# How schools function in the districts affected by left-wing extremism in India

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#### **Abstract**

**Purpose** – The present paper provides an educational status related to instructional days at elementary level in the districts identified as focus districts of left-wing extremism (LWE). The focus districts are those which have high intensity and presence of LWE. Educational development is not only influenced by the LWE, but many others, such as socio-economic, political and cultural, etc. Accordingly no direct correlations can be drawn between low educational development or otherwise with the influence of LWE. However, instructional days in school is an important physical indicator on school functioning.

**Design/methodology/approach** – The research is based on the secondary analysis of District Information System for Education (DISE) data, which provides comprehensive information of school-based indicators, facility indicators, enrollment based indicators and teacher-related indicators for every year. The DISE data relating to number of instructional days for the years 2005-2006 to 2009-2010 is studied among the districts identified as LWE districts. For the purpose of analysis, the number of days is classified into seven categories, and the schools functioning at district level is analyzed.

**Findings** – Education is critical in the LWE districts, which are areas with low literacy, large percentage of rural and backward sections of population. It was found that though there is an apparent improvement in the schools functioning, still number of schools fell under the category low/nonfunctional schools. In two out of five years, other districts had significantly lower average instructional days than focus districts. Hence, in terms of instructional days the situation is not all that bad.

**Research limitations/implications** – The study is based on the secondary analysis of the DISE data. A large data related to number of students goes unaccounted and unregistered. The data is analyzed on mean instructional days at district level. Further down at sub-district and village level could provide a much more realistic picture.

**Originality/value** – The research paper analyzes the number of instructional days, which is an indicator that provides the basic empirical information related to schools functioning. Before policy makers can think of quality, it is pertinent to know whether the schools are working for the number of days that they are expected to. As of now hardly any study has taken place to provide information on the LWE districts in relation to elementary education.

Keywords Elementary education, Instructional days, Left-wing extremism

#### Introduction

Paper type Research paper

Education and conflict are two complex issues, which have far reaching positive repercussions, if the first one is present and the second one is absent. This is an ideal context in a large country like India, where it requires a mammoth endeavor to achieve what is considered to be a quality education for all and in that processes encounter problems associated with conflicts in several pockets which arise out of socioeconomic, cultural, political and other factors. Education, being a subsystem of the society and more importantly a major welfare and human development activity of the government, as public education has its omnipresence in the remotest parts of the country, often is a victim of conflict and violence, directly or indirectly. As McCarthy



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and Dimitriadis (2000, p. 170) view that "researchers and theorists can no longer assume that schools can be studied as isolated and autonomous structures, nor can one simply assume a priori the imperatives of a bounded state," we need to identify and analyze the overall context in which the educational processes take place.

Conflict has been (Murshed, 2002) a feature of human society since time immemorial. Disputes that arise may be organized around social class, ethnicity, religion, region, or some combination of these factors. In India, often conflicts have taken place because of all these factors, due to its extensive geographical area, varying ethnic and caste categories, presence of different religious groups and increasing class disparities among the population. But what is important is scope and scale of violence. Violence can be a consequence of external or internal (domestic) incitement. While external violence involves non-citizens, internal violence occurs with the active engagement of citizens in collusion with non-citizens or without. In their study *Resort to Arms*, Small and Singer (1982, p. 210) defined a civil war as "any armed conflict that involves (a) military action internal to the metropole, (b) the active participation of the national government, and (c) effective resistance by both sides."

The central government has identified that there are nine states which are under the influence of left-wing extremism (LWE). The magnitude of influence of LWE, a term not necessarily associated with left-wing politics, has varied impact across the nine states. Although the population of the nine states where LWE operates is 63 percent of the total population of the country, effectively its influence is much smaller. Out of the nine states, there are 83 districts under LWE influence according to the Ministry of Home Affairs, of which 35 are focus districts. The focus districts are those which have intense LWE activity. The total population of the focus districts is 53.6 million. Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Orissa have more than 50 percent of the districts out of the total in each of the states under the influence of LWE. However, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh are the two states where the percentage of focus districts is highest compared to the total number of districts. Four states, i.e. Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, have only one district each among the focus areas of LWE (Figure 1).

