



From Displacement to Development: Rebuilding Higher Education in Manipur Through the Lens of Viksit Bharat 2047

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ABSTRACT

The ethnic conflict between the Meitei and Kuki communities in Manipur has not only led to significant humanitarian distress and political instability but has also severely disrupted the state's higher education system. This paper explores the multifaceted impacts of the on-going conflict on educational access, institutional functioning, student well-being, and academic continuity, especially in universities and colleges. It highlights how displacement, infrastructural damage, psychological trauma, and digital inequality have deepened educational disparities and alienated communities from academic spaces. In light of the Indian government's Viksit Bharat 2047 vision, the paper proposes targeted governmental interventions to revitalize the education system in conflict-affected areas. These include the establishment of education relief zones, strengthening digital infrastructure, supporting academic transfers, providing trauma care, and fostering inter-ethnic collaboration through education. Additionally, the crucial role played by civil society organisations in peacebuilding, trauma response, and community healing is examined. By aligning local recovery efforts with national developmental goals, the paper argues that education can



become a powerful vehicle for reconciliation, social integration, and long-term peace in Manipur. The findings stress the urgent need for inclusive, sustainable, and trauma-informed educational policies that can turn crisis into opportunity, ensuring no student is left behind in the journey toward a resilient and united India by 2047.

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Introduction

Manipur, in the north eastern region of India, known for its rich cultural diversity and strategic importance in India's geopolitical landscape, has recently witnessed an alarming surge in ethnic conflict. The violent clashes between the Meitei and Kuki communities that began in May 2023 have not only caused immense human suffering and socio-political unrest but have also profoundly impacted the state's education system—particularly higher education. What initially began as a dispute over the granting of Scheduled Tribe (ST) status to the Meitei community has escalated into a deeply rooted ethnic conflict, resulting in widespread violence, destruction of property, loss of lives, and the displacement of thousands of individuals from both communities. As of November 2024, the violence has resulted in at least 258 deaths and displaced over 60,000 people. This conflict has disrupted the already fragile fabric of Manipur's educational infrastructure, creating a state of prolonged instability that continues to affect the academic lives of students and faculty across the region.

Education, especially higher education, plays a crucial role in fostering social mobility, economic development, and national integration. In conflict zones, however, educational institutions often become unintended casualties, either physically damaged or rendered non-functional due to safety concerns. Manipur is no exception. Universities and colleges, particularly in the Imphal Valley and the surrounding hill districts, have either been shut down or are operating at a severely diminished capacity. The displacement of students and educators, especially from the Kuki-Zomi tribal communities and Meitei communities who no longer feel safe attending classes in Meitei-majority and Kuki majority regions, has led to widespread academic disruption. Many of these students have appealed for transfers to other central universities, citing threats to their safety and well-being, highlighting the extent of the crisis in the state's higher education ecosystem.



The psychological impact of the conflict further exacerbates the educational challenges. Students grappling with trauma, fear, and uncertainty find it increasingly difficult to focus on their studies or participate in academic life. Teachers and staff also operate under stress, with limited resources and on-going safety concerns. Furthermore, the infrastructural damage to schools and universities, some of which have been repurposed as relief camps for displaced families, has contributed to the overall degradation of educational standards in the region.

In this context, the need for targeted government intervention becomes crucial—not only to restore normalcy but also to build a resilient, inclusive, and future-ready education system in Manipur. This need aligns closely with the broader goals of the ‘Viksit Bharat’ (Developed India) initiative, which envisions a modern, equitable, and empowered India by 2047. The initiative places significant emphasis on inclusive development, human capital enhancement, and the strengthening of educational infrastructure. Therefore, addressing the educational fallout of the Meitei-Kuki conflict in Manipur presents both a challenge and an opportunity: a challenge to restore disrupted systems and an opportunity to rebuild them better, aligning with the long-term vision of a developed India.

This study explores the multi-faceted impact of the Meitei-Kuki conflict on higher education in Manipur and proposes policy measures that the government can undertake, in accordance with the Viksit Bharat goals, to ensure that education remains a tool of unity, peace, and progress even in the face of deep-rooted ethnic tensions.

