

Women's Agency in Peace Building: Gender Relations in Post-Conflict Reconstruction

Author(s): Rita Manchanda

Source: *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40, No. 44/45 (Oct. 29 - Nov. 4, 2005), pp. 4737-4745

Published by: [Economic and Political Weekly](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4417360>

Accessed: 01/10/2013 16:05

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Economic and Political Weekly is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Economic and Political Weekly*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Women's Agency in Peace Building

Gender Relations in Post-Conflict Reconstruction

Although there is a growing body of feminist discourse establishing that war and peace are gendered activities, and consequently women's experiences, responses and needs are different, this is often overlooked by national and international policy-makers. Studies making visible the centrality of women's agency in peace building and the need to have women participate at the peace table are ignored by the dominant conflict, peace and security discourses. This paper maps the complex and variegated picture of civilian and militarised women's agency in moments of violent social transformation and the peculiarities of their languages of resistance and empowerment.

RITA MANCHANDA

Peace building is a process that flows through the pre-conflict or conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict phases. Such an approach draws attention to the reality of the no war-no peace hiatus characteristic of so many intra state conflicts in the global south and challenges the assumption of a "post-conflict" closure, especially with regard to the attention areas – Afghanistan and Sri Lanka or Nepal¹ that has been sucked back into an active conflict stage. Many peace builders, particularly women, operate at all of these stages.

Although there is a growing body of feminist discourse establishing that war and peace are gendered activities and consequently women's experiences, responses and needs are different, it is often overlooked by national and international policy-makers. Studies making visible the centrality of women's agency in peace building and the need to have women participate at the peace table are ignored by the dominant conflict, peace and security discourses.

The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security is a path-breaking endorsement of women's inclusion in peace processes [Anderlini 2000; Porter 2003]. But where are the women in decision-making in conflict resolution and reconstruction either within the UN system or in enabling women to translate their authority in the informal sphere to the formal sphere of politics in the aftermath² of violent conflict? The UN Secretary General's 2004 report on 1325, four years after it was adopted, states "The number of women who participate in formal peace processes remains small... The desire to bring peace at any cost may result in a failure to involve women and consider their needs and concerns."

There is a broad recognition among humanitarian and relief agencies that women bear the brunt of armed conflict. Empirical evidence shows that women will not receive their fair share without deliberate planning of gender-sensitive relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. However, multi donor frameworks for building peace in war-torn societies, at best, insert gender-sensitive language and ignore it at the field level. There is the visibility of setting up gender focal points, but usually without resources and authority to effectively leverage the system. Consequently, they are set up to fail [Rehn and Sirleaf: Unifem 2002].

Humanitarian discourses continue to configure women as victims and end up devaluing the multiple (empowering) roles women take on during conflict of managing community survival and peace building. The post-conflict reconstruction is faced with the challenge of socially recognising these new roles that have implications for social transformation. An attention to these changes could provide a basis for reworking more equitable gender relations during the conflict itself. The postponement of the "women's question" to the aftermath is too late [Turshen 2001]. The historical experience is that the moment opened up by the societal upheaval of conflict, slips back to a restoration of gender status quo with women pushed back to their sewing machine and men supervising and marketing their products [Kumar 2001].

Violence is an important variable in determining whether war time "gains" can be consolidated as men use violence and the threat of violence to marginalise women, especially in restructuring "normalcy". Empirical research reveals a co-relation between conflict and increasing domestic violence, i.e., the connection between violence, militarism and the construction of a macho masculinity. Humanitarian and Relief, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation (RRR) frameworks rarely recognise domestic violence as systematic in conflict and post-conflict, consequently, humanitarian and security responses do not address it during training in emergencies or in articulating legal and policy frameworks for post-conflict reconstruction [Rehn and Sirleaf: Unifem 2002]. There is little attempt to relate it to women's inferior socio-economic status and lack of voice and therefore, to address it through a resource-based and empowerment approach [Kelkar and Nathan 2004].

There is a lack of attention to the post-conflict experience of "peace" that produces greater impoverishment of women. Dominant reconstruction models involve downsizing government and privileging private sector as the engine of growth. Women are the first to be laid off in wage employment in the public sector. The feminisation of the informal sector is a phenomenon of post-conflict societies. Moreover, structural adjustment programmes reduce the availability of public resources for food security, health and education. In the post-conflict situations there is a trend towards a feminisation of

poverty. Arguably, it is linked with failure to address gender inequalities, especially at a time when conflict conditions have produced shifts in gender relations.

Conflict conditions compel women to take on new independent roles and demonstrate capacities for decision-making with implications for at least, the equal involvement of women in community management, peace process and reconstruction activities. The norms of women's dependence have changed and social taboos challenged as non-traditional roles are assumed as women manage family/community survival and peace-building (and war-making).

"Post-conflict" structures of development require policies, planning and design that build on the base of these changes for more effective development. Areas of armed conflict may present the most ideal opportunities of addressing gender concretely, since programmes such as relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation could represent a new beginning.

The post-conflict situations highlighted here – Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal – are located in a region marked by severe gender inequalities or as in the case of Sri Lanka, gender disempowerment. At first glance, Sri Lanka appears an exception. Its social policy package of free education, primary health centres and food subsidy has produced GDI indicators that are above the developing country average at 0.73 but its gender empowerment measure (GEM) trails behind the average at 0.27 (average 39). Also there is a difficulty of factoring in data from the conflict-affected north and east. The war has left in the north and east 30,000 women-headed families and 40,000 widows and a trend towards "feminisation" of poverty, migration and trafficking.

What Sri Lanka and Afghanistan have in common for purposes of our analysis is the central role of the international community and the diaspora in brokering a ceasefire and in supporting relief and reconstruction. The international community's involvement provides an opportunity and involves a responsibility to pay attention to the possibilities for social transformation.

Paying attention to women's needs and tapping women as a resource in peace building and reconstruction (and consolidating the paradoxical "gains" from conflict) will not happen without mainstreaming gender at every stage of the peace process and reconstruction. However, internationally supported national plans largely add on gender as an afterthought and rarely give the gendered causes and consequences of conflict due attention, especially the implications of the increase of women in poverty, beyond the obvious category of "female-headed households".

