states primarily ethnically-driven over self-determination, cessation or political dominance.

As of the relationships between education and conflict, many scholars like Amamio (2004); Seitz (2004); Boyden, *et al.*, (2002); Bush and Saltarelli (2000); and others have opined that initially education often leads to highly complex conflict situations in the world, and it is backed by ever growing spurt of conflicts across the globe. According to Bush and Saltarelli (2000), education can be a part of the problem not the solution, because it serves to divide and antagonise groups both intentionally and unintentionally. The study by Seitz (2004) explored that the formal education system contributes to exacerbating and escalating societal conflicts in particular when it produces and reproduces socio-economic disparities and brings about social marginalisation or deprivation or promotes the teaching of identity and citizenship concepts which deny the cultural plurality of society and which then lead to intolerance towards the others. Also, the study of Boyden, *et al.*, (2002) found that “Jihadi Terrorism” all over the world is an outcome of the greater effort made by the “Madrassa” system of education. For instance, the very system of education in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan provides an example of education used for the very particular, ideological ends that may have strong implications for the reinforcement of conflict (*Ibid.*, p. 54).

In a slightly different manner, analysis made by Smith and Vaux (2003) found that education can be a part of the problem as well as the solution. Therefore, it is a factor to be considered in the strategic assessment of conflict. However, in the findings of Bird (2006), the access to formal schooling may often be jeopardised by the conflicts. Further, Patricia (2010) found that a relatively minor shock to educational access can lead to significant and long-lasting detrimental effects on individual human capital formation in terms of educational attainment, health outcomes and labour market opportunities. He further established that in general, civil wars have a negative impact on educational attainment and they affect children, particularly girls. Girls are more vulnerable to violent conflict, and the tendency to drop out from school is relatively higher among girls than that of boys.

According to a finding of Levy and Parker (2000) many children are used as civilian shields to protect military forces or as army pack animals. They are forced to become soldiers, army slaves or prostitutes under the threat of violence. The study by Mann (1987), found that there is an increasing use of children in armed conflicts, and it was particularly evident in Indo-China during the 1960s. The wars in Indo-China and elsewhere have seen a growing number of children used in a variety of capacities. Therefore, parents all over the world live in a web of fear that their children will be recruited by the forces— state or rebel groups. For instance, many children have been recruited by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka (Boyden, *et al.*, 2002), and on their way to or at school, in Somalia (Richards and Bekele, 2011). Moreover, the situation of children affected by armed conflicts, to date, has been little reported on; it would have been much higher than any reported estimate (Boyden, *et al.*, 2002). Extant theories of causality fail to account for this complexity that hinder the understanding of the many ways in which young people and conflict may be linked (Boyden, 2006).

On the other side, a study by Agbor (2011) with the help of panel data pertaining to thirty-one African countries, found that education *per se* has no significant influence on the frequency of intra-state conflicts happening in the continent, but has the potential to reduce the frequency of conflicts in

Africa. Similarly, another study using panel data by Gates and Strand (2012) could not find any effect of conflict on education levels, and none of their estimate was found to be statistically significant. The fieldwork conducted in three countries of Guatemala, Nepal and Liberia, Dupuy (2008) has highlighted that education is only a part of the peace-building process, and it cannot by itself resolve the root causes of a conflict. However, there are number of ways in which education is contributing to building the conditions for long-term, positive peace in those countries. Some studies (e.g. Lindquist, 2012; Boyden, 2006) have tried to estimate a linkage between educational outcomes and violence through regression analysis, but no clear causal direction of the two could be established. Also, no formal model in the issue has been developed yet (Boyden, 2006; Barrera and Ibenez, 2004).

Also, using a cross-sectional survey in Colombia, Brrera and Ibenez (2004) found that as the school enrolment decreases, homicide rates rise in Colombian municipalities. Similarly, one of the seminal works on the issue by UNESCO established that education can help in banishing prejudices and tensions that exist, especially between communities, and possibly even prevent any such conflict in the future (Sinclair, 2002). In a slightly similar manner, Collier and Hoeffler (2002) also pointed out that a high enrolment rate of males in secondary school can reduce conflict risk to a great extent. However, almost all the scholars who explored education as a creator of conflict have finally come to the common consensus that if education is nurtured properly, it will empower people to form the right opinion and choice and act on issues concerning societal development (Amamio, 2004). In reality, education goes beyond the provision of a mere programme for peace; rather it reflects the cumulative benefits of the provision of good quality education and human capital. These include the conflict-dampening impact of educational opportunity, the promotion of linguistic tolerance, the nurturing of ethnic tolerance, etc. (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000).

Conflict and Education in Manipur

Manipur is one of the North Eastern-most States of India, hemmed in by Myanmar (Burma) on the east, and three Indian States– Nagaland in the north, Assam in the west and Mizoram on the south. The State consists of 9 districts, covers an area of 22, 327 sq km (reduced from 30, 027 sq km)¹ with population of 27, 21,756 (as per 2011 census), can be divided into two regions– valley (4 districts) and hill (5 districts). The former occupies one-tenth (1/10th) of the State's geographical area and is lived by Meitei community which consists of around 65 per cent of State's population. Conversely, the latter region covers nine-tenth (9/10th) of the total area and lived by different tribes, which consist of around 35 per cent of the state's population. The small valley area (1/10th) is ringed by the hills (9/10th) districts. The State is endowed with rich natural resources and has a long history of geo-political development in South East Asia (Tensuba, 1993). Unfortunately, at present, the State is passing through different forms of conflicts, social turmoil, ethnic violence, etc, ranging from insurgency for secession to the movement for greater autonomy, from terrorism to ethnic clashes and the fight over resources (Sharma, 2011; Bohlken and Sergenti, 2010; Mentschel, 2007). Often, frequent eruption of violence due to conflict of interest between the different ethnic communities in search of and to assert their identities, disturb educational environment in the State.

a. Conflict in Manipur:

As the paper looks into the relationship between education and conflict in Manipur, causes of conflict are not studied, but the type and structure of conflict in the state is analysed briefly. Broadly, the types of conflict that have been haunting the State can be divided into two– 1) Internal conflict which includes inter-community and intra community conflict for resource dominance, power and identity reconciliation, 2) Conflict between state and non-state actors, which implies conflict between insurgent groups and state for secession of Manipur, or for greater autonomy of a particular region. Both types of conflict affect greatly normal life and educational environment in the State.

a.1. Internal Conflict: Internal conflict in this paper refers to the conflicts that arise within and among the ethnic groups in the State. The State of Manipur is home to thirty-three (33) recognised tribes and many other non-recognised tribes, besides 'Meitei', the dominant community living in the valley districts. As a consequence of dominance over economic and political power by the Meiteis for long, after getting statehood in 1972, the processes of polarisation of different tribes into two broader groups as– 'Naga' and 'Kuki' have intensified in the State to safeguard their respective economic and political interests (Singha, 2012). Within the State, the number of internal conflicts among the ethnic communities has increased significantly in the recent past, especially since 1980s in search of identity as also economic and political power. In their seminal work, Collier and Hoeffler (2002) have also warned that the ethnic polarisation of community (dominance of one group makes up 45% and more population) is likely to cause more conflict. Without going into the causes, consequences of internal conflicts in Manipur since 1990s are presented statistically in Table 1.

