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From the Editor

Welcome to the fourth volume of The Excellence in Education Journal (www.excellenceineducationjournal.org). The Excellence in Education Journal is an open access, refereed, online journal that promotes and disseminates international scholarly writing about excellent practices in all aspects of education. The goal is to share these practices to benefit the education of children and adults worldwide**.** For this reason, there are no publications fees and the journal is available free of charge on the internet. Typeset and graphics are intentionally simple in order that the journal can be more easily accessed worldwide to fulfill the mission of the journal.

We were pleased to have received many submissions for this issue. I would like to thank those who submitted manuscripts for this journal, the review team for their work in reviewing these submissions, and the authors whose writing is published herein. Additionally, I would like to thank Li Cheng, M.Ed., for assisting in the editorial process

This issue focuses on both excellent practices as well as reshaping current practices to attain excellence. Dr. Creasy discusses the importance of field-based experiences in the preparation of teacher candidates. Dr. Singha provides a study from the State of Manipur in India which, despite facing severe forms of conflicts, continues to manifest exceptional results in education. Finally, Dr. Rose identifies ways in which teacher candidates conceptualize culturally responsive instruction and how these understandings are brought to bear in their instructional modifications for linguistically and culturally diverse learners.

I hope that the excellent practices discussed in this journal will be helpful to those who are involved with education of children and adults worldwide.

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Reviewers

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Growing Through Field-Based Experiences

Kim Creasy

Abstract

This paper discusses the importance of field-based experiences in the preparation of teacher candidates. The author cites the research and experienced opinions of experts in the field of teacher preparation. Included in this discussion of the importance of field-based experiences is the ability of teacher candidates to link theory to practice, understand the importance of collaboration, participate in continued professional development, and utilization of resources.

Keywords: teacher preparation, field-based experiences, collaboration

Dr. Kim Creasy joined the University of Northern Colorado faculty in the fall of 2013. He serves teacher candidates as the Elementary Education Program Coordinator. Prior to joining the UNC faculty, Dr. Creasy taught for 10 years at Slippery Rock University of Pennsylvania and 26 years in the Pennsylvania public school system. Dr. Creasy can be reached at kim.creasy@unco.edu.

Teachers bear a responsibility to prepare the next generation of our nation's citizens. Through utilizing a variety of instructional strategies, teachers provide children the cognitive, social, emotional, and behavioral tools which enable them to become competent, caring, and contributing citizens. The lives that a teacher touches over the course of his or her career are numerous and the influence a teacher can have on learners is profound. Based on this understanding of the important function of educators, the preparation of teachers is of utmost importance to our society as a whole (Ambe, 2006; Bruning, 2006; Darling-Hammond, & Baratz-Snowden, 2005; Murphy, Delli, & Edwards, 2004; National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, n.d.; Wise & Leibrand, 2000).

There has been and continues to be an enormous amount of public focus recently examining teacher quality and preparation (Cochran-Smith, 2006). The general conclusion is that for there to be a change in K-12 students, there must be a change in those who teach those students. An effort to increase teachers' proficiency and efficacy is a critical component in making necessary changes to the American education system (Bruning, 2006; Darling-Hammond & Baratz-Snowden, 2005). As a result of this focus, reforms have been enacted to create more rigorous teacher preparation programs.

Colleges and universities have the challenge of assuring their programs of study provide the curricular and experiential components to generate teacher candidates who are well-prepared for today's classrooms and the challenges found within. National and state teaching standards provide a framework upon which teacher education programs can build their curriculum; however, it is the responsibility of higher education entities to interpret the standards and employ them in the creation and delivery of their teacher preparatory programs.

Within this process of analyzing and applying standards, there is opportunity for great variance in interpretation. Therefore, the responsibility falls on individual education programs to further identify, through empirical research, characteristics of effective education programs and from that data build their curriculum on the foundation of best practices (Cochran-Smith, 2006; Comer & Maholmes, 1999; Dean, Lauer, & Urquhart, 2005; Scannell, n.d.). As this research is conducted, the component which most often is identified as characteristic of a good teacher preparation program is the need for early and numerous opportunities to practice teaching in field based experiences (Larson, 2005).

In one study of graduates of teacher education programs responses indicated three major recommendations for program improvement: a) more observation time in a wider variety of schools with a wider variety of students and experienced classroom teachers, b) more time and opportunities to engage in actual teaching, and c) closer supervision with constructive feedback (Darling-Hammond, Hudson, & Kirby, 1989). A noted short-coming shared by teacher education graduates is the existence of a large gap between theory, classroom practice, and utility of coursework. Furthermore, the referral to a lack of a connection between theory and practice in teacher preparatory programs seems to increase after teacher candidates have spent some time in the classroom.

The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (1996) indicated that numerous teacher education programs separate theory from application citing that in some places, "…teachers were taught to teach in lecture halls from texts and teachers who frequently had not themselves ever practiced what they were teaching" (p. 31). In addition, often teacher candidates would complete their coursework before they began student teaching and there was seldom a

connection made between what they were doing in their classrooms to what they had learned in their programs.

Jacobs (2001) argued that teacher preparation programs should design their own curriculum after Vygotsky's scaffolding model. This model would provide teacher candidates with a firm, theoretical foundation and offer opportunities for teacher candidates to put this theory to use in actual classrooms. It is imperative for teacher education programs to provide structured opportunities to practice instructional strategies in the classroom setting.

Learning by doing is for teacher candidates an effective leaning model, just as is true with their learners in a school setting. Teacher candidates must be given opportunities to read and reflect, collaborate with other teacher candidates, and share their ideas and experiences. Learning in this manner enables teachers to span the gap from theory to practice. Model teacher education programs establish practices that encourage teacher candidates to learn about teaching through practice by providing opportunities to participate in settings that create strong connections between theory and practice (Kent, 2005; Larson, 2005).

Therefore, teacher preparation programs must provide multiple and positive opportunities for teacher candidates to observe, assist, and practice teaching. Scannell (n.d.) identified field experiences as a critical component in teacher preparation programs. These opportunities in school settings allow teacher candidates to build self-confidence and a sense of readiness which will ultimately result in a positive disposition about their own readiness to teach effectively. Jacobs (2001) suggested that opportunities to work with children in authentic surroundings begin in introductory education courses and continue throughout their teacher preparation program.

In effective teacher preparatory programs, professors of pedagogy use actual artifacts from the classroom, examples of student work, tapes of classrooms in action, and case studies of teaching to help teacher candidates connect what is being modeled and what they are learning in their courses to actual problems of practice in classrooms (Darling-Hammond & Baratz-Snowden, 2005). Through field-based practice, teacher candidates are given the opportunity to reveal what they actually know and demonstrate what they can do (Wise & Leibrand, 2000). An ongoing argument is made for the need for connection between theory and practice, and field-based experiences are the best way to ensure this connection is made for teacher candidates.

Beyond the "hands-on" site-based practice with students, other qualities/dispositions of effective teacher candidates, such as professionalism, can also be honed during field-based experiences. Professionalism refers to the dispositions that a teacher must possess in order to be successful in the classroom. These dispositions encompass the areas of collaboration, continuing professional development, and awareness of and utilization of resources. Darling-Hammond, Wise, and Klein (1999) discussed teaching professionalism in the following way:

> Teaching dispositions are the orientations teachers develop to think and behave in professionally responsible ways- for example, to reflect on their teaching and its effectiveness and to strive for continual improvement; to respect and value the needs, experiences, and abilities of all learners and to strive to develop the talents of each to the greatest extent possible; to engage with learners in joint problem solving and exploration of ideas; to establish cooperative relationships with students, parents, and other teachers to keep abreast of professional ideas, and to engage in broader professional responsibilities. (p. 39)

Collaboration

Linda Darling-Hammond (1999a) addressed how education reform not only focuses typical areas such as curriculum and instruction, diversity and assessment, but also how to work collegially with others. Teaching is not a career in where one works in isolation. Interpersonal skills of communication and collaboration are integral components in the art of effective teaching. Teacher candidates must learn how to collaborate with other teachers, administrators, community support agencies, and families of learners.

First, teacher candidates must acquire social skills in before they can establish and maintain working relationships. Collaboration with teachers and other educational professionals serves as an opportunity to share knowledge as well as ideas from seasoned practitioners on best practices. Teacher education can provide opportunities for pre-service teachers to understand what it means and what it feels like to be members of a group that shares common goals.

Collaboration with families is imperative student success. Comer and Maholmes (1999) specified the importance of building the skills of teacher candidates to help increase the frequency of and improve the involvement of parents/guardians. Parents/guardians, by nature, are the most knowledgeable of the preferences and practices of their children. Thus, they possess useful information to offer and must be viewed as partners in the educational process. In addition to the opportunity to experience group membership, teacher preparation programs must provide teacher candidates with techniques on how to work effectively with parents/guardians of students.

Ryan and Cooper (2007) indicated that there is sometimes an air of superiority that teachers emanate toward students' caregivers. This attitude is in complete contradiction to the spirit of cooperation and communication that is essential for creation of a positive learning environment.

The ability to communicate with parents among many qualities of good teachers as outlined by the public was described by Berry (2005). Teacher candidates must learn how to work cooperatively with parents/guardians and consider themselves members of a team cooperating to provide a rich educational experience for the child.