Certainly, a universal interpretation of agency across cultures cannot be assumed. The diversities of geographies, religions, ethnicities, class and caste impact on how local identities of women and men are socially constructed and affect women's experiences and agency [Cockburn 2001]. Nonetheless, there is the universality of the structural inequality between women and men as a dominant ordering principle of society. It differentially positions women and men whether in Afghanistan, Sri Lanka or Nepal to respond to the gendered activity of war and peace.

The paper maps the complex and variegated picture of civilian and militarised women's agency in moments of violent social transformation and the particularities of their languages of resistance and empowerment. Ideologies of nationhood are inescapably gendered and the question of women's agency has to push against the intractability of the networks of violence that constitute the political economy of state and nation in south Asia

and its mirror image in contesting groups and communities (Essays in *Cultural Dynamics*: 2004).

War and Peace Are Gendered Activities

In today's "civil wars" civilians are not just collateral victims, but the direct targets of armed conflicts. As more men than women join the soldiery, it is women and children who make up the majority of the civilians and become the major casualties of intra-state conflicts.

Women in conflict areas disproportionately shoulder the burden of survival coping with "family strategies in the absence of food, shelter, basic services, education and means of livelihood for sustenance" [ADB 2004]. Women's care giving role impacts on their capacity to protect themselves and makes mobility difficult, producing the phenomenon of the "internally stuck" as observed in Nepal [Martinez 2002]. It is the women who grow food and produce "taxes" for the guerrillas in Nepal's Maoist-controlled areas.

The social impact of conflict is most visible in the emergence of woman-headed households, widows or half widows abruptly thrust into a position of responsibility for the welfare of the family in a context of deprivation and instability, in societies where the widow is culturally regarded with prejudice and a woman alone invites predatory behaviour. The Taliban's decrees excluding women from working outside the home forced widows to beg for family survival or go into prostitution. In Jaffna in Sri Lanka, there were 19,000 registered widows and 2,100 children living in the government welfare centres. In the south, widows of soldiers and wives of disabled soldiers have been thrust into becoming female heads of households vulnerable to exploitation as they claim compensation and pension entitlements.

The UN secretary general in his report on Afghanistan for 2001 noted that, "high levels of food insecurity have a particular impact on women and children the need to prioritise expenditure and lack of rights means that women and girls suffer disproportionately. Women tend to reduce their own intake in favour of men because they are 'workers' and children. The amount of money available for women's medical costs and transport to the nearest health centre will decrease, increasing the risk of maternal mortality. Further, women and children are the main water collectors and increasing scarcity of potable water in drought-affected areas means they have to walk kms to fetch water..." (www.womenwarpeace.org; file:///A:/Afghanistan-country page.htm)

In Sri Lanka, two decades of civil war have resulted in cutbacks in health and educational sector as government spending on the military has jumped from 4 per cent in 1981 to 22 per cent in 1997. In the north and east, the school dropout rate is four times above the average 4 per cent. Some 65,000 children do not attend school there. Meanwhile, the LTTE continues its policy of recruitment of child soldiers. The Human Rights Watch has pointed to the particular vulnerability of girls to re-recruitment because their short hair made them identifiable as former LTTE (November 2004).

In Afghanistan, three decades of civil war have laid it waste and reinforced culturally sanctioned notions of restriction and exclusion as women became the site for contesting ideologies of modernity versus tradition. Maternal mortality rate is 1,600, per 1,00,000 live births. Only 12 per cent of women have access to basic health care and female illiteracy rate is 78 per cent. There

are 50,000 widows in Kabul and two million in the country [Azarbaijan-Moghaddam 2002].

In ethno-nationalist discourses, the productive and reproductive assets of women are appropriated and ideologies of “purity” provide social sanction for “honour” killings. Post-conflict patriarchal bias in processes of state consolidation are manifest in state-sponsored projects as the forcible recovery of women abducted during the Indo-Pak Partition [Menon and Bhasin 1998]; the compulsory mass abortions and adoptions of babies of the “birangonas”, rape survivors of the 1971 Bangladesh liberation war [D’Costa 2002]. The post-conflict state appropriates purity discourses of belonging and in the process violates women’s claims to equal citizens.

Political Economy of Violence

Women’s socially subordinate role places them at the risk of gender-based violence. The extreme violence that women suffer during conflict is directly related to the violence (physical, structural and cultural) that exists in women’s everyday life in “peacetime”. The violence against women in conditions of conflict stands in a continuum alongside the violence experienced by women in ‘normal’ conditions. Caroline Moser interjects the axis of another continuum, adding to social violence, political and economic aspects [Moser 2001]. The feminist analysis of the political economy of rape relates violence against women with sexual control and the allocation of resources, that is, as an aspect of political and economic violence [Meintjes et al 2001]. Patriarchal societies regard women as their property and therefore, value resides in women’s productive and reproductive labour. Abduction and rape become strategies for stripping women of their personal assets and of their political assets – honour or more precisely community honour.

Women’s assets also reside in their material possessions and access to land and livestock (2001). Urvashi Butalia, in a feminist analysis of the violence of 1947 Partition, draws attention to the phenomenon of women in their 50s and 60s who were abducted by men of the same village. “According to social workers this was not uncommon because abductors knew the circumstances of the women they were picking up. They would take older women, widows or those whose husbands had been killed for their property. They would then ask to become their ‘sons’, a short cut to acquisition of property” [Butalia 1998].

Women’s Agency in Conflict

In war, the dominant image of women as losers – as victims, has grave consequences for a true awareness of the differential impact of conflict on women’s and men’s lives and the creative strategies that women forge for the survival of their families and communities. That is, the hardships and compulsions that push them to take on decision-making roles, entering into negotiations with conflict in the public sphere, becoming peace activists or participating in the militarised struggle. The challenge is to shore up the “gains” wrought by conflict in the experiences of both civilian and combatant women; to strengthen women as agents of social transformation.