Impact on Higher Education

The ethnic conflict between the Meitei and Kuki communities in Manipur has had far-reaching consequences on the state's higher education system. While the political and humanitarian dimensions of the crisis have received widespread attention, the disruption to education—particularly at the tertiary level—has been both underreported and underestimated. Yet, it is within this domain that the long-term socio-economic consequences of the conflict are likely to manifest most profoundly. Higher education, which serves as a vehicle for social transformation, economic development, and peace building, is currently at a critical juncture in Manipur.

1. Displacement and Disruption of Academic Continuity

One of the most immediate consequences of the conflict has been the large-scale displacement of students and faculty members, especially from the Kuki-Zomi tribal communities living in the hill



districts and the Meitei population concentrated in the Imphal Valley. Many students who were enrolled in central and state universities, including Manipur University and Churachandpur Medical College, have been forced to flee their hostels and residences due to fear of targeted violence. Reports have emerged of students being unable to attend classes or sit for examinations due to safety concerns. The situation has been particularly dire for Meitei and Kuki students who no longer feel secure traveling to or residing in Kuki-dominated and Meitei-dominated areas for their studies.

In some cases, educational institutions have been converted into temporary relief shelters for displaced persons, further displacing academic activities. This dual function of academic institutions—as both centers of learning and humanitarian aid—has made it difficult to resume regular operations. Faculty members too, particularly those from minority ethnic groups, have either taken leave or have been unable to perform their teaching duties due to the volatile security situation.

2. Psychological and Emotional Trauma

The psychological impact of the conflict on students and educators cannot be overstated. Exposure to violence, displacement, and social alienation has led to heightened levels of anxiety, depression, and emotional distress among young learners. Many students report difficulty concentrating on their studies or planning for their academic futures amidst the on-going turmoil. Educators and staff, dealing with the emotional toll of the crisis while trying to maintain academic responsibilities, are also under tremendous stress. This psychological burden has compounded the academic disruption, resulting in a steep decline in overall student engagement and performance.

3. Digital Divide and Learning Inequality

While online education was proposed as a temporary solution, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic and now in the wake of the conflict, access remains a major issue. The hill areas, largely inhabited by the Kuki community, face poor internet connectivity and infrastructural limitations. Students displaced from their educational institutions now lack access to the digital tools and stable environments needed to pursue online learning effectively. This has widened the digital divide and deepened existing educational inequalities between urban and rural areas, and between different ethnic groups.



4. Institutional Paralysis and Loss of Trust

Lastly, the conflict has led to institutional paralysis in the higher education sector. Administrative delays, postponed examinations, and the inability to ensure fair and safe academic evaluation have eroded trust in educational institutions. Many students and parents are now seeking to move out of the state altogether for higher education, further weakening the state's academic ecosystem.

Quantitative Impact of Conflict on Higher Education in Manipur

The on-going ethnic conflict in Manipur has left a significant trail of destruction across all sectors, but the education system—particularly higher education—has borne an outsized burden. The following data highlights the scale of the disruption:

i) Displacement of Students and Faculty

- Over 60,000 individuals have been displaced due to the violence (Source: Press Trust of India, 2023).
- An estimated 15,000–20,000 students, including college and university attendees, were directly affected.
- Approximately 1,200 teaching and non-teaching staff from conflict-hit zones have been either displaced or unable to resume duties (Source: Human Rights Alert, 2023).

ii) Closure of Educational Institutions

- At the height of the conflict, all universities and colleges in Manipur remained shut for over 2 months (May–July 2023).
- Manipur University, a central institution, suspended regular classes and postponed examinations, disrupting academic timelines for over 40,000 undergraduate and postgraduate students.
- At least 23 higher education institutions were converted into temporary relief shelters, further delaying academic operations.

iii) Infrastructure Damage

- Nine colleges and schools in Kuki-dominated hill districts were reported to be burnt, looted, or partially destroyed (Scroll.in, 2023).



- Libraries, laboratories, and student hostels in certain areas were vandalized, causing permanent loss of educational resources.

iv) Psychological Impact

- Surveys by NGOs like North East Network revealed that over 65% of students interviewed in relief camps experienced symptoms of acute stress, anxiety, and depression, resulting in a loss of academic focus and motivation.

v) Digital Divide

- With the internet being shut down across the state intermittently for security reasons, over 75% of students in tribal and rural areas were unable to access online classes or digital learning materials (The Indian Express, 2023).
- Many tribal students lacked smartphones, laptops, or stable electricity, widening the educational equity gap.

vi) Implications

These statistics underscore the urgent need for trauma-informed education recovery policies. Beyond infrastructure rebuilding, the psychological rehabilitation of students, restoration of academic timelines, and digital inclusion must be prioritized.