Table 1: Internal Conflict and Population Displacement in Manipur

Year of Conflict (Inter and Intra-Community)	Conflict Between the Communities	Approx. Population Displaced	% of the total Population Displaced*
1992	Kuki–Naga ethnic	11,000	2.6
1993-1997	Kuki–Zomi conflict	15,000	5.8
-do-	Thadou–Paite conflict	7500	3.5
-do-	Meitei–Pangal (Meitei Muslim)	1000	1.0
2001	Naga Ceasefire Extension	7000	2.4
Total	--	41,500	3.1

Note: * Share of total population of the respective ethnic community displaced by Conflict

Source: Kumar, *et al.* (2011).

From Table 1 we can see that almost 42 thousand people (against 1800 thousand population in 1991) were displaced by ethnic conflicts among different economic and political interest groups in Manipur in the 1990s. It is estimated that almost 2.3 per cent of the State's total population was displaced by ethnic violence in the 1990s. However, if we take into account the communities who were

actually involved in the conflict only, the share of population displaced by internal or ethnic conflicts turns out to be 3.1 per cent (Singha, 2013). The first three incidents (given in Table 1) in this category took place in the thinly populated tribal/hill districts. According to Hussain and Phanjoubam (2007), altogether 800 people were killed, 480 wounded and 5713 families displaced during the bloody Kuki-Naga conflict in the 1990s. In 1997, in the Kuki-Paite clash, altogether 162 people were killed, 93 injured, 71 were kidnapped and 3521 houses were burnt. There were a number of other indirect effects of internal conflict as well, that led to displacement of many people in the State. Srikanth and Ngaihte (2011), in their study maintains that education did contribute to the birth of an educated elite that played an important role in giving shape to ethnic identities of the respective communities, and it in turn, led to ethnic movement in the State.

a.2: Conflict between state and Non-state Actors: Here, the conflict is directed against the state by armed groups. The Indian army, including the Assam Rifles, the Border Security Force, the Central Reserve Police Force and the Manipur Police, are currently engaged in fighting against armed rebels in Manipur. With the growth of separatist movement, Manipur was declared as a 'disturbed area' in 1980 and subsequently the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act 1958 was also imposed (Harriss, 2002). There are allegations that the very Act (AFSPA) being misused by the members of the state forces, as the Act allows the armed forces to shoot anybody on mere suspicion of being an insurgent. The Act also empowers even the lowest rank security functionaries (e.g. Sepoy) to shoot anybody on mere suspicion being an insurgent and also protects them against any criminal liability in this regard. Besides killing, there have been innumerable cases of enforced disappearances of young children by the state forces (Manoharan, 2012). Table 2 provides statistics of the fatalities of the conflict between state (state forces) and non-state actors in the State.

Table 2: Number of Insurgency related Fatalities in Manipur

Year	Civilian	Security	Terrorist	Total	% to NER#	Total NER	% to India#
2000	93	51	102	246	18	1367	5
2001	70	25	161	256	24	1067	4
2002	36	53	101	190	26	731	5
2003	27	23	148	198	22	900	5
2004	40	41	127	208	34	612	8
2005	138	50	143	331	46	720	10
2006	107	37	141	285	45	633	10
2007	150	40	218	408	39	1046	16
2008	131	13	341	485	46	1054	19
2009	77	18	321	416	49	849	19
2010	26	8	104	138	43	321	7
2011	25	10	30	65	26	250	6

Note: #Authors' Estimation from SATP (2012); NER = North Eastern Region

Source: South Asia Terrorism Portal (2012)

Table 2 shows the magnitude of violence or insurgency related fatalities such as the share of State's fatalities in the total of eight North Eastern Region states² and in the national total. About 34 per cent of the region's total fatalities have been from Manipur in the last ten years, as a result large sections of Manipur people are living in a vicious web of insecurity. Often, common people of the State are being caught in the cross-fire between the forces– state and insurgent groups, diverse insurgent groups, conflicting ethnic communities, etc.

Irrespective of its positive or negative intent, Meitei revivalist movement, especially the Meetei Erol Eyek Loinasillon Apunba Lup (MEELAL), has indeed been creating several conflict situations and consequent violence in the valley districts of the State. Impact of the conflict has been felt directly or indirectly by the hill districts as well and reacted upon in many ways by the hill tribes in the State. For instance, the initiative of MEELAL to introduce Meitei-Mayek (Manipuri script) as a compulsory subject, at least at the school level in 1980s and 1990s was felt as an autocratic imposition of Meitei rule (dominant community) over the hill communities in Manipur (Shimray, 2007). Consequently, more than 2000 (two thousand) Naga students from Manipur were directed by the *Naga Civil Organisations* to appear matriculation examination in the neighbouring State of Nagaland in 2007 (*Ibid.*, p. 2).

Table 3: Bandh/Forceful Closure, Blockade & Economic Loss in Manipur (Rs in Cr)

Year	Days of Bandh	Economic Loss of Bandh	Days of Economic Blockade	Economic Loss of Economic Blockade	Total Loss (3+5)	NSDP*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2004-05	20	111.4 (2.43)	60	130.2 (2.85)	241.6 (5.28)	4575 (100.00)
2005-06	48	306.24 (5.98)	97	236.68 (4.62)	542.92 (10.60)	5120 (100.00)
2006-07	94	642.96 (11.71)	77	201.74 (3.67)	844.7 (15.38)	5493 (100.00)
2007-08	52	382.2 (6.28)	43	122.12 (2.01)	504.32 (8.29)	6087 (100.00)
2008-09	56	442.4 (6.46)	63	178.91 (2.61)	621.31 (9.07)	6851 (100.00)
2010-11	27	229.5 (2.58)	135	415.8 (4.67)	645.3 (7.25)	8896 (100.00)

* Net State Domestic Product at current 2004-05 prices; Figures in parentheses are percents of NSDP

Source: Singha (2013)

Whatever the reason, majority of the displaced victims were women and children, and noticeably, educational environment was greatly affected by the conflicts in the State. In the vicious cycle of movements and counter movements by various ethnic communities in the State, for whatever agenda they might have, the helpless populace are caught in the cross-fire between the warring groups. Table 3 depicts the nature and degree of bandh (forceful closure) and economic blockades in Manipur. Economic blockades³ (road blocks) are generally called on by different tribal organizations along the

National Highways (NH), passing through hill regions while the bandhs⁴ are organized by the valley organisations (Meiteis), mainly caused by fractional clashes. The year 2011 recorded the highest number of days ever, to have witnessed economic blockades in the State (135 days of economic blockades in Mao-Imphal section of the National Highway No 39).

According to the Directorate Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur, in 2004-05, the State experienced 20 days State-wide bandh which led to a loss of Rs 22 per head per day, totalling to a loss of Rs 5.34 crores per day of the State. In the same year, the State faced 60 days National Highways (NH) blockade (economic blockade), which led to a loss of Rs 9 per head per day, totalling to a loss of Rs 2.32 crores per day (DES, 2010). In 2005-06, state-wide bandhs led to a loss of Rs 24 per head per day, totalling to a loss of Rs 6.13 crores per day while the loss was Rs 11 per head per day, totalling to Rs 2.67 crores per day on account of National Highway blockade. In 2006-07, State-wide bandhs led to a loss of Rs 6.44 crores per day in the state (Singha, 2009). On an average, 9 to 10 per cent of the State's NSDP was lost due to bandh and blockades in the last six years. Fortunately, in 2013, almost all the valley base insurgent groups have agreed to desist themselves from fractional clashes and at the same time hill base insurgent groups have also entered into cease-fire agreements with the government.

b. Education in Manipur:

In Manipur, despite the continued cycle of violence and conflict, the rate of literacy has increased substantially for both males and females across the regions (districts) over the last two decades. As compared to the national trend, growth trend of literacy rate in the last two decades, particularly for the rural area is highly appreciable. Despite poor road and communication infrastructure, people of Manipur have shown great enthusiasm in acquiring education and knowledge. Also, the score of women in this regard especially in the rural areas was found to be very significant and much higher than the national average (refer to Table 6). Here, the study result of Patricia (2010) is proved irrelevant in Manipur.