Continuing Professional Growth

Beginning teachers must learn skills that allow them to apply what they are learning, analyze what is happening, and enable them to adjust their teaching methodology accordingly. Teacher candidates need to engage in inquiry and reflection about learning, teaching, and curriculum (Bruning, 2006). Ryan and Cooper (2007), in their research, addressed the importance of being a reflective decision maker in planning, implementing, and evaluating decisions.

Teacher candidates hold firm beliefs about the teaching profession long before they enter the classroom and these persist throughout their teacher preparation and into their early years of teaching (Fajet et al., 2005). Therefore, the examination of teacher candidates' perceptions about teaching is important for evaluation of teacher preparation programs. Such an evaluation can assist in aligning prospective teachers' previously held beliefs with the pedagogical practices that they will have learned and will put into practice in their subsequent teaching careers.

Fajet et al. (2005) found that teacher candidates' perceptions suggest that teacher preparation courses do little to alter the perceptions students develop during their 12 or 13 years of public school experiences. "It appears from the findings of Fajet's study that education majors underestimate the complex nature of teaching. Fajit's results demonstrated that teacher candidates assign great importance to their personal characteristics and less importance to pedagogical training" (Fajet et al., 2005, p. 724). Teacher educators need to be aware of this research on teacher

candidate perceptions which shows that core beliefs tend not to change over time. With this knowledge, teacher educators may take appropriate steps to provide instruction and guidance to assist teacher candidates in overcoming their preconceptions and any misconceptions of education.

Jacobs (2001) suggested that teacher preparation programs must strive to create good decision makers and in order to accomplish this, teacher candidates must be provided time and opportunities to reflect on their experiences. Teacher candidates need to be taught how to analyze and reflect on their field experiences, to assess the effects of their teaching on learners, and to refine their instructional methods. Teacher candidates must be taught through modeling by their pedagogy professors how to set clear goals and develop a sense of purpose. This modeling will enable the teacher candidates to make sensible, consistent decisions about what to teach, in what sequence, and with which methodology.

Additionally, self-confidence is a vital factor in teachers' and teacher candidates' satisfaction and feelings about their work. According to Darling-Hammond, Wise, and Klein (1999), teachers who lack confidence in their teaching skills or possess doubt about their abilities to help students learn have higher rates of absenteeism and attrition. This attitude would clearly affect how effective a teacher candidate can be in their instruction. Teacher candidates must be provided with a preparatory program that leaves them feeling prepared for the classroom, so they are confident in their abilities as they enter the field of education.

Resources

Proof of professionalism in the field of education comes in many forms. One additional area of professional growth is knowledge of available resources. Ryan and Cooper (2007) described characteristics of effective teaching. This included the necessity of knowing what

resources are available to assist new teachers develop their instructional strategies. These resources include such tools as videos, research materials, teaching journals, as well as human support in the form of co-workers, administrators and specialists.

Teacher candidates need to develop the skills of identifying useful resources and how to utilize those resources in their own classrooms (Bruning, 2006). Teacher preparation programs must help teacher candidates identify the role of resource agencies and instill in the teacher candidates the understanding of how those agencies may be an integral part of the educational arena. Darling-Hammond, Banks, Zumwalt, Gomez, Sherin, Griesorn et al. (2005) discussed the importance of the knowledge of resources:

> Knowledge of the types of curriculum material and resources available at particular grade levels and for particular subject areas-and the ability to evaluate the utility of these for various purposes-is particularly useful to beginning teachers. Prospective teachers should be aware of major resources in the field and those that are in use locally, and know how to find additional resources and critically assess what is available. (p. 189)

Through well-planned field experiences, teacher candidates will be afforded the opportunity to work with skilled and experienced teachers, administrators, parents, and other schools support service personnel to identity types of resources available as well as the correct way to utilize these resources.

It is vital that teacher preparatory programs constantly monitor the expectations and responsibilities placed on classroom teachers, and then subsequently examine their teacher education programs to assure the curriculum provided is designed to address the needs of the

school setting where teacher candidates are placed. Professors of pedagogy must keep abreast of changing school climates and expectations placed on teachers. This will enable the altering of education programs curricula, resulting in the development of teacher candidates equipped with the knowledge and ability to adapt to these climates and become effective teachers.

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Planning for Instruction: What Teacher Candidates Know About Culturally Responsive Instruction

Brian Rose

Abstract

Research suggests that a majority of elementary school teachers do not feel confident in their ability to teach English language learners. Moreover, teachers and teacher candidates are often presented as a monolithic group of middle-class, monolingual women with relatively few experiences with people from diverse backgrounds. Accordingly, this study aims to identify the ways in which teacher candidates conceptualize culturally responsive instruction and how these understandings are brought to bear in their instructional modifications for linguistically and culturally diverse learners. Through an analysis of unit and lesson plans designed by pre-service teacher candidates, this study explores the assumptions inherent in specific instructional modifications and how these choices reflect the knowledge teacher candidates demonstrate in their planning. These findings help teacher educators identify the knowledge that teacher candidates bring to their programs, as well as provide teacher educators a non-deficit perspective through which to further support the development of teacher candidates.

Dr. Brian Rose is currently an Assistant Professor of Teacher Education at UNC. He began his career in education as a teacher in South Korea, first teaching adults and then Kindergarten and 4th grade. He completed his graduate work at Vanderbilt University, focusing on the professional development needs and choices of in-service teachers of English Language Learners. His current research focuses on how teacher candidates learn to provide effective literacy instruction to di

Over the last twenty years, the United States has experienced a significant demographic shift. Much of this shift has been seen in minority populations, most noticeably among Spanish speakers. The Census Bureau (2003) reported that in 1990, almost 32 million people, or approximately 14% of the total population of the U.S., spoke a language other than English at home. Approximately half of those people who reported speaking another language spoke Spanish. In 2000, however, almost 47 million people, or close to 18% of the nation's population, reported speaking a language other than English, with 28 million speaking Spanish. In other words, not only is the Spanish-speaking population overwhelmingly the largest non-English speaking group in the United States, it continues to grow ever larger. Not surprisingly, then, the U.S. has also seen a similar demographic shift among school-aged children during the same time period. In 1990, one in every eight students in U.S. public schools was Hispanic (Pew, 2008), but in 2012, this ratio was a little more than one in every five students (Pew, 2012). Current estimates place this population at around 12 million students, possibly increasing to 28 million by the year 2050. Also by 2050, non-Hispanic school-aged students will increase in number by a mere 4% to 45 million, up from 43 million (Pew, 2008). Upwards of 70% of Hispanic students currently report speaking a language other than English in the home, and these students, many unable to completely understand the language of instruction, are too large a group to ignore.

While in years past many English language learners (ELLs) may have lived and attended schools primarily in urban areas, today, ELLs attend schools in urban, suburban, and rural schools alike. In fact, as of the 2007-08 school year, nearly three quarters of *all* public schools across the country enrolled at least one student who had been identified as limited English proficient (Keigher, 2009). American schools are required to provide academic support services to ELLs such as pull-out ESL classes, sheltered content instruction, or bilingual aides. However,

these students are not required to take advantage of these services; many parents and guardians opt their children out of educational services designed specifically to aid in their academic achievement. Additionally, while many ELLs speak languages other than English at home, many meet a minimum standard of English proficiency and test out of services, also allowing them to enter mainstream, English-speaking classrooms. In the 2011-12 school year, more than 4 million ELL students received formal educational accommodations (US. Department of Education, 2013), while the remaining 8 million ELLs attended school in mainstream classrooms, receiving little to no formal instructional accommodation.

The teacher population of the U.S., however, has not experienced as dramatic a demographic shift. In 1987-88, 71% of teachers in the U.S. were female, and 89% were white, and only 2.8% were Hispanic (Hammer & Gerald, 1990). In 2007-08, 75% of teachers across the country were female, and 83.5% of teachers were white, as opposed to the 6.9% who were of Hispanic descent (Coopersmith, 2009). Of course, the cultural differences that might exist between ELLs and their teachers cannot be underestimated. Sleeter (2008) offers some insight into the perils of these difference, "This gap matters because it means that students of color…are much more likely than White students to be taught by teachers who question their academic ability, are uncomfortable around them, or do not know how to teach them well" (p. 559). Compounding these possible concerns, many teachers are simply not prepared to instruct the ELLs they receive in their classrooms. In fact, only one third of teachers say that they feel very well prepared to teach students from diverse backgrounds (Parsad, Lewis, & Farris, 2001). As such, there is a large population of students entering classrooms with a teacher who feels unprepared to teach them effectively, regardless of her or his actual knowledge, skills, and dispositions.

In light of this situation, teacher education programs are working diligently to prepare would-be teachers to work specifically with students for whom English is not a native language. These programs often focus on increasing teacher candidates' knowledge of their students and their instructional repertoire to not simply 'incorporate' or 'respect' their students' culture in the classroom, but to provide greater access to academic content through the leverage of linguistic and cultural strengths that *all* students possess.