Government Measures in Alignment with Viksit Bharat Objectives

The ethnic conflict in Manipur between the Meiteis and Kukis has not only posed a grave threat to human security and social harmony but has also severely hampered access to quality higher education. As the state reels from the consequences of violence, displacement, and institutional breakdown, it is crucial for the government to step in with strong, visionary, and inclusive measures that not only address the immediate crisis but also align with the long-term national goals under the Viksit Bharat (Developed India) 2047 initiative. This study outlines a series of actionable government interventions that support educational revival, social cohesion, and sustainable development in Manipur's higher education sector.

1. Establishment of Education Relief and Rehabilitation Zones

One of the most urgent needs is the creation of Educational Relief and Rehabilitation Zones (ERRZs) in areas unaffected by violence. These zones should include secure campuses for displaced students,



mobile learning centers, and temporary hostels. The government must coordinate with central universities, the UGC, and the Ministry of Education to recognize such zones and provide academic continuity, especially for students who cannot return to their institutions due to ethnic tensions. This would help safeguard the right to education for all, regardless of ethnic affiliation.

To support this, a state-level education emergency task force can be established to oversee the restoration of academic activities, ensure equitable treatment of displaced students, and manage temporary university campuses.

2. Promotion of Digital Learning and Blended Education

Aligned with Viksit Bharat's focus on digital empowerment, the government must strengthen online learning infrastructure in Manipur, especially in tribal-dominated hill areas. Access to quality internet connectivity, distribution of digital devices, and support for e-learning platforms like SWAYAM, DIKSHA, and NPTEL should be prioritized.

Additionally, partnerships with EdTech companies and NGOs can provide digital classrooms, online labs, and virtual libraries. Ensuring that students have uninterrupted access to recorded lectures, live sessions, and digital assessments will minimize academic loss.

A special digital literacy program targeted at both students and teachers in remote conflict-hit areas will bridge the digital divide and foster resilience in the face of future crises.

3. Academic Transfers and Bridge Programs

To accommodate students who have fled their original institutions, the Ministry of Education should facilitate inter-university academic transfers without penalizing students. This requires coordination with UGC and central/state universities across India to recognize displaced students and allow lateral transfers with credit equivalency.

For students who've missed a semester or more due to the conflict, bridge courses and crash programs should be offered. These could be conducted during summer or winter breaks to help students catch up academically and avoid loss of academic years.

4. Psychological Support and Trauma Care Services

Mental health and trauma support are critical, especially when education is taking place amid or after prolonged violence. The government should integrate counselling services, peer support groups, and trained psychologists into the education system. Colleges and universities should be mandated to set up Wellness Cells, funded through a special post-conflict education grant.



Workshops on conflict resolution, resilience, and emotional well-being can also be introduced in the curriculum to help students process trauma and build social cohesion.

5. Rebuilding and Upgrading Infrastructure

Many institutions have suffered structural damage or have been repurposed as relief camps. The government must initiate a comprehensive rebuilding plan for higher education institutions in Manipur, focusing on safety, accessibility, and inclusivity.

This is an opportunity to upgrade campuses with smart classrooms, green infrastructure, and inclusive facilities (e.g., gender-neutral hostels, tribal research centers). Infrastructure development should involve community participation to rebuild trust between communities and their institutions.

6. Fostering Inter-Community Educational Initiatives

In line with Viksit Bharat's inclusive development model, education should be used as a bridge between communities. The government can promote peace education, intercultural workshops, and inclusive curricula that celebrate the diversity of Manipur's ethnic identities.

Setting up inter-community youth forums and cultural exchange programs within universities can help promote empathy, reduce prejudice, and create spaces where students from different backgrounds can collaborate and learn from one another.

Scholarships and incentives for joint community-led research projects, especially in history, conflict resolution, and anthropology, could also contribute to healing and mutual understanding.

7. Policy and Legislative Support

A comprehensive Post-Conflict Educational Rehabilitation Policy should be drafted for states facing internal conflict. This policy must include funding mechanisms, student protection rights, academic mobility options, and emergency educational protocols.