As can be seen from Table 4, literacy rate in Manipur on the eve of the country's independence was much lower than that of national average, but thereafter it has increased constantly from 13 per cent (13 literates per 100 persons) in 1951 to 80 per cent in 2011. The growth of literacy rate in the State was also much higher than that of national average. Within the State, educational growth in the rural and tribal districts has improved significantly in recent years; its credit goes to the English education imparted by the Christian Missionaries (Singha, 2010).

Table 4: Literacy Rate in Manipur and India

Year	Manipur	India
1951	12.57	18.33
1961	36.04	28.30
1971	38.47	34.45
1981	49.66	43.57
1991	59.89	52.21
2001	70.53	64.84
2011	79.85	74.04

Source: Gol (2012)

As can be seen from Table 5, despite spurt of conflicts in 1990s and 2000s, the hill districts namely– Senapati, Chandel, Ukhrul, Churachandpur and Tamenglong have shown better improvement than that of valley districts in term of literacy rate. Barring first and second decades, the overall decadal change in the literacy rate of hill districts was found to be higher than that of valley districts. As mentioned above, the growth of literacy rate in hill areas is credited to the work of Christian Missionaries (Singha, 2010), and not to the government.

Table 5: Literacy Rates in the Districts of Manipur and its Decadal Change (1981-2011)

State/ district ^	1981	1991	2001	2011	Change 81 to 91	Change 91 to 01	Change 01 to 11	CAGR 1991- 11
Senapati	36.05	46.04	50.47	75.00	9.99	4.43	24.53	2.47
Tamenglong	44.22	50.16	58.56	70.40	5.94	8.40	11.84	1.71
CC pur	54.34	58.17	74.67	84.29	3.83	16.50	9.62	1.87
Ukhrul	49.94	62.54	68.96	81.87	12.60	6.42	12.91	1.36
Chandel	39.51	46.68	57.38	70.85	7.17	10.70	13.47	2.11
Bishnupur	39.23	54.94	71.59	76.35	15.71	16.65	4.76	1.66
Thoubal	41.13	52.47	67.90	76.66	11.34	15.43	8.76	1.91
Imphal West	*	73.01	80.61	86.70	*	7.60	6.09	0.86
Imphal East	*	68.05	76.38	82.81	*	8.33	6.43	0.99
Manipur	49.66	59.89	68.87	79.85	10.23	8.98	10.98	1.45

* West and East were one in 1981; ^ First 5 are hill districts and the last 4 are valley districts

Source: Kumar, *et al.* (2011); RGCC (2012)

Table 6 makes a comparison of literacy rates between men and women in the State, with the all India average in the last two decades. Literacy rate in rural Manipur went up from 64 per cent in 1993-94 to 79.1 per cent in 2009-10; it was 43.5 per cent at the national level in 1993-94, and increased to 62.1 per cent in 2009-10, which is still lower than Manipur's level in 1993-94. Similarly, in urban areas of Manipur, the literacy rate was 76 per cent in 1993-94, which went up marginally to 82.1 per cent in 2009-10. In contrast, it was 69 per cent in 1993-94 at the national level, which went up to 78.6 per cent in 2009-10.

Table 6: Literacy Rate in Manipur

State/ India	Year	Rural			Urban		
		Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person
Manipur	2009-10	83.5	74.4	79.1	86.3	77.5	82.1
	2004-05	80.0	66.5	73.3	85.4	75.1	80.3
	1999-00	68.5	56.6	62.8	84.7	74.1	79.4
	1993-94	71.9	56.1	64.0	83.8	68.2	76.0
India	2009-10	70.5	53.2	62.1	83.5	73.4	78.6
	2004-05	63.5	44.9	54.5	80.5	69.3	75.1
	1999-00	58.5	38.5	48.6	78.2	65.6	72.0
	1993-94	54.4	32.0	43.5	75.8	61.5	69.0

Source: Different NSS Rounds

As can be seen from Table 7, over the years, with increase in government spending on education on one hand and increasing aspiration of formal employment on the other, the number of educated (rural) people who have completed secondary and above has grown significantly. For example, as of 2009-10, percentage of people with secondary and above qualification was about 38 in Manipur as against 24 per cent at the national level. Larger proportion of literate people from Manipur has since attained secondary and above levels of qualification, than the national average.

Table 7: Percentage Distribution of Literate Persons by General Educational Level

State/ India	Area	Year	Male			Female			Person		
			upto primary	upto middle	secondary & above	upto primary	upto middle	secondary & above	upto primary	upto middle	secondary & above
Manipur	Rural	2009-10	30.8	26.3	42.9	39.1	29.3	31.6	34.6	27.7	37.7
		2004-05	45.1	26.8	28.1	54.1	24.8	21.1	49.1	25.9	25.0
		1999-00	39.9	28.5	31.7	50.9	26.7	22.4	44.6	27.7	27.7
		1993-94	46.5	24.8	28.8	59.7	19.8	20.5	52.2	22.7	25.2
	Urban	2009-10	26.9	17.7	55.4	28.5	24.0	47.5	27.6	20.6	51.8
		2004-05	33.8	17.6	48.6	38.9	21.3	39.8	36.2	19.3	44.5
		1999-00	31.3	18.4	50.3	36.4	23.9	39.7	33.5	20.9	45.6
		1993-94	38.4	18.4	43.2	44.6	23.2	32.3	41.2	20.5	38.3
India	Rural	2009-10	50.6	22.7	26.7	59.8	20.9	19.4	54.4	21.9	23.7
		2004-05	56.9	22.0	21.1	65.3	19.8	14.9	60.2	21.1	18.7
		1999-00	58.5	21.5	20.0	67.5	19.5	13.0	62.1	20.8	17.1
		1993-94	61.9	20.0	18.0	71.9	17.5	10.6	65.5	19.1	15.4
	Urban	2009-10	32.8	18.0	49.2	36.8	18.5	44.7	34.6	18.2	47.2
		2004-05	37.3	19.9	42.9	42.4	20.8	36.8	39.5	20.2	40.2
		1999-00	39.5	19.9	40.5	45.6	20.1	34.3	41.9	20.1	37.9
		1993-94	43.8	19.1	37.1	50.4	19.2	30.4	46.7	19.1	34.2

Note: Literates given per 1000 distribution of persons by general educational level is sum up; then each level of education is divided by the total literate in percentage term.

Source: Authors calculation different NSS rounds.

Further, from Table 7 it can be seen that a larger proportion of men than women have attained secondary and above level of education in Manipur, than at the national level as well. For example, during 1993-94, about 32 percent of females against about 43 percent of males had completed secondary and above level of education in urban Manipur.

Table 8: District-wise Decadal School Enrolment in Manipur

Stage	Year	S'pati	T'long	CC Pur	Chandel	Imphal#	B'pur	Thoubal	Ukhrul	Manipur
Primary	1991	26845	13714	25220	12456	102300	24916	44230	14338	264019
	2001	29057	18130	25610	17714	102932	27056	44736	20345	285580
	2006*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle (VI-VIII)	1991	6413	2560	6093	2589	35353	7720	13674	3256	77658
	2001	10230	3263	8918	3107	54590	12817	23440	4835	121200
	2006*	15155	9005	13112	8807	39302	14166	19093	13412	149933
High (IX-X)	1991	3164	1103	3325	1144	22003	5332	9023	1606	46700
	2001	4513	1694	4897	1895	30604	6990	11435	2652	64680
	2006*	14013	7279	22492	8476	50360	15341	28533	10635	178196
Total School [^]	1991	36495	17524	34638	16189	162641	38908	67243	19213	392851
	2001	44516	23764	40316	22716	197327	48659	81348	28434	487080
	2006*	63311	39724	50984	28960	137912	50244	79626	43243	565868

Note: # data for both Imphal East and West; * data for Imphal West only; ^ total school enrolment is including class XI to XII in the state.