The “gains” from conflict discourse is a problematic one rooted in loss, pain and extreme hardship. It is a paradox that war offers women opportunities to transform their lives in terms of self-image as well as their social relationships. Rehn and Sirleaf’s

assessment in the UNIFEM study of the impact of conflict in the *Women War and Peace* (2002) is openly sceptical of its sustainability. “Women may acquire more mobility, resources and opportunities for leadership. But the traditional responsibility comes without any diminution in the demands of their traditional roles. Thus the momentary space in which women take on non-traditional roles and typically assume much greater responsibilities – within the household and public arenas – does not necessarily advance gender equality.” I argue that there is a need to have more nuanced assessment of the implications of women’s multiple roles in south Asia’s intrastate conflicts. That is – women’s roles as survivors and the intended and unintended socio-structural changes wrought by conflict in their lives; women’s roles in conflict prevention and peace building; and women’s participation in the fighting ranks: emancipatory politics in a militarist and authoritarian culture.

Women as Survivors: Ambivalent Empowerment

Agency here is located in what ordinary civilian women did in war time – the survival strategies forged for their families and communities and their language of everyday resistance. Indeed, the political action of ordinary women arises from their everyday reality, from the concern they affirm for the safety of their family and the sustenance they give to their community.

Domestic activism rests on the “stretched roles” of women’s everyday lives as caregivers and nurturers and is often belittled as accidental activism. In Kashmir, managing survival demanded that ordinary women develop the habit of listening to the news and staying connected to the informal grapevine. As Mishra Basheer, a government school teacher explained, “We had to find out about strikes and curfews, we needed to know when there was a crackdown or where there was an explosion or cross fire. Our children our men were out there. We had to be alert to what the militants were saying about wearing burquas or who was being accused of being an informer” [Manchanda 2001].

The housewives stepped outside the cultural framework of the family to make rounds of detention centres and torture cells looking for the disappeared and negotiated with institutional power structures of the enemy, the army, administration and the courts. This spontaneous action eventually led to the founding of the “Association of the Parents of the Disappeared” (APDP). Parveena Ahangar, a semi-illiterate housewife’s untiring search for her missing son propelled her to form APDP which continues to be a powerful voice for justice and human rights.

In Nepal, the Maoist inspired peasant-based struggle and the consequent civil war, denuded whole villages of men. In the displacement discourse in Nepal, women constitute the phenomenon of the “internally stuck” left behind with small children, the elderly and disabled. Women traditionally form the backbone of the subsistence agrarian economy, but now have crossed the gendered division of labour to take on taboo areas – ploughing and thatching of roofs. The absence of men opened new opportunities for women to step into public life as evinced in the all women wards of Mirule village council, Rolpa district [Gautam et al 2001].

The Sri Lankan civil war transformed the north and east of the island into war ravaged zones under shifting control of the government and the LTTE. It thrust non-combatant Tamil women into the public arena, pushing them to acquire new technical, commercial and professional skills. Gendered roles in agriculture

and fishing underwent subtle and significant changes. Women took up lagoon fishing, food processing and marketing beyond their traditional roles as evident in comparison with their participation in areas under government control [Meena Dharmaretnam and Tamilchelvi 2003 cited in Kelkar and Nathan 2004]. In the LTTE-controlled area, women emerged as entrepreneurs, owning many fishing boats, employing scores of men and managing market networks.

Empirical studies of women-headed households – Sinhala and Tamil – particularly in situations of long-term displacement, showed their demonstrating capacity for greater personal and group autonomy and experiments with identity. Darini Rajasingham's study (2001) reveals the erosion of caste hierarchies and social practices that had restricted the mobility of Tamil women. Women without men were compelled to challenge the traditional seclusion of unmarried Tamil women and the construction of the Tamil widows as inauspicious and polluting. This empowerment is ambivalent, for the women carry a burden of guilt about the "gains" their loss has opened up.

Cultural-Specific Argument

In Afghanistan, "liberating" Afghan women was central to the anti-Taliban discourse that ideologically drove the US-led attack on Afghanistan. The Afghan woman became an important object of Afghan politics. Did the conflict open up the possibility of the Afghan woman becoming a subject of Afghan politics? Some argue that the abject victimhood of Afghan women under successive misogynist regimes over three decades of conflict, defeats the possibility of Afghan women emancipating themselves? Pakistani feminist researchers Khattak and Saigol challenge this and criticise the international community's policies of non-interference in the misogynist cultural politics that for years enabled the jihad. They question humanitarian protection and aid discourses that emphasise "going through the men", i.e., to first ensure the support of male leaders in the refugee camps (2004; 2001).

For instance, a UNHCR income generation project for the refugee areas (IGPRA), did not provide a single Afghan refugee woman, constituting a majority of the refugees, any employment, fearing the men would object. In contrast, when international agencies have insisted on including women in decision-making committees, for example, UNHCR in selecting the location of wells, it was carried through. In another instance, UNHCR specifically included women's names in shelters in rebuilding homes and in providing homes for widows. Had the fund been merely provided to local Afghan institutions, women would not have been included? UNHCR's recent emphasis on field staff comprising 25 per cent women has made a difference in the repatriation of Afghan refugees, the majority of whom are women.

Saba Gul Khattak draws an attention to the significance of "the discontinuities and ruptures within the Taliban discourse on women" pointing to the agency of Afghan women as well as the negotiation advantages of some aid agencies. Under the Taliban, Suhaila Sidiq, a surgeon continued to work in a hospital treating female and male patients. The World Food Programme (WFP) persuaded the Taliban to let women run "tandoors" producing subsidised food. Similarly, "women developed maps of streets and neighbourhoods where underground home schools for girls or medical help or jobs could be found and shared them

at weddings and birthdays" [Rehn and Sirleaf: Unifem 2002] The radical Revolutionary Afghan Women's Association (RAWA) ran clandestine schools and internationalised the plight of Afghan women using hidden videos, and its bi-lingual magazine.

Widows and female-headed households are often portrayed as one of the most vulnerable groups. The perception being as Azarbaijan-Moghaddam (2002) observed that women can barely survive without male family members. She argues that we should move away from looking at the vulnerability of women-headed families to looking at how they have coped and how they can cope even better by addressing ways in which Afghan society disempowers them. The projects dealing with widows should address not only their welfare, but strategic gender needs. She reminds us that some widows are powerful and should be given an opportunity to lobby on behalf of others (2002).