At the national level, provisions under NEP 2020 related to inclusivity, access, and equity should be actively implemented and expanded in conflict-affected regions like Manipur.

Role of Civil Society Organisations in Restoring Peace and Harmony in Manipur Society

In the aftermath of the violent ethnic conflict between the Meitei and Kuki communities in Manipur, civil society organisations (CSOs) have emerged as critical actors in promoting peace, restoring



harmony, and facilitating grassroots-level healing and reconciliation. While government institutions play a central role in law enforcement and rehabilitation, CSOs possess the flexibility, local understanding, and trust of communities to address the deeper social wounds that often go unattended in official responses. Their role in bridging divides, enabling dialogue, and rebuilding civil trust is indispensable in a conflict-ridden society like Manipur.

1. Facilitating Inter-Community Dialogue and Mediation

CSOs play a key role in creating platforms for dialogue between conflicting communities. Peace meetings, conflict-resolution workshops, and interethnic discussions help bring together Meitei, Kuki, and other ethnic groups. These forums offer safe spaces for expressing grievances, dispelling misinformation, and exploring common ground.

2. Providing Humanitarian Relief and Psycho-Social Support

CSOs were among the first responders, delivering food, shelter, medical aid, and emotional support. They also offer psycho-social care and trauma counselling, especially to children, women, and students affected by the violence.

3. Promoting Inclusive Education and Youth Engagement

Many CSOs address educational disruption through informal learning centers, distribution of study materials, and advocacy. Youth engagement programs like sports, arts, and community service promote nonviolence and mutual respect.

4. Advocacy and Accountability

CSOs advocate for justice, transparency, and human rights. They document violations, provide legal aid, and serve as watchdogs, ensuring accountability and trust in democratic processes.

5. Building Long-Term Social Cohesion

Beyond crisis response, CSOs work on livelihood programs, women's empowerment, and inclusive policymaking. These long-term efforts address root causes of conflict and foster sustainable peace.

Case Studies: Role of Civil Society Organisations in Conflict Mitigation and Educational Support

1. Human Rights Alert (HRA), Manipur



Focus Area: Humanitarian aid, documentation of human rights abuses, trauma care

Activities:

- Documented the human rights violations during the conflict and submitted reports to both national and international human rights bodies.
- Provided legal support and psycho-social counselling to displaced and affected students and families.
- Advocated for the right to education for conflict-affected communities, urging local institutions to make academic adjustments for displaced students.

Impact: Helped bringing national attention to educational disruption; pushed for inclusive relief measures for both communities.

2. North East Network (NEN)

Focus Area: Women's rights, youth engagement, peace building.

Activities:

- Conducted peace dialogues and youth leadership workshops involving Meitei, Kuki, and Naga youth.
- Organized community healing circles with women educators and social workers.
- Supported displaced students, especially girls, with educational material, online learning access, and shelter support.

Impact: Empowered young women to become community peace builders and helped reduce ethnic prejudices through youth programs.

3. All Manipur Students' Union (AMSU)

Focus Area: Student rights, educational advocacy

Activities:

- Played an active role in raising concerns about the safety of students during the height of the conflict.
- Pushed university administrations and the state government to ensure continuity of education through alternate arrangements.



- Mediated with educational authorities for special examinations, academic leave, and transport for displaced students.

Impact: Prevented mass dropout from public universities by advocating transitional academic policies and student safety.

4. Centre for Social Development (CSD), Imphal

Focus Area: Peace-building, development education, interfaith dialogue

Activities:

- Conducted inter-community workshops in both Meitei- and Kuki-majority regions on shared heritage, nonviolence, and cultural coexistence.
- Provided counselling and life-skills training to students affected by trauma and displacement.
- Facilitated informal “peace classrooms” where students from conflicting communities engaged in cooperative learning activities.

Impact: Helped rebuild trust between students of both communities and promoted social reintegration through education.

5. Volunteers for Peace and Development (VPD)

Focus Area: Relief work, education, youth mobilization

Activities:

- Partnered with NGOs outside Manipur to provide digital learning devices and study materials to displaced students.
- Organized digital literacy camps for hill and valley students unable to access formal education platforms due to the conflict.
- Facilitated temporary tuition centers in relief camps.