Source: Author's Compilation from GoI (2011); DES (2010)

Further, the percentage of literate people in Manipur who received higher education (secondary and above level of education) was far greater than that of national level for both males and females, particularly in rural areas. For example, during 2009-10, about 43 per cent and 32 per cent of males and females respectively attained secondary and above education level in rural Manipur, against about 27 and 19 per cent respectively for males and females at the national level in rural areas. From Table 8, we can also see the decadal growth rate of school enrolment at different levels across districts. The State level average annual growth rate of enrolment at the primary level in the three decades from 1991 to 2006 was hardly 8.2 per cent. It increased to 40 per cent at the Middle School level (VI to VIII) and further jumped to 107 per cent at the High school level. Cumulatively, the annual average growth rate of school enrolment (including Class XI to XII) in Manipur from 1991 to 2006 is taken as 20 per cent.

Table 9: Gross Enrolment Ratio of Primary and Middle School in 2009-10

Category	Sex/Total	Manipur	India
Classes I-V (6-10 years)	Boys	189.7	115.6
	Girls	182.3	115.4
	Total	186.0	115.5
Classes VI-VIII (11-13 yrs)	Boys	107.2	84.5
	Girls	99.2	78.3
	Total	103.3	81.5
Classes I-VIII (6-13 yrs)	Boys	155.4	103.8
	Girls	147.7	101.1
	Total	151.6	102.5

Source: GoI (2011)

A comparison of the national level figures of Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of 2009-10, (see Table 9) shows that Manipur is much ahead of the national average. In the category Class I to V (6-10 years of age), the GER of Manipur was 186 compared to 115.5 at the national level. It was slightly lower in the second stage, i.e., class VI to VIII (11 to 13 years of age group) with the State's GER being 103.3 and 151.6 for Class I to VIII level put together. In contrast, it was 81.5 and 102.3 for the level of Class VI to VIII and Class I to VIII level respectively at the national level in 2009-10.

Table 10: Total Enrolment and its Share (%) to Total Population under PG Courses

(As on 30th Sept., 2007)

	MPhil/PhD			Arts			Commerce		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Manipur	1304 (0.84)	940 (0.61)	2244 (0.72)	823 (21.20)	845 (21.36)	1668 (21.28)	61 (0.11)	75 (0.13)	136 (0.12)
India	45740 (0.07)	30487 (0.05)	76227 (0.06)	339798 (3.08)	311833 (3.15)	651631 (3.11)	104341 (2.10)	82383 (1.64)	186724 (1.87)
	Science			Engineering/ Tech/Architect/Design			Medicine		
Manipur	424 (0.27)	656 (0.43)	1080 (0.35)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	52 (0.09)	32 (0.06)	84 (0.07)
India	220553 (0.32)	167989 (0.27)	388542 (0.29)	53046 (0.48)	21441 (0.22)	74487 (0.36)	14336 (0.29)	7970 (0.16)	22306 (0.22)
	Agriculture & Allied			Mgt/ Hotel/ Travel/Tourism Mgt			Educati/Teacher Training		
Manipur	45 (0.03)	29 (0.02)	74 (0.02)	104 (2.68)	22 (0.56)	126 (1.61)	18 (0.03)	66 (0.12)	84 (0.07)
India	9330 (0.01)	2514 (0.01)	11844 (0.01)	71678 (0.65)	33040 (0.33)	104718 (0.50)	9681 (0.20)	9573 (0.19)	19254 (0.19)
	Law			Others					
Manipur	25 (0.02)	0 (0.00)	25 (0.01)	35 (0.90)	69 (1.74)	104 (1.33)			
India	7364 (0.01)	3679 (0.01)	11043 (0.01)	26221 (0.24)	17345 (0.18)	43566 (0.21)			

Note: Excluding Open Universities; PG implies Post Graduate

Figures in the Parentheses are percent of State/Country Population

Source: Gol (2011)

As for total enrolment in PG courses and its percentage in the total population, (see Table 10), Manipur's score is much higher than the national average. Especially, the enrolment percentage of MPhil/PhD, General Arts and Sciences, Agriculture and Management courses in the State was found to

be much higher than the national average. This shows that overall higher education level in the State is much higher than the national average, especially for the conventional courses available in the State.

Interfacing Education with Conflict in Manipur

One need not delve deep into the causes of conflict, to recognize that the State of Manipur is passing through social turmoil in various fields, ranging from insurgency for secession to greater autonomy, from terrorism to ethnic clashes and the fight over resources (Singha, 2012; Sharma, 2011; Mentschel, 2007). In the past, violence in the State came mainly from the revolutionary groups and the state or security forces. In the 1980s and 1990s, the situation has turned more violent with the result the common people (CICS, 2005). In the midst of conflict, education in Manipur has been developing at a faster rate than that of national level. What is the driving force behind this paradox?

a. Expenditure on Education:

According to Singh (2011), there is a bilateral relationship between the expenditure on education and development of the economy. In Manipur, despite the simmering conflict in the last two to three decades, the development pace of education has been quite appreciable (See Tables 4 to 11 for details). Also, the growth rate of women's education and education in rural Manipur has been relatively higher than that of national as well as State level. Its credit should go to the parents' quest for better and higher education for their wards, ably complemented by the English medium education, especially in the hill districts, imparted in schools run by Christian Missionaries (Singha, 2010). This increasing quest for education in the State is evident in the level of per capita spending on education.

Table 11: Average Annual Expenditure (Rs) per Student (Age 5-29) in 2007-08

Stage	General Education					Technical	Vocational	All
	Primary	Middle	Secondary/ Hr. Sec.	Above Hr. Sec.	All			
Manipur	3285	4087	6171	6915	4242	29287	-	4372
India	1413	2088	4351	7360	2461	32112	14881	3058

Source: NSS 64th Round (July 2007 – June 2008)

From Table 11, it can be seen that the annual expenditure per student in Manipur as of 2007-08 was much higher than that of national level, stood at Rs 4372 compared to Rs 3058 at the national level. Though the expenditure per student at the national level for technical education was slightly higher than that of State level, the per capita expenditure spent on the rest of the courses/levels (overall) of education was found to be much above the national level– almost doubles the national average. This implies that the parents in Manipur lay much emphasis on education. Table 12 contains data in support of the above assertion.

Table 12: Monthly per Capita Expenditure (in %) on Education (MPCE)

Year	NSS Round	Manipur		India	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1999-00	55 th	3.76	6.49	1.93	4.33
2004- 05	60 th	6.39	8.93	2.86	6.52
2007-08	64 th	7.24	9.04	3.70	7.11

Source: NSS Rounds: 55th, 60th and 64th

From Table 12, it can also be seen that the MPCE on education according to the 55th NSS round (1999-00) in rural Manipur was 3.76 per cent of the total spending by an individual, compared to 1.93 per cent at all India level. MPCE in Urban Manipur was significantly higher than that of national level during the same period, stood at 6.49 percent of Manipur compared to 4.33 percent of all India level.