INSTRUCTION FOR CULTURALLY DIVERSE STUDENTS

This study assumes as its theoretical perspective the construct of culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2002, 2010). Within this paradigm, teachers capitalize on and leverage "the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse student as conduits for teaching them more effectively" (Gay, 2002, p. 106). Moll and his colleagues (1992) previously advocated for not simply the respect for a student's cultural being, but "a positive view of households as containing ample cultural and cognitive resources with great *potential* utility for classroom instruction" (p. 134, emphasis in original). Lee (1995) extends this notion through her construct of cultural modeling, wherein she describes a framework for instruction that not only identifies the cultural strengths of students but also tasks teachers to use these strengths in designing instruction for all present in the classroom. Villegas and Lucas (2002) also present a framework defining the culturally responsive teacher. Among the qualities they identify are a desire to learn about students and a repertoire of classroom practices that build upon students' cultural understandings and practices. This framework relies on the notion that teacher must "cross the sociocultural boundaries that separate too many of them from their students" (p. 21). To do cross these boundaries, the authors state that teachers need to gain "the awareness that a person's worldview is not universal but is profoundly influenced by life experiences, as

mediated by a variety of factors, including race, ethnicity, gender, and social class" (Villegas & Lucas, 2007, "Being Socioculturally Conscious," para. 1). In other words, culturally responsive instruction assumes as its basic tenets the ability to learn about students as cultural beings and to apply this knowledge of students toward literacy instruction and the learning of new academic content.

Much research has been conducted investigating the ways in which teachers employ the knowledge they gain about students in their instruction (e. g., Gonzalez, Andrade, Civil, & Moll, 2001; Jiménez, 2001; Risko & Walker-Dalhouse, 2007; Yau & Jiménez, 2003). Culturally responsive teachers providing instruction along these lines offer students rigorous classroom instruction that builds on their cultural and linguistic strengths, assess students equitably, and present a variety of perspectives on the academic curriculum (Irvine, 2003). For instance, Buchanan and Burts (2007) discussed the links between children's cultural practices and both the content and method of classroom instruction. In their example, these authors presented ways in which teachers can access academic content through aspects of the popular Pokemon franchise, focusing on English Language Arts as well as Mathematics. Purnell, Ali, Begum, and Carter (2007) integrated art and literacy to connect classroom content "bridge the gap between students' home culture and the classroom" (p. 419). Grant and Asimeng-Boahene (2006) leveraged African proverbs toward the learning of social studies. These examples highlight the possible ways in which teachers can learn about their students and then apply this knowledge in their classrooms.

The research literature does present numerous recommendations for what content, skills, and instructional practices teachers who work with ELLs ought to know to be effective (see August & Hakuta, 1997; Genessee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2006).

Knowledgeable teachers, beyond their understanding of elementary academic content, understand how language systems work, how languages are learned, and the ways in which the individual lived-experiences of students affects learning. Skilled teachers who work with ELLs are able to identify and leverage the knowledge skills and strategies their student possess while at the same time helping the students to critique existing and acquire new knowledge, hone existing and develop new skills, and apply existing and add new strategies in academic settings. Effective teachers employ a variety of instructional practices within their classroom. These practices can range from the logistical (e. g., grouping strategies, classroom arrangement, and classroom artifacts) to the instructional (e. g., classroom activities, assessment techniques, and text and material selection) to the interactional (e. g., questioning techniques, classroom language use, and praise and discipline programs).

Generally, however, teachers in the United States are portrayed as a monolithic group that has little to no knowledge of how languages are learned, little to no understanding of how people and communities other than their own function, little to no ability to work with students from diverse backgrounds. Essentialized assumptions of what it is to be white, middle class, and monolingual bleeds into perspectives guiding public discourse as well as academic research. As teacher educators, we must be careful not to view teachers and teacher candidates through the very lenses with which we hope they will not view their students – that teachers and teacher candidates are in some way deficient in their skills, knowledge, or overall ability to teach their students. This is not to say that pre-service teachers enter teacher education programs knowing everything they need to know and able to do everything they need to do to be effective in the classroom. Nor do I mean to imply that teacher educators assume their teacher candidates know and can do nothing. Rather, it is the task of teacher educators to learn what exactly their

candidates already know and can do when they enter teacher education programs and then design instructional activities and field experiences that build upon this very knowledge and ability. This *personal practical knowledge* (Clandinin, 1986; Clandinin & Connelly, 1986) is the combination of a teacher's beliefs regarding both the value of and the ways in which one obtains an education. Personal practical knowledge can also be seen as a "moral, affective, and aesthetic way of knowing life's educational situation" (p. 59). Golombek (1998) posits that this knowledge "informed [teachers'] practice by serving as a kind of interpretive framework through which they made sense of their classrooms" (p. 459).

Accordingly, this study aims to determine what teacher candidates know about providing culturally responsive instruction and how they apply the specific strengths of their students toward the learning of academic content. Ultimately, these data can inform the ways in which teacher educators can design instruction and educational experiences that do indeed capitalize on the knowledge and skills teacher candidates employ in their instruction of students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds.

METHOD & DATA SOURCES

This study was guided by the following research question, "In what ways do teacher candidates represent their understandings of culturally relevant instruction in their planning documents?" More specifically, this study investigated, through an analysis of literacy lesson and unit plans, how teacher candidates conceptualize culturally relevant pedagogy and how they modify their instruction to meet the literacy learning needs of their LCD students.

The participants in this study were teacher candidates enrolled in a teacher education program at an access institution located in the southeast United States. Thirty-four candidates were in their first semester, nine candidates in their second semester, and eight candidates in

their third semester of a four-semester-long, professional teacher education program. The data sources for this study consisted of assigned, written units of literacy instruction and lesson plans collected over the course of a single academic semester. Each participant completed a unit of instruction, which included a single unit planner (Figure 1) and five, individual lesson plans (Figure 2). Among other information, the unit planner required the candidates to fully describe the characteristics of the students in their classroom and how the instruction in the unit was culturally responsive in nature. The lesson plan is a revised version of the format developed by Madeline Hunter (1984), containing a specific section wherein the teacher candidates highlighted the modifications they planned for LCD students. The third semester candidates also completed another single lesson plan specifically modified for LCD students. In all, the data set included 51 unit plans and 271 individual lesson plans.

These data were analyzed qualitatively, and in alignment with the research question and theoretical frame above, I coded these data specifically to identify the ways in which the teacher candidates' instructional choices exemplify their understandings of instruction for LCD students. A small set of *a priori* codes guided the initial data analysis. For instance, I expected to see the candidates employ specific grouping strategies as well as provide allowances for students to use their native languages. Thus, the data corresponding to the codes "peer assistance" and "native language use" were immediately identifiable. Other codes, such as "family and community involvement," "non-lesson specific," and, indeed, "inappropriate modification," emerged from the data as collection and analysis progressed.

RESULTS

This study shows that teacher candidates view culturally responsive pedagogy and the instructional needs of their students in a variety of ways. In particular, the candidates plan for

peer assistance, native language use, and family and community involvement in their lessons specifically to address the needs of the diverse students in their classroom. However, these data also suggest that the teacher candidates maintain some confusion regarding when and how to modify instruction for LCD students by offering non-lesson-specific and, what some may consider inappropriate modifications.

Peer Assistance

The teacher candidates rely heavily on peer assistance in their planning for LCD students (Table 3). The unit and lesson plans contain both homogeneous and heterogeneous groupings in their lessons, in that ELLs are paired or grouped with either their bilingual or monolingual, English-speaking counterparts. Research suggests that school-aged children are able to learn through specific language use and peer interaction (see Aljaafreh & Lantolf, 1994; Antón & DiCamilla, 1998; DeGuerrero & Villamil, 1994; DeGuerrero & Villamil, 2000; DiCamilla & Antón, 1997; Lantolf & Aljaafreh, 1995). Peer work of in this vein is often theorized by invoking Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development (ZPD). Vygotsky viewed development at two levels: actual development, or what a child can do independently, and potential development, what a child is able to do with assistance.

With modifications of this kind, teacher candidates can mistakenly assume that peer assistance naturally occurs. However, other modifications include the possibility that peers may not be of assistance in any and every circumstance. The candidates specify certain instances when peer assistance may be warranted or effective – in these cases, if a peer can actually translate academic material from one language to another and if there is a specific issue an ELL may experience during the course of a classroom activity. Of course, using words such as *if possible* and *may* are handy words to use in a university assignment; however, these

modifications do still signify a more nuanced approach to peer assistance, implying a more situated purpose for this instructional strategy.

Teacher candidates may also assume that if their ELLs are partnered up, then no further instructional support is needed. For instance, on of the teacher candidates wrote, "The reason I am mixing them with English-speaking students is because many times, students learn best through his or her peers." A reliance on peer assistance implies that once ELLs are paired, that peer can now function as the teacher in the classroom. Again, these modifications are not necessarily inappropriate. In fact, and as explained above, employing specific grouping strategies is indeed an effective way to support all students and differentiated options in the classroom.