Impact: Helped over 3,000 students resume learning in some form and stay connected with academic activities.

These organisations, along with numerous grassroots volunteers, have demonstrated how community-led initiatives can effectively counteract the paralysis of formal institutions in times of conflict. Their work



has not only helped resume academic activity for thousands of affected students but has also sowed the seeds of social healing.

By fostering inclusive dialogues, supporting trauma-informed education, and advocating for student welfare, CSOs in Manipur have significantly contributed to peace-building and educational continuity. Their role aligns seamlessly with the **Viksit Bharat 2047** objectives, particularly those emphasizing equitable access to quality education, social harmony, and sustainable development.

In conclusion, empowering and integrating civil society efforts into formal policymaking is vital for restoring the social fabric of Manipur. A collaborative framework between the government, academic institutions, and CSOs will ensure that education becomes a powerful tool for reconciliation and progress, moving the state and the nation closer to the aspirations of Viksit Bharat 2047.

Role of Higher Educational Institutions in Maintaining Quality Academic Atmosphere Amidst the Spoiled Situation in Manipur

In the face of the on-going ethnic conflict between Meiteis and Kukis, higher educational institutions in Manipur have emerged as both victims of violence and beacons of resilience. The challenge for these institutions has been twofold: safeguarding academic continuity while serving as spaces for social cohesion and psychological healing. Despite immense logistical and emotional disruptions, universities and colleges in the state have employed a range of strategies to maintain educational standards and foster a spirit of normalcy.

1. Emergency Academic Restructuring

With curfews, internet shutdowns, and student displacements becoming common, institutions like Manipur University, DM University, and several private universities and autonomous colleges took emergency steps to modify academic calendars. Examination schedules were deferred, internal assessments were relaxed, and flexible attendance policies were introduced to accommodate displaced students.

In some institutions, online learning portals were temporarily revived during short windows of internet availability. Though limited in reach due to the digital divide, these efforts helped some continuity in course delivery, especially in urban pockets.



2. Academic Counselling and Mental Health Support

Recognizing the trauma experienced by students and staff, institutions initiated counselling sessions, peer mentoring, and collaboration with NGOs for mental health interventions. For instance, the Department of Psychology at Manipur University conducted community mental health awareness programs and stress management workshops, particularly targeting displaced and traumatized students. These interventions were crucial in addressing anxiety, depression, and fear—factors that directly affect academic performance and retention.

3. Inclusion of Displaced Students

Colleges in relatively safer zones took proactive measures to accommodate displaced students from violence-affected regions. Provisional admissions, lateral transfers, and hostel allocations were extended to ensure these students could continue their education with minimal interruption. Some institutions even arranged temporary learning centers in collaboration with NGOs and local civil society organisations.

This practice promoted inclusivity and solidarity, sending a message that education must transcend ethnic divisions.

4. Promoting Inter-Community Dialogue

A few universities and student-led groups initiated dialogue platforms and seminars to address the root causes of conflict through an academic lens. By involving students from both communities in shared projects, research presentations, and cultural programs, institutions tried to counteract polarization and rebuild interpersonal trust.

Departments of Political Science, Sociology, and History at some colleges facilitated curriculum-linked discussions on peace-building, Northeast history, and conflict resolution—turning the classroom into a space for reflection and transformation.

5. Research and Documentation

In the spirit of academic responsibility, some higher education departments have begun documenting the socio-economic and educational impacts of the conflict. This research not only informs policy but also empowers students and faculty to engage critically with current events, transforming trauma into knowledge creation.



Struggles of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) for Livelihood in Manipur

The ethnic violence in Manipur since May 2023 has led to the internal displacement of over 60,000 individuals, many of whom were forced to flee their homes with little more than the clothes on their backs. For these internally displaced persons (IDPs), the challenge extends far beyond physical safety. A large number have lost their livelihoods, land, and access to basic services, making survival a daily struggle and threatening long-term socio-economic security.

1. Loss of Employment and Economic Displacement

Many IDPs were dependent on small-scale businesses, agricultural work, teaching positions, and informal labour—jobs that were location-bound and quickly lost once the conflict forced relocation. Farmers in Kuki-majority hill areas were unable to harvest their crops, while Meitei shopkeepers from Imphal Valley lost both merchandise and business infrastructure due to arson and looting. Teachers and government employees found themselves unable to return to their workplaces, resulting in suspended salaries and career uncertainty.