Similarly, Mosarrat Qadeem in a study of Afghan development programmes, reveals the complex adjustments dislocated women have made to rebuild community for survival of women-headed (and male disabled) displaced families in Kabul city. According to UNICEF, about 3,00,000-4,00,000 families were displaced by the conflict in 2000. Qadeem describes the complex forms of kin related women households that emerged. "So many men died in the conflict that it was not uncommon to find compounds run by charismatic matriarchs responsible for 8-10 married, widowed daughters and daughters-in-law" [Mosarrat 2003].

The development agencies have failed to respond to women's priorities as evident in de-mining activities. According to an article in *Foreign Policy in Focus* Afghan women have taken upon themselves the task of de-mining their villages littered with 1,200 cluster bombs dropped by the US military of which 10-22 per cent remain unexploded on top of 10 million landmines from previous wars (www.womenwarpeace.org/afghanistan). De-mining priorities for women privilege clearing of agricultural land rather than military bases. A gender-sensitive approach would factor in the different relationship that women and children have with land use as gatherers of food, water, firewood and being farmers. Also, being disabled has different social consequences for women.

Agency for Peace-Building

Contemporary feminist research has many insights on what motivates women towards peace activism and what prompts women to support militarisation and war. I wish to emphasise the need to go beyond seeing women as victims, i.e., the worst sufferers in a conflict and, therefore advocates of peace. Such a perspective accommodates women organising to stop the violence, but as Coomaraswamy and Fonseka point out, it does not embrace other images of agency – the women peace negotiator and the political leader (2004). This is critical if "post-conflict", women are to find a place at the peace table.

Women's peace activism tends to get obscured by the fact that women's language of support and resistance flows from their cultural experience of being disempowered – that is protest strategies that use symbols of motherhood, mourning or ritual cursing. However, by taking them into the public arena, women politicise and transform them.

In the midst of conflict, whether it is in nationalist identity conflicts in India's north-east; Sri Lanka's ethnic and ultra-nationalist conflicts; in Nepal's Maoist civil war or across the border between India and Pakistan, women have been in the

forefront of a politics to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict or its recurrence and to mitigate the violence when war breaks out and then to build an inclusive just peace. Women's agency is visible in spontaneous and sporadic interventions to protect their families from immediate violence, in campaigns against human rights abuse and for justice; in building trust and reconciliation across the conflict divide.

When extreme violence and terror has rendered public space barren and destroyed the possibility of politics, of dialogue – women like the Naga mothers have stepped forward to campaign for “Stop All Bloodshed”. In Dailekh district in Nepal, mothers and grandmothers led a spontaneous protest against Maoist forcible recruitment of one child per family. Powerful mothers fronts have emerged in Kashmir and in Sri Lanka to demand justice and stop disappearances. Indian and Pakistani women have mobilised together for peace-building. In slum and pavement settlements wracked by Hindu-Muslim communal violence in Mumbai, women who in peace time had been organised in savings and credit scheme were the first to come out of their houses and together call for peace [Sharma 2002].

Women have forged powerful strategies against militarism. The most dramatic was the naked protest in July 2004 of the Meira paibis³ in Manipuri, India. In front of the camp of the Assam Rifles, paramilitary force, the women protested against the rape and custody death of Manorma Devi. It galvanised a statewide campaign against the Armed Forces Special Power Act.

In the narratives of women's peace activism in Kashmir, Naga conflict, Nepal and Sri Lanka – there is a pattern of women unthinkingly, rushing forward to shield the men, blocking the roads to prevent “sons” from being taken away, standing surety for arrested boys, getting hostages released, defusing tension and reaching across fault lines and stopping factional violence.

In Sri Lanka, in 1986, Tamil women spontaneously came out to agitate outside the LTTE camp at Ariyalai on the death of Edward in Pasaiyoor. The village women in the east came out with rice pounders to stop internecine fighting between the LTTE and TELO factions. When LTTE took on the EPRLF, village women defied the LTTE by sitting on the roads armed with kitchen knives and chilly powder. Three mothers went on a fast onto death to pressurise the Indian peace keeping force (IPKF) and the LTTE to declare a ceasefire. Annai Poopathy died in that protest action. In commemorating her “martyrdom”, LTTE appropriates ‘motherhood’ for the nationalist cause valorising the sacrifice of mothers, sons/daughters.

Sri Lanka: Hostile Ethno-Nationalisms

In Sri Lanka, the conflict produced a rich outcrop of women's groups, ad hoc coalitions and broader civil society mobilisations. In the 1980s, the Women's Action Committee (WAC) linked feminist demands with the human rights peace agenda. After the 1983 ethnic riots, Women for Peace emerged. In Jaffna, there was the Women's Study Circle that adopted a feminist analysis linking peace issues with broader social transformation processes. In 1984 the Mother's Front in the north emerged to protest against the arbitrary arrests and detention of over 200 Tamil youth. At the time, there were many connections between women mobilising in the north and in the south.

However, the rise of ultra Sinhala nationalist forces of the Janatha Vimukti Perumana and the backlash of the 1987

Indo-Sri Lanka peace accord saw Women's Action Committee and Women for Peace targeted. The WAC split and although, Mothers and Daughters of Lanka continued to provide a bridging forum, the mounting difficulties of working across ethnic lines broke up united fronts such as Women for Peace in 1997.

The Mothers Fronts in the north and south that emerged as powerful voices for human rights and justice were unable to sustain mutually empowering cross linkages. de Mel notes that there was “no effective networking between these two groups under the broad umbrella of a united Mothers' Front”(2001). Eventually, the Jaffna Mother's Front disbanded under LTTE pressure and the Mother's Front in the south, was co-opted by a political party:

More recent, is the emergence of the Association of War Affected Women (AWAW). It was the personal quest for her son “missing in action” that led Visaka Dhamadasa to form AWAW to focus attention on the welfare needs of young widows of soldiers. Building on motherhood politics she brought together mothers of the “missing” across the divide, through rituals of pilgrimages to temples (Hindu-Buddhist-Christian) in LTTE held territory. The AWAW was among the first civil society groups to open a channel of communication with the LTTE.

Women's groups like Suriya and Women and Media Collective are continuing to do important work to build bridges across ethnic-religious lines. However, in the absence of a sustained groundswell of grassroots backing for a common front in supporting and democratising the peace process, civil society remain divided by ethnic (and communal) polarities as well as personalities.