Five of the nine states where LWE is present had a decennial growth rate (2001-2011) of population above the national average and have Human Development Index (2011) below that of the national average. Only Maharashtra accounts for Gross Domestic Product (2009) which is above the national average. The states of Jharkhand,

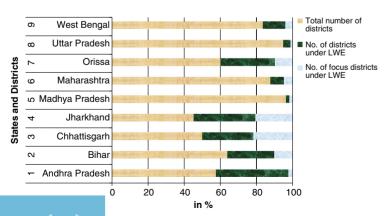


Figure 1.
States and districts identified as LWE by Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

This paper only provides status related to the number of instructional days of elementary schools in the districts identified as focus districts of LWE. Educational development is not only influenced by the LWE, but by many other things, such as socio-economic, political and cultural factors, etc. Accordingly, no direct relationship can be drawn between low-educational development or otherwise and the influence of LWE. In spite of such a big limitation, it would be a matter of concern for all to know the progress made in educational development in the districts, which are often in the news for all the wrong reasons. For the purpose of the study, the school instructional days is taken as the main criterion.

## Importance of school instructional days

The instructional days in school is an indicator that provides information on whether the schools are functioning for the required number of days or not. The percentage of (USAID, 2008) the school days available for instruction takes into account the non-instructional components of the school day, such as recess. Also, school may start late, end early, or experience interruptions. In India the average number of instructional days (2010-2011) in primary schools at the national level is 222 days, ranging, however, from 189 days in Nagaland to 240 days in Tripura and Jharkhand. The national average for upper primary schools remained at 224 days (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2011-2012). The National Curriculum Framework (2005, p. 96) recommended 200 instructional days in a year. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009, which is effective from April 1, 2010, has recommended a minimum of 200 working days for I-V grades and 220 days for VI-VIII grades.

Several studies have reported on the need for and importance of instructional time. Abadzi (2007, p. v) has viewed that limited instruction leads to inability to read fluently until later primary grades and lacking parental support, poor students tend to fall behind early and repeat grades or dropout illiterate. Reduced learning time (UNESCO, 2011, p. 92) in school has a disproportionate effect on poorer children, who rely much more on school for learning opportunities. The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2008) has noted a great disparity in instructional time among and within 11 countries that were studied, including India. In a study based on DISE data conducted by Mukherji and Mukherji (2009), it was found that there is a large effect of school funding on the probability that length of school term will be more than 201 days. The association (Abadzi, 2007, p. 18) between instructional time and achievement leads some educators to argue in favor of additional hours and a longer school year.

Accordingly, for the current study, the number of instructional days is taken as the criterion to see the functioning of the schools under LWE. The number of instructional days, however, will only provide a broader picture of the physical functioning of the schools and it does not take into consideration the quality of transaction, teacher-students participation, etc.

# Background and magnitude of LWE

The incidents of civil violence in India, according to Ganguly (1996, p. 144), "have been exacerbated in part by the success of India's democratic institutions." Democracy provides opportunity for venting of views, which may at times culminate in thought and action that are unacceptable to "humane world." The naxal movement, now also



known as LWE, is one such ideology and practice, which has spread far and wide. According to the Planning Commission Report (2008, p. 2), the Government of India has estimated that the movement is now active in about 125 districts spread over 12 states. The movement has active engagement of not only men but also women and children. The military formation (Deka, 2011, p. 11) of the CPI-Maoist includes an estimated 10,000 armed cadres, apart from a huge mass of 100,000 people's militia. Besides, a number of front organizations have been formed in various states to generate support, funds and cadres for the CPI-Maoist. There are a very large number (Planning commission, 2008, p. 44) of Naxalite groups/parties, and their method of functioning differs in regard to the extent of mobilization of the people, participation of people in their actions, role of armed underground cadre, etc., although all of them owe allegiance to the idea that the Indian state must be overthrown by force as a precondition of revolutionary change in our society.

de Haan (2011, p. 4) viewed that there are three main perspectives related to the naxal movement. These are: first, law and order perspective, equating Naxalites with terrorists (police and government largely hold this view); second, root causes perspective, wherein poverty and lack of primary services are the main cause of the movement's existence; and finally, the movement as a result of structural violence (the view held by the naxal movement). Of late, the governments at central and state level have recognized the importance of the need for shifting from the first perspective to the second and have taken up specific measures for development in these affected areas. However, the violence continues unabated, and the recent abduction of political leaders and bureaucrats signifies their presence and influence in far-flung rural areas. In terms of fatalities (Deka, 2011, p. 10), the Naxalite violence has surpassed militancy in Jammu and Kashmir and the insurgency movements in the Northeast. CPI (Maoist), which is the major left-wing extremist organization responsible for most of the incidents and casualties of LWE violence, has been included in the schedule of terrorist organizations along with all its formations and front organizations on June 22, 2009, under the existing Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 (Annual Report, 2010-2011, p. 17). Borooah (2008) has viewed that there is more violence in Naxalite-affected districts compared to districts free of Naxalite activity, and they have higher poverty rates and lower literacy rates.