2. Lack of Access to Government Schemes

Although several central and state-level relief packages were announced, many IDPs reported difficulty accessing MGNREGA, PDS rations, and direct benefit transfers, especially when biometric identification was tied to their original location. Without local address proof or banking facilities, thousands of displaced families were excluded from social welfare schemes critical to their survival.

3. Informal and Exploitative Work Conditions

Displaced youth, especially from tribal communities, have been forced to take up precarious, informal jobs to support their families. With no guarantee of safety or wages, many IDPs are working in construction, domestic labour, or street vending—sectors where exploitation is rampant and legal protections are minimal. Women and girls are particularly vulnerable to trafficking and abuse in such uncertain environments.

4. Livelihood in Relief Camps: A Bleak Outlook

Over 115 relief camps currently operate across the state, but they primarily offer subsistence-level support. IDPs living in these camps lack access to skill development programs or sustainable income-



generating opportunities. The lack of mobility due to ethnic divisions further restricts their employment choices.

5. Psychological and Social Barriers

The trauma of violence and displacement has deeply affected the mental health of IDPs, reducing their confidence and willingness to seek work or re-enter education. Moreover, ethnic polarization has damaged inter-community trade and employment networks, further limiting the options available for cooperative economic recovery.

Challenges Remain

Despite these commendable efforts, the institutions face serious constraints:

- Shortage of faculty due to displacement and security concerns.
- Lack of infrastructure repair and digital access in affected zones.
- Persistent mistrust between students of different communities.

Nonetheless, these efforts by higher education institutions reflect a commitment to uphold academic integrity and support societal healing—values aligned with the Viksit Bharat 2047 vision for inclusive and resilient education.

Policy Recommendations

To address the livelihood crisis of IDPs, the government must adopt a rights-based, development-oriented approach aligned with Viksit Bharat 2047. Key steps include:

- Issuing temporary IDP certificates to enable access to government schemes.
- Launching targeted livelihood programs for displaced youth and women (e.g., skill training, microfinance, employment drives).
- Rehabilitating agricultural land and markets once peace is restored.
- Partnering with NGOs and CSOs for vocational training, mental health care, and placement support.
- Encouraging inter-community trade and enterprise, backed by peace dialogues and economic incentives.



Conclusion

The on-going conflict between the Meitei and Kuki communities in Manipur has had a devastating impact on the state's higher education system. What began as an ethnic and political dispute has evolved into a prolonged humanitarian crisis that has disrupted the educational aspirations of thousands of students and strained the capacities of institutions and educators. Higher education, a critical driver of human development and social mobility, has been side-lined amid the violence, with many campuses forced to shut down or operate under restricted and unsafe conditions. The displacement of students, damage to infrastructure, psychological trauma, and administrative paralysis together threaten to derail years of educational progress in the region.

This crisis, however, also presents a pivotal opportunity for the government to demonstrate its commitment to inclusive development and nation-building, as envisioned in the Viksit Bharat 2047 roadmap. Education must be at the heart of post-conflict reconstruction efforts—not merely as a tool for academic rehabilitation but as a powerful medium for reconciliation, integration, and long-term peace-building. By implementing targeted and compassionate measures such as the establishment of secure educational zones, support for displaced students, investment in digital infrastructure, trauma-informed education, and the promotion of inter-community dialogue, the government can not only rebuild what has been lost but also strengthen the foundations for a more united and resilient Manipur.

In doing so, the state and central governments must work in tandem with local communities, civil society, educational institutions, and students themselves to craft solutions that are both context-sensitive and future-focused. Every policy must ensure that no student is left behind due to their ethnic identity, location, or socio-economic background. The restoration and transformation of higher education in Manipur must reflect the ethos of Viksit Bharat—where education is equitable, accessible, and inclusive, regardless of caste, creed, or community.

Ultimately, the future of Manipur and India lies in empowering its youth with knowledge, empathy, and opportunity. Investing in higher education today will ensure that the leaders of tomorrow are equipped not just with academic credentials, but with the wisdom and values necessary to sustain peace, foster unity, and drive progress. As India marches toward 2047, the centenary of its independence, addressing the educational challenges in conflict-affected regions like Manipur will be essential in building a truly developed and harmonious nation.



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