Over the years, the educational scenario in Manipur has changed for the better. For example, in 2007-08 (64th NSS round), the MPCE on education in rural Manipur was 7.24 per cent against 3.7 per cent at the all India level. During the same period, MPCE on education in urban Manipur was 9.04 per cent compared to 7.11 per cent at the all India level. This clearly shows higher emphasis on education in the tiny State of Manipur. However, expenditure indicator is not sufficient to measure the outcome level of the sector; performance parameter also needs to be looked into for a fuller picture. For the purpose, the quality issues of education, especially the rural schools are presented in Table 13.

Table 13: Performance of Rural School Children in 2009-10

Parameter		Standard	Manipur	India
% of Children who can read English..	Capital Letters or More	I	94.0	43.8
	Capital Letters or More	II	98.4	66.2
	Words or More	III	82.4	28.6
	Words or More	IV	90.2	44.1
	Sentences	V	66.6	25.7
% of Children who can read...	Letters or more	I	96.4	68.8
	Words or more	II	84.4	55.2
	Std. I level Text or More	III	64.1	46.6
	Std. I Level Text or More	IV	80.2	67.4
	Std. II Level Text or More	V	53.9	52.8
% of Children who can.....	Recognize Nos. 1-9 or do more	I	96.8	69.3
	Recognize Nos. 11-99 or do more	II	87.9	54.6
	Subtract or do more	III	69.8	39.0
	Subtract or do more	IV	84.4	58.8
	Do Division	V	51.0	38.0

Source: Gol (2012)

As can be seen from Table 13, the quality of education and the performance of children at the school level in Manipur are much higher than that of national level. For instances, 51 per cent of

Manipuri students (rural) of Class V standard can perform the basic arithmetic task of division compared to 38 per cent at all India level, while 70 per cent of standard III and 84.4 percent of standard IV students in the State were able to perform the arithmetic task of subtraction. In contrast, at the most, 39 per cent and 59 per cent of standard III and IV children respectively could perform the above task at the all India level. Similarly, the ability to identify English alphabets at the primary level and the degree of English language proficiency at the upper primary level were also found to be much higher among the Manipuri students than that of national level. Despite prolonged conflicts, the above evidences clearly highlight the higher score of Manipur's educational system over that of the national system both in terms of educational quality and quantity in the recent past.

b. Impact of conflict on Education in Manipur:

Available literature on the topic and the field data show that violent conflicts have a negative impact on human capital formation particularly among women and children, due to their higher vulnerability (Patricia, 2010). Conflicts and resultant violence are disruptive by definition, and may affect the level and distribution of returns to education considerably; it results in deaths, injuries, disability and psychological trauma to a physical body and also may have an adverse effect on economic and social well-being apart from political stability. But, the claims made by the past literatures do not hold true in Manipur, especially in terms of education and educational development, compared to India.

Nevertheless, in Manipur, as pointed out above, growth of education has not been greatly affected by the on-going conflicts. The question is as to how the education sector was left untouched by the blockades and strikes which disrupted school attendance and teaching for long stretches. A preliminary survey says that the students moved out of the State for study, either due to the frequent conflicts or blockades in the State or lack of educational infrastructures. For this purpose, a total of 52 Manipuri students (who are studying in Bangalore) were interviewed and the results are given below.

Table 14: Reasons for Studying Outside the State of Manipur

Main Reason	No. of Students	Percent
Law and Order Condition	30	57.7
Limited Educational Infrastructure	8	15.4
Status Sake	2	3.8
Low Quality of Education in Manipur	7	13.5
Others	5	9.6
Total	52	100

Source: Primary Field Survey

Table 14 makes it clear that law and order situation is the most important factor that pushes students outside the State of Manipur for study. Though there are several other factors that force Manipuri students to venture out of the State for studies, disruption caused by frequent violence and blockades in Manipur was the deciding factor for thirty out of the fifty-two students (57.7%) to leave Manipur. Other variables like, limited educational infrastructure and low quality of teaching in the State, seem to have had the least influence the student's decision to come out of the State. Next to

“unfavourable law and order situation”, the variable– “lack of educational infrastructure” comes, and 15.4 per cent of respondents cited this as reason for coming out of the State for their studies. Next in line is the low quality (sub-standard) education available in the State, and about 13.5 per cent respondents cited this as reason for coming out of Manipur.

People are increasingly aiming at acquiring quality education. Notably, people of Manipur are not restricting themselves to acquiring education only within the State, but are also migrating to other States in search of better quality higher education. For years now, the State has been persistently disturbed by conflicts, strikes, blockages, lockouts etc. throughout the academic year, hampering the academic calendar. As a result, most of the affluent students as well as those who want to acquire quality education and ensure their future livelihood do migrate to other relatively developed and peaceful States. Therefore, Bangalore, being a relatively peaceful city, has become one of the preferred destinations of the majority of Manipuri students.

Table 15: Courses Pursued by the Sample Manipuri Students in Bangalore

Course/Class	No. of Students	Percent
Schooling (Up to XII Standard)	15	28.8
UG(General- Arts, Science, Commerce)	15	28.8
UG (Tech- Mgt, Medical, Engineering)	10	19.2
PG (General-Arts, Science, Commerce)	7	13.5
PG (Tech- Mgt, Medical, Engineering)	5	9.6
Total	52	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey

In Table 15, of the total fifty-two students interviewed, only fifteen students each (28.8% each) are either at school level (upto XII std) or at under graduate (general) level. Though, there are some limitations with regard to infrastructure and quality of PG courses in Manipur, schooling and under graduate (General) level courses do not have such constraints in the State. This further proves that the conflict and violence in Manipur have been important reasons for students' out-migration from the State.

Brief Analysis and Findings

The insurgency related conflicts and fatalities of Manipur have indeed disrupted life in the State and have therefore attracted national attention and media glare. However, it does not appear to have had a direct impact on literacy rate or school enrolment rates. With the help of twenty one years projected data⁵ on population, enrolment, and literacy rate and conflict fatalities, a statistical correlation– “pearson correlation” was worked out, and it is found that there exists a positive correlation between public expenditure on education, enrolment rate and literacy rate in the State. However, the correlation between insurgency related fatalities and other educational variables (e.g. public expenditure on education, enrolment rate and literacy rate) are found to be insignificant (refer to Table 16). It further testifies that the conflict within the State has not affected educational development in the State.

Table 16: Correlations between Insurgency related Fatalities and Education

	Pearson Correlation	Public Expenditure on Education	Projected Literacy Rate	Projected Population	Insurgency Related Fatalities	Projected School Enrolment
Public Expenditure on Education	Pearson Correlation	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.				
	N	21				
Projected Literacy Rate	Pearson Correlation	.959(**)	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.			
	N	21	21			
Projected Population	Pearson Correlation	.941(**)	.992(**)	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.		
	N	21	21	21		
Insurgency Related Fatalities	Pearson Correlation	.138	.151	.144	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.552	.513	.532	.	
	N	21	21	21	21	
Projected School Enrolment	Pearson Correlation	.950(**)	.981(**)	.990(**)	.155	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.503	.
	N	21	21	21	21	21

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: Estimated from RGCC (2006), (2012); SATP (2012)

As can be from Table 1, in Manipur, approximately 41, 500 people were displaced by ethnic conflicts in the 1990s. It is about 2.3 per cent of the total State's population (18.3 lakhs population in 1991) displaced by ethnic conflicts. Mention may be made that the major ethnic conflict that changed the demographic equation greatly in Manipur was the Naga-Kuki conflict in the last decade of the last century. As a part of the Naga integration movement, (cited earlier in the paper) more than 2000 (two thousand) tribal students of Manipur were directed by the Naga Civil Organisations to de-link from Manipur board of matriculation examination and affiliate to Nagaland board in Nagaland in 2007 (Shimray, 2007). It disrupted several of the students' educational careers. These are officially acknowledged statistics of disruption; there were many more students, especially the school goers, who perceived great danger and kept away from school, though no incidence of attack student community was apparently made by any of these organisations at that time.