In terms of incidents reported, there has been a dramatic decline in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar between 2001 and 2011. On the other hand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and West Bengal have seen a steady increase. In Jharkhand, the incidents reported have been very high, except for a decline during the middle of the decade. Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh account for more than 50 percent of the incidents reported due to LWE and it reached a peak of 68.73 percent during the year 2007. The incidents reported in the states other than the nine states are around or <1 percent between 2001 and 2011, indicating that these nine states are the ones which are prominently under left-wing influence. The incidents reported in four states, i.e. Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh, account for more than two-thirds of incidents reported during most of the years and during 2005 reached even the extent of 96.41 percent.

In line with the decline of incidents reported, there is also a decline in the number of deaths reported due to the LWE in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Bihar between 2001 and 2011. The states of Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Orissa and West Bengal, however, have seen a steady increase during the same period. The deaths reported in four states, i.e. Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh, account for more than 80 percent of all deaths reported, except for a few years. During 2005 it reached even the extent of 97.92 percent. Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh account for a large

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## Literacy and rural-urban population distribution

There are wide variations in literacy in these districts. Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh state has the lowest literacy rates of male (51.42 percent), female (31.56 percent) and total population (41.58 percent). Gondia district of Maharashtra on the other hand has the highest literacy rates of male (93.54 percent), female (85.41 percent) and total population (77.3 percent). Out of all the 35 districts, seven districts have a higher female literacy rate than that of the national average (65.46 percent), ten districts have a higher male literacy rate than that of the national average (82.14 percent) and eight districts have an overall literacy rate higher than that of the national average (74.04 percent). The districts belonging to Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Iharkhand have lower literacy rates than other states. The districts which are often in the news, such as Dantewada, Bijapur and Malkangiri, have very low literacy rates and particularly low female literacy (Figure 2).

Except the districts like East Singhbum, Bokaro and Ramgarh, almost all the districts are predominantly rural. In terms of rural-urban distribution as per the 2011 census, East Singhbhum of Jharkhand state has the highest urban (55.55 percent) and lowest rural population (44.45 percent) among all the districts. Garhwa district of the Iharkhand state also has the highest rural population (94.73 percent) and lowest urban population (5.27 percent). A total of 31 of the 35 districts in all have a rural population of more than 75 percent. This indicates that these districts are predominantly rural in nature. All the districts in the state of Bihar have high density of population although they are predominantly rural districts with more than 75 percent of rural population. On the other hand, the districts belonging to Chhattisgarh state have very low density of population.

#### The social composition of the students in the districts

The enrollment of students of different categories indicates that these districts are populated largely by students from scheduled caste (SC), scheduled tribe (ST) and

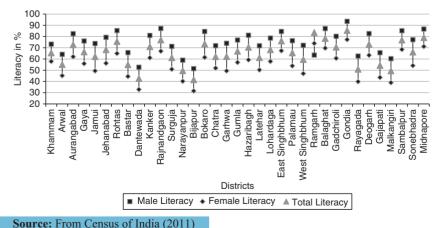


Figure 2. Literacy levels



in LWE districts

other backward categories (OBC), although their number varies from district to district. These categories are considered to be socio-economically backward sections of the country. Among all the districts, only West Midinipur district has student enrollment of general category students which is above 50 percent and Dantewada has the lowest percentage of general category students at only 1.83 percent. In 18 out of 33 districts, the enrollment of general category students is in single digits, i.e. <10 percent. Of all the 33 districts, 15 districts have SC population above 20 percent and of these six districts have more than 25 percent of SC populations. The ST enrollment is more than 50 percent in ten out of the 33 districts, with the highest level in Dantewada (79.53 percent). In all, 16 out of the 33 districts have OBC enrollment of more than 40 percent.

## The research questions

The main research questions posed in the current study are as follows:

- (1) Whether the schools are functioning for the number of days (instructional days) they are expected to and if they are not, what is the number of days that they are functioning?
- (2) Whether there is an improvement in the functioning of schools during the last five-year period, i.e. 2005-2006 to 2009-2010, which coincides with five years after the launch of universalization of elementary education?
- (3) Whether there are any variations in the mean instructional days of the schools of focus districts and other districts of the nine states?