Lastly, candidates assume that existing student knowledge is sufficient to complete the task or fully comprehend the academic content. The candidates imbue both the ELLs and their peers with particular knowledge or skills – the ability to successfully participate in cooperative learning activities and a wealth of ideas that can accessed at a moment's notice. To be sure, teacher candidates need to consider what their students can do and know when planning specific instruction. These abilities and this knowledge certainly play a part in a teacher's decision to choose groups and/or partners as well as the type of activity in which students will participate. Based upon the written modifications, teacher candidates show that they understand that peer assistance is helpful for ELLs, indeed all students. However, for teacher candidates to employ this instructional strategy more effectively, they need to determine whether any one of the above assumptions is correct. In response, candidates need to provide scaffolded assistance pertaining to classroom behavior, including how to interact in small group activities, to monitor and support student work as it unfolds within a lesson or activity, including providing individual assistance

within a group activity, and to formatively assess what students know and are doing throughout a lesson or activity, ensuring that the students are actually able to complete the tasks assigned.

Native Language Use

Students' previous language experiences, skills, and knowledge are paramount when learning new languages and in literacy development. For instance, a student who is a proficient reader in their native language will have access to specific comprehension strategies, vocabulary, and metalinguistic and background knowledge to a text in another language (Buriel & Cardoza, 1998; Jimenez, Garcia, & Pearson, 1996; Jimenez, 2000). Of course, students do not always know how to transfer their skills and knowledge to a new context, and some may not know that doing so is appropriate. Despite these considerations, teachers can help students learn how to leverage these skills in the classroom.

Despite certain public perceptions that hoist ELLs learning the English language above all other content areas and the unfortunate belief that maintaining native language fluency is detrimental to learning other languages, the teacher candidates do indeed see the value in offering their students opportunities to use their native language (Table 4). In their planning, the candidates offer their ELLs opportunities to work with classmates who share their native language. Additionally, the candidates plan instruction specifically to provide the students with chances to read texts and complete writing assignments in languages other than English. Modifications such as "Her persuasive writing will be in her native language, Spanish" suggest that the teacher candidates understand the value of previous language learning experiences and literacy in other languages in learning another language.

With modifications of this kind, teacher candidates need to avoid the untested assumptions that their students can speak and read academically in their native language, that

simply the act of using their native language is sufficient in the classroom, and that assessment of student work submitted in languages other than English is of secondary importance. Teachers need to know their students' language proficiencies and literate practices both in English and any other language the students may know. Also, teachers need to maintain a disciplined and rigorous instructional focus. For instance, while allowing students to write poems in their native language provides students a wider variety of linguistic expression, this choice might not be appropriate within a lesson on English metaphor and simile. I am not advocating that teachers limit their students' use of their native language as a matter of course; rather, teachers need to be strategic in providing specific opportunities for native language use so as to more completely capitalize on the specific strengths of their students.

Family and Community Involvement

Affective benefits of connecting school and home practices abound. Erikson (1987) posits that attempts to account for cultural differences in learning "can reduce miscommunication by teachers and students, foster trust, and prevent the genesis of conflict that moves rapidly the on intercultural misunderstanding to better struggles of negative identity exchange between some students and their teachers (p. 355). In other words, home and school connections can facilitate the creation of safe and comfortable learning environments and schools based upon mutual trust and understanding. Of course, these connections are also academically beneficial. Research has long suggested that not all literate practices taught or expected in schools resemble those in which students participate at home (e. g., Heath, 1983; Moll, Estrada, Díaz, & Lopez, 1980). These differences offer innumerable possibilities in terms of the cultural linguistic strengths that can be leveraged in the classroom. Additionally, by connecting home and school practices,

students are able to employ their full repertoire of skills to access academic content (e. g., Puzio, Keyes, Cole, Jiménez, 2013).

The candidates plan to include the families and communities of their students in their instruction in a variety of ways (Table 5). These modifications include inviting into the classroom family and community members, as well as sending home school-specific information to build and maintain open communication regarding classroom activities. All students bring a wealth of background knowledge to the classroom. As mentioned above, this knowledge can be brought to bear in learning to read. Background knowledge is instrumental in creating greater context and connections through which students can access and make sense of new information. Accessing the knowledge and practices of students' families and communities, teachers can provide this context, make explicit the similarities and differences between in- and out-of-classroom experiences and practices, and foster greater access to academic content.

These modifications all suggest that candidates know that the lived experiences of community members, family or students, holds some value in the classroom. However, beyond affective benefits, these modifications do not specify any instructional implications of the desired involvement. One interesting modification provides for more than simply home or community members, practices, or artifacts to visit the classroom. When a teacher candidate offers the modification, "I can work with the parents of my ELL students to figure out some cooperative things we could both do as a team to make the student successful," he or she envisions involvement as more than a temporal or spatial arrangement, or a one-way street. In other modifications, parents and community members are invited to the classroom to share their experiences with the class, or students, teachers, parents, and community members communicate

to each other. However, in this modification, the candidate opens collaboration between in- and out-of-school contexts all for the benefit of the student.

Inherent in modifications such as these are the assumptions that all out-of-classroom experiences and practices are generically valuable and that just a teacher's knowledge of students' out-of-classroom experiences and practices is sufficient. Choices of this nature suggest that the candidates understand that all students, their families, and communities have a vast repertoire of skills, experiences, and knowledge and are able to express themselves completely in ways that may not the norm in U.S. classrooms. Exploring the lives of their students in this manner enables candidates to better identify the ways in which their students' cultural and linguistic practices can be leveraged in the classroom.

Non Lesson-specific Instructional Modification

A number of candidates offer instructional modifications that are not lesson specific (Table 6). That is, the modifications the candidates identify as necessary for their students are the same across all five lesson plans within a single unit of instruction. The instructional practices mentioned in these modifications are wide ranging - accessing institutional resources, providing one-on-one assistance to students, presenting a variety of instructional activities, and including a linguistic focus to lessons. However, the fact that these choices were included in exactly the same language across a sequence of lessons is of particular interest. It is possible that the candidates do not think that the content within any given lesson needs to be considered for modification for ELLs. In other words, the specific content of a lesson does not contain elements that need to be modified in order for ELLs to access that content or to participate fully in the lesson activities. What the candidates may also be demonstrating by stretching a modification across multiple lessons is the understanding that differentiation of this kind can also occur on a

grander scale than a single lesson plan or activity. In other words, modifications that are not lesson specific illustrate a candidate's vision of both when specific differentiation can take place and the scope of such an endeavor.

One such modification, "I would take into account any ELL students that I had in the class that may need extra support from various students in the class or even support staff around the school. I would be sure to address the needs of any students with an IEP and tailor the lesson for their comprehension," shows the candidate's awareness that no matter what the content of a lesson is, more routine modifications are required in the classroom. In this case, any ELL in the classroom may need support from any number of resources within the school – support staff, peers, or the teacher him- or herself. Another modification, "I have provided them with the vocabulary for the activity so that they can have conversations with fellow classmates," also addresses this same understanding – in any lesson presented in the classroom, the candidate needs to understand the specific language required to access content or to participate in the activities presented in the classroom.

"Inappropriate" Modifications

Within the data set, there are four modifications, which, in some cases, may seem wildly inappropriate (Table 7). These data are especially beneficial for teacher educators to attend to because they challenge us again to view what our candidates know, are, and do, not in terms of deficit but of opportunity – an opportunity to build on existing understandings and construct more subtle conceptions of instructional practices and the circumstances under which they can be employed in the classroom. For instance, while "For my ELL's I will be more lenient when I grade their work" implies a teacher candidate's unwillingness to provide academically rigorous instruction to ELLs, this kind of modification does show that candidates consider assessment as a

possible mode of differentiating instruction. Being "more lenient" may simply be an unfortunate word choice, but it certainly leads to more thoughtful understandings of assessment, such as offering ELLs multiple ways to demonstrate their knowledge or skills or maintaining high yet feasible expectations for ELLs' commensurate with their English or native language proficiencies.

Another modification present in the planning documents references the specific speech patterns candidates might use in the classroom. The modification, "I will have to talk slower so that they can understand me," is interesting in that it assumes that the "talk" is understandable, just not its delivery. This technique may from time to time be effective in helping ELLs understand the language of instruction, but regardless of the circumstance, this modification suggests that the candidates understand that they need to measure their language use in the classroom. Whether this measurement takes the form of modeling grade appropriate vocabulary or presenting familiar popular culture references, the candidates seem to know that language is something they need to consider in enacting their instruction.

On one of the lesson plans, a teacher candidate wrote, "This is a group lesson and does not require any writing so all students should be able to complete it with no accommodations." This entry is troublesome. On one hand, it defies certain responsibilities educators have in instructing ELLs. As discussed above, by law, some accommodation needs to be made for these students, as they do not fully comprehend the language of instruction. Of course, views of this nature need to be addressed very specifically. On the other, and just as importantly, modification such as this suggest that candidates perceive ELLs as capable of completing academic work and participating in classroom activities without additional support or provision.

As mentioned above, the data presented here are part of instructional units and lessons, intended to identify specific instructional decisions and actions of the teacher candidate him/herself. It stands to reason, then, that the modification "I will have them receive extra help from other professionals in the school and help them before or after school" might seem inappropriate in that context. However, despite the hands-off nature of this lesson plan entry, it does show that the candidates are aware that there are an array of resources they can access both for themselves and their students.