Despite these uncertainties, the pace of educational development of the State has been increasing at a faster rate than that of national level. However, within the State, the growth trend of higher education has been slightly lower than school education, but much higher than that of national level. Higher expenditure of private higher education and limited higher educational infrastructure within the State may probably be the reason for the relatively slower growth of higher education in the State. From the analysis, it is clear that conflict and violence do not affect educational growth in the State, but conflict makes children to go out of the State for their studies. It means, conflicts and violence have

indeed disturbed educational environment within the State and it might have led to higher spending on education by the Manipuris. Given the non-linear relationship between conflict and education in the State, more research is required to ascertain whether educated children or education tend to create conflict in the State or not. However, it is clear from the study that employment opportunities within the State are relatively smaller than other bigger States in the country, and unemployment rate of the educated youth is one of the major problems in the State now.

Conclusion and Suggestions

Controlling conflict is the need of the hour. Seeing the trend of global damages caused by conflict and wars, it is warned that if we do not controlled on time, as propounded by Collier (2004), a substantial group of the youths and communities are likely to be stuck in a 'conflict trap'– a cycle of war and economic decline. Definitely, a fruitful dialogue or negotiation can bring peace. It can be achieved only when people are well educated, also, ethics and morality are instilled into them. Dialogue should not mean that one's grievance or demand is tabled for negotiation and get stuck onto it. One should have an understanding of the other's need and constraints. The root cause of the conflict should be understood.

In Manipur, education has been growing at a faster rate than that of national level. At the same time, the incidence of conflict and violence in the State has reached a plateau (the degree and magnitude of conflict has been more or less the same for last two decades in the state). It is so because almost all major insurgent groups (excepting one or two) in the State have blurred objectives, and some have already entered into ceasefire peace agreement with the government of India; some are working as agents of state forces and still others are engaged in accumulating wealth (Ravi, 2012). They have reached to a saturated stage and realised that violence makes no dividend to them. Besides, majority of the educated people do not prefer to go for violent means for their demands in the State. Though the growth of higher education is slightly lower than that of school education due to the higher cost of private higher education and limited educational infrastructure within the State, the overall development of education has been very impressive. Nevertheless, from the analysis, it is clear that conflict and violence do not affect overall educational growth in the State, but it makes children to out-migrate for their studies. Though conflict has made education costlier for Manipuris the former did not retard the growth/development of the latter. It implies that conflicts and violence could disrupt educational environment in the State, but could not stop its onward march. If Brahm's inverted U shaped conflict hypothesis holds true, the State of Manipur is expected to return to normalcy and enjoy a peaceful life very shortly.

Appropriate steps need to be taken expeditiously to create employment opportunities sufficiently and proper opportunities are to be given to the youth who return to Manipur after acquiring higher education from outside the State. Otherwise, these educated people will be frustrated and many conflicts and violence may happen in the State, sooner or later. The same holds true for the country as a whole and more emphasis needs to be given to higher education as well as utilising the human resources enriched by higher education.

Notes

- ¹ The Kabow valley had been an integral part of Kangleipak (now Manipur) since olden days (during the reign of Meidingu Kiyamba (1467-1508 AD). In order to please the Burmese (Myanmar), the Valley covering an area of 7700 sq. km or 1/3rd area of present Manipur was handed over to them (Burmese) on 9th January 1834, after the Treaty of Yandaboo on 24 February 1826, signed by General Sir Archibald Campbell on the British side and Governor of Legaing, Maha Min Hla Kyaw Htin from Burmese side at Yandabo, 50 miles from Ava (Myanmar). However, to decrease the growing resentment, the British started giving compensation of Rs 500 Sicca per month to the Manipur King, starting from 9th January 1834 (the valley was transferred on this day), which was to be continued till the day of its reversion back to Manipur, as per the agreement signed by Major F.J. Grant and Capt. R.B. Pemberton at Langthabal (now in Imphal) on 25th January 1834. Even after independence and merger with India, the payment of compensation was continued till 1953 when the first Prime Minister of India, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, without even consulting then Manipur Govt., transferred the valley permanently to Burma.
- ² NEER consists of eight states – Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura
- ³ Economic Blockade refers in this paper is the blockade on the National Highways which are passing through hill areas of Manipur. Often National Highways are being blocked by different tribal organisations as a means to put pressure on to the government or Meitei (valley's dominant community) to redress their grievances. It is the common strategy for the hill organisations.
- ⁴ In this paper, Bandhs (forceful closures) refer to the complete closure of the area, market, city or valley districts of Manipur. Often, the civil organisations of valley districts of Manipur call on bandh to put pressure on to the government to redress their grievances.
- ⁵ Survey of these variables are not done yearly

References

- Agbor, Julius A (2011). Does School Education Reduce the Likelihood of Societal Conflict in Africa?. *Working Paper No. 218*. Cape Town: Department of Economics, University of the Western Cape.
- Amamio, May Christine (2004). *The Role of Peace Education in Preventing Conflict*. UNESCO First Committee, Session VI. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- Barrera, F and A M Ibañez (2004). Does Violence Reduce Investment in Education? A Theoretical and Empirical Approach. *Working Paper*. Colombia: CEDE-Universidad de Los Andes.
- Bird, Lyndsay (2006). Education and Conflict: An NGO Perspective. In Marion Couldrey & Dr Tim Morris (eds.), *Forced Migration Review*. Refugees Studies Centre, UK.
- Bohlken, Anjali Thomas and Ernest John Sergenti (2010). Economic Growth and Ethnic Violence: An Empirical Investigation of Hindu–Muslim Riots in India. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47 (5): 589–600.
- Boyden, J (2006). Children, War and World Disorder in the 21st Century: A Review of the Theories and the Literature on Children's Contributions to Armed Violence. *QEH Working Paper Series No. 138*. Department of International Development, Queen Elizabeth House: University of Oxford.

- Boyden, Jo, Jo de Berry, Thomas Feeny and Jason Hart (2002). *Children Affected by Armed Conflict in South Asia*. A discussion paper prepared for UNICEF Regional Office, South Asia. Refugee Studies Centre: University of Oxford.
- Brahm, Eric (2003). Conflict Stages. In Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess (eds.), *Beyond Intractability*. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. [Retrieved: <http://www.beyondintractability.org/bi-essay/conflict-stages>]
- Burde, Dana, Amy Kapit-Spitalny, Rachel Wahl and Ozen Guven (2011). *Education and Conflict Mitigation: What the Aid Workers Say*. Washington, DC: US Agency for International Development, Education Quality Improvement Program 1.
- Bush, Kenneth D and Diana Saltarelli (2000). *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peace-building Education for Children*. Florence, Italy: The UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.
- CICS (2005). *The Impact of Armed Violence on Poverty and Development*. West Yorkshire, Centre for International Cooperation and Security, UK: Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford.
- Collier, Paul and A Hoeffler (2002). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Working Paper Series*, CSAE WPS/2002-01, Centre for the Study of African Economics, Oxford (UK): Oxford University.
- Collier, Paul (2004). *Development and Conflict*. Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, Oxford: Oxford University.
- Dupuy, Kendra (2008). *Education for peace*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute (PRIO) and Save the Children Norway.
- DES (2010). *Statistical Handbook of Manipur*. Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Imphal: Government of Manipur.
- Gates, Scott and Havard Strand (2012). Development Consequences of Armed Conflict. *World Development*, 40 (9): 1713-22.
- Gill, Sucha Singh, Sukhwinder Sigh, and Jaswinder Singh Brar (2005). Educational Development, Public Expenditure and Financing of secondary Education in Punjab. *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration*, XIX (3): 335-74.
- Kotite, Phyllis (2012). Education for Conflict Prevention and Peace-building: Meeting the Global Challenges of the 21st Century. *IIEP Occasional Paper*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- NSS 55th Round (1999-00). *National Sample Survey Organisation Report No.409*. Department of Statistics: Government of India.
- NSS 60th Round (2004). *National Sample Survey Organisation*. Department of Statistics: Government of India.
- NSS 64th Round (2007-08). *National Sample Survey Organisation*. Department of Statistics: Government of India.
- NSS 66th Round (2007-08). *National Sample Survey Organisation*. Department of Statistics: Government of India.
- GoI (2012). *Data for use of Deputy Chairman*. Planning Commission 10th April 2012. New Delhi: Government of India.