## Methodology

The District Information System for Education (DISE) data provides comprehensive information of school-based indicators, facility indicators, enrollment-based indicators and teacher-related indicators for every year. The DISE data were collected through Management Information System Units located at district and state levels. The data are filled in the data capture format supplied to the head teacher of the schools, who fill them after consulting office records. Computerized data entry and report generation systems help in database management and dissemination. Under the category of number of days the school functioned (instructional days), the head teacher reports the number of days the school was open for academic activity. This includes the days spent on the conduct of examinations and excludes vacations, closure of school due to public holidays, absence of all teachers, election and census work, etc. A postenumeration survey is conducted by an external agency to examine the veracity of the data under DISE and to identify and estimate the discrepancy in data every year. For detailed information, see Mehta (2011). Still, data related to number of students goes unaccounted and unregistered, as pointed out by Govinda (2011, p. 407).

For the purpose of the study, the DISE data relating to number of instructional days for the years 2005-2006 to 2009-2010 is studied among the districts identified as focus districts of LWE. The number of instructional days is classified into seven categories. The schools which had zero working days were analyzed, relating them with the availability of teachers and enrollment of students in the school. The progress achieved during 2005-2006 to 2009-2010 in the instructional days in schools of the focus districts was also studied. Further, a comparison between focus districts and other districts in terms of average number of instructional days at district level was studied to see whether there was any significant difference between these two. For the purpose of

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#### The findings on functioning of schools

Against the backdrop of number of instructional days required for effective and optimal transaction of education mentioned above, it is disturbing to note that a number of schools have less than the stipulated instructional time. There are schools with zero instructional days, although their number has declined sharply in 2009-2010. These can be further divided into schools without teachers, students and zero instructional days; and Schools with teachers, students and zero working days. The latter account for more than the former in all years except 2009-2010, and this is a cause of concern.

In the instructional time range of one day to fewer than 200 days, there were 4,407 schools in 2005-2006, accounting for 6.5 percent of all the schools, and their number has come down to 1,913 schools in 2009-2010, which is 2.5 percent of all the schools in that year. Although in terms of percentage it amounts to a remarkable decline, still a large number of schools fall into this category. Considering more than 200 instructional days as optimal, there is a significant improvement in percentage of schools meeting this criterion from 86.11 percent in 2005-2006 to 96.6 percent in 2009-2010. This is in the context of an increasing number of schools every year. Compared to all the previous years, 2009-2010 has a significant percentage of the schools with more than 200 instructional days (Table I).

In terms of instructional days, what is also pertinent to mention is that there are wide variations within these districts and over a period of time. During 2005-2006, 12 districts had more than 10 percent of schools which had zero instructional days; these include the districts which are more often in the news due to LWE conflict such as Malkangiri, Bastar, Kanker and Dantewada. Further, during 2005-2006, there were 21 districts that had 10 percent of schools with < 200 instructional days and this has come down to only three districts during the year 2009-2010. In 2009-2010, there were no districts with more than 10 percent of zero instructional days.

In the category of schools with more 90 percent of the schools having more than 201 instructional days, there has been a phenomenal increase from merely ten districts in 2005-2006 to 29 districts in 2009-2010. The data clearly indicate that there is a clear demarcation among the districts which had fewer than and more than 200 instructional days. There are districts like Bastar, Gaya, Jamui, Aurangabad, Rohtas and Dantewada which accounted for schools with lower than the required instructional days (<200) and others like Khammam, Balaghat, Gondia, Latehar, Gadchiroli and Deogarh which had a greater percentage of schools with optimal (>200) instructional days, over the years. These two sets of districts fall on two extremes, with the earlier one accounting for (Figure 3).

To answer the third research question, the following hypothesis was formulated.

# Alternate hypothesis

The mean working days of schools in LWE affected districts is higher or equal to the mean working days of not affected districts schools in nine states.

# Research hypothesis

The mean working days of schools in the LWE affected districts are lower than the mean working days of not affected districts schools in nine states (Table II).



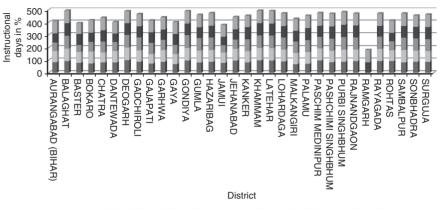
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0.88 0.07 0.03 0.03 2.38 34.03 62.60 Щ 2009-2010 672 56 8 20 1,817 25,940 47,722 76,235 8.51 0.17 0.16 0.16 2.01 23.08 65.89 ln % 2008-2009 6,226 128 116 116 1,474 16,884 48,204 73,148 6.95 2.37 0.75 0.43 2.46 24.85 62.16 % In 2007-2008 4,985 1,700 541 312 1,766 17,816 44,565 71,685 4.00 0.24 0.25 0.27 3.57 24.34 67.31 % ΙΉ 2006-2007 2,708 164 166 185 2,415 16,465 45,539 67,642 7.34 0.25 0.27 0.59 5.42 32.38 53.72 % In 2005-2006 4,947 170 185 401 3,651 21,821 36,203 67,397 Number of days schools functioned 0 1.10 11.50 51.100 101.200 201.225 > 226 no. Total <u>S</u>