MOVING FORWARD

This study highlights the specific instructional planning practices of teacher candidates for diverse learners. These data provide teacher educators some direction in providing more targeted support, either in field or course experiences, to expand the knowledge and practice base of teacher candidates. To work more effectively with teacher candidates, regardless of their age, gender, ethnicity, language experiences, or any other cultural or personal aspect, teacher educators need to take into account everything they know, are, and do. Just as we hope teachers will view their students as beings who bring to bear everything about them to the task of learning, so too should we view our teacher candidates. They come to teacher education programs with a variety of experiences, both educational and non. These experiences and the knowledge and skills they have gained over the course of their lives form the prism through which they process the content we present them. The examples presented here provide a window into teacher candidates' personal practical knowledge, or the collection of theories, values, identities, and experiences teachers employ in the act of teaching. These data show that teacher candidates are aware that pairing ELLs with their peers is potentially beneficial. They also see value in providing their ELLs with opportunities to use their native language. They understand

that involving families and communities in their instruction is helpful for their students. They see that instructional modification can also occur on a routine basis, not just in individual lessons. Accordingly, teacher educators and educational researchers would benefit from viewing these understandings not as an end state of knowledge or practice but as the base from which teacher candidates can construct more intricate understandings of ELL instruction.

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Unit Plan Organizer

Grade Level: _____

Curriculum Area(s): _____

Title of Unit: _____

Unit Elements	
Standards/Outcomes	
"Big Picture" Guiding Questions	
Concept Map	
Student Characteristics	
Learning Environment	
Classroom Culture	
Culturally Responsive and Inclusive Teaching	
Pre-Assessment	
Summative Assessment	
Lesson Sequencing	
Resources	

Figure 1. Unit Plan Organizer

Lesson Plan Organizer

Topic of Lesson: _____

Lesson Plan Elements	
Learning Outcomes for Students (Based on Unit Standards & Outcomes Above)	
Prerequisite skills/knowledge	
Individual Learner Characteristics.	
Anticipatory Set	
Procedures/ Methods and Strategies	
Instructional Accommodations/ Modifications	
Lesson-specific logistics	
Closure	
Formative Assessment	
Technology	
Follow-up/ Extensions	

Figure 2. Lesson Plan Organizer

- I would place them near bilingual students so they can help them as well;
- One of the students is Indian so I will place him with another Indian student who I know has the same practices and beliefs at home. The other student is Hispanic and I will place him with our other Latino student;
- I can also pair my ELL students with another student who speaks their language and could translate to them if it is possible in my classroom;
- Cooperative learning is also a great way to allow students to take on roles that they are confident in and will allow them to succeed and help their peers;
- I can pair up my ELL students in with my higher performing students so that the higher performing students can explain to my ELL students what is happening in the story;
- I think that the ELLs will benefit from working in small groups for this assignment. Their peers may be able to assist them when they cannot find something;
- I can place my ESOL students with either a buddy who can translate to them if possible.
- For my ELL's I will have each ELL at a different table with English-speaking students so they can get ideas.
- The reason I am mixing them with English Speaking Students is because many times, students learn best through his or her peers.

Figure 3. Modifications focused on peer assistance.

- For my ELL's I will have each ELL in the SAME group and they can write their own poem in any language they prefer;
- I will also be allowing the students, in some lessons, to write in their own language and translate it back to English;
- Her persuasive writing will be in her native language, Spanish;
- Each student in this group will be provided with a Spanish/English dictionary and will complete the model in both languages;
- If the student is knowledgeable of myths from their culture, they would share with the class in their native language and translate to the class for comprehension;
- The students learning English would listen to a variety of Spanish poems or Skippy Jon Jones books;
- I could let them listen to it on tape in their native language. While we are discussing I can place them in a group with another CD player that will tell the book in their native language;
- This student can use the computer to translate words to English if necessary;
- I can send bilingual books home that are in both Spanish and English for my Spanish speaking ELL students to practice reading at home with their family;
- Poetry will be read in Spanish for the two students learning English;
- I will give the ELL students a copy in their native language.

Figure 4. Modifications focused on native language use.

- I will encourage parents to come in and talk about some experiences they have gone through;
- This will allow students to represent their own values and write from their own perspective of what they find to be good, a desirable code of conduct, or moral;
- I can work with the parents of my ELL students to figure out some cooperative things we could both do as a team to make the student successful;
- At the end of the unit, students will participate in a Culture Day where they are allowed to bring food, clothes, or any representation of their own culture or a culture they are interested in to share with the rest of the class;
- One of the students is Indian so I will place him with another Indian student who I know has the same practices and beliefs at home;
- Students will have the chance to be able to bring in their knowledge and ways of learning these stories from their home life;
- Allowing students to share text-to-self as well as other familiar connections will be vital to making this unit culturally responsive and inclusive to all students;
- The biggest way that I plan to create a culturally responsive and inclusive environment is by inviting the families of the students to come in and see what the students have been working on. Not only will the families get to listen to the Alphabet speeches the students have prepared, but the work the students have completed throughout the entire unit will be on display for all the families to see. Not only will inviting the families of the students make the students feel more included, but it will also give me the opportunity to see their lives outside of the classroom;

- Any letters that need to go home to parents will be written in Spanish as well as English. This is because many of the ELL students in my class have parent's that speak little no English at home;
- Parents are welcome to visit and volunteer in the classroom at any time; and
- I would ask parents to send in a book that is reflective of their family's culture. These books would be explored throughout the unit, to reinforce the idea of common themes across the genre, and similarities in the stories in different cultures.

Figure 5. Modifications focused on family and community involvement.

- I would take into account any ELL students that I had in the class that may need extra support from various students in the class or even support staff around the school. I would be sure to address the needs of any students with an IEP and tailor the lesson for their comprehension;
- ELL and lower level students will get additional assistance with the lesson as needed;
- Reading the books aloud, modeling the projects beforehand, and discussing what we had learned from the books, while also doing a Venn diagram as a class. This helps to ensure that no student feels lost on their own;
- I will provide specific language support to my student who struggles verbally. This student struggles with being vocal so I will assist her by prompting her and explaining the instructions one-on-one; and
- I will provide my one-on-one help with my ELLs students. They can present their understanding through drawing in this lesson.
- I have provided them with the vocabulary for the activity so that they can have conversations with fellow classmates.

Figure 6. Non-lesson specific modifications.

- For my ELL's I will be more lenient when I grade their work;
- I will have to talk slower so that they can understand me;
- This is a group lesson and does not require any writing so all students should be able to complete it with no accommodations;
- I will have them receive extra help from other professionals in the school and help them before or after school.

Figure 7. *Inappropriate* modifications.

Does Conflict Affect Educational Development? Some Insights from Manipur

Komol Singha

Abstract

Though conflict, violence and social upheaval have been the greatest threats to mankind since the dawn of civilisation, its place in the academic field is relatively a new one. Poorest communities, children and educational sector are among those severely affected by it, especially in the developing countries. This study found that despite the fact that the State of Manipur in India has been facing different forms of conflicts; its impact on educational growth was not reflected much. It might due to adopting different mechanisms of protecting educational environment. Some of the visible mechanisms that have been adopted by the State are sending children out of the State for their studies, spending more proportion of per capita consumption expenditure on education, and society's effort in keeping educational institutions away from different forms of conflicts.

Key Words: Conflict, Education, India, Manipur, Society.

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

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1. INTRODUCTION

Conflict, violence and social upheaval (conflict hereafter) have been the greatest threats to mankind since the dawn of civilisation. Poorest communities, children and the education sector are among the most severely affected by conflicts, especially in the developing countries. However, detail study on the relationship between conflict and education is a very recent phenomenon and limited research has been done on the issue, especially in India (Singha, 2013). Globally as well, Brendan O'Malley's work, '*Education under Attack*' published in 2007 was considered as the first ever detail study of its kind (UNESCO, 2010a), and revealed that conflict often leaves an unfortunate legacy for the affected generations, smaller shares of the population with formal schooling, fewer average years of education, and decreased literacy rates which persist over time. In many countries, the existing gap between marginalised groups, such as women and the rest of the population worsen during conflict (Bell & Huebler, 2010).

On the other hand, some studies (e.g. Phillips, 2013; Singha, 2012a; HSR, 2012) revealed that the conflicts are outcomes of development discourses created with the growth of education in a society. Without which, societies become quiescent, perform below the optimum level, but slowly, it resolves as the educational level of the society increases and reaches a certain level (Dupuy, 2008; Brahm, 2003). In this regard, the role of education cannot be overlooked. 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, Singh, & Brar, 2005).

Until today, the issue concerning the impact of conflict on education and vice versa is highly debated. Some studies (e.g. Lindquist, 2012; Boyden, 2006) have tried to estimate the linkage between educational outcomes and violence (conflict) through econometric analysis, but no clear causal direction of the two could be established. Also, no formal model in the issue has been developed yet (Lindquist, 2012; Barrera & Ibenez, 2004). In this context, Boyden (2006) opined that the theories of causality fail to account for understanding of the many ways in which young people's education and armed conflict may be linked. In the recent past, the analysis of "conflict in fragile states" has gained significant attention within the community of academia and policy makers (Gates & Strand, 2012). Having known these complex relationships among the variables, conflict, education and development, a concrete groundwork for safeguarding educational sector from different forms of conflict has become one of the priority initiatives in the present world.