Women in Militaries

In south Asia's revolutionary, nationalist, ethnic and communal conflicts, women have been mobilised in the militaries of state and non-state actors. They are highly visible in the fighting ranks of LTTE where they make up almost 40 per cent of the armed cadres and have their own political wing; in Nepal's civil war, women in the Maoist “base” areas comprise a third of the guerrillas and are area commanders and district party committee secretaries; in India's north-east identity conflicts, women fight alongside men in the Naga nationalist struggle, in the ULFA armed group in Assam and in the Naxalite (Maoist) movements in India. The Maoists and the LTTE in their mobilising ideology have cast women's enlistment in the armed struggle as empowering. Has it opened up the opportunity for poor rural peasant women to participate in politics?

It is a problematic narrative for feminist politics because it posits the possibility of an emancipatory politics through participation in authoritarian and violently destructive struggles. There is the agentive moment produced by women transcending traditional social roles and joining the fighting ranks. But what kind of a rights-based vision of the women's question is possible when embedded in ideologies of militarism and militarised politics? The feminist scholarship has established the linkages between militarism, masculinities and patriarchy [Chenoy 2002].

Radhika Coomaraswamy, the former UN Special Rapporteur on Women, emphasises the instrumental role of the women in the LTTE. “I do not believe that inducting women into a fighting force is a step towards empowerment and equality (it) signals the militarisation of civil society – a militarisation which in itself

is inimical to anyone who believes in human rights” [Coomaraswamy 1997; Manchanda 2001]. Niloufer de Mel consolidates that denial of agency arguing that, whatever the short-term gains produced by the temporary agentive moment, “the structure and ideology of the LTTE leave little room for the freedom of women to determine their own destiny”. Darini Rajasingham-Senanayake warns that this denial of agency positions women militants within a victim complex. Taking a long view of the shifts and consolidations over two decades, she argues, “Women have acquired positions of power in the institutional structure of the LTTE” (2001).

Has then, the ethnic war in Sri Lanka or the Maoist insurgency for revolutionary restructuring of Nepal, provided more empowering cultural identities for women both within and outside the party? Has it radicalised the social agenda? Has the presence of women altered the character, culture and hierarchy of the military organisation? What is the leverage of the women’s question in shaping the programmatic agenda of the movement? What is the leadership profile of women in the movement?

In the case of the LTTE, the exigency of mobilising women to make up for the decline in manpower resources, saw a recasting of the socially oppressed Tamil women bound up in religiously sanctified rituals of taboo and seclusion. Adele Balasingham, the spokesperson for the women’s wing, extolled a romantic vision of the LTTE women as “Birds of Freedom”, asserting themselves as autonomous actors in deciding to join without parents consent. The LTTE woman combatant is transformed from a conservative feminised ideal to a public figure engaged in masculine activities, repudiating patriarchal norms of womanhood [de Mel 2001].

In Nepal, as the top Maoist woman leader Hisila Yami pointed out “there can be no agrarian revolution in Nepal without mobilising the women”. The Maoist ideology promised equality with dignity. The 40-point Maoist memorandum cites, “Patriarchal exploitation and discrimination against women should be stopped. The daughter should be allowed access to property”. For poor peasant “janjati” women, participation in the Peoples War, promised an opportunity of being included in the politics of shaping their own destiny, i.e., from invisibility to protagonism. Li Onesto, in her romantic chronicles for the *The Worker* draws attention to the opportunity of education for peasant girls denied schooling (2000). She quotes Prachanda describing a brave cultural transformation in questions of marriage, family and social relations. “Comrade Parvati”, the head of the women’s department, consolidates this in her writings in *The Worker* where she claims “women own land for the first time ...arranged marriages, polygamy, wife beating and other feudal traditions oppressive to women are no longer practised. Wife beating and rape are severely punished by the Peoples Court” [Parvati 2003].

Has participation in the “Peoples’ War” produced more empowering cultural identities? Nepali writer Manjushree Thapa’s quotes a Maoist woman guerrilla saying, “You see, there used to be only sickles and grass in the hands of girls like us. Now there are automatic rifles” [Thapa 2005]. Anthropologist Shneiderman points to the breakdown of caste and gender roles in the Maoist army [Pettigrew and Shneiderman 2004].

However, in the movement’s institutional hierarchy, i.e., the United Revolutionary Peoples Council, there are only four women out of 37 members. Seven years after the “Peoples’ War” was launched, a women’s department was set up in the central

committee. Comrade Pravati has openly criticised of the party’s failure to take up issues raised by women and to implement programmes developed by women’s mass fronts [Parvati 2003]. Nonetheless the party’s mass women’s organisation All Nepal Revolutionary Women’s Association, was able to pursue the anti-alcohol campaign even when peace talks were afoot. However, the litmus test was the party’s failure to include women in the two Maoist peace teams in 2001 and 2004. Similarly, in 2001 when the party set up some 21 district peoples’ governments, not one was headed by a woman. The people’s government of the Magar Autonomous Region has no women at all.

The nationalist struggle agendas tend to postpone the women’s question and socialist struggles to subsume gender oppression as part of a social transformation that will take place when more radical commitments are made. Nonetheless, the massive presence of women has produced a social radicalisation as evinced in ground level actions.

Role of Tamilini

In case of LTTE, as it began to develop a parallel governance structure in the areas that came under its control in the north and east – building a criminal justice system with its own police, judiciary and prisons – the women began to play an important role. By 1993 the women’s wing of the LTTE had expanded into a somewhat autonomous agency with political, military and intelligence sections. Post-2002 ceasefire, as per the LTTE political wing head, Tamilini, is a conspicuous part of the LTTE’s transforming political face. The attitudinal shift on women’s decision-making capacity is reflected in the LTTE supported political party, Tamil National Alliance, nominating four women for the parliamentary elections. Two are now in Parliament.

On the social agenda, the LTTE during its years of “governance” took up a strong position against dowry, domestic violence, consumption of liquor and marital rape. The “Tamil Eelam Thesavallamai” law revised discriminatory provisions in Jaffna matrilineal law. In 1995 the LTTE promulgated a law banning dowry [CPA 2005].