- (2011). *Statistics of Higher and Technical Education 2007-08*. Ministry of Human Resources, New Delhi: Government of India.
- Harriss, John (2002). The State, Tradition and Conflict in the North Eastern States of India. *Working Paper No. 13* (August). London: Crisis States Programme, Development Research Centre, London School of Economics.
- Hussain, Monirul and Pradip Phanjoubam (2007). *A Status Report on Displacement in Assam and Manipur*. Kolkata (India): Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group.
- Kumar, Anand, Kamei Aphun, Khuraijam Bijoykumar Singh and Homen Thangjam (2011). Situating Conflict and Poverty in Manipur. *CPRC-IIPA Working Paper No. 37*. Chronic Poverty Research Centre, New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration.
- Levy, Barry S. and David Parker (2000). Children and War. *Public Health Reports-1974*, Volume 115, No. 4, Washington DC.
- Lindquist, Katharine M (2012). Horizontal Educational Inequalities and Civil Conflict: The Nexus of Ethnicity, Inequality, and Violent Conflict. *Undergraduate Economic Review*, 8 (1), Article. 10 [Accessed on November 30, 2012: <http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/uer/vol8/iss1/10>]
- Mann, Howard (1987). International Law and the Child Soldier. *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 36 (1): 32-57.
- Manoharan, Arlene (2012). *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children of Manipur*. Occasional Paper (Draft), Bangalore: Juvenile Justice Centre for Child and the Law. National Law School of India University [accessed on September 6, 2012 <http://www.nls.ac.in/ccl/Occasional%20Paper%20for%20univ.pdf>]
- Mentschel, B Nepam (2007). Arm Conflict, Small Arms Proliferation and Women's Responses to Armed Violence in India's North-East. *Working Paper No. 33* (December). South Asia Institute, Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg.
- Mitchell, Christopher R (2006). Conflict, Social Change and Conflict Resolution: An Enquiry. In David Bloomfield, Martina Fischer and Beatrix Schmelzle (Eds.), *Social Change and Conflict Transformation*, Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series, No. 5 [accessed on 28th Nov. 2012 and available at : http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/dialogue5_sochange_complete.pdf]
- Mukherjee, Dipa (2005). Educational Attainment in India: Trends, Patterns and Policy Issues. *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration*, XIX (4): 523-41.
- Patricia, Justino (2010). *How Does Violent Conflict Impact on Individual Educational Outcomes? The Evidence So Far*. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011 UNESCO "The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education". Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, UK: University of Sussex.
- RGCC (2012). *Population Projections for India and States 2001-2026*. Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Report of the Technical Group on Population Projections Constituted by the National Commission on Population: New Delhi.

- Ravi, R N (2012). *Chasing a Chimeric Peace*. New Delhi: The Hindu November 15, 2012. [Accessed on 15th November 2012 <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/chasing-a-chimeric-peace/article4095592.ece>]
- Richards, Simon and Gezu Bekele (2011). *Conflict in the Somali Region of Ethiopia: Can Education Promote Peace-Building?*. Feinstein International Centre, USA: Tufts University.
- Seitz, Klaus (2004). *Education and Conflict: The role of education in the creation, prevention and resolution of societal crises – Consequences for development cooperation*. Eschborn: German Technical Cooperation.
- Sharma, H S (2011). Conflict and Development in India's North-Eastern State of Manipur. *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, 72 (1): 5-22.
- Shimray, U A (2007). *Meitei-Mayek: Uneasy Script*, October 3, 2007, The Sangai Express, Imphal, Manipur [access on 18th August 2012: http://e-pao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=news_section.opinions.Opinion_on_Manipur_Integrity_Issue.Meitei-Mayek_Uneasy_script]
- Sinclair, Margaret (2002). *Planning Education in and after Emergencies*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (International Institute for Educational Planning).
- Singha, Komol (2009). Bandh Syndrome and its Impact on Trade and Commerce in North-East India. *Journal of Global Economy*, 5 (2): 91-101.
- (2010). English Education and Rural Development: A North East Perspective. In Singha, Komol (ed), *Rural Development in India: Retrospect and Prospects*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- (2012). Identity, Contestation and Development in North East India: A Study of Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland. *Journal of Community Positive Practices*, XII (3): 403-24.
- (2013). Conflict, State and Education in India: A Study of Manipur. *American Journal of Educational Research*, 1 (6): 181-93.
- Singh, Surat (2011). Causality between total Expenditure on Education and Economic Growth: A Case Study of Haryana. *The Indian Journal of Economics*, XIIC (1): 1-8.
- Smith, Alan (2010). *The Influence of Education on Conflict and Peace Building*. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011 UNESCO- *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*. 2011/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/48, University of Ulster.
- Smith, Alan and T Vaux (2003). *Education, Conflict and International Development*. London: Department for International Development.
- Srikanth, H and Th. Ngaihte (2011). Ethnicity and Ethnic Identities in North East India. *Man and Society*, VIII (summer), Pages 125-33.
- South Asia Terrorism Portal (2012). *Insurgency Related Killings*, [accessed March 2012: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/database/index.html>]
- Tensuba, K C (1993). *Genesis of Indian Tribes: An Approach to the History of Meiteis and Thais*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.

- Tyack, David and Elisabeth Hansot (1981). *Conflict and Consensus in American Public Education*. Dadelus, 110 (3): 1-25.
- UNESCO (2011). *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*. *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- UNESCO (2010a). *Protecting Education from Attack*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- UNESCO (2010b). *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*. *The Quantitative Impact of Conflict on Education 2011/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/50*, UNESCO Institute for Statistics. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
-