**Table I.**Number of instructional days of schools





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Figure 3.
Trends in focus districts
with more than 200
instructional days

■ 2005-2006 ■ 2006-2007 ■ 2007-2008 ■ 2008-2009 ■ 2009-2010

			Other districts			Focus districts				
	<i>p</i> -value	<i>t</i> -value	SD	Mean	n	SD	Mean	n	Year	Sl. no.
	1.22	t(303) = 1.17	28.66	204.45	274	16.98	210.59	31	2005	1
	0.000	t(60.73) = 5.05	25.69	208.70	274	13.06	222.91	31	2006	2
	0.24	t(303) = 0.70	29.12	207.52	274	27.05	211.35	31	2007	3
Table II	0.09	t(307) = 1.33	33.84	204.57	277	24.13	212.76	32	2008	4
Results of Student's t-tes	0.04	t(36.68) = 2.78	11.97	224.95	278	13.66	231.95	32	2009	5

The above results indicate that in two out of five years, i.e. in 2006 and 2009, the alternative hypothesis is accepted, as there is a significant difference at 95 percent confidence interval. In both these years equality of variances is not assumed. In the other three years, i.e. 2005, 2007 and 2008, there is no significant difference in the number of working days between the schools in the LWE affected districts and others. Hence, the research hypothesis is rejected.

#### Conclusion

The scope of schooling has not only an instrumentalist value, whose importance cannot be undermined, but also has the potential to develop a democratic approach to life and consider issues more objectively and rationally. Formal schooling (Harber, 1996) is potentially a powerful vehicle for an education that is concerned with the peaceful resolution of conflicts through analyzing the causes of violence and teaching values and skills that are congruent with peaceful behavior.

Elementary education is basic to citizenship education, especially in those regions which are affected by conflict and violence. Multiple studies (Quaynor, 2012) suggest that an emphasis on global and regional identities within citizenship education, as well as the use of participatory methods, may encourage tolerance and active citizenship (p. 47). Citizenship education (Arthur *et al.*, 2008) aims to develop "knowledge, skills, and attitudes that will enable [young people] to participate in the communities of which they are a part" (p. 5). Education also serves as a means of social justice to the underprivileged, which sections are largely living in the LWE districts. As viewed by Apple (2008), schools can play a role both as an arena for reproducing inequalities and as an arena for critical



understanding and action in changing these inequalities (p. 259). If no positive action is initiated, as pointed out by Govinda (2011, p. 407), the children of the poor tend to be relegated to the margins of the system and eventually pushed out altogether.

The findings on the instructional days in LWE districts broadly indicate that there is a steady progress over a period of time. Further, the mean instructional days of the focus districts are more than that of other districts not affected by LWE and are significantly (statistical) higher in two years. But within these districts, there are variations. Some districts especially have more schools with less than the optimal number of instructional days (<200). These are the districts such as Bastar, Dantewada, Gaya, Jamui, Aurangabad and Rohtas, which are further backward within the focus districts. Mostly, they have multiple concerns such as less accessibility due to forest cover, lower literacy rates and predominantly rural population belonging to backward communities. Further, Bastar district is the most backward on many other educational indicators such as: decline in English medium schools, negative growth rate in upper primary (Grade VI-VIII) enrollment and regular teachers and decline in number of teachers with post-graduation and above qualifications.

On the other hand, there are other districts such as Khammam, Balaghat, Gondia, Gadchiroli, Latehar and Deogarh which are comparatively better placed in terms of not only instructional days but also other educational indicators mentioned above. For instance, they have a high-growth rate of primary schools in rural areas, a sharp decline in students repeating in the same grade and an increase in the availability of girls' toilets, etc. Under these conditions, wherein there are variations within the focus districts, it would not be appropriate to formulate uniform educational strategies for all the focus districts. The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India (Annual Report, 2001-2013) views that LWE insurgency activity has to be dealt with in a holistic manner by addressing areas of security, development, ensuring entitlement of local communities and promoting good governance. In addition to this, a more need-based, decentralized planning is necessary to address the issue of not only the functioning of the schools, but also the holistic development with specific emphasis on more backward areas. Although the district level planning has been in place for a long time, whether the plans (Govinda, 2011, p. 418) for successive periods reflect the changed realities in quantity and quality of elementary education is the question. Otherwise, the problems get aggravated and disparities increase within these districts, which could scuttle any attempt to promote peace in these districts.

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