The LTTE women’s androgynous style of dress and short hair made a powerful cultural statement in a social environment where the “sumangal” (auspicious) Tamil women are weighed down by ritually defined dress, jewels and flowers. But how culturally stable are these new identities? Tensions in reintegrating the “new” identities of Tamil women are emerging as evident in the “belt” incidents in 2003 when LTTE girl cadres resisted discarding their trademark belt. It symbolised the “gains” of the LTTE women cadres of authority and independence. Furthermore, demobilised LTTE women are finding themselves being steered towards vocational training that emphasises care giving and welfare.

Young girls demobilised under UNICEF-LTTE programme agreement, face parents who are unwilling to accept these girls back into their home and families. The cultural prejudice on the part of communities and schools to welcome these girls back has reinforced rejection by their families and pressure to marry them off (Abeysekera 2004; www.womenwarpeace.org/sri_lanka: 2005).

The ambivalence of feminists and researchers towards women in armed groups, the tendency to view them as without agency, further undermines their identity and capacity to negotiate a

gender sensitive disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) process.

Post Conflict Transition and the Aftermath

“Why do women regress post conflict?” As the peace table is set, women who had been so visible – at the community level managing survival, building peace and reconciliation – are marginalised. Violence is a major variable that determines whether women will be able to consolidate war time gains. Meredith Turshen, in a study of the aftermath experience of African conflicts draws attention to the social, political and economic violence that is used against women to reassert control (2001).

Men escalate social violence both at home and public space. State and customary (personal law) regimes collude to condone abuse. Further, they reassert control through political violence – devaluing women’s peace work as “accidental activism”; cultural frameworks like “motherhood” are used to exclude women from public life. Importantly, through economic violence – the aftermath of war shows deterioration in the material status of women and demographic changes such as more widows, female head of households, polygamous marriages, rising birth rates – all of which have deleterious economic consequences for women. Despite this evidence, the state does not compensate women for their losses; it fails to compensate, demobilise and reunite girl soldiers with their families, like boy soldiers. Yhr DDR processes have to pay attention to the particular needs of woman/girl soldiers in the process of demobilising and culturally reintegrating them.

Peace Table

The mainstreaming gender at every level of policy and action in peace-building and reconstruction is enshrined in the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The reality is, the political, social and economic exclusion of women and their concerns in post-conflict aftermath. According to the UN secretary-general’s 2004 report on Resolution 1325, “women remain seriously under-represented especially at senior levels with women constituting 1 per cent of military personnel, 5 per cent civilian police personnel and 12 per cent of senior civilian staff serving in peacekeeping operations. The gender advisors in peacekeeping missions have increased to 10 from two in 2000. Generally, they are under-resourced and lack the seniority to effectively leverage bureaucracies.

Understanding why women should be at the peace table is a beginning. What preceded the table were conflict mitigation processes in which women demonstrated their resourcefulness. Now they want to participate in shaping new legislative structures of government and social institutions. Post conflict peace arrangements have different consequences for women. Women’s voices have to be heard when the Constitution is being drafted, not only to ensure equal rights, but to safeguard against discriminatory personal law regimes that take away these rights in the name of the community. Without a voice, women’s concerns will not be prioritised or resourced.

The period of conflict has seen the emergence of women of authority in the informal sphere of politics, these skills need to be consolidated and the women enabled to become leaders in the formal sphere of politics. Quota systems may be necessary to enable women to find a place in the political system.

According to a UNIFEM study, where women have succeeded in making it to the peace table, it is through a combination of women organising and support from the international community. International assistance is important to support women’s organisations, in capacity-building, in acquiring the language of “conflict resolution – peace-building” and in developing regional and international solidarities. Both in the case of Sri Lanka and Afghanistan, the international community has played a crucial role in enabling women’s voices to reach the peace table.

In Sri Lanka, women have made it to the “side” peace table. This is all the more significant because despite its impressive social indicators, and a woman as executive president, Sri Lanka has a poor record of women in public life – only 4.4 per cent in the 2004 national legislature and less than 2 per cent at the local government level.

In the peace process following the 2002 ceasefire agreement between the government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE, women’s complete exclusion from the process prompted women’s groups, largely in the south, to lobby the government and the LTTE for the inclusion of women. They were supported by the international donor community. Mandated by a quasi national consultation, representatives of women’s organisations presented a memorandum at the Oslo June 2002 peace talks. Calling attention to Resolution 1325, it urged “women’s issues and concerns form an integral part of the peace agenda and that human rights be protected at every stage of the peace process”. To keep up the pressure, a high profile international women’s mission visited the north and east in October 2002. It charted a road map to gender the recovery process.

A fortuitous conjunction of factors – pressure from the international donors, mobilisation of women’s groups and their privileged access to particular leaders in power, led to the government and the LTTE agreeing in December 2002 to set up a gender subcommittee. While the government chose its five nominees on the basis of a list compiled by national women’s organisations, LTTE chose from its own cadres in the north and east. Norway appointed a facilitator for the two meetings held in LTTE-controlled Killinochchi. However, before the ‘TOR’ could be approved by the formal negotiators, the peace talks were suspended. The work of the gender subcommittee was frozen, though informal contacts continue.

The experiment of the gender subcommittee at the “side table” as a possible model for south Asia has been further hedged by fears of entrapment in a ghetto like existence. Indeed, the subsequent change of government in 2004 saw a withering away of commitment. The ability to transcend ghettoism will depend upon the capacity to transcend multi-ethnic divides and competitive personality politics. Also, there is a need to nurture bipartisan alliances with decision-makers in political institutions. The donor community support is essential, but not sufficient.

‘Liberating’ Afghan Women

In the peace and security discourse, the burqa clad woman of Afghanistan became a metaphor for the nexus between women’s rights and peace and security. “Liberating” Afghanistan got twined with enabling the Afghan woman to participate in her own emancipation. A coalition of western NGOs, diaspora groups and support from UNIFEM enabled an Afghan women’s summit for democracy to feed into the planning process of the UN

Transitional Programme for Afghan Assistance 2002. In December 2001, "Equality Now", "V Day", "The Feminist Majority", Centre for Strategic Initiatives of Women in collaboration with gender advisor to the United Nations secretary general, convened a two-day round table. Forty Afghan women framed the Brussels Action Plan for gendering the UN Transitional Programme for Afghanistan assistance.