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Despite a number of affirmative actions, conflict resolution programmes and rehabilitation works undertaken by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), its anticipation for 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 (Singha, 2013). Several new threats and conflicts in varied forms have emerged in the world in the recent past. Most of them (almost 90%) are intra-national conflicts, occurring within the borders of states primarily ethnically-driven over self-determination, succession or political dominance (Yilmaz, 2008), and of the major armed conflicts, 68% has been the internal, mainly the ethnic conflicts (Savage, 2005).

Regarding the relationships between education and conflict, many scholars like Amamio (2004); Seitz (2004); Boyden, Berry, Feeny & Hart (2002) and others have opined that initially education often

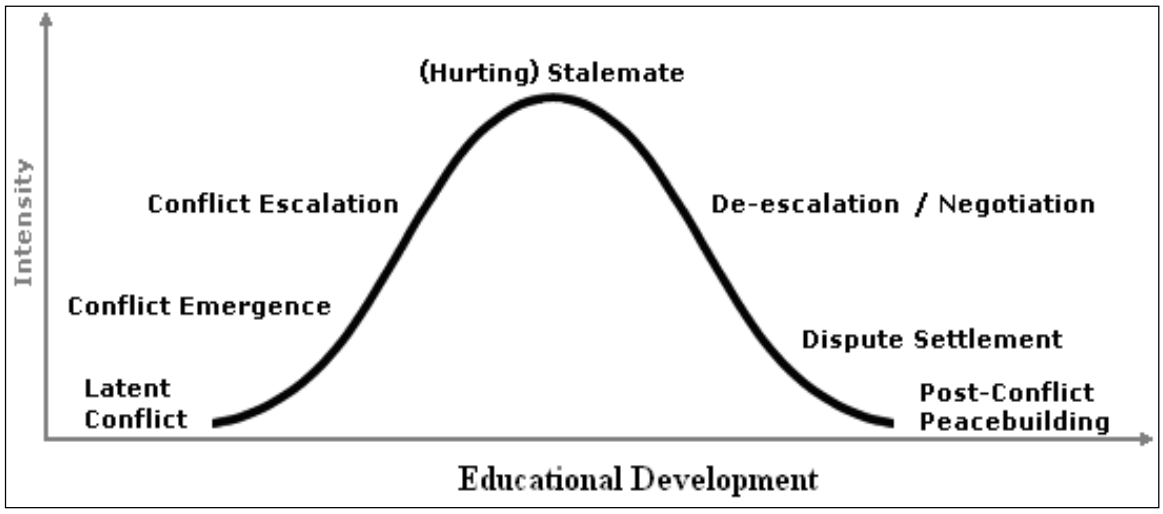
leads to highly complex conflict situations in the world, and it is backed by ever growing spurts of conflicts across the globe. According to Bush & Saltarelli (2000), education can be a part of the problem not the solution, because it serves to divide and antagonise groups both intentionally and unintentionally. 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 socioeconomic disparities and brings about social marginalisation 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. For instance, the "Jihadi Terrorism" all over the world is an outcome of the greater effort made by the "Madrassa" system of education (Boyden, et al., 2002).

In a slightly different manner, study by Smith & 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. According to Smith (2010), though education may be a driver of conflict by fuelling grievances, stereotypes, xenophobia and other antagonisms, it can also be a way of contributing to conflict resolution and peace building. Conflict is a necessary and inevitable dynamic in all human relationships, while education gives awareness and opens up minds, 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).

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). 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, as provided in Figure 1.

Fig. 1: Conflict Pyramid with the Growth of Education



Source: Singha (2013); Brahm (2003)

While conceptualising the impact of conflict on educational development, of course, it (conflict) basically affects the children for those who have directly exposed on it, not all, and also, children's educational environment can be protected from the forces of conflict situations if appropriate measures are taken (Oyelere & Wharton, 2013; Shemyakina, 2011). As the conflict becomes one of the inevitable dynamics in the modern world (Singha, 2012a), the region where the conflict has been continued for long, societies of that region try to find alternative ways for avoiding conflict environment (HSR, 2012). Therefore, finding appropriate alternatives for protecting the educational environment in the conflict ridden region is an important policy for the modern world.

2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

As mentioned above, conflict is an inevitable process in a society's development trajectory; while, education gives awareness and opens up minds and expands our horizon, informs us about our rights and the services that we can access. Not delving into the causal direction between the two– conflict and education, the present study attempts to understand their complex relationships in Manipur– one of the conflict-affected states of India. Despite a prolonged armed conflict, social upheaval and violence, Manipur's educational development level was found to be higher than that of the national average (as per secondary data). How the state could excel in the educational sector by avoiding conflict environment is an important issue to be discussed in this study. Nevertheless, the specific objectives of the study are given below:

1. To assess the growth of conflict and educational development of Manipur vis-à-vis all India's levels;
2. To understand the impact of armed conflict on educational sector in Manipur;
3. To understand the strategies adopted by the society to protect the educational sector from different forms of conflicts in the state.

To achieve the above mentioned objectives, the study employed both primary and secondary data. The secondary data were mainly retrieved from the official website of Directorate of Economics and Statistics (DES), Registrar General and Census Commissioner (RGCC), and National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), etc. The data on literacy rate, enrolment rate, drop-out rate, etc. were collected from the NSS 50th Round (1993-94) Report No. 409, 55th Round (1999-00) Report No. 458, 61st Round (2004-05) Report No. 515 (1) and 66th (2009-10) Round Report No.537. To find a clear picture of

educational development in the State vis-à-vis the all India level, the collected secondary data were analysed by employing descriptive statistics. The proxy variables of armed conflict– insurgency related fatalities, list of conflicts, economic blockades, and forceful closures of market places in the State as well as the country were collected from the South Asia Terrorism Portal and local published journals and news papers. To understand the growth and development indicators of education, the state's data have been compared with the all India level.

As of the primary data, using semi-structured questionnaire, 107 households (35 rural and 72 urban households) were interviewed to understand the impact of the protected conflict situation on the children's education in the State. The questionnaires were collected randomly during the month of April and May 2013 from two districts of Manipur– Thoubal (one of the developed valley districts) and Senapati (one of the backward districts in the hill). The questionnaire included the variables– whether the children were sent outside the State for study or if they study within the State. If children were sent outside of the state, who were they? Rich or poor, rural or urban? What was the socio-economic status of the family, what was the number of regular income earners in the family, number of school/college goers in the family, and what was the place of residence– rural or urban? The collected primary data were analysed by employing cross tabulation to understand the factors that influenced in taking decision on children's education in the midst of conflict. After identifying the decision (from the cross-tabulation) of sending children outside the State for study, logistic regression was employed to identify the factors that influenced most in sending children outside the State for study.

4. CONFLICT AND EDUCATION IN MANIPUR

Manipur is one of the north eastern-most States of India, bordering Myanmar (Burma) in the east, and three Indian States – Nagaland, Assam and Mizoram in the north, west and south respectively. Manipur

was an independent kingdom, annexed[i] to the Indian union in 1949 and has a long history of geo-political development in South East Asia (Tensuba, 1993). Geographically, at present, the State consists of 9 districts, covers an area of 22, 327 sq. km, reduced from 30, 027 sq km (Mangang, 2013). The state can be divided into two regions– valley (4 districts) and hill (5 districts). The former occupies one-tenth ($1/10^{th}$) 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-tenths ($9/10^{th}$) of the total area and is inhabited by different tribes, which consist of around 35 per cent of the state's population. The small valley area ($1/10^{th}$) is ringed by the hills ($9/10^{th}$) districts. 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 & Sergenti, 2010; Mentschel, 2007). Often, frequent eruption of violence due to conflicts of interest between the different ethnic communities in search of and to assert their identities, disturb the educational environment in the State. But whether it affects the educational development in the long run is the core of the study.

4.1: 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, or for greater autonomy of a particular region; 2) Conflict between state and non-state actors, which implies conflict between insurgent groups and state for secession of Manipur. Both types of conflict affect greatly normal life and the educational environment in the State.

4.1.1: Internal Conflict in Manipur

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 living in the hills and the 'Meitei', the dominant (non-tribe) community living in the valley districts. As a consequence of dominance over economic and political power by the dominant valley community– the *Meiteis* since 33 AD, hill communities have started movement against the former. After getting statehood in 1972, the processes of polarisation of different tribes of hills into two broader groups as– 'Naga[ii]' and 'Kuki[iii]' have intensified in the State to safeguard their respective economic and political interests (Singha, 2012a; Oinam, 2003). Of course, the grouping of the hill tribes was been made during the colonial period[iv], for convenience of their administration. At the same time, the dominant community 'Meitei' living in the valley started two main movements: 1) a revivalist movement to preserve traditional religion (Sanamahi), Meitei script, culture and tradition[v], and 2) revolutionary movement to revive pre-merger status of the State. 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. As a consequence, many insurgent groups have been formed by different communities in the State and now, most of the major communities in the State have fielded their own armed groups.