Recent Working Papers

- 245 **Is Young Maternal Age A Risk Factor for Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Anemia in India? An Examination in Urban and Rural Areas**
Kavitha N
- 246 **Patterns and Determinants of Female Migration in India: Insights from Census**
Sandhya Rani Mahapatro
- 247 **Spillover Effects from Multinational Corporations: Evidence From West Bengal Engineering Industries**
Rajdeep Singha and K Gayithri
- 248 **Effectiveness of SEZs Over EPZs Structure: The Performance at Aggregate Level**
Malini L Tantri
- 249 **Income, Income Inequality and Mortality An empirical investigation of the relationship in India, 1971-2003**
K S James and T S Syamala
- 250 **Institutions and their Interactions: An Economic Analysis of Irrigation Institutions in the Malaprabha Dam Project Area, Karnataka, India**
Durba Biswas and L Venkatachalam
- 251 **Performance of Indian SEZs: A Disaggregated Level Analysis**
Malini L Tantri
- 252 **Banking Sector Reforms and NPA: A study of Indian Commercial Banks**
Meenakshi Rajeev and H P Mahesh
- 253 **Government Policy and Performance: A Study of Indian Engineering Industry**
Rajdeep Singha and K Gayithri
- 254 **Reproduction of Institutions through People's Practices: Evidences from a Gram Panchayat in Kerala**
Rajesh K
- 255 **Survival and Resilience of Two Village Communities in Coastal Orissa: A Comparative Study of Coping with Disasters**
Priya Gupta
- 256 **Engineering Industry, Corporate Ownership and Development: Are Indian Firms Catching up with the Global Standard?**
Rajdeep Singha and K Gayithri
- 257 **Scheduled Castes, Legitimacy and Local Governance: Continuing Social Exclusion in Panchayats**
Anand Inbanathan and N Sivanna
- 258 **Plant-Biodiversity Conservation in Academic Institutions: An Efficient Approach for Conserving Biodiversity Across Ecological Regions in India**
Sunil Nautiyal
- 259 **WTO and Agricultural Policy in Karnataka**
Malini L Tantri and R S Deshpande
- 260 **Tibetans in Bylakuppe: Political and Legal Status and Settlement Experiences**
Tunga Tarodi
- 261 **Trajectories of China's Integration with the World Economy through SEZs: A Study on Shenzhen SEZ**
Malnil L Tantri
- 262 **Governance Reforms in Power Sector: Initiatives and Outcomes in Orissa**
Bikash Chandra Dash and S N Sangita
- 263 **Conflicting Truths and Contrasting Realities: Are Official Statistics on Agrarian Change Reliable?**
V Anil Kumar
- 264 **Food Security in Maharashtra: Regional Dimensions**
Nitin Tagade
- 265 **Total Factor Productivity Growth and Its Determinants in Karnataka Agriculture**
Elumalai Kannan
- 266 **Revisiting Home: Tibetan Refugees, Perceptions of Home (Land) and Politics of Return**
Tarodi Tunga
- 267 **Nature and Dimension of Farmers' Indebtedness in India and Karnataka**
Meenakshi Rajeev and B P Vani
- 268 **Civil Society Organisations and Elementary Education Delivery in Madhya Pradesh**
Reetika Syal
- 269 **Burden of Income Loss due to Ailment in India: Evidence from NSS Data**
Amrita Ghatak and S Madheswaran
- 270 **Progressive Lending as a Dynamic Incentive Mechanism in Microfinance Group Lending Programmes: Empirical Evidence from India**
Naveen Kumar K and Veerashekharappa
- 271 **Decentralisation and Interventions in Health Sector: A Critical Inquiry into the Experience of Local Self Governments in Kerala**
M Benson Thomas and K Rajesh
- 272 **Determinants of Migration and Remittance in India: Empirical Evidence**
Jajati Keshari Parida and S Madheswaran
- 273 **Repayment of Short Term Loans in the Formal Credit Market: The Role of Accessibility to Credit from Informal Sources**
Manojit Bhattacharjee and Meenakshi Rajeev
- 274 **Special Economic Zones in India: Are these Enclaves Efficient?**
Malini L Tantri
- 275 **An Investigation into the Pattern of Delayed Marriage in India**
Baishali Goswami
- 276 **Analysis of Trends in India's Agricultural Growth**
Elumalai Kannan and Sujata Sundaram
- 277 **Climate Change, Agriculture, Poverty and Livelihoods: A Status Report**
K N Ninan and Satyasiba Bedamatta

- 278 **District Level NRHM Funds Flow and Expenditure: Sub National Evidence from the State of Karnataka**
K Gayithri
- 279 **In-stream Water Flows: A Perspective from Downstream Environmental Requirements in Tungabhadra River Basin**
K Lenin Babu and B K Harish Kumara
- 280 **Food Insecurity in Tribal Regions of Maharashtra: Explaining Differentials between the Tribal and Non-Tribal Communities**
Nitin Tagade
- 281 **Higher Wages, Cost of Separation and Seasonal Migration in India**
Jajati Keshari Parida and S Madheswaran
- 282 **Pattern of Mortality Changes in Kerala: Are they Moving to the Advanced Stage?**
M Benson Thomas and K S James
- 283 **Civil Society and Policy Advocacy in India**
V Anil Kumar
- 284 **Infertility in India: Levels, Trends, Determinants and Consequences**
T S Syamala
- 285 **Double Burden of Malnutrition in India: An Investigation**
Angan Sengupta and T S Syamala
- 286 **Vocational Education and Child Labour in Bidar, Karnataka, India**
V Anil Kumar
- 287 **Politics and Public Policies: Politics of Human Development in Uttar Pradesh, India**
Shyam Singh and V Anil Kumar
- 288 **Understanding the Fiscal Implications of SEZs in India: An Exploration in Resource Cost Approach**
Malini L Tantri
- 289 **Does Higher Economic Growth Reduce Poverty and Increase Inequality? Evidence from Urban India**
Sabyasachi Tripathi
- 290 **Fiscal Devaluations**
Emmanuel Farhi, Gita Gopinath and Oleg Itskhoki
- 291 **Living Arrangement Preferences and Health of the Institutionalised Elderly in Odisha**
Akshaya Kumar Panigrahi and T S Syamala
- 292 **Do Large Agglomerations Lead to Economic Growth? Evidence from Urban India**
Sabyasachi Tripathi
- 293 **Representation and Executive Functions of Women Presidents and Representatives in the Grama Panchayats of Karnataka**
Anand Inbanathan
- 294 **How Effective are Social Audits under MGNREGS? Lessons from Karnataka**
D Rajasekhar, Salim Lakha and R Manjula
- 295 **Vulnerability Assessment Of The Agricultural Sector In Yadgir District, Karnataka: A Socio-Economic Survey Approach**
Sarishti Attri and Sunil Nautiyal
- 296 **How Much Do We Know about the Chinese SEZ Policy?**
Malini L Tantri
- 297 **Emerging Trends in E-Waste Management - Status and Issues A Case Study of Bangalore City**
Manasi S
- 298 **The Child and the City: Autonomous Migrants in Bangalore**
Supriya RoyChowdhury
- 299 **Crop Diversification and Growth of Maize in Karnataka: An Assessment**
Komol Singha and Arpita Chakravorty
- 300 **The Economic Impact of Non-communicable Disease in China and India: Estimates, Projections, and Comparisons**
David E Bloom, Elizabeth T Cafiero, Mark E McGovern, Klaus Prettnner, Anderson Stanciole, Jonathan Weiss, Samuel Bakkia and Larry Rosenberg
- 301 **India's SEZ Policy - Retrospective Analysis**
Malini L Tantri
- 302 **Rainwater Harvesting Initiative in Bangalore City: Problems and Prospects**
K S Umamani and S Manasi
- 303 **Large Agglomerations and Economic Growth in Urban India: An Application of Panel Data Model**
Sabyasachi Tripathi
- 304 **Identifying Credit Constrained Farmers: An Alternative Approach**
Manojit Bhattacharjee and Meenakshi Rajeev

Price: Rs. 30.00

ISBN 978-81-7791-161-9



INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

Dr V K R V Rao Road, Nagarabhavi P.O., Bangalore - 560 072, India
Phone: 0091-80-23215468, 23215519, 23215592; Fax: 0091-80-23217008
E-mail: lekha@isec.ac.in; Web: www.isec.ac.in