UNIFEM in its gender audit of the Afghan 2000 Needs Assessment, noted that the programme did not include women or gender issues as a specific sector.⁴ Only 0.7 per cent of funds were requested for women-specific projects in the \$ 1.7bn UN-sponsored Immediate Transitional Assistance Programme, 2002. International pressure ensured that in the emergency meeting of Afghanistan's traditional assembly, the Loi Jirga, women accounted for 12 per cent of representation. When the Loi Jirga ratified the country's post conflict-draft constitution in 2004, 19 per cent of the delegates were women. The 2004 constitution guarantees men and women equal rights under the law and 25 per cent reservation for women [UNIFEM 'Afghanistan Update 2003'].

Afghanistan had a woman presidential candidate, and there are women in the cabinet and a woman governor in Bamiyan province. The Afghan Human Rights Commission, Judicial Commission and Constitutional Commission, have women members. A ministry of women's affairs has been set up, but crucially, it has no legal jurisdiction or implementing power.

In Afghanistan security concerns, continue to inhibit participation especially as the Loi Jirga is controlled by war lords. Malalai Joya received death threats after she criticised the mujahideen in the Loi Jirga and had to seek UN protection. The former minister for women's affairs Sima Samar was summoned to a Kabul court to face blasphemy charges.

The United Nations secretary general's report of 2004 warns that violence threatens to reverse the initial gains made especially the 30 per cent increase in number of girls in schools. In February and March 2004, some 30 schools were attacked (www.womenwarpeace.org/afghanistan). Girls are afraid to go out to schools for fear of being abducted or raped. Poor families are "marrying" off girls to bring money into households or settle disputes thus subject young girls to sexual abuse and sustained poverty. Its direct consequence has been a spurt in suicides.

Mainstreaming Gender in Reconstruction

The UNIFEM 2004 assessment maintains that while women's role in peace building is recognised, there is little recognition of women as a resource for reconstruction. Women's familial strategies of survival demonstrate their skills and capacities, but the reconstruction processes fail to tap one of the greatest untapped resources for stabilising and rebuilding community life.

The RRR frameworks largely configure women as victims and welfare beneficiaries. Rarely have policies and programmes of international agencies, national governments or development NGOs explored how relief and reconstruction might aid recovery from individual trauma and social suffering in ways that consolidate the gains wrought in conflict and aid women's empowerment.

Sri Lanka, for example, has seen a succession of multilateral needs assessments, the latest of which was the UN-World Bank-ADB Needs Assessment 2003 which represents a bill for peace in the island. The national framework for RRR is animated by successive government policy visions the latest being – "Creating our Future – Building our the Nation" (2004). The ADB, in a

gender audit of the policy document (2004) pointed to gender as the missing component.

RRR frameworks for ministerial representation at the national, provincial, district, division and village levels do not include the government agency mandated to ensure gender equality, that is the ministry of women's empowerment and social welfare. A Commonwealth case study on "Development of RRR Programme Framework, Sri Lanka" found that the gender analysis does not go beyond woman-headed households and war widows. "The proposed action is welfare oriented with zero level consideration for women's empowerment" [Commonwealth Foundation 2005]. "What is significant, because it is minimal, is the lack of involvement of women and women's organisations including the ministry of women's affairs and provincial ministries dealing with gender in these exercises".

In an effort to redress the gender gap, the gender subcommittee was formed. The National Peace Secretariat, set up to promote the peace process, has a gender advisor and it's National Advisory Council on Peace and Reconciliation includes gender-sensitive women. National and international practices of planning and policy formulation continue, however, to betray gender insensitivity. The UN-World Bank Rapid Needs Assessment of March 2003 added gender only in its final draft.

The "peace table" is a metaphor for re-envisioning a new society and women need to participate in all decision-making structures to ensure that their interests are protected in the (re) constitution of the state and the articulation of personal laws in the name of community rights.

The dynamics of today's wars involve international agencies in peace-making and provide an opportunity for consolidating the empowering spaces that may open up for women in the midst of loss. However, few internationally supported reconstruction programmes seriously take on board gender considerations. Between the lofty commitments of 1325 and the MDGs and the reality of the situation of women in the post-conflict, there is a huge gap. It will not be bridged just by adding gender. [17]

Email: ritamanchanda2003@yahoo.co.in

Notes

- 1 Nepal has had two interregnums of ceasefire – peace processes in 2001 and again in 2004.
- 2 For a discussion that problematises notions of 'post conflict transformation', 'war-torn societies' and 'The Aftermath' see introductory essay in *The Aftermath* edited by Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pilay and Meredith Turshen, Zed Books, London 2001.
- 3 Manipur in north-east India multiple conflict lines around self-determination struggles the women of the Meitei ethnic community organised themselves as 'Meira paibis'- women torch bearers who patrol the street at night against drug abuse and to protect the men from the 'Indian' security forces.
- 4 An insight into deficiencies in multilateral planning for reconstruction and, in particular the principle of "gender conditionality" is provided by the report of the United Nations Inter-agency Gender Mission to Afghanistan November 12-24,1997. The mission found gender rights were not integrated holistically in relief and rehabilitation. Women were not included in programmes to increase community access to water and excluded from participating in decision-making despite their central role in management of community water resources.

References

- Abeyskara, Sunila (2004): 'Implications of Insurgency on Women: The Sri Lankan Experience', Paper for RCSS, Colombo.
Andlerini, Sanam (2000): 'The A-B-C to the UNSC Resolution 1325 on