Unfortunately, with the varying ideologies of the armed groups; there is little room for working all the communities in unison in the state, and most of them have got blurred ideology. Theoretically as well, the lines of distinction between ideological and non-ideological confrontation have gradually blurred with non-state armed groups (insurgent groups) arising from organised criminal activities and looting public and private resources (ICRC, 2011). Most of the armed groups are acting independently for their own benefit without taking into consideration others' interest (Singha, 2013). A few of them

have been fighting for sovereignty (e.g. mainly Meitei/valley based insurgent groups), preservation of identity, religion and culture and some are negotiating with the government for a separate State or greater autonomy within the State (e.g. hill-based insurgent groups) and some other smaller groups/fractions have been struggling for their survival, accumulating wealth by joining hands with the politicians, bureaucrats and contractors (Singha, 2012a). On the other side, this condition of disintegration of the different non-state armed groups is preferred by the state (government) for their convenient administration and control over the groups (Ravi, 2012, Sharma, 2011). Still, many groups and fractions have been continuing their policy of grouping and re-grouping for their political and economic benefits.

Table 1: Internal Conflict and Population Displacement in Manipur

Year of Conflict (Inter &Intra Community)	**Conflict Between the Communities**	**Approx. Population Displaced**	**% of 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**

* Share of population of the respective communities displaced by conflicts

Source: Singha (2013); Kumar, Kamei, Singh & Thangjam (2011)

Collier & Hoeffler (2002) also hinted that this ethnic/group polarisation of communities (dominance of one group makes up 45% and more population) is likely to experience more conflict. In

the post-statehood period, especially in 1980s and 1990s, a greater impetus of grouping and re-grouping of the communities has intensified in the State, not based on the ethnic line, but on the political interest (Thirumalai, 2009). As an outcome, many ethnic violence/cleansing, inter and intra-community violence took place in the 1990s in the State (e.g. Kuki-Naga ethnic cleansing, Kuki-Paite conflict, etc). Some of the visible internal conflicts that have crippled the State since 1990s are given in Table 1. One can find that approximately 2 to 3 per cent of State's population (almost 42 thousand people out of the 22 lakh population of the State) or about 20 per cent in the State's hill region have been displaced by internal conflicts in 1990s. However, if we take into account the communities that were directly involved in the conflict only, the share of population displaced by internal or ethnic conflicts turns out to be 3.1 per cent. But in reality, who suffered from the conflicts is much more than the figures shown and that could not be estimated by any statistics.

Barring the fourth incidence (Meitei-Pangal conflict) listed in Table 1, all the ethnic clashes took place in the thinly populated tribal/hill districts. According to Singha (2013), altogether 800 people were killed, 480 wounded and 5713 families displaced during the bloody Kuki-Naga conflict in the 1990s. As per the report of Hussain & Phanjoubam (2007), in 1997, in the Kuki-Paite clash, altogether 162 people were killed, 93 injured, 71 were kidnapped and 3521 houses were burnt. Though these numbers look very small, it matters a lot for numerically small ethnic groups. There were a number of other indirect effects of internal conflict as well, that led to displacement of many people in the State. Srikanth & 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.

Irrespective of its objectives, the 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. They have made their best effort to revive traditional *Meitei* religion (Sanamahi), script (started in school education) and cultural ethos. To expedite their movement, numbers of strikes, agitations and protests against the government have been made and numbers of public properties have been destroyed in protest against the deeply rooted *Aryanisation* system (Singha, 2013). It disturbed public life to a great extent, even burned down the oldest central library in Imphal (State capital) into ashes, alleging that the library has got collection of only Bengali literatures and books written in Bengali script, which in turn have been the deterring factor in their revivalist movement. This impact has been felt directly or indirectly in the hill communities as well, and reacted in different forms. For instance, the initiative of MEELAL to introduce Meitei-Mayek (Manipuri script) at least at the school education/level in 1980s and 1990s was felt as an autocratic imposition of Meitei rule (dominant community) over the hill communities (Shimray, 2007). Consequently, more than 2000 (two thousand) Naga students from Manipur were directed by the Naga armed group (NSCN-IM) to appear at the matriculation examination in the neighbouring State of Nagaland in 2007. Whatsoever the reason, the majority of the displaced victims were women and children, and noticeably, the 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 2 depicts the nature and degree of bandh (forceful closure) and economic blockades in Manipur. Economic blockades[vi] (road blocks) are generally called on by different tribal organizations along the National Highways (NH), passing through hill regions, while the bandhs[vii] are organised by the valley organisations (Meiteis). Most of the *Bandhs* in the valley areas were called on mainly by the civil organisations against the atrocities of the armed groups, either state or non-state, and in protest against the flawed policies of the government. 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).

Table 2: 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#	NSDP*
2004-05	20	111.4	60	130.2	241.6	4575
		(2.43)		(2.85)	(5.28)	(100)
2005-06	48	306.24	97	236.68	542.92	5120
		(5.98)		(4.62)	(10.60)	(100)
2006-07	94	642.96	77	201.74	844.7	5493
		(11.71)		(3.67)	(15.38)	(100)
2007-08	52	382.2	43	122.12	504.32	6087
		(6.28)		(2.01)	(8.29)	(100)
2008-09	56	442.4	63	178.91	621.31	6851
		(6.46)		(2.61)	(9.07)	(100)
2010-11	27	229.5	135	415.8	645.3	8896
		(2.58)		(4.67)	(7.25)	(100)

*Net State Domestic Product at current 2004-05 prices; # Total loss is the summation of 3rd and fifth column; Figures in parenthesis are the % of NSDP

Source: Singha (2013); GoI (2012)

As shown in Table 2, 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 of 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 percent 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. The number of conflict incidences has gone down now.

4.1.2: Conflict between State and non-state Armed Groups in Manipur

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 the 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). Unfortunately, there are allegations that the very Act (AFSPA) is 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 of 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 3 provides statistics of the fatalities of the conflict between state (state forces) and non-state actors in the State. It 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 (NER) [viii] states and in the national total. About 34 per cent of the region's total fatalities have been recorded 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.

Table 3: Number of Insurgency related Fatalities in Manipur vis-à-vis India

Year	Civilian	Security	Terrorist	Total	% of NER#	Total NER	% of 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

#Author's estimation from SATP (2012); NER = North Eastern Region

Source: SATP (2012)

Though all the major incidences of conflicts that had happened in the valley area were not documented here in this paper, the impact of it was largely felt by the valley people. Some of the regular incidences which were not documented have been the issues of the Armed Forces Special Power Act and mushrooming of insurgent factions in 1980s and 1990s due to their ideological differences. In the early 2000s, major inter-ethnic conflicts that heightened between the hill (tribes) and valley (Meitei) communities were mainly the issue of greater autonomy or separate States demanded by the former. It was further compounded by the flawed policies of the government– 1) to appease major insurgent

groups of hill who have been demanding greater autonomy and to settle within the Indian constitutional framework; and 2) to weaken by force the valley based insurgency groups who have been demanding sovereignty for long (Oinam, 2013).

4.2: Education in Manipur vis-à-vis India

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 (Srikanth & Ngaihte, 2011). 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 (Singha, 2013). Also, the score of women in this regard especially in the rural areas was found to be very significant and much higher than that of national average (refer Table 5).

Table 4: Decadal 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: GoI (2012)

As can be seen from Table 4, the 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 the literacy rate in the State was also much higher than that of the 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 5: Percentage Distribution of Literate Persons by General Educational Level

Stat/ 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/1000 of persons, then each level is divided by the total literate in percentage term.
Source: NSS 55th (1999-00); NSS 60th (2004); NSS 64th (2007-08) and NSS 66th Round (2007-08)

Over the years, with the growth of government expenditure on education and enthusiasm of formal employment in the society, eventually the rate of secondary and above level of education (higher education) in the State have risen significantly. For instance, the State has reached about 38 percent of literate people attaining higher secondary and above level, against 24 per cent at the national level in rural areas during 2009-10. Further, from Table 5 we can clearly see that compared to the national level, a larger proportion of men than women have attained secondary and above level of education in Manipur than that of national level. For example, about 43 and 32 percent of males and females respectively attained higher education out of the total literate population in Manipur, against about 27 and 19 per cent for male and female respectively in the national level in rural areas in 2009-10. The same holds true for the overall growth of higher education in the State.

As for total enrolment in post graduate courses and its percentage in the total population, (see Table 6), Manipur's score was found to be much higher than that of the national average. Especially, the enrolment percentage of MPhil/PhD, General Arts and Sciences, Agriculture and Management courses in the State were found to be much higher than the national average. This shows that the overall higher education level in the State is much higher than the national average, especially for the conventional courses available in the State.

Table 6: Enrolment and % of Total Population (PG Courses, as on 30th Sept., 2007)

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

Note: Excluding Open Universities; PG implies Post Graduate; Figures in the Parentheses are Per cent of State/Country Population

Source: GoI (2011); GoI (2012)

As can be seen from Table 7, the quality of education and the performance of children at the school level in Manipur are much higher than that of national level. For instance, 51 percent of Manipuri students (rural) of Class V standard can perform the basic arithmetic task of division compared to 38 percent at the all India level, while 70 percent 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 percent and 59 percent 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.

Table 7: 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: GoI (2012); NSS 55th Round (1999-00); NSS 60th Round (2004); NSS 64th Round (2007-08); NSS 66th Round (2007-08).

One need not to 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, 2012b; 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 to

the common people (CICS, 2005). In the midst of conflict, education in Manipur has been developing at a faster rate than that of the national level. What is the driving force behind this paradox?