- Women Peace and Security', International Alert, London.
- Asian Development Bank (2004): Sri Lanka; Country Gender Assessment Report, Colombo, Afghanistan Country (Gender) Profile (URL Consulted March 2005) <http://www.womenwarpeace.org/afghanistan/afghanistan.htm>
- Azarbajani-Moghaddam, Sippi (2002): 'Report of the EC Rapid Reaction Mechanism Assessment Mission, Afghan Gender Guidelines', European Commission.
- Butalia, Urvashi (1998): *Other Side of Silence*, OUP, New Delhi.
- CPA (2005): 'Women's Access to and Ownership of Land and Property in Batticaloa, Jaffna and the Vanni', Centre for Policy Alternatives, Colombo.
- Chenoy, Anuradha (2002): *Militarism and Women in South Asia*, Kali for Women, New Delhi.
- Cockburn, Cynthia (2001): 'The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence' in Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark (eds), *Victims Perpetrators or Actors: Gendered Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, Zed Books, London, pp 13-29.
- Coomaraswamy, Radhika (1997): 'Women of the LTTE', *Frontline*, January 10, Chennai.
- Coomaraswamy and Dilrukshi Fonseka (2004): *Peace Work: Women Armed Conflict and Negotiation* (ed), Women Unlimited, New Delhi.
- Commonwealth Foundation (2005): 'Development of the RRR Programme Framework, Sri Lanka' in Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships for Gender Equality: Case Studies from the Commonwealth.
- Cultural Dynamics (2004): (spl issue) *Gendered Violence in South Asia: Nation and Community in the Post-colonial present*, guest editors Angana Chatterjee and Lubna N Chaudhury, Vol 6, No 2/3 Sage, London.
- D'Costa, Bina (2002): (Dis) 'Appearing Women in Nationalist Narratives: Interview with Geoffrey Davis by Bina D'Costa', the Australian National University in South Asia Citizens Web (SACW) June 1, 2002, sacw@sacw.net.
- De Mel, Niloufer (2001): *Women and the Nation's Narratives: Gender and Nationalism in Twentieth Century Sri Lanka*, Kali for Women, New Delhi.
- Gautam, Shobha, Amrita Banskota and Rita Manchanda (2001): 'Where There Are No Men: Women in the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal' in Rita Manchanda edited *Women War and Peace*, Sage, New Delhi.
- Human Rights Watch (2004): 'Living in Fear: Child Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka', www.hrw.org/reports/2004/slanka.
- Kelkar, Govind and Dev Nathan (2004): 'Gender Dimensions in Post-conflict Agricultural and Rural Reconstruction', paper for FAO/RAPA, Bangkok.
- Khattak, Saba Gul (2004): 'Adversarial Discourses, Analogous Objectives: Afghan Women's Control' in *Cultural Dynamics Spl Issue Gendered Violence in South Asia: Nation and Community in the Post-colonial Present*, Vol 6, No 2/3 Sage, London, pp 213-36.
- Kumar, Krishna (2001): *Aftermath: Women and Women's Organisations in Post-Conflict Societies: The Role of International Assistance*, USAID, Washington.
- Manchanda, Rita (ed): (2001): *Women War and Peace: Beyond Victimhood to Agency*, Sage, New Delhi.
- Martinez, Esperanz (2002): 'Conflict Related Displacement', USAID, Kathmandu and Meintjes, Sheila, Anu Pilay and Meredith Turshen (2001) (ed): *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*, Zed Press, London.
- Menon, Ritu and Kamla Bhasin (1998): *Borders and Boundaries*, Kali for Women, Delhi 1998;
- Moser, Caroline and Fiona Clark (eds) (2001): *Victims Perpetrators or Actors: Gendered Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, Zed Books, London.
- Meintjes, Sheila, Anu Pilay and Meredith Turshen (2001) (ed): *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*, Zed Press, London.
- Moser, Caroline (2001): 'The Gendered Continuum of Violence: An Operational Framework' in Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark (eds), *Victims Perpetrators or Actors: Gendered Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, Zed Books, London, pp 30-52.
- Onesto, Li (2000): 'Red Flag Flying on the Roof of the World: Interview with Prachanda', *The Worker* 1043,(20Feb) URL (consulted June 2004), www.rwor.org.
- Paravati, Comrade (2003): 'Women's Perspectives in the Maoist Movement' in Arjun Karki and David Seddon (eds), *The Peoples War in Nepal*, Adroit Publications, Delhi.
- Pettigrew, Judith and Sara Shneiderman (2004): 'Women and the Maobadi', *Himal*, January.
- Porter, Elisabeth (2003): 'Women: Political Decision-Making and Peace Building', *Global Change Peace and Security*, Vol 15, No 3, October.
- Qadeem, Mosarrat (2003): 'IDPs in Afghanistan', *Refugee Watch*, August.
- Rajasingham-Senanayake, Darini (2001): 'Ambivalent Empowerment: The Tragedy of the Tamil Woman' in Rita Manchanda (ed), *Women War and Peace*, Sage, New Delhi.
- Rehn, Elizabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (2002): *Women, War and Peace*, The Independent Experts Assessment, UNIFEM, New York.
- Saigol, Rubina (2001): 'At Home or in the Grave: Afghan Women and the Reproduction of Patriarchy', unpublished paper, Islamabad.
- Sharma, Kalpana (2002): 'Surviving Violence, Making Peace: Women in Communal Conflicts in Mumbai' in Kiran Kapadia (ed), *The Violence of Development*, Kali for Women, New Delhi.
- Sri Lanka Country (Gender) Profile (URL Consulted March 2005) http://www.womenwarpeace.org/sri_lanka/sri_lanka.htm.
- The Worker (2003): 'Question of Women's Leadership in Peoples War in Nepal', No 8 (January) URL (consulted June 2004), www.cpnm.org/worker/issue.
- Turshen, Meredith (2001): 'Engendering Relations of State to Society in the Aftermath' in Sheila Meintjes et al (eds), *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*, Zed Press, London.
- UN (1997): 'Report of the UN Interagency Gender Mission to Afghanistan, Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women', New York.
- (2004): 'UN Secretary General's Report to Security Council', <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep04.html>
- UNIFEM (2002): 'Women, War and Peace', *Progress of the World's Women 2002*, Vol 1.
- (2003): 'Afghanistan Update'.
- (2004): 'Getting It Right, Doing It Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration'.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEEKLY

SPECIAL ISSUE

ASPECTS OF HEALTH INSURANCE

September 17, 2005

Social Health Insurance Redefined: Health for All through Coverage for All

– Indrani Gupta, Mayur Trivedi

Health Care Financing for the Poor: Community-based Health Insurance Schemes in Gujarat.

– Akash Acharya, M Kent Ranson

Emerging Trends in Health Insurance for Low-Income Groups

– Rajeev Ahuja, Alka Narang

For copies write to: Circulation Manager
Economic and Political Weekly,

Hitkari House, 6th Floor, 284, Shahid Bhagatsingh Road, Mumbai 400 001.
email: circulation@epw.org.in