5. STRATEGIES ADOPTED TO SAVE EDUCATION

Armed conflict affects public life to a great extent in Manipur. But, the educational sector is given the highest priority in Manipuri society, whether it is in rural or urban, rich or poor (Singha, 2013). Available literature on the topic and the field data showed 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 which say very conservatively that conflict affects education, do not hold true in Manipur, especially in terms of education and educational development, compared to India (Singha, 2009; Harriss, 2002).

5.1: Expenditure on Education in Manipur

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 (Please see Tables 4 to 7 for detail). Also, the growth rate of women's education and education in rural Manipur has been relatively higher than that of national 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 8: Average Annual Expenditure per Student in 2007-08 (Rural + Urban)

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

Note: Amount in Rs and Student age group between 5 to 25 years.

Source: NSS 55th Round (1999-00); NSS 60th Round (2004); NSS 64th Round (2007-08); NSS 66th Round (2007-08)

From Table 8, one can see that 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 for technical education was slightly lower than that of the national level, the per capita expenditure spent on the rest of the courses/levels (overall) of education was found to be much higher than that of the national level– almost double the national average. This implies that the parents in Manipur lay much emphasis on education.

From Table 9, it can also be seen that the monthly per capita expenditure on education (MPCE) according to the 55th NSS round (1999-00) in rural Manipur was 3.76 percent of the total spending by an individual, compared to 1.93 percent at all India level. MPCE in Urban Manipur was significantly higher than that of national level during the same period, stood at 6.49 per cent 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 percent against 3.7 percent at the all India level.

Table 9: Monthly per Capita Expenditure (in %) on Education (MPCE)

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

Source: NSS 55th Round (1999-00); NSS 60th Round (2004); NSS 64th Round (2007-08); NSS 66th Round (2007-08)

During the same period, MPCE on education in urban Manipur was 9.04 percent 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; the performance parameter also needs to be looked into for understanding a fuller picture of the sector (Singha, 2013).

5.2: Societal role to save Education

From the evidences of Manipur shown above, educational development was not affected much by the conflicts and to justify the claim, what strategies have been adopted by Manipuri society is analysed by employing primary field data. For the purpose, a total of 107 households were interviewed randomly, asking questions like: What are the alternative arrangements that have been made by the parents for their children's education at the time of conflict? What are the most disturbing factors in educating their children? Do socio-economic factors influence in sending their children outside the State for study? Does the place of residence matter in this context?

Table 10: Number of Household Sending their Children outside the State for Study

	Rural	**Urban**	**Grand Total**
Sending Out (at least one)	22 *(25.58)*	64 *(74.42)*	**86** *(100)*
Not Sending Out	13 *(61.90)*	8 *(38.10)*	**21** *(100)*
Total	35	72	**107**

Note: Figures given in the parentheses are the percents of the total.

Source: Field Survey

By using cross tabulation of the primary data, Table 10 reveals that altogether 86 out of 107 households sent out their children (at least one in the family) to other States for their studies, accounts for 80.37 per cent of sample households. The remaining 21 families' children remained in state due to one or the other reason, accounting for 19.63 percent of the sample households. Of the total households that have sent out their children for study, 74.42 percent were from urban and remaining 25.58 per cent were from rural Manipur. Also, of the total households who did not send their children outside the State for study, almost 62 percent of households were from rural areas.

Of the rural sample households, 63 percent of the sample had sent out their children to other States and the remaining 37 per cent of rural households did not send. In the case of urban sample households, 88.90 percent of them had sent and 11.10 percent did not. As expected, urban families get more access to education, spending proportionately more consumption expenditure on education and sending their children out of the State for their studies. Further, to satisfy the argument, logistic regression was employed (refer Table 11). The dependent variable used in this regression is a binomial (dichotomous) one– whether the household sends their children outside the State (at least one) or not.

Seven independent variables have been included. The logit model was employed, based on its convenience and simplicity. The equation is presented as:

$$Ln[p/(1-p)] = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5 + b_6X_6 + b_7X_7 + \varepsilon_i \quad \ldots\ldots(1)$$

Where, $[p/(1-p)]$ = Sending children outside the State for study (Yes =1; Otherwise 0);

b_0 = Constant

b_i = Coefficient of i^{th} independent variables (i= 1-7);

X_1 = Number of children (student) in the family

X_2 = Number of employee (regular income earned) in the family

X_3 = Place of residence (1 urban; Otherwise 0)

X_4 = Sending out because of conflict in the State (Yes =1; Otherwise 0);

X_5 = Sending out because of quality of education (Yes =1; Otherwise 0);

X_6 = Sending out due to infrastructures including availability of seats (Yes =1; Otherwise 0);

X_7 = Sending out due to family problems other than economic condition (Yes=1; Otherwise 0)

Table 11: Factors influencing in sending children outside the State for study

Logistic Regression					Number of obs. =	107
					Wald $chi^2(7)$ =	23.54
					Prob. > chi^2 =	0.0014
Log pseudo likelihood = -34.968628					Pseudo R^2 =	0.3400
Send_Children	**Odds Ratio**	**Robust Std. Err.**	**z**	**P>|Z| Conf.**	**[95%**	**Interval]**
No._Child	.8440	.2493	-0.57	0.566	.4730	1.5060
No._Empl	2.2136	1.0859	1.62	0.105	.8463	5.7902
Place_res	6.8946	4.4374	3.00	0.003	1.9528	24.3416
Conflict	13.4440	11.9109	2.93	0.003	2.3680	76.3245
Quality	2.6831	2.1644	1.22	0.221	.5520	13.0404
Infra	3.8215	3.7862	1.35	0.176	.5481	26.6427
Family_probl	.6301	.5255	-0.55	0.580	.1228	3.2316

From the Table 11 we can further verify that the variables– X^3 (place of residence) and X^4 (sending children outside for study because of the conflict in the State) were found to be statistically significant at 5% level. It implies that the place of residence– urban households have more probability of sending out (to other States) for their children's education. Similarly, the conflict environment within the State pushes the children out of the State for their studies. As depicted by the odds ratio, urban families have relatively around 9 per cent more probability of sending their children outside the State(s) for studies compared to their rural counterpart. Similarly, conflict environment made relatively around 13 per cent more probability of sending their children outside the State(s) for studies compared to a perceived non-conflict environment. But other socio-economic variables are not found to be statistically significant, or do not have influence on their decision of sending outside.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The mainstream narrative on conflict and education depicts the low educational outcomes in conflict-affected zones, as being caused by the disruption and destruction of conflict. But, the present study has explored a very different picture. Though the State of Manipur is raven with the different forms of conflict. Public life is very much affected by it. The growth of the educational sector is found to be very impressive; much higher than that of the all India level. In other words, despite the uncertainties faced by Manipur, the pace of educational development 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.

From the above analysis, not delving into the causal direction, one thing is clear that conflict has reached to a saturated stage in Manipur and at the same time, education has been developing uninterruptedly. 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 not stop its onward march (development).

Society has realised that violence makes no dividend and 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. Besides, the 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.

In a nutshell, the growth of the educational sector in Manipur is being maintained by spending a proportionately greater share of consumption expenditure on education (compared to national level) and sending the children out of the conflict zone. Sending the children out of the State was found to be one of the preferred options in the State and it was mainly compelled by different forms of conflicts in the State. Also, the place of residence (urban area has more probability of sending out) had the greater role on the decision of sending children out of the state for study. 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. As of the necessary steps in the State, employment opportunity should be created for those educated youths who have returned home after attaining education from outside. As the State lies on the corridors to many international boundaries, these frustrated youths can be easily lured by the insurgent groups. Besides, the state is handicapped by its physical infrastructure and geography. Greater emphasis should be given on the large scale infrastructure development. Economic development in the State is a spontaneous process provided the basic infrastructure is laid down.

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End Notes:

[i] The newly formed independent India and its Government in New Delhi pressured the King of Manipur (Kangleipak, earlier name) to sign a merger agreement with India under very unusual circumstances. King of Manipur signed the documents on 21st September 1949 AD at Shillong without prior consideration and approval from elected members of the Manipur Assembly. Thereafter, on October 15, 1949 AD, Major General Rawal Amar announced the annexation of Manipur.

[ii] Naga (of Manipur) mentioned in this paper does not imply the community (Naga) of Nagaland (neighbouring State of Manipur); it is only an encompassing political identity of different communities or different hill tribes of Manipur, coined by British, creation in the 1880s. Detail of Naga identity of Manipur can be seen from Oinam (2003) and also Singh (2013).

[iii] The Kuki (originally known as Chin-Kuki) tribes were of comparatively late migrants (as late as the 18th-19th century) to Manipur from the *Chin State of Burma* compared to other communities in the north and central Manipur. It is also a confederation of different tribal communities, mainly settled in the border areas of Myanmar.

[iv] Manipur came under the British rule as Princely State in 1891

[v] Manipur's (Kangleipak, earlier name) original/traditional religion (Sanamahi) and script (Meitei script) have been replaced by Hinduism and Bengali script respectively in 33 AD when King Pamheiba got converted himself into Hinduism.

[vi] 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.

[vii] 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 (Meitei) call on bandh to put pressure on to the government to redress their grievances.

[viii] NER consists of eight states of India's North Eastern Region– Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura.

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